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Zionist Organization of America, 1938-1939.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

STEPHEN S. WISE
President

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

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Chairman, Admin. Committee

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Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

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CHARLES A. COWEN
M. MALDWIN FERTIG
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
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RABBI ISRAEL H. LEVINthal
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CHARLES RESS
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SIGMUND THAU

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

August 4, 1938.

TO THE MEMBERS OF
THE EXECUTIVE:

Dear Friend:

In order to discuss the present situation in Palestine with special reference to Defense and to consider the suggestion of an action to be taken by the Zionist Organization of America bearing upon defense, A special meeting of the Executive of the Z.O.A. will be held for that purpose only, on Thursday afternoon, August 11th, 1938 at 4:00 P. M. at the Zionist Headquarters, 111 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Very cordially yours,

Louis Lipsky
Louis Lipsky,
Vice-President

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

SOLOMON GOLDMAN
President

HARRY FRIEDENWALD
LOUIS LIPSKY
JULIAN W. MACK
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
ROBERT SZOLD
STEPHEN S. WISE
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ELDAR MARKSON
CHARLES RESS
LOUIS RIMSKY
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SIGMUND THAU
A. I. USLANDER
MORRIS WEINBERG

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

August 5, 1938.

Dr. A. H. Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

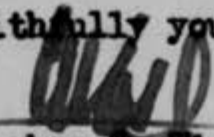
My dear Silver:

On Thursday evening, September 15th, at the Hotel Commodore, 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, the Zionist Organization of America will give a dinner in honor of its newly elected President, Dr. Solomon Goldman, who is now enroute to Palestine for a brief visit in order to bring to the Yishuv in its present hour of stress a message of hope and confidence from the Zionists of America, and renew his contact with the creative life in the homeland.

I am to serve as chairman of the committee to arrange this dinner, which will be an occasion not only for a cordial welcome to Dr. Goldman, but also to bring together the Zionist workers of this city in a spirit of comradeship and rededication to our task of rendering maximum service to the cause of Palestine Rebuilding.

I am inviting members of the Executive, New York members of the Administrative Committee and other friends to serve on the Dinner Committee. I await your acceptance to serve on this committee and trust that I may count upon your full cooperation in arranging this important function. Formal invitations will be sent later but meanwhile please reserve the date of September 15th for yourself and your friends.

Faithfully yours,


Stephen S. Wise

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 11, 1938, 4:30 P.M. AT THE

OFFICE OF THE Z.O.A., 111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Messrs. Lipsky (in the Chair), Goldberg, Lewisohn, Ress, Rocker, Rothenberg, Siegel, Szold, Weinberg; Dr. Harris Levine (representing Order Sons of Zion) Eleazar Lipsky and Cohen (representing youth organizations).

Excuses for absence from:- Rabbi Brickner, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Meyer Levy, A. H. Rosenberg, Judge Mack, Simon Shetzer, Elihu Stone.

PALESTINE DEFENSE FUND:

Mr. Lipsky stated that the principal item on the agenda of this meeting was the matter of the Palestine Defense Fund.

He reported on a meeting of the Palestine Defense Committee held the other day, with the participation of representatives of all the Zionist parties, including the Mizrachi, Poale Zion and Hadassah, as well as some members of this Executive Committee. The Mizrachi representatives, in particular, were exceedingly alarmed over the situation, and were launching an Emergency Campaign in the Jewish Morning Journal. It was felt at that meeting, however, that no large-scale emergency campaign throughout the United States was possible in August or early in September, but that some action be taken by all the Zionist Organizations in the line of the Mifdei Hazioni, approved by the Actions Committee, calling upon all Zionists to contribute to the Emergency Fund for Defense. It was agreed by those present at the Defense Committee meeting that the various Organizations be urged to call upon their respective memberships for contributions to this Defense Fund, and Mr. Lipsky promised the meeting that he would submit to the Executive of the ZOA the question of an appeal for individual self-taxation on the part of the ZOA membership.

Mr. Lipsky added that the Vaad Bitachon is collecting funds through individual solicitation; that Mr. Feinstein, who had been sent here by the Jewish Agency in connection with this activity, had collected over \$30,000 in cash; and that the Committee under the direction of Miss Udin is working very systematically and quietly along this line.

The following discussion ensued on the question of a direct appeal to the membership.

Mr. Rocker believed that the appeal to the membership should be for the Vaad Bitachon Fund only.

Mr. Lipsky replied that it is immaterial whether the money goes to the Emergency Fund of the Executive in Palestine or directly for the Defense Fund.

Mr. Szold was of the opinion that the letter should be sent to the Chairmen apprising them of the situation and asking them to get the local Zionists to contribute to the Defense Fund; but that the local Zionists should not be solicited directly from the National Office. Instead they should be asked by their District Officers to undertake a specific quota.

Mr. Ress stated that a letter should go to all the members with a special supplementary letter to the District Officers.

Mr. Goldberg believed that an appeal to the membership would result in small contributions for the Defense Fund. Instead, a strong appeal should be made for the Emergency Fund, with a separate letter to the District Officers asking them to earmark some of that money for the Defense Fund.

Judge Rothenberg expressed the opinion that it would be very confusing to appeal for two different funds. Instead, we should concentrate on an emergency effort, and thereafter set aside part for the Bitachon.

Mr. Ress raised the question whether we have the right, in view of our relations with the U.P.A., to send out an appeal for an emergency fund.

Judge Rothenberg replied that it would be a grave mistake to use the word "defense" publicly in the appeal, since the British Government still forbids the arming of private citizens.

Dr. Lewisohn recognized the validity of Judge Rothenberg's objection, and suggested the use of the word "security" instead of "defense".

Mr. Siegel, however, was of the opinion that the word "defense" has a definite psychological value at the present moment.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT a letter be sent out to every individual member of the Z.O.A. regarding self-taxation for the Palestine Defense Fund; that this letter be reinforced by letters or telegrams to the District Chairmen and other important District Officers, and that the letter be signed by a committee of five for the Executive.

MORDECAI S CHWARTZ:

Mr. Lipsky called attention to the efforts being made to secure the pardon or commutation of the death sentence of Mordecai Schwartz, who has been condemned to die next Tuesday, for the murder of an Arab policeman. He further pointed out that one of the judges who tried the case had said that there was insufficient evidence to convict Schwartz.

After some discussion, it was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a cable be sent to the Executive in London, calling attention to the fact that the decision to execute Schwartz next Tuesday is disturbing Jews here, and to ask for leniency.

POLITICAL SITUATION:

Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that a number of Jews here are meeting with Arabs for the purpose of exploring ways of peace, among them Rabbi Drachman, Rabbi Cardozo, Rabbi Herbert Goldstein, Dr. Gorelick, a Mr. Rothenberg and Prof. Hans Kohn.

Mr. Lipsky also called attention to the letter of Katibah in The New York Times of last Sunday, regarding a round-table discussion. He had drafted and sent a reply to The Times.

Dr. Lewisochn suggested that the organization circularize the newspapers advising them that these persons who are meeting with the Arabs do not represent us; and that a letter be sent to Dr. Wise about this.

Continuing on the political situation, Mr. Goldberg stated that this silence on the part of Dr. Weizmann is having a bad effect, since Zionists are anxiously awaiting some word of reassurance from him.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that Dr. Weizmann is ill and undergoing treatment for a throat ailment.

Dr. Lewisochn suggested that a statement be sent out to the entire American press.

Mr. Goldberg suggested that a cable be sent to Dr. Weizmann asking him for a reassuring statement for publication.

After further discussion, it was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a manifesto of all the Parties be issued to the Jews of this country, in the nature of reassuring them that our ideals will ultimately triumph in spite of our present difficulties; and that Messrs. Goldberg and Lewisochn draft such statement.

NEW PALESTINE ADVERTISING:

Mr. Rucker submitted a suggestion that had come to him for a theatrical page in The New Palestine to include reviews and advertisements and which may yield an income of about \$300.

Meeting adjourned at 6:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

PRESIDENT
DAVID BERENSTEIN

TREASURER
WM. H. GOLDMAN
Chairman, Budget and Finance

GENERAL SECRETARY
ALFRED M. FLEISHMAN
Chairman, Business & Professional Group

RECORDING SECRETARY
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Chairman, United Palestine Appeal

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Chairman, Program and Entertainment

DAVID FELSTEIN
Chairman, Membership Conservation

A. GOODMAN
Chairman, Territorial Division

GUSTAVE GILLERMAN
Chairman Culture Fund

DR. ALEX S. WOLF
Chairman, Constitution and By-Laws

JUDGE MAX G. BARON
Chairman, Palestine Affairs

SAMUEL KRANZBERG
Chairman, Congregations & Organizations

Phone CHestnut 6744

התאחדות הציונית של סט. לואיס

Zionist Organization of St. Louis

TITLE GUARANTY BUILDING
ST. LOUIS, MO.

August 12, 1938.

Dechman
Aug. 17

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th St. at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

After delivering so magnificent an address as you have at the last Zionist Convention, I told you that I was very anxious to have you accept an invitation to come to St. Louis to address our organization sometime during the next six months. You told me "I might".

I take this opportunity to remind you of your tentative promise anxiously hoping that you will do me a personal favor in accepting an engagement. Any date agreeable with you will be acceptable to St. Louis. However, we are inaugurating our membership campaign with the opening of the Fall activities. We expect to close the campaign about the 18th of December. We are trying to enroll an additional 1500 members so as to bring the St. Louis total up to 2500. Last June we presented Dr. Wise with 1,000 members and we would very much like to present you with a testimonial of 1500 members. Will that serve as an incentive for you to come to St. Louis?

Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
David Berenstein
President.

DB:dl

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

cordially invites you
to attend a

DINNER

in honor of

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN

on the occasion of his election as President
and upon his return from Palestine

THURSDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 15, 1938
at seven o'clock

HOTEL COMMODORE
Forty-second Street and Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y.

\$2.50 per cover

DINNER COMMITTEE

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Honorary Chairman

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE,
Chairman

HEINRICH ABRAMOWITZ
ISAAC ALLEN
BARNEY BALABAN
ABRAHAM BEIER
LOUIS E. BERMAN
SAMUEL BERMAN
HERMAN W. BERNSTEIN
DR. S. BERNSTEIN
SAMUEL BERSON
JOSEPH BIBEN
SAMUEL BLITZ
DR. SAMUEL W. BOORSTEIN
SAMUEL J. BOROWSKY
A. D. BRAHAM
JOSEPH BRAININ
GEORGE R. BREGMAN
GEDALIA BUBBLICK
SAMUEL CAPLAN
ISAAC CARMEL
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DR. MAXWELL H. FROST
LEON GELLMAN
PROF. LOUIS GINZBERG
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MEYER GOLDBERG
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DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
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MORRIS KAPLAN
DR. MAURICE KARPF
LEON KIPNIS
FEIBUS KOBAC
MORDECAI KONOWITZ
ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN
SAMUEL KUHLE
DR. HARRY LEIBOWITZ
JACOB LEIMAN
DR. HARRIS J. LEVINE
DR. ISRAEL H. LEVINHAL
MEYER LEVY
JUDGE WM. M. LEWIS
DR. LUDWIG LEWISOHN
A. LIEBOVITZ
IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ
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LOUIS LIPSKY
ISRAEL MALTIN
BORIS MARGOLIN
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MORRIS MARGULIES
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CHARLES RESS

MENAHEM RIBALOW
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LOUIS RIMSKY
LOUIS P. ROCKER
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DR. H. D. ROSENBERG
S. ROSENFELD
JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL J. ROTHSTEIN
MOSES RUBINSON
Z. H. RUBINSTEIN
J. I. RUDAVSKY
MAX RUDENSKY
MAURICE SAMUEL
RABBI EDWARD T. SANDROW
LEON SAVAGE
JACOB S. SCHAFER
HON. ALBERT D. SCHANZER
IRVING SCHATZBERG
BERNARD SCHERF
JOSEPH J. SCHICKLER
SAMUEL SCHLEIMER
SAMUEL SCHOENHOLTZ
RABBI BENJ. SCHULTZ
RABBI HARRY E. SCHWARTZ
DR. LEO B. SCHWARTZ
RABBI LOUIS J. SCHWEIFEL
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BERNARD SHELVIN
HON. CARL SHERMAN
MRS. HERMAN SHULMAN
WM. I. SIEGEL
DR. HYMAN D. SILVER
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ABE SINDELL
ABRAHAM SPICEHANDLER
WM. Z. SPIEGELMAN
JOSHUA SPRAYREGEN
HON. ELIHU D. STONE
JUDGE NATHAN SWEEDLER
ROBERT SZOLD
BENJAMIN TAISSHOFF
SIGMUND THAU
A. I. USLANDER
BEN DOV WALDMAN
DR. LAZAR WALLERSTEIN
ISIDORE WALZER
NAPHTALI WEIDBERG
MORRIS WEINBERG
HARRY WEINSTEIN
MEYER W. WEISGAL
JOSEPH WEISS
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LEO WOLFSON
SAMUEL ZALES
MORRIS A. ZELDIN
MISS NELL ZIFF

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1938,
8:30 P.M., AT THE OFFICE OF THE Z. O. A., 111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair); Messrs. Morris Rothenberg, Robert Szold, Stephen S. Wise, Ludwig Lewisohn, Morris Margulies, David Berenstein, Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowan, Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, A. H. Friedland, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, Edward L. Israel, Harris J. Levine, Israel H. Levinthal, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, A. H. Rosenberg, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Mrs. Judith Epstein (representing Hadassah), Lawrence Cohen (representing Ayukah); by invitation: Samuel Berson, Sol Cohen, Harry P. Fierst, Abraham Krumbein, Louis Rinsky, Louis P. Rucker, Sigmund Thau, Morris Weinberg, Meyer W. Weisgal; Jacob Golub, Israel Maltin, Robert Silverman; Mrs. Jacobs and Mrs. Shulman (Hadassah).

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Judge Henry Ellenbogen and Meyer Levy.

REPORT OF DR. GOLDMAN:

I do not know that I ought to in the few minutes that I want to take, dwell on Poland, Austria, or even Czechoslovakia. I think I ought to proceed immediately to Palestine and to say just this: I spent seven days altogether in the country. I arrived on a Thursday and left the following Thursday. I assure you that I crowded in the seven days as much as it was humanly possible. I met individually some 60 or 70 people a day, in addition to several public assemblies, and traveling through the country. I saw the danger spots of the country. I was in Ain Hashofet, the American colony named after Justice Brandeis, as well as Hannita. I was in Tel Aviv, of course, Jerusalem, and Haifa.

As to the terror that seems to be uppermost in the minds of us all: The terror has not terrorized the Yishub. It has terrorized the Arabs much more. The Arabs are leaving Palestine by the thousands. Land can be purchased now at better prices than perhaps in a decade. Throughout the colonies the confidence of the Yishub is inspiring and is a source of hope and the conviction of ultimate victory. It is also true of large numbers in the cities, but on the whole, urban populations are not different, even in Palestine, from what they are throughout the world. Many in Tel Aviv and many in Jerusalem and many in Haifa are not as inspiring or as encouraging or as determined as the people throughout the colonies. As a matter of fact, there is another reason, besides the difference between the farm and the city. The Arabs have, to translate a phrase used so frequently in Palestine, made peace with the colonies. They have come to realize that their attacks are useless, that they have to count invariably heavy losses. In Hannita today there is a room in the central building, for receiving Arabs and for conferences with them. The Arab who sold most of the land which now belongs to Hannita expressed the hope that he would be allowed to die in the midst of the Jewish boys and girls there. He said to them: 'I know that you will take care of me in my old age.' In cities, the situation is not as easily controlled. You can shoot in Tel Aviv and in Haifa; you can throw bombs, and, as Mr. McDonald said to several representatives of the Agency: 'Not even the German Army could protect anyone of these cities completely against a terror.' The most serious phase is the mining. Mines cannot be placed, or are placed with extreme difficulty, where the roads are finished, paved. In the opinion of people with whom I discussed the matter, 60% of the Jewish casualties might have been avoided if more roads had been paved. That is particularly true of the two danger spots in the country -- Ramat Hakovesh and Ain Hashofet. I reached Ramat Hakovesh the day they finished the new road; but the boys and girls who are in Ain Hashofet are the Maccabees of the day. There is no road; there is no approach; you climb there as Jonathan did over the mountains. The Agency has given them \$2,500 to \$3,000 towards their 'k'vish', but they need another \$4,000 or \$5,000, and those \$4,000 or \$5,000 may make a difference in saving a number of lives in Ain Hashofet.

I do not want to leave the impression that the terror is felt in the cities, that is, that the Jews in the cities are terrorized. That is not so. In Tel Aviv, and in Jerusalem and Haifa I moved about without any protection, with perfect ease, in an open car. The Tel Aviv beach was crowded, the theatre was packed, the moving picture houses were packed, so were the cafes. It was equally true of Jerusalem and of Haifa. Life is going on in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Haifa was until just two months ago the ideal city as far as Jewish-Arab relations were concerned, until the bombing of the market. Since then there is practically no relationship between the two communities. The Arab stores are empty in the Jewish section, and the Jewish stores are empty in the Arab section. An effort is being made now to re-establish communications between the two elements. The Haifa Arab is more commercial-minded. An economic pressure is bringing him to his senses much more rapidly than in other parts of the country. I conclude this part of the report of the terror by saying that the Arabs are more terrorized (by the Arabs) than the Jews. Many Arabs are deserting Palestine, and the Jews can now buy land which they could not possibly purchase a few years ago. The gravest phase of the Palestinian situation is not the terror, but its effect on the economic life of the Yishub. The depression today is not as serious as we take it to be here. Our understanding of it is exaggerated. But if it were to continue as it is now for another half year or a year, the situation will be very serious. The remedy is not so much halting the terror as providing an Aliyah -- immigration -- into the country.

Now as to the political situation -- the political situation, as you know, is not altogether located in Palestine. It is also in London. Briefly, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben Gurion, Prof. Brodetsky, Mr. Shertok, know nothing definite about the outcome of the Commission Report. They will know by the end of the month -- so they hope. And as soon as any knowledge is available, before it is even reported anywhere else, it will be reported to Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky and this Executive. But there are conjectures gathered in Palestine as well as in London. The Joseph Levy report, which is spread widely because of the prestige of the New York Times, is definitely a falsehood, it is a fabrication from the beginning to the end. Mr. MacDonald is authoritatively quoted as saying that only an enemy of the Jew could have been guilty of spreading such a rumor. Mr. MacDonald is also quoted authoritatively as saying that he does not know what the Commission will report. Conjectures are that partition will remain in principle, but will not be immediately implemented; that the British will define a Jewish area and into that area Jews will be able to come in accordance with the principle of absorptive capacity. But that, I say, is a conjecture. I have this from members of the Agency and I gathered it from other sources in Palestine. One particular source -- and I think the best man, who perhaps is in a better position than most of our own people -- a non-Jew -- I regret that I cannot mention his name, but a reliable source who gave me the same report -- I later discovered tallied with what I heard in London.

There is a general feeling in Palestine, as well as in London, that the Jews of the United States must now begin to play a far more important role in Zionist affairs than they have hitherto, not only with regard to the privilege we have enjoyed hitherto of raising funds, but in the political affairs of Zionism. The Agency will turn to us very shortly and ask us to establish without delay a Political Department in Washington. Details of it will come with a letter and we shall have time to discuss it when the communication reaches us.

Here then is the psychology of the terror situation, the economic, the political situation in the Yishub and generally about Palestine.

One word in conclusion: The Yishub has passed the experimental stage. It is now deeply rooted and cannot be overthrown except by an unexpected catastrophe, -- a world war that might assume proportions that we cannot foresee. There is today

in Palestine a Jewish Homeland. The Jews have established there power-houses which cannot be cut off by the Arabs. They have their own roads which cannot be shut off by the Arabs. They have their direct communications; they have their self-defense; they have the complete paraphernalia of a Jewish Homeland, and the conviction is deep that the Yishub is there to stay, to grow, maybe not as rapidly as they and we would want to have it, but it is definitely there to stay. They feel that the two and one-half years constituted the severest days that they have had to face. They have emerged thus far unbroken. They are carrying on. But they say everywhere: 'We are in the trenches; but American Jewry is the oreph, the army back of the first line.' I think we ought to remember it.

REPORT OF MR. MARGULIES:

I want to touch upon the security problem in Palestine. I knew something about it before I went to Palestine, but I was very happily surprised to learn what the real facts are. Between the British Army and the Ghaffirs we have now in Palestine a force of 22,000 men -- 12,000 British soldiers and 10,000 Ghaffirs. These Ghaffirs are integrated in the British Army. They have their own non-commissioned officers; they have about 250 corporals and about 75 sergeants. They are paid by the Government. They are supplied uniforms and rifles and ammunition by the Government. In addition to these 10,000, there are some 10,000 connected with the Haganah, who are not officially recognized, but of whom the Government is informed.

(Mr. Margulies then reported on conversations he had with British military officials while in Palestine, regarding the relationship and cooperation between the British Army and the Jewish Ghaffirs)

I would like our Executive henceforth to give some thought to a new phase in the economic life of Palestine -- to the development of industry. I was tremendously impressed by an organization called the Manufacturers Association which is composed of the leading manufacturers in Palestine. This Association is going to ask our approval of their sending a Commissioner here in connection with the Palestine Pavilion; they want to use that occasion as a means of promoting Tozereth Haaretz. This Manufacturers Association, if properly supported, may prove from an industrial point of view for the development of the Yishub what the Histadruth has proven from the point of view of labor. And if the Jewish Homeland is to be enlarged, the matter of developing industry must receive our closest attention, for it is not receiving any attention from the other Zionist groups; nor is the Agency devoting much time or study to the problem.

(Mr. Margulies urged that the Executive give thought to the question of the General Zionists in Palestine.) He said: I had a number of conferences with groups in Haifa and Tel Aviv. I did not meet with any in Jerusalem, for there is not even a small organized group of General Zionists in Jerusalem. I have heard from many people who are not General Zionists that it is of the utmost importance for the successful development of the Yishub that a General Zionist Party be established in Palestine; that this was necessary even from the point of view of the Histadruth.

I was amazed to learn that the Histadruth today has to give away 37% of whatever labor is assigned to it to groups outside of the Histadruth. The Revisionists get 11%; the Mizrachi get 11%; group B receives 5%; other unorganized groups receive 5%. We are the only group not included. It would appear that because Group A favors the Histadruth, it is entirely out of the picture.

(Dr. Goldman suggested that the question of the General Zionists in Palestine deserves and requires a whole meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive.)

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Henry Montor, Executive Director of the United Palestine Appeal, who reported on his observations at the Antwerp Conference, and on the situation in Palestine where he visited prior to the Antwerp Conference. He stressed the need for larger funds for defense and security in Palestine.

A protracted discussion followed.

Dr. Goldman felt that although Mr. Montor, as the man who raises the money, can rightly underscore the great need of the Yishub, nevertheless here and there he painted the picture a trifle darker than it is.

The following motion was unanimously adopted:

On the basis of reports on the Palestine situation submitted by the President and Secretary to the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America, it was resolved to recommend to the United Palestine Appeal as the fund-raising instrument of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth to initiate an emergency conference to which all Zionist groups and Palestine fund-raising agencies would be invited for the purpose of discussing and adopting a program for enlarged fund-raising for Palestine.

CLARIFICATION ON DEFENSE FUNDS:

Rabbi Brickner asked who is responsible for the "Emergency Fund" Campaign now going on; also, what should be the attitude of disciplined Zionists toward these efforts.

Dr. Goldman stated that this emergency campaign was initiated by an organization known as the "Sons of Eretz Yisroel". The day before he (Dr. Goldman) left for Palestine a Committee of this organization called on him and urged that something be done. In view of Dr. Goldman's departure the following day, he asked Mr. Szold and Mr. Lipsky to take over this matter. Dr. Goldman added that he did not know whether the "Sons of Palestine" then called on Mr. Szold or Mr. Lipsky, or whether they went directly to the Jewish Morning Journal with their plea.

Mr. Szold stated that there were two meetings of the Z.O.A. Executive held during the summer which were devoted to the problem of defense funds. With reference to the emergency campaign which was conducted by the Morning Journal, the Zionist Organization and the Executive had nothing to do with that effort. Mr. Szold was of the opinion that that campaign was initiated under the auspices of the United Palestine Appeal with the sanction of the United Palestine Appeal, before Mr. Montor left for Europe. What Mr. Szold is more intimately familiar with is the Vaad Bitachon which is not an emergency campaign at all, but which is a Committee for the purpose of raising money for Haganah, which has been in existence since the Spring of 1937 raising money from select people, not as a campaign, but by asking individuals or groups to contribute extra money for this special activity. This matter was thoroughly explained at the meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive held on August 29, 1938. Mr. Szold added that he would be glad to go into it again, but he did not think it necessary. The Vaad Bitachon Committee has raised about \$47,000. Most of it has gone to Palestine, to Mr. Eliezer Kaplan, as Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, for Vaad Bitachon. The Committee was organized by Mr. Kaplan when he was here in the Spring of 1937. As a result of a meeting called by the Vaad Bitachon shortly before Mr. Lipsky left for Europe, in which Mr. Lipsky asked the various Zionist Organizations

to raise money for this purpose in any way they saw fit. A meeting of the Executive of the Z.O.A. was called and it was duly voted that a letter go out to each member of the Zionist Organization of America -- asking for a contribution. The vote was that a Committee of Five sign the letter which Mr. Lipsky should draft. The letter was duly drafted and Mr. Lipsky asked several people to sign it. Mr. Szold declined to sign it. Judge Rothenberg declined to sign it. Mr. Lipsky in the meantime left for Europe. Under the circumstances, Mr. Szold called a second meeting of the Executive and explained to them what happened, and at that meeting it was decided that that effort should be postponed and await the return of Dr. Goldman.

Mr. Montor pointed out that the Morning Journal Campaign was initiated at the request of the New York United Palestine Appeal. No appeal was made to anyone outside New York City. People outside New York City were told that this is an exclusively New York City campaign. When the Morning Journal was approached to raise supplementary funds in New York City, the Morning Journal consented. The other papers did not consent. A cable was sent to the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine requesting that a message be sent to the Jewish Morning Journal. The Jewish Morning Journal was as good as any other medium if we had properly cooperated. Subsequently, the Poale Zion through The Day and Forward launched a campaign for the Gewertschaften.

STATEMENT TO BE ISSUED BY PRESIDENT:

Rabbi Brickner felt that the country is anxiously waiting to hear from Dr. Goldman. He suggested, therefore, that a statement be issued embodying some of the things which are likely to be followed up through action by the Conference to be initiated by the United Palestine Appeal.

Rabbi Miller stressed the fact that all propaganda efforts at this time must lead up to a membership campaign, therefore, in addition to what Rabbi Brickner has put forth, he suggested that the President issue a manifesto to be read from the pulpits on Rosh Hashonah morning, regarding the state of affairs of the Jews of the world and as it relates to Palestine.

Dr. Lewisohn recalled that a motion to the effect that a manifesto be issued upon the return of the President was made at a previous meeting of the Executive, and as a matter of fact, such a manifesto has already been drafted by a committee which was appointed.

Rabbi Heller stated that it was the opinion of the Ohio Valley Conference that the Z.O.A. Executive should give consideration to the problem of organization; that the Z.O.A. ought to concentrate on education and membership. This has actually been done in Southern Ohio, Indiana and West Virginia, the States comprising the Ohio Valley Region. He suggested that a plan be worked out for approaching communities throughout the country in some organized fashion; we have a very fallow field in this country and we ought to begin to till it.

Rabbi Israel moved, and it was seconded and unanimously carried

THAT on the occasion of the High Holidays a statement be issued by the President of the Z.O.A. to the Jewish leaders of America; and that national radio broadcasts be arranged to discuss the present Jewish situation.

ORGANIZATION OF YEAR'S WORK:

Mr. Cowen urged the appointment of standing committees who are to report back to the Executive.

Dr. Goldman stated that there are at least two very important matters to be considered. Before he left for Europe and Palestine he had discussed the year's work with Dr. Wise and a number of members of the Executive, and to a good many members of the Executive and men and women not on the Executive he wrote, asking them to think out the problem the Z.O.A. faces in organizing the Zionist movement in the United States and to send him their suggestions and their plans and to spare no criticism; to write as frankly as they felt the situation required. When he came to his cabin on the Washington he found a great deal more than he had anticipated. As a result he has splendid memoranda prepared by members of the Executive and by Jewish leaders, publicists and educators throughout the country. He has been attempting to boil down all of these memoranda into a workable program for the year, and will be ready with it in the very near future.

Rabbi Heller stated that for quite a number of years and for a variety of causes, the membership of the Zionist Organization and the activities have been at very low ebb. It is our duty to ask 'Why?' and 'What is to be done about it?' Those questions should be asked about (1) personnel and (2) methods, and anyone who loves Zionism must face those two questions.

Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE -- 1938 - 39:

Mr. Elihu D. Stone called attention to the fact that an Administrative Committee has not yet been organized. He pointed out that at the last Convention, because of the lateness of the hour, the Chairman of the Nominations Committee was unable to present the names of the Administrative Committee. Inasmuch as the names were not presented to the Convention, the Convention voted to delegate its authority to the Executive, with the instruction that the new Executive at its first meeting should name the Administrative Committee. Nothing was done at the first meeting of the new Executive.

Following a lengthy discussion on the statement of Mr. Stone and the suggestion of Dr. Heller, the following motions were unanimously adopted,

1. THAT A Committee be appointed to examine the minutes of the last Convention and present its report to the next meeting of the Executive, for the purpose of confirming or disaffirming the Administrative Committee list.
2. THAT the President appoint a Committee of this body to help him bring before the next meeting of the Executive a program of organization for the coming year.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that no meetings of the Administrative Committee can be held until the Executive has approved the list.

Meeting adjourned at 12:45 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES,

Secretary.

ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y., CHAIRMAN
CANTER GLASS, VA.
ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY.
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
ROBERT R. REYNOLDS, N. C.
JAMES F. BYRNES, S. C.
JOHN H. BANKHEAD, ALA.
WILLIAM GIBBS MC ADOO, CALIF.
ALVA B. ADAMS, COLO.
FRANCIS T. MALONEY, CONN.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
PRENTISS M. BROWN, MICH.
HERBERT E. HITCHCOCK, S. DAK.
JAMES H. HUGHES, DEL.
CLYDE L. HERRING, IOWA
WILLIAM H. SMATHERS, N. J.
PHILIP LEVY, CLERK

JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., DEL.
LYNN J. FRAZIER, N. DAK.
HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR., MASS.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Cleveland
October 10, 1938

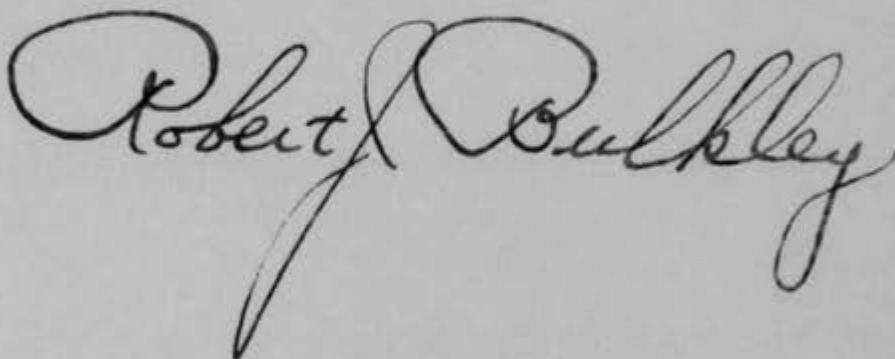
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Ansel Road Temple,
Ansel Road at East 105th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:-

This will acknowledge telegram signed by you and other members of the Cleveland Jewish Council, in which is quoted telegram sent to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, requesting that he make representations to the British Government concerning Palestine.

This is a matter in which I am deeply interested and I have been glad to endorse the representations of your Council as is evidenced by the attached copy.

Sincerely yours,



EC

VIA: WESTERN UNION

HON CORDELL HULL
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON D.C.

HAVE JUST RECEIVED COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT YOU YESTERDAY BY JEWISH
COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF CLEVELAND REQUESTING THAT YOU MAKE REPRESENTATIONS
TO BRITISH GOVERNMENT CONCERNING PALESTINE (STOP) I AM DEEPLY
IMPRESSED WITH REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY COMMUNITY COUNCIL AND SINCERELY
HOPE YOU WILL FIND IT CONSISTENT TO TAKE ACTION AS REQUESTED (STOP)
MAY I HEAR FROM YOU

ROBERT J BULKLEY

OFFICIAL
10/10/38



Postal Telegraph

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Commercial
Cables



Overland
Cables

Blackout

Radio

This is a full rate Telegram, Cablegram or Radiogram unless otherwise indicated by signal in the check or in the address.

DL	DAY LETTER
NL	NIGHT LETTER
NM	NIGHT MESSAGE
LCO	DEFERRED CABLE
NLT	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
NLY	NIGHT END CABLE LETTER
	RADIOGRAM

Form 161

1938 OCT 11 PM 11 50

CE42 365 3 EX DL RELAY LN=HR NEWYORK NY 11 405P

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

TIFERETU ISRAEL CLVD=

GRAVITY OF SITUATION AFFECTING PALESTINE OF SUCH CHARACTER AS TO DEMAND WHOLEHEARTED IMMEDIATE AND UNPRECEDENTED ACTION IF WE ARE TO SAVE JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE AND KEEP DOORS OF PALESTINE OPEN. DECISION BY BRITISH CABINET IMMINENT WITHIN WEEK THEREFORE MUST MOBILIZE ALL FRIENDS JEWISH AND NONJEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS TO IMPRESS UPON OUR GOVERNMENT EXTENT OF OUR CONCERN. URGE YOU PERSONALLY SEND A TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND CALL UPON ALL MEMBERS OF YOUR CONGREGATION TO DO LIKEWISE. LET NO INDIVIDUAL JEW FEEL THAT HE IS TOO INSIGNIFICANT TO ADD HIS VOICE IN THIS EXTRAORDINARY CRISIS. SUGGEST TELEGRAM YOU AND INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF YOUR CONGREGATION SEND TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ALONG FOLLOWING LINES QUOTE PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE REPORTS THAT GREATBRITAIN IS PLANNING TO STOP JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE AND THUS CLOSE ONE OF THE PRIMARY AVENUES FOR JEWISH REFUGEES TO ESCAPE FROM THE OPPRESSION AND SUFFERING VISITED UPON THEM IN EUROPEAN LANDS. WE EARNESTLY TRUST THAT YOU WILL USE YOUR UTMOST INFLUENCE TO AVERT AN ACTION ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT THAT MUST



Postal Telegraph

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Commercial
Cables



All America
Cables

Mackay

Radio

This is a full rate Telegram, Cablegram or Radiogram unless otherwise indicated by signal in the check or in the address.

DL	DAY LETTER
NL	NIGHT LETTER
NM	NIGHT MESSAGE
LCO	DEFERRED CABLE
NLT	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
WLT	WEEK END CABLE LETTER
	RADIOGRAM

Form 16L

1938 OCT 11 PM 11

DESTROY ALL POTENTIALITIES FOR SUCCESS OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR REFUGEES WHICH WAS CREATED AT THE EVIAN CONFERENCE AND WHICH WAS BORN OUT OF YOUR HISTORIC HUMANITARIAN PROGRAM FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE VICTIMS OF EUROPEAN HATE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH THE UNANIMOUS RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY CONGRESS IN 1922 EXPRESSED ITS APPROVAL OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE AND ALL OUR CHIEF EXECUTIVES FROM PRESIDENT WILSON WHO HELPED FRAME THE BALFOUR DECLARATION TO YOURSELF HAVE ON FREQUENT OCCASIONS EXPRESSED ADMIRATION OF JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS IN PALESTINE AND APPROVAL OF THE EFFORT TO FIND FOR HOMELESS AND PERSECUTED JEWS A HAVEN OF REFUGE IN THE ANCIENT JEWISH HOMELAND. THE LIVES OF GREAT MASSES OF JEWS ARE BOUND UP WITH THE GREAT RECONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM NOW UNDER WAY IN PALESTINE. WE BEG YOUR AID IN AVERTING A CALAMITY THAT MUST MAKE EVEN MORE INTOLERABLE THE BURDEN BORNE BY SUFFERING JEWS ABROAD UNQUOTE. PLEASE NOTE THAT TELEGRAMS SHOULD BE INDIVIDUAL AND NOT ONE FOR MANY INDIVIDUALS. ARRANGE WITH LOCAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE FOR SPECIAL RATES ON TELEGRAMS IN MASS= SOLOMON GOLDMAN 111 FIFTH AVENUE.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON WEDNESDAY EVENING
OCTOBER 12TH, 8:30 P.M., AT THE OFFICE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF
AMERICA, 111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), Messrs Louis Lipsky, Morris Rothenberg, Robert Szold, William M. Lewis, Morris Margulies, Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Henry Ellenbogen, A. H. Friedland, Abraham Goldberg, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, Edward L. Israel, Harris J. Levine, Israel H. Levinthal, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rucker, Carl Sherman, Wm. I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Morris Weinberg, Eleazer Lipsky, Dr. A. K. Epstein (substituting for Judge Fisher and Col. A.H. Rosenberg of Chicago), Mesdames Epstein, Jacobs and Pool (Hadassah); Dr. S. Bernstein, Henry Montor and Wm. Z. Spiegelman.

Excuses for Non-Attendance: Received from Messrs. Abraham Goldstein, Meyer Levy and Simon Shetzer.

PALESTINE SITUATION:

Dr. Goldman stated that it was originally planned to consider the program for the year at this meeting, but the situation which now confronts us seems to make it impossible to think of anything else. Since many out-of-town members are present at this meeting, who have not been close to the situation, and also many of the members in the city whom we have not been able to reach - Dr. Goldman suggested that this meeting be devoted to a discussion of the emergency situation; to a report of what had been done in the last four or five days; what we are planning to do and what the members of the Executive feel ought to be done.

Dr. Goldman then called on the Secretary, who gave a factual report on the emergency situation. The disturbing cable that set in motion all of our activities was received from Dr. Weizmann on Thursday, October 6th. Mr. Margulies reported it was addressed to Dr. Goldman, Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky. It read as follows:

"SERIOUSLY APREHENSIVE RADICAL REVERSAL POLICY PALESTINE
CRYSTALLIZATION NATIONAL HOME STOPPAGE IMMIGRATION EVEN
ESTABLISHMENT ARAB STATE GRAVE DANGER STOP MUST IMMEDIATELY
MOBILIZE ALL OUR FRIENDS MAKE AMERICAN VOICE HEARD THROUGH
ADMINISTRATION AND PRESS STOP SKIPPER SHOULD INTERVENE
BRITISH AMBASSADOR WASHINGTON INSTRUCT AMERICAN AMBASSADOR
LONDON TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION MOST URGENT AMERICAN JEWRY ISSUE
STATEMENT JEWS WILL NOT SUBMIT TO FATE OF ASSYRIANS AND GIVE
UP JEWISH PALESTINE"

Subsequently another cable came from Dr. Weizmann, asking that we telephone him on Friday (October 7). Mr. Margulies then read the report of the telephone conversation, in which Dr. Weizmann urged that every pressure be exerted within the next fortnight. On Friday afternoon, following the telephone conversation, the following cable was received from Dr. Weizmann, addressed to Dr. Wise:

"SECRET HOSTILE POLITICAL FORCES VERY ACTIVE HERE WORKING
FOR ABANDONMENT NATIONAL HOME COMING FORTNIGHT CRITICAL.
NEW YORK ARAB INFLUENCE AND DANGERS ARABIAN WORLD GREATLY
EXAGGERATED. IMPOSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHMENT STATE HINTED
AT WITH NOMINAL REVERSAL MANDATE WITH SEVERELY RESTRICTED

IMMIGRATION. FOREIGN OFFICE HOSTILE PLAYING WITH ARABIAN STATE AGAINST US AND MAKING THEIR PRESSURE EXCUSE FOR POLICY. WE AND YISHUB WILL STAND FIRM BUT REQUIRE EVERY SUPPORT YOU CAN GIVE US. URGE YOU SEND INFLUENTIAL DEPUTATION BRITISH AMBASSADOR"

Mr. Margulies reported that at that time ~~they~~ were already feeling in London the pressure of our work over here. He reported on the meetings of the full emergency committee and the various meetings of the smaller committees, of the telegrams sent over Dr. Goldman's signature to 425 leaders throughout the United States. This was followed with material that was sent out to all of the Districts implementing the suggestions contained in the telegram.

Over 400 communities throughout the United States had been organized as a result of this first telegram, and that these communities were sending telegrams to all their Congressmen, U.S. Senators, Secretary Hull and President Roosevelt. Thousands of telegrams poured into Washington. In addition, telegrams went out to 17 national Jewish organizations. According to the responses we received here, 9 had taken action. Many of these organizations are very close to the Zionist cause, but others are not - for instance, the National Council of Jewish Women and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Dr. Goldman pointed out that just as the Z.O.A. had sent telegrams to its Districts, so had Hadassah, the Poale Zion, the Mizrachi, the Order Sons of Zion, the B'nai B'rith also contacted their constituencies throughout the country.

In this connection, Mr. Elihu D. Stone reported that the B'nai B'rith Lodges in New England had a conference; that they telephoned to Mr. Monsky who advised cooperation, and they immediately sent a telegram to Washington jointly signed by every Lodge in the New England region.

Mr. Lipsky stated that Mr. Monsky issued instructions in many cities that the B'nai B'rith Lodges were to act similarly to the Zionist Districts in the present situation.

Rabbi Heller said that Cincinnati was prepared to call a large mass meeting.

Continuing his report, Mr. Margulies stated that at the meeting on Friday (Oct. 7) it was decided to send a cablegram to Prime Minister Chamberlain. This cablegram was signed by the heads of all the Zionist Organizations in America. In addition, it carried the signature of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, as President of the American Jewish Congress, Mr. Henry Monsky of the B'nai B'rith, and Dr. Cyrus Adler, as a member of the Jewish Agency. In addition to that telegram the late Mr. Vladeck sent a very fine cable on behalf of 500,000 Jewish labor men. A cablegram was sent by Mr. Sol M. Stroom, on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, to Dr. Weizmann, with the request that it be transmitted to Mr. Chamberlain. These telegrams were also published in the press. In addition to those referred to above, telegrams were sent to 84 leading Christian clergymen and laymen, with a draft of a cablegram to be sent to Mr. Chamberlain.

Many affirmative responses were received, the cablegram was dispatched to Mr. Chamberlain, and copies of it were sent to the London Times, the Manchester Guardian, the London Star, and The New Chronicle.- We also sent out a message to 100 intellectuals - authors, writers, publicists - throughout the United States, signed by Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn and Mr. Sholom Asch. Many favorable responses were received - one negative response coming from Mr. Walter Lippman, who stated that he has never joined in the sending of such telegrams and therefore he very regretfully had to decline. A cablegram will be sent to the Royal Society of London.

Mr. Lipsky stated that a cable was sent by William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, from Houston, Texas, to Sir Walter McLennan Citrine, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress and President of the National Federation of Trade Unions, in London, England.

Another telegram was sent on Tuesday night (Oct. 11) by Dr. Solomon Goldman, to 300 Rabbis in this country, urging them to wire President Roosevelt and to contact their Congressmen and Senators. A message was to be sent to 500 Principals and Rabbis of Hebrew Schools and Talmud Torahs, urging them to get the children and the parents to send out individual telegrams to the President. The telegrams for the children couched in language understandable to a child would undoubtedly have a very interesting effect.

Mr. Stone called attention to the National Convention of Hebrew School Teachers being held on Thursday, October 13th, in New York, and suggested that a representative of the Z.O.A. Executive be present.

Dr. Goldman appointed Dr. A. H. Friedland to represent the Z.O.A. at this Convention.

Mr. Margulies reported further that following this meeting a delegation was to leave for Washington, D.C. to call upon the British Ambassador on Thursday, and to visit Secretary Hull and the French Ambassador on Friday. On Thursday night Dr. Goldman was scheduled to speak from Washington on a national broadcast. All of the Districts were notified of this broadcast and ~~was~~ received telegrams informing us whether they have been able to make the proper contacts with their local broadcasting station. In some cities, such as Cleveland and Pittsburgh an electrical transcript of the broadcast was to be reproduced the following day.

Dr. Goldman stated that it was understood from our contacts with Dr. Weizmann through cables and by telephone that what was needed was the mobilization of American public opinion, - Zionists and non-Zionists, Jewish and non-Jewish - and that we set this as our goal. We tried to reach every available avenue of public opinion. We contacted practically every Jewish community in the country. The response was amazing. Palestine is deeply rooted in the hearts of the Jews of America. If we ever had any doubt on that score, it has now been completely dispelled. The Jews were approached; they were reached - not only the Zionists, but all of the Jews of America - through their organizations, as well as individually; and we received remarkable support. We approached the non-Jewish communities, that is, the Churches, clergymen, etc. The American Legion sent a telegram to President Roosevelt couched in typically American Legion language. We reached many of the newspapers in the country, and received much editorial comment.

Judge Lewis spoke of the activity in Philadelphia in connection with the emergency situation. The Enquirer, the Ledger, the Record, and the

Bulletin were having editorials. Judge Lewis had a meeting with the Congressmen in Philadelphia, all of whom have told him that they were prepared to do everything we would ask of them. Pennsylvania's Legislature then in session was planning to adopt a Resolution. A Resolution was already introduced in the Senate by non-Jews. The Lieut. Governor made a very fine speech. Judge Lewis said he had every reason to believe that the Resolution, a very fine one, would be passed unanimously. The sponsor, a Minister from Reading, made a very warm appeal when he introduced it.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Dr. A. K. Epstein, spoke at length of the work being done in their respective communities, among Jews and non-Jews, Congressmen, Senators, educators, etc.

Rabbi Heller felt that both the telegrams to the Districts and the Regions, and the cablegram to Dr. Weizmann, are exceedingly vague. Dr. Heller said he understood that something is threatened, and he thought that these present ought to return to their respective communities with a much more concrete idea as to what is threatened.

Judge Rothenberg explained that the intention was to bring to bear the impact of all these extraordinary demonstrations of American public opinion upon the British Cabinet and upon the British people; they ought in some way to be made to feel what is happening in this country, in addition to all the telegrams that have come to them. They should be made aware of this outpouring of sentiment in this country.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the Resolution adopted by all the Jewish national organizations was reported in detail to the London Times and other papers; copies were sent to the Colonial Secretary. The fact that these things were registering in London was indicated in the New York Times and other papers.

Mr. Lipsky agreed with Dr. Goldman and Mr. Margulies that there has never been such an overwhelming response on the part of non-Jewish elements. The feeling was much more sympathetic, much more human and much more genuine than it was ever before. Contacts were established in every city. The telegrams directed to the State Department from Congressmen, Senators, etc. created unparalleled public opinion. Replying to Rabbi Heller's observation Mr. Lipsky expressed the belief that the general impression in London is that the Woodhouse Commission would bring in a report which could not be accepted by the Executive.

Dr. Goldman stated that Dr. Weizmann seemed to be of the opinion that the whole question of Palestine had been moved from the Colonial Office to Mr. Chamberlain; that what Great Britain had in mind was practically the nullification of the Balfour Declaration and the stoppage of immigration; and it seemed that they contemplated putting forth the Legislative Council. The situation was serious, Dr. Goldman added, and we here among ourselves should know and understand it. He reported that the emergency committee has discussed the question of asking the Orthodox and even the Reform Rabbinate to proclaim a fast day, but we wondered whether we would not be unduly alarming the people. Dr. Weizmann suggested that we should wait another few days before deciding on the matter of mass meetings.

After a lengthy discussion on the stringency of the situation participated in by: Mr. Lipsky, Judge Lewis, Rabbi Heller, Rabbi Israel, Abraham Goldberg, and Rabbi Heller, - Dr. Goldman stated that the questions discussed by various

members of the Executive have already been put to Dr. Weizmann, and it seems that what Dr. Weizmann wants is that public opinion in America be mobilized, which he thinks will avert danger. The British Cabinet has not yet acted; it has not yet received the Report of the Woodhouse Commission.

Mr. Lipsky stated that it will be generally agreed, he felt, that any attempt on our part to introduce into the protest movement controversial questions, questions of political principles or ideals, or political conflicts or controversies, will be fatal to the arousing of public opinion.

Dr. Goldman added that if we do so it will be difficult to get Jewish unanimity.

Mr. Lipsky continued that because of the policy we assumed, the message to the Colonial office was signed with the greatest of sympathy by Dr. Cyrus Adler. By stressing immigration we can make an impression upon public minds in America and upon the Christians; it has something to do with minority status and the Jewish position in Europe.

Dr. Goldman reported further that a delegation was to leave for Washington, following this meeting of the Executive, numbering twelve to fifteen people, divided into two groups to see the British Ambassador and Secretary of State Cordell Hull. This delegation was composed of the heads of Zionist and non-Zionist organizations, and in one or two instances of men who are not heads of organizations, like Rabbi B. L. Levinthal and Prof. Ginzberg. Before adjourning the meeting, he asked that those present offer further concrete, brief suggestions of the things that should be done, that the Emergency Committee may have overlooked. He also requested that, in addition to making such suggestions, the members of the Executive send frequent special delivery or air-mail letters conveying information directly.

The following suggestions were then offered:

- 1) That a strong press bureau be sent up.
- 2) Radio broadcasts.
- 3) Contact the Rotary, Kiwanis, and other service clubs and supply them with speakers.
- 4) The Jewish communities throughout the country to be requested to prepare for mass meetings, when the call is issued for such meetings to be held.
- 5) That Mr. Kirstein of Boston be contacted; also that Mr. Kirstein be asked to approach the Cardinal in Boston.
- 6) Contact the Masons.
- 7) Contact Mons. Belford of Brooklyn, N.Y.
- 8) Contact David Stern (Judge Rothenberg agreed to do so).
- 9) That a bulletin be sent to the Districts giving up-to-date information on the progress made.

Dr. Goldman called attention to the need for funds with which to finance the work of the Emergency Committee, and reported that the various organizations had been requested to contribute. He was also endeavoring to secure allocations from the Welfare Funds for the Emergency Fund.

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE:

Pursuant to the decision of the last meeting of the Executive, Dr. Goldman had appointed the following persons to consider the list of the Administrative Committee and report their findings to this meeting: Messrs. Charles Ress (Chairman), and Elihu D. Stone, Wm. I. Siegel, Louis P. Rocker, and Carl Sherman. Mr. Ress reported that his committee found that the list of Administrative Committee members was carefully prepared at Detroit but was not read; the motion was that the entire list be submitted to the Executive; and it was the understanding that the entire list, together with certain additions that would have to be made, would be adopted. Mr. Ress
MOVED

THAT the list which appeared in The New Palestine which was the list which was formed in Detroit, together with the list of additional names that Mr. Margulies has, be considered the Administrative Committee.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Meeting adjourned at 11:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Morris Margulies,
Secretary.

ANTHONY A. FLEGER
22d DISTRICT
CLEVELAND, OHIO

ANNE M. RADU
SECRETARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

October 12, 1938

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
10311 Lake Shore Blvd
Cleveland Ohio

Dear Sir:

I am pleased to acknowledge your telegram, asking me to join with your organization in requesting Secretary Cordell Hull to use his influence in connection with contemplated action to be taken by the British Government regarding Jewish refugees in Palestine.

I wish to thank you for calling this matter to my attention and assure you I will be pleased to cooperate with you.

Sincerely yours,

Anthony A. Fleger
Member of Congress

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RABBI A H SILVER

THE TEMPLE

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE PALESTINE DECIDED CALL ALL COMMUNITIES
CONDUCT MASS MEETING SUNDAY AFTERNOON OCTOBER TWENTY THIRD GIVE
ADDITIONAL IMPETUS EFFORT TO COMMUNICATE GREAT BRITAIN DEEP
CONCERN FELT HERE FOR SATISFACTORY DECISION RESPECTING JEWISH
NATIONAL HOME JEWISH IMMIGRATION PALESTINE. MEETING FOR WHICH
NONJEWISH AS WELL AS JEWISH SPONSORSHIP SHOULD BE SOUGHT SHOULD
BE ADDRESSED LEADING NONJEWS PREFERABLY US SENATOR CONGRESSMAN
GOVERNOR MAYOR LEADING CLERGYMEN DESCRIBE JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS
ASPIRATIONS PALESTINE. MUST EMPHASIZE SPEAKERS NOT REFER
DISPARAGINGLY VINDICTIVELY BRITAIN RATHER INDICATE EARNEST HOPE
LIBERAL SYMPATHETIC TRADITIONS BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL AGAIN
FIND EXPRESSION SO THAT JEWISH NEEDS MAY BE MET PRESENT CRISIS.
RESERVE BIGGEST AVAILABLE HALL. LETTER FOLLOWS. PLEASE NOTE
THERE MUST BE NO LET-UP ON INDIVIDUAL TELEGRAMS WHICH SHOULD BE
SENT TO THE PRESIDENT. URGE ALL ORGANIZATIONS CIRCULARIZE
THEIR MEMBERS TO SEND SUCH MESSAGES

SOLOMON GOLDMAN 111 FIFTH AVENUE.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

October 19, 1938.

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JULIAN W. MACK
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
ROBERT SZOLD
STEPHEN S. WISE
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MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

MORRIS WEINBERG
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ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
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ELIHU D. STONE

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ELDAR MARKSON
CHARLES RESS
LOUIS RIMSKY
JACOB SINCOFF
SIGMUND THAU
A. I. USLANDER
MORRIS WEINBERG

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

MONSTER PETITION TO PRESIDENT

Dear Friend:

As a second step in our program to mobilize public opinion, it has been decided by the Emergency Committee, to call upon every committee to utilize the mass meetings to be held October 23rd, or thereafter, for the compilation of a great telegraphic petition to the President of the United States. This petition is to be gotten up in this way:

Every person who attends the mass meeting should be asked to give the very small sum of five cents so that his or her name can be added to the telegram of petition to be addressed to President Roosevelt.

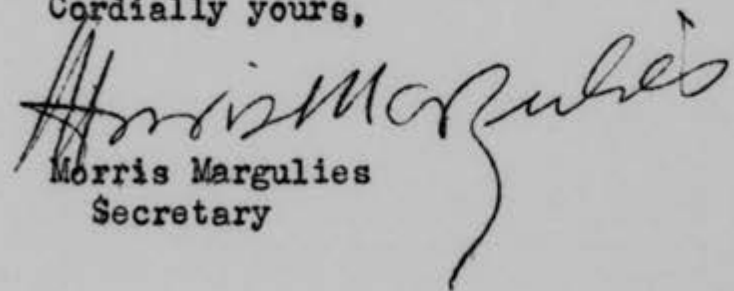
We hope thus to get before the President of the United States in addition to individual telegrams that have already been sent and must continue to be sent, telegrams from hundreds of communities which will carry the names of hundreds of thousands of Jews and Christians. You can make arrangements for the sending of this message and the taking of the individual names with the local branch of the Postal Telegraph and Western Union. In addition to getting help from the local telegraph offices, you can arrange with Junior Hadassah, Masada, Avukah or any other, or all youth groups to be stationed as a selected committee at the entrance of the mass meeting hall to explain the purposes of the petition and to get every person to give five cents to add his signature to the petition.

The message to the President should be brief and directed to the point of urging that the doors of Palestine be kept open for a maximum number of Jewish refugees in accordance with the economic absorptive capacity of the country. (Attached herewith is a suggested telegram to be sent to the President.) Please wire us after your meeting how many names are attached to the telegram sent to the President. We should like to have at least one million names to the petition to constitute the biggest telegram the President of the United States has ever received.

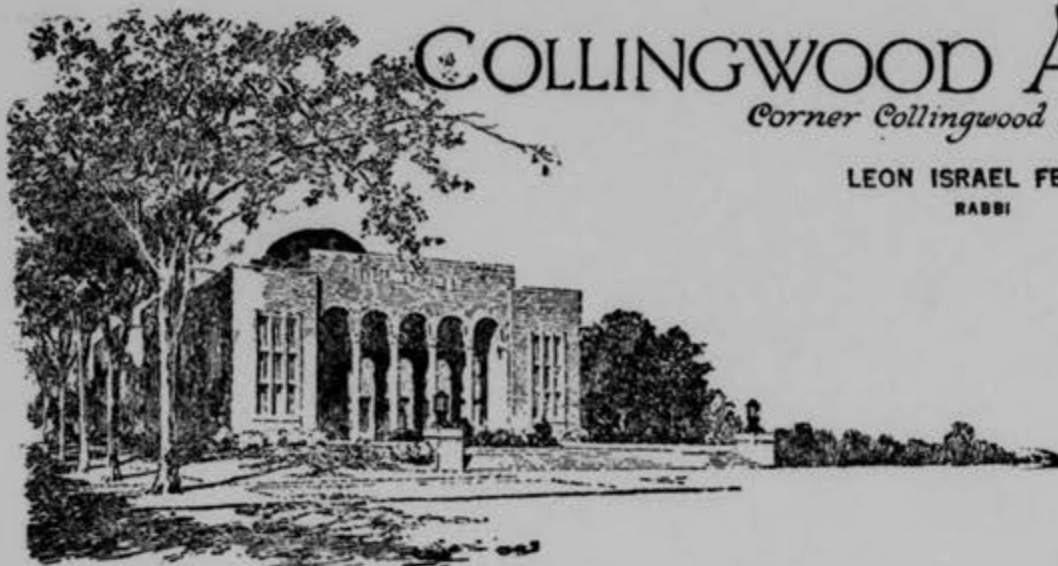
You will note that Secretary of State, Hull has issued a statement with regard to the Palestine problem and American interest therein. Our second step is to obtain from the President a public expression of sympathy with respect to the Jewish National Home policy and the opening of the gates of Palestine for a large scale immigration.

Your wholehearted cooperation in connection with this great telegraphic petition will be sincerely appreciated.

Cordially yours,


Morris Margulies
Secretary

Encl.



COLLINGWOOD AVENUE TEMPLE

Corner Collingwood and Acklin Avenues

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RABBI

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EX-OFFICIO

MRS. ROY C. DAVIS	HAROLD S. GREEN
PRESIDENT OF SISTERHOOD	PRESIDENT OF BROTHERHOOD

TOLEDO, OHIO

October 26, 1938

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

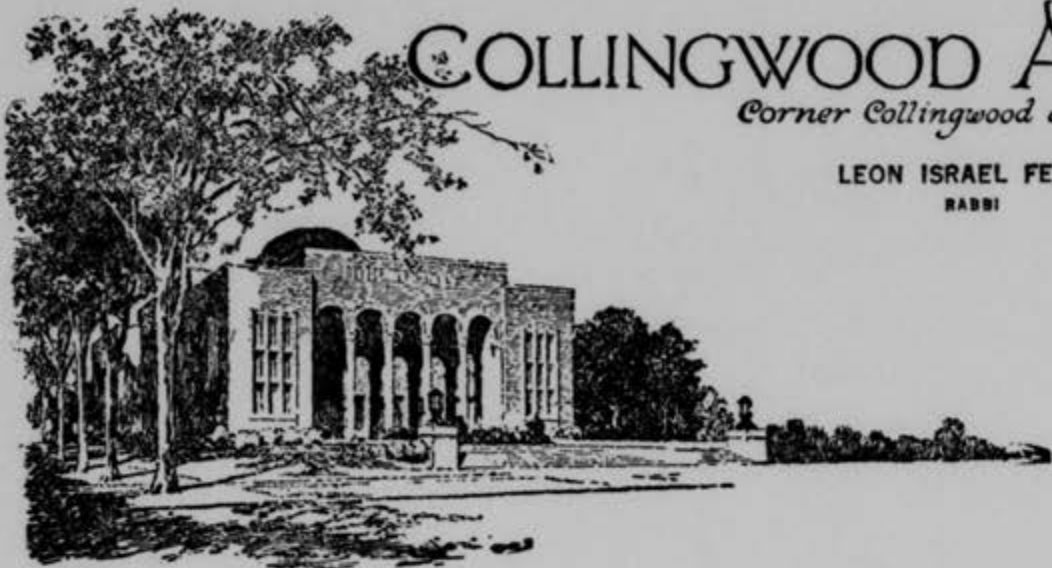
Now that the holiday rush is over, I want to begin developing the regional work, the groundwork for which was laid at the Zionist convention in Detroit. It was there provided that each district in the region should have one representative on the Executive Board of the region.

I am calling a meeting of the regional executive for Sunday, November 6th, at 2 P. M. in Toledo. Will you please nominate a representative from your district and ask him to attend this meeting. If you will give me the name of your representative, I will send him a personal invitation.

Hortense and I are hoping to be able to take a day off and come down to Cleveland to spend with Virginia and yourself. Maybe we can play a few rounds of casino. Now that the season's activities have started, don't you wish you were back at Mooselookmeguntic?

As ever,

LIF-s



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HON. VICE-PRESIDENT

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Ex-OFFICIO

MRS. ROY C. DAVIS	HAROLD S. GREEN
PRESIDENT OF SISTERHOOD	PRESIDENT OF BROTHERHOOD

TOLEDO, OHIO

November 2, 1938

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

Although I have not heard from you, I am assuming that you will send a representative of the Cleveland Zionist Society to a meeting of the Executive Board of the Ohio-Michigan Region. The meeting will be held this coming Sunday, November 6th, at 2 P. M., in my study at the Collingwood Avenue Temple.

I hope that you can arrange to have someone here. At this meeting we hope to lay the groundwork for our regional work for the year.

With kindest regards, I am,

As ever,

Lm

LIF-s

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JACOB KORALSKY, Publisher
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THE ONLY ANGLO-JEWISH MAGAZINE IN CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA

Established in 1922

HOME OFFICE:

**1250 ECKERT AVENUE
READING, PA.**

November 5, 1938

Rabbi Abbo Hilell Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Rabbi:

It is a long time since you have visited us. For your information, the City of Reading was always a Zionist Stronghold, but the past two years the Zionist Movement has weakened somewhat, and it is very important to put Reading again on the Zionist map.

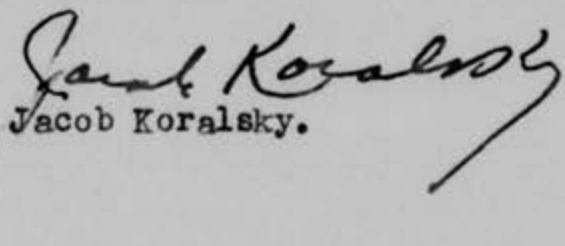
We have therefore decided that our Forum this year should dwell on Zionist subjects and, of course, we would be more than happy to have you as one of our Forum speakers.

This Forum is arranged by the Local Branch of the "Verband", a Jewish National Workers' Alliance, which is one of the most outstanding organizations in this city.

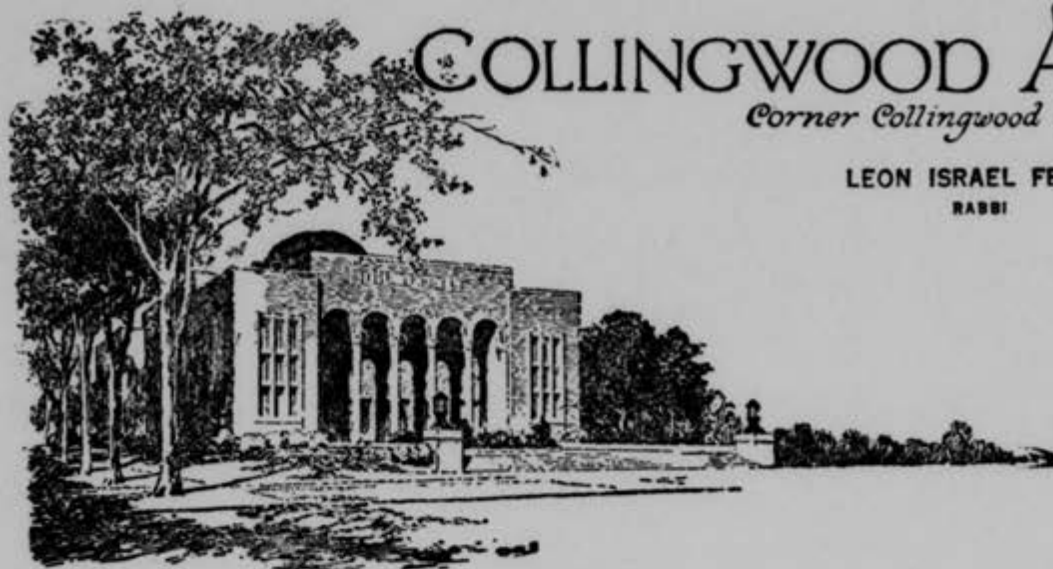
You can select the date yourself, either the First week in December or some date during the month of February. Of course, we would also like to know the price for this lecture.

Awaiting to hear from you favorably, as the schedule of the Forum must be arranged by the end of this week. I am

Sincerely yours,


Jacob Koralsky.

JK:d



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EX-OFFICIO

MRS. ROY C. DAVIS PRESIDENT OF SISTERHOOD HAROLD S. GREEN
PRESIDENT OF BROTHERHOOD

TOLEDO, OHIO November 12, 1938

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

I received this week, as president of the Jewish Community Council of Toledo, a communication over your signature. The letter seemed to indicate some sort of conflict which has already arisen or which threatens to arise between the U.P.A. and the J.D.C. as to the allocation of funds. I was not quite clear as to exactly what you had in mind that you wanted done in the situation.

As yet, there has not been the slightest indication of any difficulty or misunderstanding in this community. I doubt very seriously that anything of this nature will arise here, at least this year. The Toledo Community Council which sponsors our campaign here, will certainly resist any effort to weaken or impair our ~~welfare~~ ^{FUND} structure. Beyond protecting the interests of the United Palestine Appeal, are there any other active steps which you should like me to take.

We are now in the midst of the preparation for our campaign, which will open on Monday night, November 28th. There is every indication that the campaign will be highly successful. While I do not want to be too sanguine, I believe that we will reach somewhere close to \$50,000, which will be almost \$10,000 higher than our last year's result.

Falkman and Evans probably have informed you that we had a very fine meeting of the Executive Board of the Ohio-Michigan Region and laid the groundwork for regional activity. I am sure that they will report in full. I very much appreciate their coming to the meeting.

With kindest regards, I am,

As ever,

LIF-s

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE

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IMPORTANT PROBLEM BROACHED BY MONTOR TO YOU BY TELEPHONE STOP WILL
CALL YOU ABOUT NINE IN THE MORNING TO MAKE APPOINTMENT FOR SOME TIME
DURING THE DAY

JUDITH G EPSTEIN HADASSAH.

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FROM MAIN OFFICE

Time 7:15 P M Date 11-15-38
To Self By No. 54

Pls Sample A m.

הנליל הציוני בעמק אוהיו

Ohio Valley Zionist Region

PRESIDENT: RABBI JAMES G. HELLER, Cincinnati

VICE-PRESIDENTS: DANIEL FRISCH, Indianapolis PAUL J. GAISER, Dayton

TREASURER: HON. JACOB WEISS, Indianapolis

SECRETARY: DR. AZRIEL L. EISENBERG
658 Rockdale Ave., Cincinnati, O.

Dayton Zionist District
310 Keith Building

November 25, 1938

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HARRY H. FRANKEL, Cincinnati, Chairman
DR. B. W. ABRAMSON, Columbus
RABBI SOLOMON N. BAZELL, Louisville
OSCAR BERMAN, Cincinnati
HERBERT BERNSTEIN, Cincinnati
RABBI ELIAS CHARRY, Indianapolis
BEN DUBERSTEIN, Dayton
DR. EMANUEL GAMORAN, Cincinnati
BEN J. GOLDMAN, Springfield
RABBI JACOB J. GITTELMAN, Louisville
ISADORE HASSAN, Fort Wayne
BEN LEVY, Lexington
SIMON MAYER, Charleston
MAX TANIS, Dayton
RABBI J. M. TAXAY, Terre Haute
RABBI IRVING A. WEINGART, Fort Wayne
WILL WILBER, South Bend
DR. A. M. WIGSER, Cincinnati

[LIST IS INCOMPLETE]

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
10311 Lakeshore Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I take great privilege in writing you this letter, and I pray that you will accept our invitation to speak at a mass meeting which is being called in the near future, under the auspices of the Dayton Zionist District.

We all appreciate the fact that your time is very valuable and much occupied. However, we are certain that your appearance in Dayton will render a valuable service for our great cause.

The nature of this mass meeting is that of a membership campaign. We feel that the unfortunate prevailing conditions of our people be at least utilized for constructive work, and we find that the time is most favorable for a great increase in the Zionist membership.

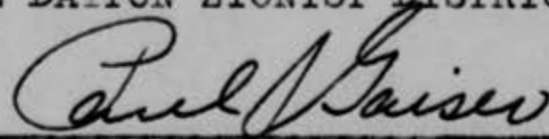
If we are privileged with your acceptance of our invitation we will immediately organize that meeting, and secure the largest available hall in Dayton which will, we have no doubt, be filled to capacity. This meeting will be called not only for the Jews of Dayton, but for the benefit of Jews and Non-Jews of Dayton and vicinity.

We plead to you to accept our invitation with utmost assurance that your visit here will not be regretted, and trusting to hear from you in the near future, we remain,

Most sincerely,

THE DAYTON ZIONIST DISTRICT

By


President

November 29, 1938

Mr. Paul Gaiser, President
Ohio Valley Zionist Region
310 Keith Building
Dayton, Ohio

My dear Mr. Gaiser:

I deeply appreciate your kind invitation to address a mass meeting which the Dayton Zionist District is to call in the near future. I wish I were free to come to you. But, as you know, I am National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal and all the spare time which I have, I must devote to that cause. I am over burdened with work and it is quite impossible for me to tak on additional responsibilities at this time. Perhaps at some future time I may be of service to you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CHICAGO

30 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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WILLIAM M. KATZ

Vice Presidents:

SAMUEL F. JACOBSON

CHARLES MISHKIN

MAURICE A. SMOLER

Treasurer

JOHN RISSMAN

CHARLES LEVIN

Executive Director

November 29, 1938

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

A thousand pardons for the rather crude way in which I ignored your kind invitation to meet with you after the lecture at the Washington Boulevard Temple.

For this I must blame the office staff, because I had an idea I was to meet you before the meeting and rather anxiously awaited word from you. However, when it was too late to rectify the situation, they informed me that you would meet me after the lecture.

However, I have your program, and when you come to Chicago again I would like very much for you to meet our District Presidents and myself, so we may hear from you as we are hearing from Rabbi Goldman and others, your own slant on the situation, and learn what we can do to assist our friends who are leading the Zionist movement in America, to further the needs of Palestine.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

William M. Katz

William M. Katz
President

wmk:sn

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE, THURSDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 1st, 1938
6:30 P.M. AT THE BREVOORT HOTEL, 8TH STREET AND FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y.C.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (In the Chair), Messrs. David Berenstein, Barnett R. Brickner, A. H. Friedland, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, James G. Heller, Edward L. Israel, Harris J. Levine, Israel H. Lewinthal, Meyer Levy, Ludwig Lewisohn, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Charles. Ress, A. H. Rosenberg, Morris Rothenberg, Carl Sherman, Simon Shetzer, Wm. I. Siegel, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Stephen S. Wise; Mrs. Shulman (representing Hadassah), Eleazer Lipsky (representing Masada), Lawrence Cohen (representing Avukah); by invitation: Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Jacob Fishman; also Dr. Simon Bernstein, Samuel Blitz, Samuel Caplan, Henry Montor, Meyer Steinglass.

Excuses for non-attendance: were received from Messrs. Charles A. Cowen, Henry Ellenbogen, Harry Friedenwald, Israel Goldstein, Wm. M. Lewis, Julian W. Mack, Elihu D. Stone.

The meeting was called to order at 8:00 P.M. with Dr. Solomon Goldman in the Chair. Dr. Goldman called attention to the fact that the discussion of the year's program has had to be repeatedly postponed because of the emergency situation in which we found ourselves immediately following the last meeting of the Executive; He suggested therefore that this matter be taken up first, to be followed by brief reports of those who attended the Actions Committee meeting.

The Chairman then called upon Dr. Heller, Chairman of the Committee named to plan this year's organization work, to report on behalf of his Committee. In view of the fact that the Committee has not been in session, Dr. Heller was unable to present a report to this meeting of the Executive.

NEXT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE -- MEETING OR COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION:

It was decided that the next meeting of the Executive be held on Wednesday evening, December 21st; that during the day of December 21st, prior to the meeting of the Executive, a meeting be convened of the Committee on Organization.

COMMITTEE OF FIVE - (Office Committee):

The Chairman spoke of the need to have a small committee to deal with administrative details requiring attention in the interim between meetings of the Executive.

Mr. Ress MOVED

THAT the President be authorized to appoint a Committee of Five to act as an Office Committee, to take care of the affairs of the Executive between the meetings of the Executive.

Mr. Ress' motion was unanimously CARRIED.

REPORT ON ACTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING

MR. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG:

We came to London with the expectation that we would have to deal with the Woodhead Report. That was actually the justification for calling this meeting so hurriedly. However, the Report was dead and buried before the Actions

Committee meeting was opened. The British Government wanted to get out of the Partition Plan and the Woodhead Commission gave them that opportunity.

We came to London; the Report was out; there was nothing to pass upon. Out of the two and one-half years of chaos the Government finally came out with a plan of calling Arabs and Jews together in order to make peace. Unfortunately for us, the Government had not consulted us beforehand. It was not known to Dr. Weizmann at all. We were faced with a fait accompli, and we had to indicate whether or not we would go. All were agreed, with the exception of Hadassah - (representative Mrs. Pool), that we go. If we should refuse to go, public opinion would say that we refuse peace with the Arabs. Therefore we approved the action of the Executive.

In the meantime, there occurred the pogroms in Germany. Dr. Weizmann delivered a speech at the Actions Committee meeting which was very moving. He told us that two days before the meeting opened, he was implored by many Germans to take action. He knocked on many doors, and found all of them closed. Later, when matters became worse, American public opinion made a tremendous impression abroad.

On Saturday evening we came down to the business of the Actions Committee. In the reports America was mentioned and full credit was given, - namely, that through American intervention the idea of transforming Palestine into an Arab State was abandoned, and that immigration was to continue, although limited.

Discussions arose as to what action be taken in the matter of refugees. It was pointed out that Palestine could take in immediately 22,000 laborers.

The high light of the Actions Committee meeting was the report of Shertok. He made clear to all of us that no matter what happens there is already in Palestine a Yishub big enough and influential enough to withstand every onslaught and storm. The report of the Yishub actually encouraged us. It was told to us that the crisis in a measure strengthened the Yishub; that when it came, they were entrenched to such an extent that they were able to do certain things, such as self-defense, agricultural production, the port, the aviation field. Although we are only about 33%, we are strong, and there is no fear for Zionists as to the ultimate fate of Palestine.

The business of the meeting was: what is to be done under the circumstances. Many of the speakers pointed out mistakes that might be made. On the whole, it was interesting to note that the unity of Zionists has again been restored.

It became evident that we cannot go to the Arab Jewish Conference unless the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration are stressed. Our statements emphasized these two points, and happily Mac Donald said this is correct that we were in Palestine right and not on sufferance. For the first time, we came forward with an appeal direct to the British people. Usually we deal with the Government - stressing what actually happened to the Jews and pointing out the necessity for opening the doors of Palestine.

MacDonald's argument was that we must invite the non-Palestinians to the Arab-Jewish Conference. It was agreed that before we go, the British Government will talk to the Jews and to the Arabs and find out if there is common ground. Some were very skeptical and pessimistic about the effective-

ness of the Conference.

Dr. Mossinsohn read a resolution; which contained the four points around which the entire debate of the Actions Committee were built. The Executive was to see about the possibilities for settling large numbers of refugees and to consult with American friends. It will give us the chance to stress the idea of the possibility of using Palestine in spite of the numerous territories. Not much had been said on the question of territories. Everybody realized that the territories announced by Chamberlain cannot be considered. During the Conference many thought that there is a possibility of getting 10,000 children in Palestine. The Actions Committee closed and no reports satisfactory to us came in.

The Actions Committee meeting was productive of results. We are a democratic movement and we must take counsel with each other. We must not allow our World Executive to do things without consulting the members. Our Actions Committee meeting made us all feel that we still have the greatest opportunities in Palestine. We felt that this year up to the Congress, will not be a bad year. and America on the one hand, and the Yishub on the other doing the big thing by offering to succor 10,000 German Jewish Children; we will find a way to make Palestine the center for Jewish immigration. We have not discussed these matters. Much has to be done in this country in the mobilization of our powers and of our resources, in order to make our efforts in Palestine a success.

RABBI IRVING MILLER:

The Actions Committee met under the spell of two outstanding phenomena in Jewish life. That spell remained with the Actions Committee throughout its deliberations, and technically laid the base for any concrete program that lies before us in the near future. This was the first session of the Actions Committee since the very aggravated terror of the past two and one-half years took place in Palestine, and the remarkable stand of the Yishub in the face of that aggravated terror in the past three or four months definitely spelled the position that the Yishub had made for itself in Palestine.

The Actions Committee meeting in the wake of such a manifestation of unity in the Jewish world with regard to Palestine has never been paralleled in the past. New resources for sympathy with and understanding of Jewish life have been uncovered. The Actions Committee was uplifted despite the report of the Woodhead Commission; despite what happened in Germany. The Actions Committee was uplifted by the resistance of the Yishub and by that unity which made itself evident in this critical time of Jewish life. That is the program which must be developed and organized in Jewish life during the coming months. Palestine does have its position in Jewish life; it has already proven that it will not be disrupted; there is this unity in behalf of Jewish life that can be awakened.

The prevailing opinion was that not much is to be expected from the Conference; there appears to be some basis to believe that an understanding can now be reached between the Arabs and the Jews, but in the final analysis Great Britain will have to enunciate that policy. Above all, the note was brought home that nothing final can be hoped for within the next few months. This is a transitory period through which we are living; and we cannot expect anything of a definitive nature to be decided at this time. All we can do is to maintain the position we have and mobilize still more the resources for understanding and sympathy with Palestine that reside within the Jewish people.

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN:

Dr. Goldman voiced regret that Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Elihu D. Stone are not here to give their report and add their reactions to those of the previous two speakers.

He further said that Mr. Lipsky and I came towards the end of the meetings of the Actions Committee. We went at the direct request of Dr. Weizmann, and the insistence of Dr. Wise. We went to give a detailed report of what was happening in the United States during the several weeks of the emergency, and to get an insight into the situation in London, and then to return here and to see what part America is to continue to play vis-a-vis the present situation. So I shall ask Mr. Lipsky to give his report.

Dr. Goldman then called upon Mr. Lipsky to report.

MR. LOUIS LIPSKY:

Dr. Goldman and I arrived in London toward the end of the meeting of the Actions Committee. Although we were informed as to what had taken place, we were not witnesses of the proceedings. It is very important for us to have some understanding of what the position is. It may be said that the Parliamentary position, as far as the Zionist Organization is concerned, is represented by the Government with regard to the Woodhead Report. The Actions Committee was a forum that was discussing something where things were constantly in progress.

It was quite clear that the Government definitely decided to retract the Woodhead Report, had decided on making an experiment on drawing the Jews and the Arabs together. Before the round-table discussions can take place, there must be an agreement by the Government with the Arabs and an agreement with the Jews, and there must be something presented which has common acceptance. If no common acceptance is presented, the Government proposes to decide its own policy. But it is quite clear that the Government, which is unable to decide its own policy at the present time, will in all probability be in no better position to enforce any position in two months from now. In the meantime, the Zionist Organization is privileged to say that the partition question is laid aside; although the question of partition is not dead. For the time being, we are placed in exactly the same position of just drifting along with the Government in its proposals, and we have to be prepared for any eventuality that may arise out of the various steps taken by the Government.

It is the general impression in London that meeting with the Arab kings is a much more advantageous thing for us at this time than meeting with the "irregulars" that represent the Palestine Arabs. It is much easier to come to some understanding with them than with the actual representatives of the Arabs in Palestine. If such a conference is to be called, the Zionist Executive stands upon the Mandate.

In addition to the Woodhead Report which was thrown into the Actions Committee, what happened here in the United States with regard to the situation in Germany happened also in London. The outrages in Germany created as much resentment as it did here. The action of Sir Herbert Samuel was almost instantaneous. Immediately the problem of how we were going to insert Palestine into the matter of the refugees became a matter of practical political decision. It became of

the utmost importance that Palestine be injected into the matter. In the original draft of the statement issued by the Committee on Refugee Problem there was a reference to Palestine, although it was very vague. The Government became obdurate to change any item of the schedule for fear of disturbing the forthcoming conference with the Arabs.

This question of the refugees is a question that concerns us, because so far as Palestine is concerned, everybody in Palestine, everybody in London, felt that whether we say Jewish State or Jewish canton, or called it Yishub, or whatever we called it, the Jewish settlement in Palestine has become so consolidated in interest, in will and in sacrifice, that it is going to withstand any shock and any attack, and it is prepared to take steps to hold its position. They are firm and determined - these - 440,000 - by direct or indirect means to increase their strength. They are determined to do everything that is essential to expand. Every element in the population are equally of the same opinion as to what has to be done to maintain themselves.

So far as Palestine itself is concerned, there is going to be an extraordinary expansion. The discovery of unusual powers and energies, and understanding of what life is all about, physical life, social life, everything essential for the building up of a Jewish State, they are prepared to undertake. We were concerned in finding out what could be done in the United States to strengthen that foundation over there, and we were concerned greatly with how we were to organize the United Palestine Appeal for this year, and how to make that campaign successful.

We can establish all the paraphernalia of a self-sufficient and Jewish life in Palestine, even in these desperate conditions that are being created for us all around Palestine. Many Zionists feel very lax about this matter. People are inclined to go to the abstract, rather than the concrete, because it is easier.

Dr. Goldman and I saw Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Mac Donald and other people, about which we will report to the U.P.A. We have received advices from the Executive and offers of cooperation on the part of the Executive. There was a feeling in the Actions Committee that if we were to bring over to the United States young specimens of Palestine life and let them go through all the Jewish communities, it would have a tremendous effect upon the Jews of this country. It would be an object lesson on Palestine. There are many people on the other side who realize that so much depends on our success.

The question now is (1) the U.P.A., our relationship to the American Jewish communities, and (2) how we can put over the verity of the idea for which we stand. 100,000 people can be brought into Palestine next year, without any dislocation of Jewish life. There is no other place in the world that has that atmospheric accommodation which makes this not only relief, but a relief to the Jewish people. All the territories which have been designated are merely sporting devices. Anybody who suggests a colonization scheme is suggesting something which he knows very well, will turn out to be something futile. These colonization schemes are not contributing to the refugee problem. The argument has to be felt by every Zionist as being the truth, & that Tanganyika as a colonization scheme is not related to the refugee problem at all. The problem, so far as the propagandistic end of it is concerned, is a matter of the Zionist Organization; so far as the collection of funds is concerned, that is a matter to be taken up by the United Palestine Appeal.

December 2, 1938

Mr. Jacob Koralsky
The Jewish Voice
1250 Eckert Avenue
Reading, Pa.

My dear Mr. Koralsky:

Please pardon the delay in answering your kind letter. I have been away from the city a good deal of the time and my correspondence has lagged.

I deeply appreciate your kind invitation to address the Forum of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance in your city, and I wish I were free to accept it. Unfortunately my schedule is very heavy this year because of the work involved as chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. I am therefore unable, much to my regret, to accept your kind invitation.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE HELD ON
SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 3, 8:30 P.M. AND SUNDAY, DECEMBER 4, 10:30 A.M.
AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK.

PRESENT: Judge Wm. M. Lewis (in the Chair), and Messrs. Herman W. Bernstein, Sammel Berson, S.W. Boorstein, Samuel J. Borowsky, A.D. Braham, Israel S. Chipkin, Sol Cohen, Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Jacob Fishman, Abraham Goldberg, Israel Goldstein, Abraham Goodman, Morris Greenberg, Leo Guzik, Isaac Imber, Jacob Ish-Kishor, Samuel Judenfreund, Samuel Kanarvogel, Mordecai Konowitz, Abraham Krumbein, Samuel Kuhl, Harris J. Levin, Abram Liebovitz, Louis Lipsky, S. Margoshes, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Harry J. Moskowitz, Samuel J. Perry, Harry Projector, Charles Ress, Menahem Ribelow, Louis Rinsky, Morris Rothenberg, Moses Robinson, Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Leon Savage, Jacob I. Schaffer, Albert D. Schanzer, Irving Schatzberg, Joseph J. Schickler, Bernard Shelvin, Abe Simell, Abraham Spicehandler, Joshua Sprayregen, Nathan Sweedler, Harry Weinstein, Meyer W. Weisgal, Joseph Weiss, Leo Wilson, Leo Wolfson; Oscar Altshuler, Benjamin Arenstein, David Berenstein, Maurice J. Bloom, Isadore Breslau, Barnett R. Brickner, Samuel Caploe, Morris Drob, Henry Ellenbogen, David Feldman, David Frankel, A. H. Friedland, Jacob Ginsburg, Henry R. Goldberger, Joseph Halbert, Benjamin Rabalsky, Samuel Raucher, Simon Shetzer, Dewey D. Stone, Harry Z. Zwelling.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Messrs. Ilie Berger, Morton M. Berman, Jesse B. Calmenson, Azriel L. Eisenberg, Harry P. Fierst, Harry H. Frankel, Harry Friedenwald, Daniel Frisch, Paul J. Gaiser, Joseph Goldberg, Abram M. Granowitz, Isidore Hershfield, Jacob B. Hoffman, B. Horvich, Edward L. Israel, Samuel F. Jacobson, Sidney E. Jaffe, Gustave Klausner, Geo J. Klein, Max I. Kohrman, S. Kranzberg, I. Archer Levin, Israel H. Levinthal, B. A. Lichter, Julius Livingston, Julian W. Mack, Elder Markson, David Polish, Aaron Riche, Morton J. Robbins, Henry Rosenbaum, Sam Shankman, Charles B. Spiner, Elihu D. Stone, J. Marshall Taxay, Samuel Umensky, Stephen S. Wise and Alex S. Wolf.

The meeting was called to order at 9:00 P. M., with Judge Lewis in the Chair. The Chairman pointed out that in view of the recent events in Jewish and Zionist life both here and abroad, necessitating the departure of the Zionist leaders to London, it was found impossible to convene a meeting of the Administrative Committee before this. He called upon the Secretary to present a report on the proceedings of the Z.O.A. Executive since the last Convention.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

Mr. Margulies submitted the following report:

As every member of the Administrative Committee knows, immediately after the close of the Detroit Convention, world events, particularly as they reacted on the Jewish people, were such as to render almost impossible normal procedure in the conduct of the Organization. Nevertheless, the newly elected Z.O.A. Executive has held during this period six meetings.

Following is a summary of the most important decisions reached at these meetings:

At the first meeting held on Monday evening, July 11th, the Secretary submitted a report showing that the membership income on that date had exceeded last year's income as of that date by \$17,100. The total income from membership for the year was \$96,818. In connection with the budget for the next fiscal year, the Secretary pointed out that although the deficit had been reduced last year by \$20,000, there still remained a deficit of \$20,000. This together with an estimated deficit of \$15,000 for the current year, resulting from the items added by the convention added, will create a total deficit of \$35,000 for the year ending September 30, 1939. Mr. Lipsky proposed that the budget be referred to the Finance Committee, with a request that the Finance Committee bring in a report showing how it intends to apply the budget in view of the anticipated \$35,000 deficit.

Attention was called to the presence in this country of Mr. David Tannenbaum, representing the Palestine Land Development Company, who came here for the purpose of opening an American branch of the P.L.D.C. under the supervision of the Z.O.A., if that were possible. After a thorough discussion the question was referred to a subcommittee for the purpose of making a study of the P.L.D.C. and its relationship to the Jewish National Fund. The Executive also decided that in principle it agrees that some means and method be found to further the sale of privately owned land in Palestine, provided the Z.O.A. is freed from responsibility for such transactions.

Dr. Goldstein, reporting on the financial status of the Palestine Pavilion, stated that unless the sum of \$75,000 is made available between now and October 1, the Palestine Pavilion would in all likelihood never be built. After a prolonged discussion it was decided to cable to the Jewish Agency in Palestine, urging that the Agency finance the Palestine Pavilion through the Keren Hayesod, its American fiscal agent.

The meeting empowered the President to draft a message of encouragement to be addressed to Dr. Weizmann and the Yishub, in behalf of the Z.O.A.

Authorization was given to the Secretary to begin negotiations for the 1939 Convention, and arrange for the holding of a session at the World's Fair Grounds.

The proposal of the President that the Z.O.A. issue a Quarterly devoted to Zionist letters and documents of a historical and permanent character, was approved by the meeting. The tentative name of the Quarterly is to be "Zionist Affairs".

The second meeting of the Executive was held on Thursday, August 11. The principal item on the agenda was the matter of the Palestine Defense Fund. It was felt that since no large-scale emergency campaign throughout the United States was possible in August or early in September, action be taken by all Zionist organizations along the lines of the Mifdei Hazioni Fund, as approved by the Actions Committee, calling upon all Zionists for a contribution to this Fund.

The meeting also decided to cable to the Executive in London, calling attention to the fact that the Jews of this country were very much concerned over imminent execution of Mordecai Schwartz, and therefore urged that the Executive intercede in his behalf.

The third meeting took place on Monday, August 29th, and was devoted exclusively to the consideration of the question of Security and Defense Funds. It was reported that appeals were being made by (1) the Vaad Bitachon, which, in a quiet way, had succeeded in raising over \$30,000, mostly from individuals. (2) The Emergency Campaign in the Jewish Morning Journal, which was originated by the Mizrahi in an effort to reach the Orthodox Jews of New York City, particularly during the High Holidays. (3) The Emergency Campaign in The Day, launched by the Poale-Zion. It was recommended that the Vaad Bitachon discontinue all public, semi-public or nation-wide activities such as it had undertaken in the last few weeks, and continue along the lines originally adopted. The Poale Zion, it was reported, would definitely discontinue its campaign in The Day by the 10th of September, and that the Mizrahi campaign in the Morning Journal would end with the High Holidays. In order that the next U.P.A. campaign be not interfered with, it was decided that all emergency fund campaigns terminate as quickly as possible.

The fourth meeting of the Executive was held on Wednesday, September 14th. Dr. Goldman, Mr. Margulies and Mr. Montor reported at length on their visits to Palestine and Antwerp. The following motion was unanimously adopted: "On the basis of reports on the Palestine situation, submitted by the President and Secretary to the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America, it was resolved to recommend to the United Palestine Appeal, as the fund-raising instrument of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, to initiate an emergency conference to which all Zionist groups and Palestine fund-raising agencies would be invited for the purpose of discussing and adopting a program for enlarged fund-raising for Palestine."

It was decided that (1) on the occasion of the High Holidays a statement be issued by the President of the Z.O.A. to the Jewish leaders of America; and (2) that national radio broadcasts be arranged to discuss the present Jewish situation.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone called attention to the fact that an Administrative Committee had not yet been organized. He pointed out that at the last Convention, because of the lateness of the hour, the Chairman of the Nominations Committee was unable to present the names of the Administrative Committee. Inasmuch as the names were not presented to the Convention, the Convention voted to delegate its authority to the Executive, with the instruction that the new Executive at its first meeting should name the Administrative Committee.

Following a lengthy discussion the following motions were unanimously adopted: (1) That a Committee be appointed to examine the minutes of the last Convention and present its report to the next meeting of the Executive, for the purpose of confirming or rejecting the Administrative Committee list; and (2) That the President appoint a Committee of this body to help him bring before the next meeting of the Executive a program of organization for the coming year.

(To implement the second resolution, Dr. Goldman appointed a Committee consisting of Messrs. Dr. James G. Heller, Chairman, A.H. Friedland, Robert Szold, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Edward L. Israel, Charles Ress, and Wm. I. Siegel. However, due to the Palestine emergency situation, this Committee had not had an opportunity to meet and prepare a plan. The Committee was instructed to do so prior to the next meeting of the Executive.)

The fifth meeting held on Wednesday, October 12, was devoted almost entirely to the Palestine emergency situation. Reports were submitted by Dr. Goldman, Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Margulies on what had been done from the National Office; the out-of-town members reported on action taken by their localities.

(Subsequent to this meeting of the Executive, a number of meetings of the Emergency Committee on Palestine were held consisting of representatives of all groups and organizations in Jewish life, which Committee conducted and directed the various steps taken in connection with the prevailing emergency situation, and with which effort all are thoroughly conversant.)

The Committee which the President had appointed to consider the proposed list of Administrative Committee appointees, namely, Messrs. Charles Ress, Chairman, Elihu D. Stone, Wm. I. Siegel, Louis P. Rucker and Carl Sherman, reported that the list of Administrative Committee members was carefully prepared at Detroit, but was not read; it was therefore proposed that the entire list, together with certain additions that would have to be made, should be ratified. Mr. Ress moved that the list which appeared in The New Palestine, following the Convention, which was the list drawn up in Detroit, together with the additional names the Committee had approved, be considered the Administrative Committee. This motion was unanimously adopted.

The sixth meeting of the Executive was held on Thursday evening, December 1. Reports on the Actions Committee meeting in London were presented by Mr. Goldberg and Rabbi Miller. These reports were supplemented by Mr. Lipsky, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Dr. Solomon Goldman with statements on meetings and conferences that were held following the adjournment of the Actions Committee.

The reports and the lengthy discussions which ensued were crystallized in the following decisions: (1) That to the next meeting of the U.P.A. Administrative Committee there be invited representatives from communities throughout the United States, whose influence may be helpful both in independent money-raising campaigns as well as Welfare Chests efforts; and that in advance of that meeting there be prepared a draft of a call to be issued to the Jews of America, outlining the service Palestine is prepared to render in the present crisis. Mr. Montor was directed to convey to Rabbi Silver, the head of the U.P.A. the sense of this resolution. (2) That the President be authorized to name a Committee of five to pass on routine organizational matters between meetings of the

Executive. (3) That the next meeting of the Executive be held on Wednesday evening, December 21st. (4) That on the morning of December 21st, prior to the meeting of the Executive, a meeting be convened of the Committee named by the President for the purpose of study, amendment, elaboration and ratification of the President's plan for organizing this year's Z.O.A. work. The Committee is to submit its report to the meeting of the Executive scheduled for that evening.

The Secretary supplemented his report on the Executive meeting with a report on membership. He stated that we had received in membership dues for the current year, that is, from October 1 to November 30, 1938, \$19,626.05. For the same period last year we received \$11,285.55 thus indicating an increase this year for that two-month period, of \$1,340.50. We have enrolled for the current fiscal year 7,836, as against 3,648 for the same period last year, showing an increase of 4,188 members. Among these 7,836 that have registered for the current year, there are 4,147 new members. The total membership, therefore, of the Z.O.A. as of November 30, 1938 is 33,146 -- the largest on record.

The Secretary further reported that in connection with an effort to overcome the \$35,000 deficit that the Z.O.A. was facing, it was decided by a group of friends, initiated by the Finance Committee, to arrange for a Goldman Fund, which was inaugurated at the dinner tendered to Dr. Goldman upon his return from Europe and Palestine, last summer. Thus far there has been pledged towards that fund \$14,980 and received in cash \$6,647. With the exception of \$890. these contributions came from New York. At a dinner in Cleveland about \$6,000 was pledged and most of it was collected; also in Chicago a dinner was tendered to Dr. Goldman where quite a large sum of money was pledged, but we have no direct reports from these two communities or other communities. A detailed report of the Goldman Fund is herewith attached.

Mr. Goldman added that a detailed report of the Emergency Fund activities will be submitted at the Sunday morning (Dec. 4) session of the Administrative Committee.

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

THAT the report of the Secretary be accepted and adopted.

REPORTS ON ACTIONS COMMITTEE MEETING:

The Chairman called upon Dr. Israel Goldstein to present his report on the Actions Committee meeting.

DR. GOLDSTEIN'S REPORT:

Dr. Goldstein reported as follows:

The important things that stand out in retrospect are :First, the reaction to the report of the Woodhead Commission. That report was issued upon the arrival of the American members of the Actions Committee. Dr. Weizmann was very much depressed. He looked wan, down-hearted, and when asked whether he had not anticipated the contents of this report, he said while he had anticipated its gist, he had not anticipated its cold, cynical, heartless tone.

He also had not anticipated the cool reaction of the press in London. This report cannot be spoken of in the same breath as the Peel Report. It lacks the majesty and the sympathy and understanding which characterise a good deal of the Peel Report.

Both the Partionists and the anti-Partitionists in the Actions Committee were depressed and despondent, with the exception possibly of Ussischkin. We all envied him. He seemed very much relieved and not unduly troubled about the future. But we all realized, as Dr. Weizmann made clear, that the abandonment of partition by the Government in its statement upon the report was not due to the objections of the Jewish anti-Partitionists. We realize that the report was a concession not only to the Arab opposition, but -- what was even more troubling to us -- a concession to those who stood behind the Arabs-- the masters of Munich, who loathe to see the dignity and prestige which a Jewish State would bring to the Jewish People. The only consolation is the way in which the report makes clear how much the whole financial structure of Palestine depends upon the Yishub; -- that the Jews in Palestine are the only vital and economic factor. That was by implication a compliment to us. But the conclusions drawn from that were, of course, indefensible.

The question of partition of the Jewish State did not occupy a very prominent part of the Actions Committee proceedings, although it was referred to every now and then. It seemed to be lingering in the minds and in the hearts of many who were there.

The meetings of the Actions Committee were concerned chiefly with an analysis of our whole Zionist position, and with a discussion of our attitude with regard to the conference to be called by the Government. Rarely has there been a meeting of an Actions Committee so frank, realistic, self-searching and almost brutally self-sacrificing. There had been a number of very understanding speeches about the present and the future of our movement. We were impressed with the negative factors of world-wide scope, -- the fact that democracies are retreating before Fascism and therefore the position of the Jewish People cannot be any more certain than the position of the democracies themselves; -- the fact that the question of who would control the Mediterranean would have to do with what would be our position in Palestine.

Dwelling upon the unfavorable phases of the situation, the speaker said that due to the discussion of the negative points, some of us thought at the beginning that the effect of all that might be dampening and disheartening, but actually it was not so, because upon the realization that we were dealing with these problems frankly and honestly, we were in a position to receive with all the greater assurance and confidence the positive side of the picture which followed. The positive side of the picture consists of the fact that the Mandate still stands and immigration still goes on; -- of the fact that the Yishub itself is a political factor to labor against, for the very presence of 400,000 Jews is a tremendous factor which the Government cannot completely ignore in any disposition of that question; -- the fact that there are still some powerful nations that can be appealed to in the name of humanity. These positive elements helped to bring some reassurance that our cause, as the years go on, may develop as we hope it shall.

With regard to the conference of Jews and Arabs, the official stand that has been taken by the Agency and ratified by the Actions Committee is known.

Upon the proposal of these conferences, there was not very much optimism. Many doubted whether the Government would find a basis for calling such a conference between Jews and Arabs. Others doubted whether, if such a conference were held, there could be any agreement that could be a constructive step forward; and all felt the determining factor in making these conferences successful would have to be the attitude of Government itself. If the Government would take the position that it is merely a neutral chairman, to hold the scales evenly between the two sides, very little would happen, but if the Government would make clear its own attitude as an expression of the majority of those who spoke in Parliament, then the moderates among the Arabs would be able to listen to reason, and something worthwhile would come out of these conferences.

The meetings of the Actions Committee made clear to all of us where we stand with reference to our work. For the American members they had a very important purpose in bringing us into contact with the Palestinians. These men and women from Eretz Israel are absolutely remarkable, and no matter how much may be said about them, it is an under-statement. To think what they did for the Kofer Hayishub! How women helped with their wedding rings and children were ready to give up their mid-day meals, and how men and women volunteered to give up 15 and 20% of their meagre incomes! We were enthralled and at the same time ashamed of ourselves. The meetings of the Actions Committee resulted in the adoption of a budget of £5,000,000 for the coming year. It is the budget of the Keren Hayesod, and the Jewish Agency that is responsible for the maintenance of our position in these precarious times. And we were charged with the responsibility of impressing upon the American Zionists the importance of making good that budget.

For the immediate future, the general feeling was that we face a period of suspense and indecision. The arrangement of the conferences will take time--months will elapse. Then the Government will have to adopt its policy, and that will take time. The Government, at the present moment, it was thought, has no idea what its policy is going to be after these conferences, and it may very well be that for the next twelve or eighteen months there will be a condition of suspense, during which, however, the Mandate remains, immigration goes on at its present restricted rate and may, under the pressure of the German situation, be increased.

During these months of suspense and indecision we have an opportunity of doing positive work in the consolidation of the Yishub, in the strengthening of its position, in the increase of its power for defense, in the purchase of land, which is available in large quantities. Ussischkin reported that there are vast areas throughout Palestine, from North to South, which can be acquired now by the Jewish National Fund, areas involving an outlay of \$6,000,000--which would give us an additional 25% on our land holdings. - And we left with the conviction that we have work to do and that we have an opportunity that will count in the ultimate disposition of Palestine's future. That impression we must now convey to the whole of American Jewry. This is a time for a new kind of action, far greater than anything that has preceded, and we, the American Zionists, are charged with becoming the Actions Committee -- the Committee of Action. Let us act to safeguard the future of our Homeland.

RABBI IRVING MILLER:

The Actions Committee formulated no new policies. It uttered or gave expression to no new slogan in Zionism. And yet, if ever an Actions Committee justified its sessions, this meeting in London did just that. It is well worthwhile considering that this Actions Committee meeting was convened the day after one of the greatest upheavals in Jewish life. It met two days after the publication of a report of a Commission, this time colder, more cynical, more misinformed on the relationship between Zionism and the problem of the Jewish People than any other report; and then the news broke upon us of what was transpiring in Germany and in the light of these two disturbing events, the Actions Committee met. That that group of Jews did not surrender to despair, did not engage in a spirit of defeatism, but immediately got down to business, was the most remarkable indication of the fact that the only movement that has a program in Jewish life today is the Zionist movement. That was the most significant aspect of the Actions Committee meeting. It stood the acid test. It came together at one of the turning-points in Jewish life, and it met the test by going forth with a program. The address that gave the most graphic indication of that spirit was that of Baratz. He told us four or five stories from Palestine. That was his whole speech. He spoke to us of a celebration in Kinnereth, of the man who gave the country three sons and asked what else he could do. No words made the impression on us that these words made, and no words implied a program for action as these words implied, because they said: 'The position that we have achieved in Palestine will not be disturbed; the position that we have in Palestine cannot be shaken by any reports of Governments; and above all, the position that we have achieved in Palestine is the only answer to what has happened in Germany. There in Palestine we have already prepared a home for exactly the homeless ones made homeless by what happened in Germany on November 10th.' That was the entire tone of the meeting of the Actions Committee. It spoke to the Jewish world and to the non-Jewish world, and said: 'Here we have a position; in that position we have rights that have been given to us by Great Britain, that have been recognized by the League of Nations, that have been confirmed by the United States. Those rights are the battle-front on which we are still waging our battle, and those rights are the spearhead even of the conflict between the democratic countries and the Fascist countries.' It becomes clearer to us that our rights in Palestine are in a certain measure our last safeguard for our rights in the world generally, that our status in the world and in the Diaspora is going to depend more and more upon the maintenance of our rights in Palestine. The rights that have been given to us in Palestine we have not yet lost; and every day that immigration is not yet closed down in Palestine, our rights still stand.

On that note the Actions Committee concentrated throughout its sessions, and on that note it adjourned, with this appeal to the Jewish People. In the final analysis, that is our program: holding on to these rights. These rights are going to be challenged from without by the negotiations with the Arabs, by the pressure from Germany and Italy, by the indifference of Great Britain, when Palestine is prepared and eager to take in 100,000 Jews. But we are going to be challenged from within also, by those among us who are going to be deluded in their enthusiasm and sincere desire to do something for the refugees by turning to other quarters, by believing the propaganda that is being created in some quarters that Palestine cannot solve the refugee problem. We Zionists must understand that there, too, is our challenge in Palestine. Our program must be to hold on to these rights.

Our duty, our solemn obligation, our only justification for our Zionism and for our Judaism today is to be ready for the day when our rights for Palestine will be declared anew; that day we ought to own land in Palestine in greater measure than we have today. We must mobilize. Our mobilization takes the form of more land and more settlements in Palestine. The mobilization is in our hands until the decision will come. The Actions Committee meeting at this juncture in Jewish life, issued this call: If not now, God knows when; but this is the time when we can do it; and this is the purpose to which every Zionist must consecrate himself at this time.

MR. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG:

We went to this Actions Committee meeting knowing what to expect. We expected the Woodhead Report, but at the same time we knew that the British were not the same we left seven months ago, and that the French were not the same; that these two democracies were on the down grade. We went to the Actions Committee meeting not in the expectation of getting much. The air was filled with a great fear.

When we came there, what occurred in Germany was before our eyes. We found a great deal of sympathy, but no relief. Everybody wondered what would happen next. The sympathy of the Government was not ignited into action. When Dr. Weizmann told us he had knocked at the door of every leader, we anticipated the answer with regard to Palestine. They were afraid of the Arabs.

Soon there came about a change in the atmosphere. We found out that the English people were sympathetic towards us and as soon as we felt that England is not morally bankrupt we felt different -- the situation cleared up. We felt that the main leaders of public opinion in England were aroused and it would not be easy for them to close the doors of Palestine to Jewish refugees; we felt that the pressure from America would bring about a different attitude even on the part of Chamberlain.

I went away from this Actions Committee meeting very much satisfied; I was elated with the speeches and the atmosphere permeating the sessions. When Shertok gave us the background of the Yishuv in Palestine, we felt able to ignore the Woodhead Report.

On Saturday night we knew we had a program. At the end of the meeting certain things developed of the utmost importance, for members of Parliament had let us know that they were not going to stand by this decision and would do all in their power to bring about what we had hoped for. Other territories may be good or bad -- may be necessary or not; some say it may be a mistake that we fail to prepare some other outlet -- but at the moment there is no other country that can take in 100,000 refugees. The British Government says that we must look for other countries and should agree for the moment to a minimum of immigration. We informed them that this year we can take in 100,000 immigrants. We told them that we could definitely take in 10,000 children. This shows what preparation means.

We felt at the Actions Committee meeting that we had not lost -- that as long as we have a country, the program will come of itself. The Arabs cannot be rehabilitated without the assistance of Jews. In other words, if we help ourselves, they will be helped. Many of the Arabs are beginning to feel that they can be helped only by the Jews. Land can be purchased at very reasonable prices now.

The Arab-Jewish Conference is very important. We must go. The fact that the non-Palestinian Governments have been invited is also very important to us. They need Britain; without Britain they are at a loss; and these people want to live amicably with Great Britain. The only factor against this coming together is what happened in Palestine. Even this Conference in the long run is bound to produce good results.

We left the Actions Committee meeting with the feeling that we have an immediate program. Winterton has admitted that there is a possibility, before the conference, that the doors will be opened much wider. Pressure will come because of the fact that we want to take in 100,000. We must buy more land at this time because we have a chance to buy it. We must bring in as many immigrants into Palestine as possible. We must strengthen our defense. We must bring to the Jewish people the necessity of helping these very valiant men and women and defend our position in Palestine.

This Actions Committee meeting helped us to come back with the assurance that our work continues from day to day, and if we succeed in mobilizing our people behind the Yishuv we will again have an opportunity to discuss the question of a Jewish State and with much wider boundaries than have ever been offered. We must work towards the goal that the Jewish State become a fact.

The Chairman read telegrams received from Dr. Stephen S. Wise and from Hon. Elihu D. Stone, regretting their inability to attend the meeting of the Administrative Committee.

The Chairman stated that subsequent to the closing of the Actions Committee meeting Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Goldman stayed over in London for additional conferences. He called upon Mr. Lipsky to report on what happened subsequent to the meeting of the Actions Committee and what occurred at the conferences and meetings which took place after the Actions Committee meeting.

MR. LIPSKY'S REPORT:

Dr. Goldman and I came to London practically after the meeting of the Actions Committee had taken place. We found most of the members already in the turmoil of the general discussion about the resolutions that were to be adopted. So that, for all practical purposes, he and I were not present at the Actions Committee meeting. What is important for this meeting of the Administrative Committee is not only to hear descriptions of the meetings held in London, but also to get some idea of how these things affect the work that they are called upon to do.

I was on the boat coming back from Antwerp at the time Hitler's speech was delivered in connection with Prague. We can take that as the starting point when things began to happen for us. If Prague fell, it was the general impression throughout the world that something would happen with regard to Jerusalem. If Prague fell, and the democracies abandoned that outpost, what would happen when England came to consider the Woodhead Commission's Report?

Would everything go further in the direction of Munich? Or would England draw back? That was the cause of the action taken in the United States in connection with the protest. When we were informed that the England Government was going in the direction of Munich, we launched in the United States the protest against throwing Palestine into the same waste basket in which Czechoslovakia was thrown. The members of the Actions Committee in London were all made aware of the fact. It can be said with a degree of satisfaction that the action taken in the United States in connection with that matter; the protest that was organized all through the United States, which registered the first outpouring of American sentiment with regard to the Jewish cause, helped to stimulate the later action taken in connection with Germany on the part of the American population.

The effect in London of our protest had a visible result in the position of the Government, and although the Government threw aside the Woodhead Report, and when approached, refused actual satisfaction to the Zionist representatives, nevertheless, by the issuing of the immigration schedule, indicated that it was not going in the direction of Munich, but it was considering, and in a moral confusion, decided to repeat what it had done six months before. The fact that it repeated it indicated that the English Government had stopped; it was not going further with Munich.

The repercussion from the outside had an impression on the Actions Committee meeting; -- it practically paralyzed Weizmann's speech. How could he speak of anything that had to do with Jewish affairs in the face of what was happening in Germany? His words were emotional. The Actions Committee in London, which numbers seventy by now, is almost a Congress. The Actions Committee has included in it large numbers of Jews from Palestine. With regard to their attitude, everyone of them was eager to know how we were going to act in America to help in maintaining the position of the Jews in Palestine.

It was the business of Dr. Goldman and myself to register in London on behalf of the American Committee the fact that America was substantially behind the protest, and I think we made some impression upon Mr. MacDonald, although he did not need it, because he had been receiving regular reports from Mr. Kennedy. All of England feels America today more keenly than ever before. There is nothing on this earth that has more sense and meaning to England than the friendship of America, and whatever may happen in the United States, the English Government is highly sensitized to what is going on here.

The position with regard to our own affairs is very simple. The Palestinians are beginning to think less and less of these political trickeries that are going on in the world. It never seemed more ludicrous to give a reasoned reply to any report than to the Woodhead Report. The important thing for us to do, so far as Palestine is concerned, is to provide.

We who are the workers understand the sum total of all things done at London -- with regard to the Actions Committee meeting -- the resolutions adopted -- the statements gotten out addressed to the English people, the statement addressed to the Jewish people, and other statements in Hebrew and English. We now have to consider the practical side of the situation which has to do with the United States. So far as the Yishuv is concerned, and so far as the political conditions are concerned, we ought not to be wasting much of our time in getting into complicated discussions over them. The

Conference is not going to be an Arab-Jewish Conference. The Government is going to have a conference with Arabs and then with the Jews, and they will find out what each one thinks, and then they will try to reconcile them and present a draft to each one. Then they may come to the conclusion that there is nothing in common, or that there is something in common; and by that time the Arabs may reach a way of doing things without going to 10 Downing Street. We ourselves would be greatly encouraged because many Zionists are under the impression that the Arab opposition is a very substantial affair.

So far as the Jews of Palestine are concerned, they are something we can depend upon, and their position is dependent upon us; and the very realistic thing which faces us is the situation in the United States, and probably in England, in Canada and in many other countries. How we are going to get the money here in the United States is a very serious problem. What has happened in Germany stirs us as much as it stirs anybody else. We cannot separate ourselves from that feeling. Every day more land is being occupied by Hitler; every day more land is being occupied by the Nazi idea. Every day the Jews of Europe find themselves in a closed wall, and we ourselves are implicated in the whole action. And what is going on in London: At the time when the representatives of British Jewry, headed by Viscount Samuel, issued a statement in regard to the refugee situation, they left out all reference to Palestine; and when Dr. Weizmann refused to sign it, they included two words: 'including Palestine'. We are in great danger of having a situation created for us whereby much of the real deep sympathy with the situation will be greatly affected by these sorts of appeals, and we have to find a way to reconcile what every Jew in the world wants to do. It is not a very easy thing here in the United States to find a place. But that place we have to find, without disturbing the unity which has been established in the United States. The Keren Hayesod requires \$5,000,000; it could use more. The National Fund requires \$5,000,000; it could use more. There is a tremendous amount of work we have to do here, in order to prove with sense and with good feeling that the building of the Jewish National Home is an essential feature of the relief. When our friends undertake to begin proposing territories to be settled; when they begin to talk of undertaking large-scale colonization; when they begin to talk of creating a counter-way to Palestine -- we can prove, without any great difficulty, that Palestine represents a less formidable obstacle in the way of our endeavors. Even the political difficulties can be overcome by a mass demonstration of Jewish resources. The very same confusion that makes it impossible for England to decide between Arabs and Jews -- not having the strength to decide -- that very same vacillation can be used by an organized American Jewish community to force the doors of Palestine open more quickly. You can feel it in the air in Palestine.

All Jewry must be united in order that that door which is being kept closed should be opened by the pressure which should be brought to bear by a humanitarian sentiment backing up the Jews in their demand for this release from their intolerable position. No one will say that if a land can be occupied by such men and women, having created in so few years what they have created, and that land is ready tomorrow -- they already have a register of homes that are prepared to take 10,000 children, immediately, and other groups will take care of many other thousands -- that is going to do any good to anybody to have the Jews scattered. Here is a place where, the stronger it becomes, the stronger Jewry becomes. This fact is represented by a community ready and

willing to build itself up, and asks only for the re-enforcement of men and women to make it strong.

Each one of us should go back to his community and make a distinction between relief and colonization -- between relief and Palestine -- for after relief there must come some settlement of the people who require relief. The J.D.C. is going to do the necessary work of taking 1,000 people finding themselves on the Czechoslovakian frontier, another thousand on another frontier; but after they give this relief they must consider what they are going to do with these victims of relief, and in that situation, it is our business for the first time really to make an earnest endeavor to put Zionism into the Jewish communities of this country.

We are in a position to say in advance, with an accountant's accuracy, with an economist's accuracy: 'Palestine can take in 100,000 Jews within twelve months'. And what stands in the way? A lot of illusions, false impressions, words with regard to the Arabs, words with regard to the Balfour Declaration -- words stand in the way of 100,000 people moving into Palestine. There is nothing in the way except these words. The English Government has swallowed many of its own words; and the Arabs use words only to make obstacles, and they can be removed. There is nothing in the way of 100,000 Jews getting into Palestine this year.

Doubt has been expressed whether the Zionists fight in the Welfare Chests; not being provided with the necessary arguments, they let things go by the board, and in many communities, the prevailing sentiment controls the whole city in which there are thousands of Zionists. It is a very important thing that this Administrative Committee, having a membership representing Zionists all over the country, should become the agents at this critical time. If we do not maintain our position at this time, then we pass up a whole decade. That which was built up will become a sort of petrification, and one of the grandest efforts made by Jews will be lost. It is up to us.

In England, the Zionists are remarkably alive. In South Africa, the Jews do a volume of good for the Zionist movement that puts us to shame. In this country, even where we achieved financial success, in many cases the Zionists themselves are the most remiss. This situation has to be changed, and we know from experience that the Zionists have never changed under normal conditions. This is the emergency!

The Chairman stated that we are in a situation very similar today to the one we met in Philadelphia a few years ago, when the Crimean situation took place. Here is a situation which requires of us the use of tact and of good sense, and talking to these people along the lines that have been indicated today. Mr. Lipsky is correct again -- said the Chairman -- when he said that in so many cities, particularly the Chest cities, where the Zionists who are active in the campaigns are frequently overwhelmed by the so-called non-Zionist opinion because we are not as informed as we ought to be. What we need is merely to point out the factual condition; the facts speak louder than any theorizing on the part of any Zionist or non-Zionist.

Judge Lewis then called for discussion on the reports presented.

DISCUSSION:

Rabbi Miller stated that he frequently heard remarks on the part of many members of the Administrative Committee to the effect that this Administrative Committee is not given an opportunity to do some constructive work in the Zionist Organization. He pointed out, therefore, that the Administrative Committee has the greatest opportunity that it ever had to come to the rescue of the Zionist movement at this time.

Rabbi Miller felt that we must have a program. We need a certain amount of money, and if that certain amount of money involves sixty percent or forty percent does not interest us in the slightest; we must carry through a program. The U.P.A. is not the policy-making body of the Zionist Organization; this Administrative Committee is the policy-making body in this country. What the Zionist work in this country shall be; what we shall appeal for to American Jewry, and how much money we need in the interest of Palestine is for us to decide, in connection with other Zionist bodies. The Z.O.A. Administrative Committee should at least be true to its own function, and because of the fact that we will not have another meeting of the Administrative Committee before the National Conference in Washington, we must come out with a concrete statement. We can speak of definite immigration possibilities; so far we have 12,000--1,000 a month. Surely the schools will be made broader, but so far no country has come forth with 12,000.

Rabbi Miller suggested that is the business of this Administrative Committee to appoint a committee to present for the consideration of this body, a conceived and well planned resolution that will embody the needs of Palestine, the amount that we need, the projects for which these moneys will be put forth; and through this Administrative Committee issue that call to the United Palestine Appeal and to the American Jewish people. When the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A. will meet Thursday night, December 8th, it should have such a resolution before it.

The Chairman formulated Rabbi Miller's suggestion in the following motion:

THAT a Committee of seven or nine members of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. be appointed to draft a resolution to be submitted to the meeting of the Administrative Committee at its Sunday morning (Dec.4) session, for the purpose of notifying or telling the United Palestine Appeal the attitude of the Z.O.A. Administrative Committee with regard to the fund-raising project which it has undertaken.

The motion was seconded.

The Chairman stated that he intends to attend the meeting of the U.P.A. Administrative Committee. Since the fund-raising project is purely a matter for the U.P.A. -- and the Z.O.A. is very well represented on the U.P.A. Administrative Committee -- he did not think the Z.O.A. Administrative Committee ought to go out of its way to handle such matters, but ought merely to direct or make its recommendations to the U.P.A.

Judge Rothenberg thought it might be very helpful if a proper resolution were drawn, but he thought it is very important that the resolution, when drawn, should be one that will reflect the opinions not only of those who are present at this meeting of the Administrative Committee, but of all those who are prominent

in the leadership of the United Palestine Appeal, because these leaders are meeting with the J.D.C. Very important negotiations are now going on between the U.P.A. and the J.D.C., and what they are going to do is related to what we are going to do. Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver, and other national leaders must participate in the formulation of that resolution, otherwise it may be hurtful than beneficial.

The original motion as formulated by Judge Lewis was unanimously carried.

After a lengthy discussion as to how the resolution is to be formulated in which Judge Rothenberg, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Miller, Simon Shetzer and Rabbi Goldstein, participated, the Chairman appointed the following Committee to deal with the matter of drafting a resolution to be presented to the Dec. 8th meeting of the U.P.A. Administrative Committee which will reflect the attitude of the Z.O.A. Administrative Committee on the fund raising plan - Louis Lipsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Harris J. Levine.

The meeting adjourned at 12 o'clock midnight -- until the following morning at 10:30 o'clock.

SECOND SESSION OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

SUNDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 4, 10:30 O'CLOCK

Judge Wm. M. Lewis, in The Chair.

The Chairman recalled that last evening a good deal of the discussion centered around the reports of the proceedings of the Actions Committee, and stated that during the discussion on those reports he got the feeling and the impression that we were talking more with reference to the U.P.A. rather than what we here, as members of the Administrative Committee, should do to strengthen the Zionist Organization, as such. In the last analysis, he pointed out, the Administrative Committee is the Zionist body which ought to have charge of things which have to do with the propagation of the Zionist idea throughout the country. At the moment, there is no more important Zionist business that the Administrative Committee can consider than that of increasing membership. He thought, therefore, that it would be well to get an expression of opinion from the floor with regard to what the Administrative Committee should do by way of issuing a call and appointing a special committee for making an appeal for Zionist members. He pointed out that at no time was the situation from the point of view of acquiring new members in the Zionist Organization as favorable as it is now. He then called upon members of the Administrative Committee from various communities to report what is being done locally and to give an expression of opinion as to what they think the Administrative Committee as such can do towards implementing the work of increasing the enrollment of the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Greenberg (of the Bronx, N.Y.) stated that while it is gratifying to hear that the Z.O.A. has todate increased its membership by 4,000, over the same period last year, nevertheless, if we do not enroll 100,000 members by the end of this fiscal year, we will be a failure as an organization. He suggested that the masses of American Jewry all over the country be appealed to and encouraged to join the organization at a special membership fee of \$1.00 or \$2.00 per annum.

Mr. Margulies stated that it would be a great mistake to allow this fine meeting to disintegrate into something that will be of no value and bring no results. He pointed out that the Z.O.A. has certain rules, regulations, a Constitution, and even precedent, and we cannot just consider ourselves as sort of a rump proposition, where we can adopt rules de nouveau. What the Chairman suggested at the beginning of this meeting was that we build the organization and not merely get in members and names from various other organizations. An opportunity will be given to Zionists to show numerical strength of that type when the Shekel Campaign is initiated for the current year. At the present, we are concerned with our members in good standing, members of the organization, members of the Districts and Regions. In order to acquire that sort of a membership the minimum fee is \$5.00; -- \$1.00 (as suggested by Mr. Greenberg) would be of no consideration whatsoever. We have to include in the membership fee the shekel of 50¢; the District get \$1.00; the Region gets \$1.00; the national organization get \$1.00; the balance covers the cost of the publication and other propaganda expenses. Mr. Margulies urged, therefore, that the discussion be confined within the realm permitted us by the Constitution of the Z.O.A.

Dr. Feldman (of Philadelphia, Pa.) felt that the main difficulty in the way of securing members for the organization lies in the lack of propaganda material or literature which indicates concretely that although a man may be a Zionist in the sense that he contributes to funds for the upbuilding of Palestine, what the Zionist Organization of America actually needs is man power, in the form of registered individual Zionists, for it is the numerical strength of the organization that is most essential in the face of a political crisis. He urged that literature of this type be prepared by the Committee on Propaganda.

Mr. David Berenstein (of St. Louis, Mo.) called attention to the fact that the St. Louis Zionist District charges \$6.00 membership dues, and has succeeded in increasing its membership from 500 to 1100 last year, and proposes to double that number this year. He pointed out that the Bnai Brith has 90,000 members at \$12.00 per annum. The Bnai Brith sells its membership proposition by speaking of the wider scope, while the wider scope is actually something entirely apart from the membership dues. On the other hand, the Zionist Organization of America has potent selling points on which to "sell" Zionism, namely, what we have built up in Palestine. Mr. Berenstein added that what he was primarily concerned about is the lack of coordination among ourselves. There are various agencies in the Zionist movement, pulling in different directions. He offered the following recommendations with a view to helping the membership situation: (1) that a Coordinating Committee be set up; (2) that the Z.O.A. be regarded as the central authority and the District heads be regarded as the central authority in their respective communities; (3) that in connection with the membership campaigns, men be engaged whose business will be nothing else but building up a strong and powerful organization.

This work must be done intensively and the District leadership should not allow themselves to be burdened with the activities of all other Zionist institutions. The Zionist Organization has been doing all the work and must now change its policy.

Judge Nathan Sweedler (Brooklyn, N.Y.) expressed his agreement with Mr. Berenstein in the matter of lack of coordination. He pointed out that there is also a lack of cooperation in some sections, and urged that the first thing the Administrative Committee should do is to administer. He called attention to the Brooklyn situation, pointing out that Brooklyn has a Jewish population of one million and the possibilities of a Zionist membership of five to ten thousand.

Mr. Dewey D. Stone (of Taunton, Mass.) stated that he makes it a point always to carry a membership receipt booklet with him. In the effort to get new members, he said, he was anxious to ascertain what arguments on behalf of Zionism proved most effective, and he found that the use of Justice Brandeis' name -- calling the attention of non-members to the fact that Justice Brandeis is an ardent Zionist -- proved most helpful. Mr. Stone suggested therefore -- although the statement issued by Justice Brandeis in 1915 is still timely -- that if a new statement could be gotten from him, it would help greatly in securing new members for the organization.

Mr. Weinstein (of Long Island) Chairman of the local Membership Committee, reported that their membership is approximately 1500 at this time and the goal set at a recent meeting was 3,000. Each District in his Region is given a quota to fill. He spoke also of the fine work being done in the Laurelton Zionist District, which he felt was due largely to the educational program adopted by that District. Through this educational program, it has recently succeeded in enrolling the entire membership of the Laurelton Jewish Center. Mr. Weinstein suggested therefore that it would be most advisable everywhere first to educate the Jewish masses in Zionism, and then to follow up that educational campaign with a campaign for membership.

Rabbi Breslau (of Washington, D.C.) reported that his District had already enrolled over 450 new members, and has a total paid-up membership at the present time of over 650, as against 100 last year. This is due to the fact that Washington has been concentrating on membership. He proposed that the Administrative Committee recommend to the Executive that a special membership committee be established, which shall devote itself entirely to membership; and that capable persons be sent out to the various sections of the country whose sole duty should be securing members for the organization. Rabbi Breslau stressed the importance of "foot-work" in getting members. He felt that members must first be drawn into the movement and then educated. Once we get a member on our roll he will read The New Palestine, and this is the beginning of our program of education.

Mr. Schanzer (Brooklyn, N.Y.) stated that possibly Judge Sweedler misunderstood the spirit and the effect of some of the alleged lack of cooperation in the Brooklyn Region. Some of the members are working as zealously to obtain new members in the Zionist Organization outside the wing as inside of it. The great difficulty he found in increasing the membership of the organization was that every time a membership drive was started, Zionist leaders told us that we have got to wait for something, and so we have been delaying these membership campaigns until we have fallen to almost a negligible total in the organization. We have got to bear in mind that we are the soul and the heart and the spirit of the movement; and that we have given rise to the other organizations that have Zionist work to do. But if we do not concentrate on our membership drive to the exclusion of all other things, we are not going to get anywhere. With the campaign that we have now going on in Boro Park, which will no doubt be emulated elsewhere -- we are going to do a fine piece of work in the Boro of Brooklyn. If we just concentrate on getting members we will considerably increase the membership of the Z.O.A.

Mr. Leo Wilson (Bronx, N.Y.) suggested that for the duration of the membership campaign no Zionist meetings be held on Sundays, but that all Zionist leaders and workers devote every Sunday to the registration of members in the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Borowsky (Boro Park) endorsed the contention of previous speakers, that membership is merely a matter of foot-work. Last year Boro Park had about 150 members; today it has already 180 paid-up members, and nearly 700 prospective members listed on the books. He believed that by January or February Boro Park will have about 1,000 members. This is simply due to the fact that Boro Park capitalized the favorable sentiment created during recent weeks and got to work.

Referring to the situation in New York, Mr. Borowsky suggested that some provision be made whereby the Regions in New York City refund to the Districts a certain amount of money in order that the Districts in turn may be able to carry on their membership work.

Mr. Borowsky said further that the Administrative Committee cannot overlook the Zionist situation in Brooklyn. The Region is actually paralyzed. One District which was the largest last year has practically withdrawn for personal reasons. Considering the fact that Brooklyn has the largest Jewish population of any city in the United States, Mr. Borowsky urged that something be done to stabilize the Brooklyn Zionist Region.

Mr. Borowsky thereupon suggested that a Committee be appointed by the Chairman to make a thorough investigation and study of the Brooklyn Zionist situation. If we work hard in Brooklyn we have a chance of quadrupling our membership this year without question, because the sentiment is there; the men are there; -- but there is a serious hindrance because of certain local factors.

Mr. Krumbein stated that Brooklyn is the largest Jewish community and it is important. In view of the criticism of the Region that has been voiced, Mr. Krumbein urged that the Committee that is to be appointed consist of people from the national office of the Z.O.A.

The Chairman formulated the following motion in connection with the Brooklyn situation:

THAT a Committee be appointed for the purpose of straightening out and adjusting the situation that has arisen in the Brooklyn Zionist Region.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. A. Liebowitz (New York) spoke of the personal successful effort he had been making to enroll members, by writing letters to his friends in various cities and sending them Shekolim. However, some of the local Zionists in these cities have criticized him, feeling that his personal effort was interfering with the local drive for members. Mr. Liebowitz did not share this attitude, and felt that if he were permitted to continue this personal appeal, he could guarantee at least 250 new members from among his out-of-town friends.

The Chairman said he did not think that any District would have any objection to Mr. Liebowitz' securing members for the organization.

Mr. Imber (New York) moved

THAT between now and the next Convention of the Z.O.A. there be held at least three more meetings of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Before proceeding to the next item of business, Rabbi Breslau urged that definite action be taken on the proposals made by Mr. Berenstein, himself, and others at this meeting, in connection with the matter of an enlarged membership in the Z.O.A.

Mr. Margulies informed Rabbi Breslau that this question is being considered by the Committee on the Organization of the year's work, appointed by Dr. Goldman; and that in the plan which Dr. Goldman has worked out and which is to be presented to the next meeting of the Executive scheduled for December 21st, one of the items provides for the establishment of a membership department. Mr. Margulies pointed out, however, that in the final analysis, even if a separate department or an additional department is set up, to be devoted exclusively to the promotion of membership work, the actual results will depend, as characterized by Rabbi Breslau and others, on shoe leather. No single individual or group of individuals will be able to do this work unless they have the cooperation of the individual members. We have been doing a certain kind of work in the last few years which has been showing the trend of the membership department. We must not lose sight of the fact that only a few years ago the membership of the Zionist Organization had gone down to 8,000; that is is now over 33,000. This year, with the situation that exists throughout the Jewish world, we can treble it, and we can do so only if the members present here will be as conscious of the need of a large organization as some of those who have given expression to that need at this meeting.

Mr. Margulies added that he disagreed with Mr. Wilson's proposal to devote Sundays to membership work, for it is impractical and impossible. Mr. Margulies suggested, therefore, that the week of Chanukah be designated as "Membership Week" throughout the United States. However, Mr. Margulies pointed out, that is only a matter of publicity and has nothing to do with actual work.

Mr. Margulies said further that he has had evidence during the last few weeks indicative that we will show a marked improvement this year. Last week he met with the Chairmen and keymen of the New England Region. He believed the New England Region will this year treble its membership. He had a meeting in Connecticut four or five weeks ago, where he thought similar results will be achieved. In the State of New Jersey, where we have not a functioning Region, some improvement is visible in a number of places. Atlantic City has been growing by leaps and bounds under the very able leadership of Mr. Halbert. The same situation is apparent in Passaic and Paterson. Newark is the one city with which we have been having difficulty. The situation there is even more disappointing than it is in Brooklyn.

With regard to Brooklyn, Mr. Margulies believed it was very interesting to have this discussion here. He stated that he had convened a meeting only a week ago of all the Chairmen and keymen in Brooklyn, and over fifty people were present, representing every District and group in Brooklyn. Unfortunately, Mr. Borowsky could not be present, which is to be regretted.

Mr. Margulies reported further on his visit to New England, where they are trying to enroll one Zionist member for every Jewish soldier in Palestine. This is a rule worthy of emulation by every District and every Zionist Organization in America.

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PAGE (S)**

time

It is important at this/particularly that the American public should be given a visualization of what Palestine represents and the possibilities for colonization, through the Palestine Pavilion. It is incumbent upon Zionists everywhere to throw themselves into the work. This is also an emergency and this emergency is directly tied up with our business. We have here an extraordinary opportunity. The non-Jewish public do not come to our meetings, and the non-Zionists do not come to our meetings, but it is quite possible that out of the sixty or seventy million people that will go the World's Fair, many of these people will visit the Palestine Pavilion. The Palestine Pavilion in all that it will contain will give a picture of the totality of Palestine that will really be amazing. The whole exhibit of the Palestine Pavilion is being built in Palestine, and we are spending a great part of our budget in Palestine. The Palestine Pavilion is giving employment to forty or fifty families in Palestine. Only the outer shell is being built here. The building is going on now; the steel frame is almost finished. The exhibit is almost three-fourths finished in Palestine. The only thing that is not complete is the matter of money. It is therefore important that the Zionists throughout the country should undertake the little that has been asked of them. The Zionist Districts have an opportunity to replenish their own financial resources by selling the booklets distributed by the Palestine Pavilion. The President of the Z.O.A. has sent out a letter to the Districts, setting quota for the Palestine Pavilion. It is therefore important that the Zionists should get a real understanding of what is behind the Palestine Pavilion. The deficit will be as large in direct proportion to the lack of activity on the part of Zionists.

Mr. Weisgal then answered a number of questions regarding the Palestine Pavilion. He said that the capital investment -- the cost of the exhibit, etc. -- was \$250,000. The total budget is \$325,000. The difference of \$75,000 represents the cost of maintenance of the Palestine Pavilion. There is also a reserve of \$30,000 in the budget to meet any emergency that may rise in connection with putting up the building. There is a Board of Directors consisting of representatives of the Z.O.A., Hadassah, the labor group, J.N.F. and Keren Hayesod. Mr. George Backer, the non-Zionist, is the President. Dr. Israel Goldstein is the Chairman of the Board. There is also a Finance Committee. It is expected that if the Zionists will work and do their job, the whole expense of the Palestine Pavilion will be covered through the sale of the booklets. St. Louis has done very well; it will give (outside of Hadassah) \$3500 in cash. A number of other communities are doing similarly. Brooklyn expects to give \$50,000. The Palestine Pavilion received a loan from the Keren Hayesod of \$75,000 which it has to repay every month. This is included in the budget of the Pavilion. The Palestine Pavilion has to liquidate up to the extent of \$25,000 by the time the Pavilion opens. The Keren Hayesod will have to be repaid \$28,000. The Palestine Pavilion has received thus far in cash and loans, \$135,000. Mr. Jacobi and Mr. Backer have underwritten \$20,000.

The meeting adjourned at 2 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

SECRETARY

Z I O N I S T O R G A N I Z A T I O N O F A M E R I C A

A D M I N S T R A T I V E F U N D

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS

NOVEMBER 30TH, 1938

- 0 -

INDIVIDUALS:

Barney Balaban	\$1,000.00	
Cong. Shaare Torah of Flatbush		60.00
Thru Sol Cohen -		
Davidson Bros., New York City. . . .	\$200.00	
Burland Printing Co., Brooklyn . . .	25.00	
District #33, Richmond Hill.	50.00	275.00
Harry P. Fierst.		25.00
George I. Fox.		5.00
Glen Oaks Golf Club (Thru-I.D.Lipkowitz)		500.00
Samuel Inselbuch		25.00
Boris Margolin		150.00
Louis Posner		25.00
Louis Rimsky		150.00
Robinson & Sverdlik, New York City . .		100.00
Louis P. Rucker.		250.00
Harry Silver		5.00
Jacob Sincoff.		100.00
Sigmund Thau		250.00
Capt. Abraham Tulin.		100.00
Abraham I. Uslander.		50.00
Dr. & Mrs. S. S. Wise.		100.00
Abraham Wouk		10.00

\$3,180.00

DISTRICTS:

<u>District #7 - (West Side, NYC) -</u>		
Israel Chipkin	\$ 5.00	
Dr. Israel Goldstein	10.00	
Leo Guzik.	10.00	
M. Perla	10.00	
Drs. B. & D. Sheitlis.	20.00	
Abr. A. Silberberg	100.00	\$ 155.00
<u>District #10 - (Wash. Hts.)</u>		50.00
<u>District #13 - (Bronx)</u>		100.00
<u>District #14 - (Eastern Pkway, Bklyn)-</u>		
Hyman Aaron.	\$ 50.00	
Boro Hall Liquor Store	10.00	
Isaac Brimberg	10.00	
Rubin Bruck.	10.00	
J. A. Fortunoff.	10.00	
Jos. A. Gottlieb	50.00	
B. H. Levine	100.00	
Irving Lurie	5.00	
M. Miller.	50.00	
David Spiegel.	10.00	305.00
<u>District #19 - (Bensonhurst, Bklyn) -</u>		
District Contribution.	\$ 50.00	
Samuel Kramer.	25.00	75.00
<u>District #30 - (Inwood, NYC)</u>		25.00

ADMINISTRATIVE FUND -STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS

- 2

District #32 - (Flatbush, Bklyn) -

Samuel Berson.	\$100.00	
Abraham Goodman.	100.00	
Jacob Goodman.	100.00	
J. J. Kanner	25.00	
Jacob Lobell	50.00	
Jacob Maze	10.00	
A. H. Onish.	200.00	
Samuel Rothstein	10.00	
Mrs. A. Sachs.	50.00	
Simon Salwen	25.00	
Samuel Schleimer	50.00	
Simon Sverdlick.	10.00	
Isaac Wurman	50.00	\$ 780.00

Connecticut Region -

Hartford, Conn.	450.00
Bangor, Maine	5.00
Mattapan, Mass.	75.00
Ishpeming, Mich.	100.00
Shreveport, La. (No. Louisiana Dist.) .	30.00
Minneapolis, Minn.	895.00
Mt. Vernon, N. Y. -	

District Contribution.	\$100.00	
Harold J. Jaffer	10.00	110.00

\$3,155.00

MISCELLANEOUS:

Rabbi A. E. Cohen, Cleveland, Ohio . .	\$ 25.00
Cong. Beth Israel, New Orleans, La. . .	20.00
Simon Feinberg, NYC.	10.00
Saul S. Goldman, NYC	25.00
Henry Limmer, Providence, R. I. . . .	15.00
Louis Sobel, Brooklyn.	25.00

120.00

TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE FUND:

\$6,455.00

OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS:Emergency Fund -

Robert Szold	\$ 200.00
Collected by - D. H. Maisel,	
Palisades Park, N.J..	56.00
A. Abrahamson, Iowa City, Iowa . . .	75.00
Max Rhoads, Washington, D. C. . . .	150.00
M. Movski, NYC	2.00
H. Klurfeld, NYC	5.35
Jos. Cohen, Brooklyn	10.00

498.35

TOTAL FUNDS RECEIPTS:

\$6,953.35

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CHICAGO

220 SOUTH STATE STREET

TELEPHONE *Wabash* 1285

December 16, 1938

OFFICERS:

President
WILLIAM M. KATZ

Vice Presidents:
SAMUEL F. JACOBSON
CHARLES MISHKIN
MAURICE A. SMOLER

Treasurer
JOHN RISSMAN

Executive Director
CHARLES LEVIN

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Temple-on-the-Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I notice that you are scheduled to appear at the forum of Temple Beth Israel on January 30th.

I should like to extend an invitation to you to have dinner with the officers and executive committee of the district which meets in the vicinity of Temple Beth Israel.

This district happens to be the second largest in Chicago, and your presence for the short period of the dinner will give great encouragement to these men, who are practically new to the organization, to continue the fine work they are doing.

I promise you that if you find it possible to accept this invitation it will in no way interfere with your program which is to follow.

Thanking you in advance, and with best wishes,
I am,

Sincerely yours,

Charles Levin
CHARLES LEVIN,
Executive Director

CL:VA

December 20, 1938

Mr. Charles Levin, Executive Director
Zionist Organization of Chicago
220 South State Street
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Levin:

I deeply appreciate your kind letter of December 16 but I am afraid that I am not able to accept your kind invitation to have dinner with the executive committee of the district on the occasion of my visit to Chicago on January 30th. I must have a few hours of quiet before an address. I will probably arrive late in the afternoon and the acceptance of your invitation, which is very tempting, would rush me and tire me too much. Perhaps at some future time I may be of service to you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AJS:BK

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON WEDNESDAY,

DECEMBER 21, 8:30 P.M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), and Messrs. Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Henry Ellenbogen, Harry M. Fisher, A.H. Friedland, Abraham Goldberg, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, Harris J. Levine, William M. Lewis, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rucker, William I. Siegel, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Stephen S. Wise; Janet Leibel (representing Hadassah), Eleazer Lipsky (representing Masada); by invitation: A. K. Epstein.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Messrs. Edward L. Israel, I. H. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Ludwig Lewisohn, Julian W. Mack, Simon Shetzer.

The meeting was called to order at 8:45 P.M., with Dr. Goldman in the Chair. The Chairman called upon the Secretary to report on the membership situation.

MR. MARGULIES' REPORT:

The Secretary reported on the membership as of December 21, 1938 and compared it with last year as of the same time. The figures are as follows: This year (as of Dec. 21st) in renewals and new members -- 12,117; last year, for the same time, 5,151. This includes 6,783 new members that have been enrolled since October 1, 1938. The total membership, therefore as of December 21, 1938 is 35,783. We have received \$35,055, for membership dues, as against \$17,682.75 last year for the same period. The Secretary pointed out that because of a special situation, Chicago has not remitted its membership dues in full. Otherwise the amount received at the national office would have been about \$37,500, or twice the income for the same period last year.

Reporting further on the membership situation, the Secretary stated that the New England Zionist Region which at the last Convention reported about 3300 members, expects to double or even triple its membership this year. Pittsburgh, which last year finished with 715 members, will have a minimum of 2,000 members, this year. They have undertaken a quota of 3,000. The Secretary visited both these communities and was greatly encouraged by their membership activities. Tuesday night (Dec. 20th) Dr. Goldman was in Atlantic City, where he was to initiate 1,000 members. They had 850 paid-up members and will reach a membership of 1,100. New York is also making some progress, though not as good as it should. Dr. Wise recently addressed a meeting in the Bronx at which 202 members were enrolled. Two of our difficult spots are Philadelphia and Newark.

The Secretary reported that three new Regions have been formed since the beginning of the present fiscal year: the Southern Region, comprising the States of Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, of which Mr. Jack Felt is the Chairman; a Region has been tentatively formed in Minnesota and Iowa, of which Mr. Horshel Horowitz is temporary chairman; a Region consisting of Upper Ohio and Michigan, with Rabbi Leon Feuer as the head, has applied for a Charter. These three Regions have asked that they be recognized so that they can function as Regions.

A Region is entitled to a \$1.00 refund on every \$5.00 membership dues. The Secretary submitted the applications of these three Regions for the consideration of the Executive.

Mr. Wm. I. Siegel reported that the Brooklyn Zionist Region has 1400 now members and will have 5,000 members by the end of the year.

The Secretary reported that the Goldman Administrative Fund which was launched at the dinner tendered to Dr. Goldman at the Commodore Hotel upon his return from Europe and Palestine, now amounts to \$16,843 (in pledges) of which \$9,561 has been collected to date. This represents exclusively monies from New York.

The Chairman summarized the Secretary's report, adding that the increase in membership does not indicate that we have made a real effort in the Z.O.A. in the direction either of a membership campaign or in the way of education and propaganda. We have made no effort in this direction for the primary reason that we were immersed in the emergency situation. In connection with the Regions, Dr. Goldman inquired as to whether there are any rules guiding the formation of a Region.

Mr. Charles Ross explained that the Constitution Committee found neither rules nor regulations; the only requisite being that a Region be comprised of contiguous territory and that the Executive approve the application.

Dr. Goldman pointed out that a Region involves reduction of income from the national organization. If we are to part with the income we should know what the Region is to do and how it is to be composed. He requested Mr. Ross to draft some rules and regulations to be submitted for action at the next meeting.

Dr. Goldstein suggested the advisability of discussing whether we favor in a general way the formation of Regions. He felt that a policy of decentralization is very healthy for an organization; on the other hand, there might be another point of view.

Dr. Goldman stated that the report to be submitted by Dr. Heller on behalf of the Committee on Reorganization covers the point raised by Dr. Goldstein.

Dr. Goldman called attention to the fact that the January meeting of the Executive is scheduled for the Wednesday preceding the Washington Conference - Wednesday, January 11th. It is obvious that the members of the Executive cannot come to New York and then go to Washington. He asked for an expression of approval of those present to have the meeting of the Executive in Washington, D.C., on Friday noon, January 13th.

A brief discussion followed in which Dr. Heller pointed out that a number of members, including himself, would not only be unable to attend the U.P.A. Conference in Washington, but also a meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive if it were held on Friday, January 13th.

It was thereupon decided

THAT the next meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive be held as originally scheduled on Wednesday, January 11, 1939.

POLITICAL SITUATION:

The Chairman called upon Mr. Louis Lipsky to say something about the Arab-Jewish Conferences in London, the conversations with Dr. Weizmann, the meeting with the Agency group, etc.

Mr. Lipsky stated that at first it was understood that the proposed conferences the Government expects to have with the Arabs and the Jews in London were to begin immediately after the Christmas holidays. It then appeared that the conferences would be held some time in the middle of January. The last word was that they will be held in the first week of February. Since the rejection by MacDonald of the proposal that children be admitted into Palestine, a movement has been started both in London and in Palestine, calling upon the Executive to refrain from entering into conferences on the ground that the refusal to admit the children into Palestine constituted a prejudice against the Jewish position which made the possibility of the success of the conferences hardly within the range of reasonable expectation. That movement to have the Executive stay out of the conferences has attained a certain amount of momentum in various countries.

Mr. Lipsky reported further that a meeting was held in New York of the non-Zionist representatives of the Jewish Agency, together with some of the Zionists, to discuss the general situation on the basis of a report by Dr. Nahum Goldmann. It was the consensus of opinion at that meeting -- which was telegraphed to London -- that in the judgment of those present it would be inadvisable to block the conferences on the ground suggested, because the idea of the conference with Arabs was a long protracted idea among the Zionists as being an indication of their good intentions; and to abort these conferences through Jewish inaction on the ground of something which is auxiliary to the main purpose would become inadvisable. Such a cablegram was sent to London by Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

As for the telephone conversation between Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Goldman wanted to know what was happening at London, whether the two resolutions were stimulated by the Executive in London, or whether there was a retaliation in the ranks; Dr. Weizmann was asked what the position of the Executive was. Dr. Weizmann stated that there was a division of opinion in London between Shertok, Ben Gurion and others; that the Executive was to meet and we were to be informed. But there has been no information as yet. Dr. Weizmann said there was a good reason for reconsidering the question, but he did not think that ultimately we should stay away from the conferences.

Reporting further on the meeting with the Agency group, Mr. Lipsky said that this was an improvised conference arranged by Dr. Nahum Goldmann with Dr. Maurice B. Hexter, and to comply with Dr. Hexter's wishes, the number of persons asked to come to this meeting was limited to five. Mr. Lipsky stated that when he proposed a much larger conference, Dr. Hexter declared that if the conference were enlarged he would call it off. In view of the fact that it was to our interest to have Dr. Nahum Goldmann present certain views to the non-Zionists, we thought it would be advisable to comply with Dr. Hexter's wishes and limit the number of persons invited. The non-Zionists present were Dr. Hexter, Dr. Karpf, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Edward Warburg, Mr. Waldman.

U.P.A. SUBVENTION TO Z.O.A.:

At this point Mr. Lipsky stated that there have been intimations to the U.P.A. that it is the intention of the Z.O.A. to propose a reduction of the subvention or the service charge of the Z.O.A. in the U.P.A. He said it was important for Dr. Goldstein and himself to know what is the position of the Z.O.A. in the matter, whether the Z.O.A. asks that the subvention be made a status quo, or that it should be reduced.

Dr. Goldman stated that whether the Z.O.A. will ask for more or less money can be judged after we have heard Dr. Heller's report.

Mr. Lipsky thereupon withdrew his question until after Dr. Heller's report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RE-ORGANIZATION:

The Chairman called upon Dr. James G. Heller to report on behalf of his sub-committee. Dr. Heller stated that it has not been possible to enter into a study of the Zionist Organization of what might be called a scientific character, that the committee has not been able to conduct a survey of Zionist activities in the United States; nor perhaps was it necessary. The general status of Zionism in this country, the number of members who belong to the organization, the methods of the organization, the agencies which the organization now employs -- are familiar to us. Two months ago, at the first meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive, Dr. Goldman gave expression to certain personal reactions which were the result of conversations with a great many Zionists -- not merely recently, but during the course of some years -- as to some of the problems confronting the Zionist Organization. Dr. Goldman proceeded by sending out a communication asking for expressions of opinion. As a result of that, Dr. Goldman transmitted to Dr. Heller and to every member of the Executive certain suggestions, the second of which was in the nature of re-arrangement of the first, both of them treating certain fundamental questions with regard to the Zionist Organization. It has been very difficult to have a meeting of the sub-committee appointed by Dr. Goldman; it was a large committee and it was obvious that it could not meet completely separate of the Executive. Therefore, a meeting of the sub-committee was held at noon of this day (Dec. 21st) and was attended by Dr. Goldman, Mr. Margulies, Rabbi Brickner, Mr. Friedland, Mr. Szold, Mr. Siegel, Mr. Ress, Judge Fisher and Dr. Heller. There was a very thorough discussion of a great many fundamental points. The committee came to the following conclusions.

The sub-committee wants to suggest, in the first place, that we get in touch with the U.P.A. and the J.N.F. and suggest to them two arrangements for the future -- first, that we set up a joint body which shall attempt to eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort, particularly in the direction of propaganda throughout the country. It was the feeling of all the members of the committee that a considerable portion of the work which is done by the J.N.F. and the U.P.A. is to arouse sentiment throughout the country through literature, field representatives and other means. The statement was made by Mr. Henry Montor recently that the U.P.A. prospers most where there is a strong Zionist Organization to back it up. In the Welfare Fund cities it is a truism -- that where there is a strong Zionist group the U.P.A. always gets a better portion of the funds. The committee felt that there is no reason why the three organizations -- Z.O.A., U.P.A. and J.N.F. -- should not set up some machinery by which they could work together. Secondly, the Committee

proposed that we initiate an experiment along the above lines, that we take one section of the United States -- the exact region to be determined later-- and there the three organizations try to work jointly with regard to finance, propaganda, organization, etc. This was not to be regarded as committing the organizations to a nation-wide program, but as an experiment of its effectiveness and appropriateness. Those are the first two suggestions that the committee has to offer.

The third suggestion is that an attempt be made to induce the U.P.A. and the J.N.F. to take over the Palestine Department. It was the feeling of the committee that this is a much more appropriate activity of these two organizations.

Fourthly, the committee recommends that the Zionist Organization be removed to the City of Washington. This evoked a very protracted discussion in which a great variety of opinions were at first presented; but the recommendation now bears the unanimous voice of the committee. The reasons that prompt it are these: the feeling that we must make a new start; that there are certain essential changes which must be made in the entire set-up of Zionism, and which can best be accomplished by going to a new place. It is necessary at the present time to set up a political department in Washington, and we will save money by moving the organization with it; and that political department will be able to do much more effective work as a part of the organization in Washington. There was the feeling that there are certain distinct liabilities that have accrued to the Zionist office by being in New York.

The fifth recommendation of the sub-committee on re-organization is that we should proceed as quickly as possible to set up a New York Zionist Region.

The sixth recommendation is that a study be initiated of the personnel of the Zionist office. The committee did not want to make any drastic recommendations as to individuals. This should be done only after a careful examination, and on the basis of the utmost fairness. Something must be done to revitalize the personnel of the organization to command a greater measure of ability than we command at present. In addition to that, the removal of the office to Washington will probably give us an excellent opportunity to do the two simultaneously.

Seventh, it was proposed and is suggested that the Zionist Organization send to London an American emissary who shall represent the American point of view and who shall convey information to us of things that are transpiring in London. Various other functions too are to be delegated to such a person.

Eighth, there shall be an intensification of Zionist effort throughout the country, by the organization of Regions and by the decentralization of Zionist work throughout the country.

The sub-committee on re-organization proposed for the present that these suggestions be given to three committees to be appointed by the President at this meeting of the Executive, and that they be divided as follows:

1. Committee I. to deal with (a) the establishment of a model Region as an experiment; (b) the transfer of the Palestine Department; (c) the appointment, financing and dispatch of someone to represent us in London; and (d) the setting up of some national machinery which will avoid in the future duplication and overlapping of the

three organizations -- Z.O.A., U.P.A., J.N.F. -- with regard to propaganda, etc.

2. Committee II. to deal with (a) the removal of the Zionist Offices to Washington; (b) the investigation of the personnel; (c) the setting up of a political bureau in Washington.
3. Committee III. to consider methods of decentralization of Zionist work throughout the country.

Mr. Cowen asked whether the matter of the removal of the Zionist Offices to Washington was taken up with the U.P.A. and the J.N.F., as the effect of the separation of these three organizations must be considered.

Dr. Heller concluded his report, stating that it was the feeling of the committee that there are a great many other questions that should be considered, -- the question of the publications of the Zionist Organization: Dos Yiddishe Folk, The New Palestine; the setting up of an Education Department. The committee felt that it was inadvisable to consider all the questions of the organization immediately. The other questions will follow. Wherever the committee refers to "propaganda" it also means "education", Dr. Heller explained.

Mr. Ross asked whether the educational activity is something which is to be included within the scope of the coordinating committee.

Rabbi Miller expressed the thought that the sub-committee on re-organization had presented a very comprehensive and far-reaching program of reorganization, touching every phase of Zionist life in America. He felt that it called for general discussion, with specific recommendations on the proposals submitted.

GENERAL DISCUSSION ON REPORT:

Dr. Goldman allotted one-half hour for a general discussion.

Dr. Heller explained that the committee to be appointed will subsequently report back to the Executive.

Judge Lewis asked what authority the Executive has to go through with a program of this kind -- whether it is not a matter for the Convention.

Mr. Lipsky felt that the report involves one key action and when that key action is approved, all the other items -- which are secondary to the main proposal -- are determined. The main proposal is that of removing the national offices of the Zionist Organization of America to Washington, D.C.; the other things -- the scrutiny of the personnel, the political bureau, etc., etc., -- stem from that. The proposal with regard to propaganda does not involve anything except accelerating the work. Once, however, we take the principal step of removing the national offices to Washington, we make a radical change in the status of the Zionist Organization of America. We would overcome a great

deal of the accumulation of precedent and tradition and laws that the Zionist Organization has acquired in the course of forty years. The personnel then changes to a certain extent by itself and can easily be scrutinized. We ought now to discuss the proposal of removing the national offices to Washington; then come the auxiliary questions, such as the attitude of the J.N.F. and the U.P.A. We have a fifty percent interest in those partnerships and we can exercise an influence there.

Mr. Lipsky thereupon moved

THAT we take out of the report of the sub-committee the suggestion with regard to the removal of the national offices to Washington, and make a decision with regard to that proposal.

Mr. Lipsky added that if a decision is made on that question, 50% of the problems will have been settled.

Judge Henry Ellenbogen suggested the following amendment to Mr. Lipsky's motion:

THAT we first consider the question of the removal of the national offices to Washington, and then, if time permits, we consider the other proposals of the sub-committee.

Dr. Goldman stated that the removal to Washington is not the only weighty matter for consideration. The matter of coordination between the Z.O.A., U.P.A. and J.N.F. is perhaps even more important than removing to Washington. At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the U.P.A. held late this afternoon it was evident that the U.P.A. and the J.N.F. are going to be faced with a problem this year which they have not faced in previous years -- there is going to be a united campaign committee which will conduct the campaign for twenty million dollars. The campaign is not going to be under the auspices of the U.P.A. or of the J.D.C., but of a committee of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. with its own terminology; and its own campaigners in New York, as well as throughout the country, will set up for the purpose of conducting the campaign; and the question was in the minds of all those vested with responsibility for the J.N.F. and the U.P.A. and the J.N.F. will do during the coming year. Almost at the close of the meeting the Director of the U.P.A. registered a complaint against The New Palestine -- that the U.P.A. cannot possibly get the necessary propaganda for its work. Hence, in addition to the question of removing the offices to Washington, and coordination between the three organizations, there is the matter of basic Zionist education and propaganda, as distinguished from party or organization propaganda, in which all of the agencies are interested. The J.N.F. publicises Palestine, Hannita, the Emek; so does the U.P.A.; and so does the Z.O.A. One group does it without the knowledge of the other. Dr. Goldman was confident that if a committee were appointed to study the propaganda and the publicity and the educational work of these three bodies, we would discover great waste, because of duplication and overlapping. Furthermore, internationally -- in the World Zionist Organization -- gradually the Keren Hayosod and the Keren Kayemeth have built up their propaganda in educational departments. If the Z.O.A. would do nothing more in the United States than adopt for its purposes the contributions of the Keren Kayemeth in Jerusalem

and the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem, we would have as fine an educational and propaganda department as the Z.O.A. ever had in this country. It is therefore important that a committee consider the question as to whether for a basic Zionist propaganda and Palestine propaganda in the United States we cannot effect coordination. That is as important as removing to Washington; therefore, if we take these two points: the question of coordination and the question of removal, the others can wait for another time.

Dr. Heller stated that those activities that had to do with the internal organization of Zionism were assigned to one committee, and the others which have to do with relations with other organizations were assigned to another committee.

Dr. Friedland agreed with Mr. Lipsky, that the concrete problem should be considered first. He seconded Mr. Lipsky's motion.

MR. LIPSKY'S MOTION WAS UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED.

DISCUSSION ON REMOVAL OF HEADQUARTERS
FROM NEW YORK TO WASHINGTON, D.C.:

Mr. Siegel stated that six or seven of the members of the sub-committee are in favor of the proposal to remove the headquarters to Washington.

The Chairman requested that the members of the sub-committee refrain from speaking for some time.

He stated that although to some of the members of the Executive the proposal of removal comes for the first time, this matter has been under consideration by the members of the sub-committee for some time. Because it is so drastic a proposal, the committee should have the benefit of deliberation on the matter. The Chairman suggested, therefore, that the report of the sub-committee on re-organization be circulated among the members of the Executive.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that a decision on this matter by the Executive does not determine the matter; it must necessarily come before the Administrative Committee and the Convention of the Z.O.A. He was of the opinion that the Z.O.A. Constitution provides that the national headquarters should be in New York City.

Messrs. Ress, Goldberg, Ellenbogen and Friedland felt that for the enlightenment of the members of the Executive who are not on the sub-committee, those who favored the proposal for removal should present the reasons which prompted them to make the proposal.

Dr. Goldman presented the following reasons: (1) A study of all national Jewish organizations in the United States reveals that they are least successful in the City of New York. The city is far too large for effective organization; there is invariably too much confusion and distraction in the city. (2) With respect to the Zionist Organization, it is perhaps a little worse than with most organizations. There has developed a tradition of visiting the Zionist offices, of dropping in for whatever purpose. Men and women come in from all over the vast city to see someone in the office and the day is wasted receiving people and speaking to them. Very frequently, people move in; other organizations move in and clog up the Z.O.A. machinery.

(3) There is a need now more than ever for a political department in Washington. To establish such a political department would require considerable expenditure, which the Z.O.A. cannot afford. And furthermore, to put such a department in Washington by itself would stamp it merely as a "lobbying" committee. If the whole organization is there and the headquarters are there, this reproach is removed. The sub-committee was not unaware of the fact that New York has 55% of the Jews of America and 90% of the talent and of the genius of the Jews of America, but it also felt that the organization, just because it is in New York, has really not utilized those forces, and physical propinquity has not meant a cultural and spiritual integration. The experiment was made by another national Jewish body, the B'nai B'rith; they did their work from an out of the way community, Cincinnati, and they succeeded in a few years in building up an organization that is $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the size of the Zionist Organization of America. When they began to think of moving, they considered New York, but they decided in favor of Washington, and their experience thus far has made them very happy that they have gone to Washington. It has put them in immediate touch with Governmental Departments before other organizations can make up their mind and go there and establish those connections. They are there on the spot. The sub-committee also felt that the weakness of the Zionist position in the City of New York may be due altogether to the fact that the presence of the national organization in New York has made it impossible for the New York Region to organize itself or to be organized. Every Zionist problem in New York becomes a national problem, so that New York as such is forgotten. The membership of New York today is probably no larger than the membership of the city of Chicago. It is larger than Atlantic City which now has 860 paid members and 300 unpaid; New York may have thus far three or four times the number of members in Atlantic City. The Zionists of New York rely on the national leaders who happen to live in New York to do their Zionist work in the city; whereas these national leaders are busy with the national and sometimes the world problems, and cannot organize the City of New York.

Dr. Heller stated that a great many felt that the last Convention was a mandate to attempt, at least, a thorough-going organization, to raise the level of the leadership of Zionism in this country. In addition to all of the reasons that Dr. Goldman has given, he wished to add that the change would be made easier in this direction by the removal of the offices from New York; that it would be easier to inaugurate a new era, to draw in new people, than if the offices remained in New York. He considered this a valid reason from the psychological point of view.

Rabbi Miller expressed regret that Mr. Lipsky pressed his motion and took issue with the statement that the key to the problem of reorganization as reported lies in the removal of the national offices to Washington. Rabbi Miller said he has given a great deal of thought to the organization of the Z.O.A. for quite a few years; he had instituted almost single-handed in Long Island the very model Region that the sub-committee proposes to be instituted somewhere in the country, where the Z.O.A., the U.P.A. and the J.N.F. will be completely and thoroughly coordinated, and where Zionist expression and Zionist loyalty on the part of members of the Z.O.A., and Zionist effectiveness will have reached their highest point. Rabbi Miller added that he had not found the presence of the Zionist offices in New York a detriment to such an organization, and did not feel that the removal of the offices to Washington would in any way benefit such an organization. There are many problems involved in the question of

reorganizing the Z.O.A. that are bound to affect the question of removal to Washington, and we are beginning at the very end. Rabbi Miller said he saw no real justification, even in the proposals advanced, for such removal, namely, that there are hangers-on, that there are visitors to the office, that there are people who like to drop in and stay. That can be corrected, without going to Washington, by determining to conduct the affairs of the organization in a business-like manner. If it is a question of reorganizing the personnel, of getting rid of some persons that we feel have outlived their usefulness, then, too, that becomes a question of courage to deal with the situation here as it is and not to deal with it by going away to another city. We will have to have a Zionist office in New York City anyway. We will then have two offices one in Washington and one in New York, which, whether we wish it or not, because of the fact that it is in New York, will become the national office. The only thing is, on the door will be "Zionist Region of New York" and not "Zionist Organization of America". And we will have all of those irritants that we have today, unless we correct them; and in some building in Washington we will have on the window the sign of the Zionist Organization of America, with one or two or five secretaries, but it will not be the national headquarters -- the national headquarters will still be here in New York, where 55% of the Jews live. The Zionist movement cannot be compared to the B'nai B'rith; the Zionist Organization cannot be compared to any other organization. There is a New York shtimmung about the Zionist Organization that would be impossible in a city like Washington. We will have the meetings in New York in the office of the New York Zionist Organization; we will have the big receptions to visiting dignitaries in the Zionist Organization in New York, because that is the only place where they can be held in order to produce a shtimmung throughout the country. We will have a de facto organization in New York and a de jure organization in Washington. There are basic problems in the Zionist Organization that have to be corrected. Dr. Heller is correct -- we have a mandate to revitalize and change the structure of the whole Zionist Organization in New York; we have had this mandate for many years, but we have never done anything about this mandate. By removing the headquarters to Washington we will not be getting at the basic problem; we will simply be opening up an office without in any way be improving the organization, or bringing about coordination. There ought to be an office in Washington anyway. Rabbi Miller added that he felt bound by the fact that the discussion had been limited to the question of the removal of the office to Washington, and believed that there should now be a general discussion on the question of changing the general structure of the Zionist Organization of America.

Rabbi Brickner thought that the limitation of the discussion is a little too drastic. The question of removal of the national offices to Washington is only one of the eight points proposed by the committee on re-organization. It was understood, he said, that the only part of the Z.O.A. that would move to Washington, in addition to the establishment of the political bureau, would be the membership department, and the administrative work related to the building up of the membership. The other phase of the Z.O.A. work, namely, creating shtimmung in America for Palestine, would be done in New York, coordinately with the J.N.F. and the U.P.A. The sub-committee felt that since so much of the propaganda and the educational program for creating the shtimmung for Palestine is also the work of the J.N.F. and the U.P.A. it ought not to be left entirely to the Z.O.A. which does not have sufficient funds with which to carry it on -- coupled with the fact that the Palestine Bureau has been conducted

by the Z.O.A. and is legitimately not a function of the Z.O.A. but of the U.P.A., the J.N.F., and Hadassah. When we get down to what is the function of the Z.O.A. administratively and functionally, we find that it has a double function: (1) to do the political work; the chief responsibility for which rests with the Z.O.A.; that must be conducted from Washington; (2) To build up membership in the Z.O.A. That certainly can be done better if the organization is stripped of all the irritating traditions created by the Zionist Organization, thereby leaving whoever is charged with the responsibility for membership free to go ahead with that function. So it was with the idea of making the function of the Z.O.A. clearer and more effective that this proposal of removal to Washington brought forth.

Mr. Goldberg stated that he was unable to understand how the committee arrived at this proposal. Washington is the dead end. The renaissance should be in New York, where most of Jewry in America lives. New York is the place for basic, spiritual Zionism. It is true we must have a political organization. But the political organization of the B'nai B'rith and our political organization are not the same. The political organization of the B'nai B'rith is similar to a political organization of the Congress. Our organization is not; we are not lobbying. There are occasions once a year or once in two years when we must go to Washington. What we mean by political work is disseminating information among various people who have influence in American public life. Just because the political bureau must be in Washington is no reason for removing the entire organization to Washington. All we really have to do in the political bureau is to educate the Congressmen and Senators in Zionism. We can do that from New York. It is an absolute misapprehension of the entire purpose of the political bureau to compare it to the B'nai B'rith which is an American organization and has nothing to do with the aims and purposes of the Zionist Organization. Our political bureau would be merely for the purpose of Zionist education; we simply want Washington to be favorably disposed toward us. In Washington we could not possibly receive dignitaries the way we do in New York; nor could we have mass meetings of the type we can hold in New York, where we have the necessary shouting, etc. The personnel of the Zionist Organization is limited to a mere handful of people. The leaders who are not in the personnel - Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein and others -- will not go to Washington, they will remain in New York; and where they remain, there is the national office. New York is the Jewish center of America and the logical seat of American Zionism.

Mr. Goldberg felt that only the questions of coordination and propaganda should be considered, and that it must be borne in mind that the political bureau in Washington should be a lobby.

He expressed the opinion that Zionist visitors should be welcomed to the office and that there should be men there to meet and talk with them. At the present time only the Secretary sees these people. Unfortunately people no longer visit the national office as they used to do in former years, when Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, or Miss Szold were there; then the office was absolutely alive. In conclusion, Mr. Goldberg reiterated that it would be a mistake to remove the national office to Washington but he approved of having a political bureau in Washington provided it shall not become a lobby. He added that the Zionists of America look to Dr. Goldman to rebuild the Zionist Organization in accordance with his promise at the last Convention.

Judge Ellenbogen felt that the question of the removal of the Zionist office must be approached with coolness and deliberation; with judgment and reason. When we ask ourselves what is the purpose of the national office, we will approach the solution of that question. The purpose is, first, Zionism as a political movement and the place of the political movement is in Washington. The purpose of the office is to organize. If we want to organize we must have a quiet office, where we are left alone and where the time is our own. Judge Ellenbogen stated that he has a knowledge of Washington, and he felt that it would do the Government, as well as the Zionists, a great deal of good to have the national office there. He said he had heard a great deal of talk in the sections outside of New York of a desire to see the office move to Washington, and if a consensus of opinion of Zionists outside of New York were taken, there would be an overwhelming sentiment in favor of removing the national offices to Washington. From the organizational viewpoint, too, it would give the Zionist movement a tremendous impetus to have the national office in Washington. When we contemplate the fact that the Zionist Organization has only 35,000 members, we must agree that there is something radically wrong with the Zionist Organization of America if it was not able to do any better.

Dr. Goldstein said he had not made up his mind about the merits of removing the national offices to Washington. Because so many arguments have been advanced in favor of this proposal, he thought perhaps that in justice to the issue he ought to advance those arguments which occur to him as being against the proposal. The question of a political department has been placed as a cardinal question. Perhaps we ought to experiment for a time with a political department in Washington, in order to ascertain just what such a thing can mean to us practically. Before dismantling an organization, the part of discretion would be to try out this cardinal point and see what happens to it in the course of a year or two. From the standpoint of Zionism really as a political movement and as the movement of the masses, occasions often arise when it is necessary to have tremendous demonstrations. We are able to have mass demonstrations in Madison Square Garden in New York which redound to the benefit of the national office and it means a great deal to be able to have such demonstrations in New York. The next thing is the matter of subjecting our leaders and our officers in the Zionist Organization to the visits of various people both inside of New York and outside of New York. We need to attract people from all parts of America to come and visit the Zionist Organization. The difficulty is that those people rarely get to see the leaders whose letters they receive, and from that standpoint it is very important to have at the national headquarters a place where people can come from all parts of America. Business men are likely to come to New York much more frequently than they come to Washington. They come here to the U.P.A. and the J.N.F., and when they come to those organizations they should be able to visit the Zionist Organization headquarters and see the people that need to be seen. As to analogies, we must remember, that quite apart from all the other distinctions, the B'nai B'rith moved to Washington not from New York, but from Cincinnati. There may have been very good reasons for moving from Cincinnati to Washington, but to move from New York to Washington is a step backward. It is perfectly possible to have a well functioning organization in New York. Hadassah has a larger membership than we have; Hadassah functions efficiently; Hadassah is not troubled by those indiscriminate visits about which we complain, or if it is troubled by them, it seeks them and apparently it benefits by them. These are a few of the thoughts that should be considered before deciding upon this very important step.

Dr. Heller felt that the arguments which Mr. Goldberg used reveal the state of mind which has grown up out of having the national office in New York. To him (Dr. Heller) the problem of the Zionist Organization is the problem of getting people to work together and of bringing others in by an effective method of organization, by charting the whole country. Because of the financial stringency of the organization and other reasons, the present relation of the Zionist Organization to the remainder of the United States is exceedingly attenuated. We do not get very much from them; we cannot. If the Zionist Organization does not succeed in New York; if New York has the smallest membership proportionally of any community in the United States; and if the relationship to the rest of the country is so attenuated -- then what is the achievement of the Zionist Organization of America. He suggested as a remedy, a better people in a better organization, and believed the rest will flow from that. As for the reference to Hadassah by some of the previous speakers, Dr. Heller pointed out that Hadassah did not start with the handicap of the Z.O.A. He felt that the task of approaching the problem nationally would be immensely facilitated by removing the national offices to Washington.

Dr. Friedland stated that he was perhaps the only member of the committee on reorganization who spoke at length against moving to Washington, that he advanced most of the reasons that have been given here, including the argument that 55% of the Jews in the United States live in New York City; that about 75% or 80% live within a radius of two hours from New York; that most of the talent for propaganda and education live in New York. However, he added, when he heard all the other arguments, and the vote was taken, he voted for removal to Washington. Dr. Friedland said he fully agrees with Mr. Goldberg's point of view. He also felt that no matter what may be set up in Washington, the national office of the Z.O.A. will be in New York. He suggested as a compromise that, for political work and for national organization work, the Z.O.A. go to Washington. When the membership office will be in Washington, New York will naturally recede from the horizon and the rest of the country will become more real. From the point of view of cool, quiet, administrative work of membership, and from the point of view of showing the whole country in its proper perspective, it will be better for the office to be out of New York. Dr. Friedland said he had a suspicion that within a year or two we will have to move back to New York -- we will alienate people. But our leaders should be given an opportunity to see that it is not the workers who are to blame for the condition in the organization, but that other factors are responsible for it. The organization work and the political work should be moved to Washington; the coordinated propaganda and education, and the shtimmung-creating forces must remain in New York City.

Mr. William I. Siegel thought that if we were for the first time constituting an office of the Zionist Organization, everybody's reaction would be to put the office in New York City. But the fact remains that we have had the office in New York City for a number of years and there are some quasi-weaknesses in our structure, which we must ascribe to some extent, at least, to the national office being located in New York City. Even though he still had some doubt, Mr. Siegel added, we have got to be daring though doubtful and take whatever risk is inherent in the move to Washington.

Dr. Wise asked if those present had given thought to the difference between Congress and the British Parliament, and why the Zionists generally in England have fared so much better with the House of Commons than we have with Congress. Day by day and year after year there is contact, so much contact that some Members of Parliament are better Zionists than some of the leaders of the Zionist movement. It may be said, Dr. Wise pointed out, that in crises we fare well in Washington. He added, we fare well and fare ill. If we were in Washington we might not have the crises which now arise to plague us. If we had a good man in a good office in Washington we would not have to act in this episodic manner in relation to the Zionist movement; we would know our men. If we had access to President Wilson and got something from him, it was due to the great influence and the constant access of Mr. Brandeis, and to the fact that in 1916, 1917 he (Dr. Wise) was in Washington once or twice weekly. We virtually had an office in Washington. Let us not say, just because it suits the argument, that Zionism is not a political movement. It is a political movement and it also does other things. Secondly, Dr. Wise wondered whether some New Yorkers realize the feeling of American Jews toward New York. No place on earth is Jewry as provincial as in New York City. One of the great virtues for Dr. Goldman as President, is because he is not a New Yorker. Dr. Harry Friedenwald was the only other non-New Yorker who was ever President of the Z.O.A. The third point of view expressed by Dr. Wise was that it is immensely important to keep in touch with Washington. When we get other Presidents it may be still more important to have access to the Administration, and we have not that access when we are in New York.

Dr. Wise continued that the thing that Dr. Goldman can not do for New Yorkers is to build up Zionism in New York. New York offers a peculiar problem. New York is a geographical name; but that is all. There is no relation between the separate places in New York; there is no integrity; there is no community life. Dr. Wise added that he goes to Chicago oftener than he goes to Brooklyn.

As an ex-President several times over the Z.O.A. Dr. Wise felt that he must speak frankly. One eleven Fifth Avenue is very inadequately representative of the Zionist movement in America. It is sad that it should be so. He added that he may have as large a share of the responsibility of that unhappy fact as any living person; but wherever the responsibility lies, somehow we have not made one eleven Fifth Avenue a living, moving center of the Zionist movement in America. He continued that he and Mr. Lipsky have had to postpone visits to Washington time and again. We do not go to Washington; we go there only occasionally. We have no constant connection with the center of our movement. In the very near future we are to have a tremendous attack on everything Jewish, including Zionism, and we ought to be ready to meet it. We must realize that we are today in 1929 or 1930 Germany, with a tremendous onset against the Jewish people, and the next thing will be Zionism -- and Zionism is always under attack. If we do not see that we are vastly mistaken.

We are proposing the radical change of moving the central office from New York which is not central and upon which we have made no impact in our forty years of Zionist life. We may decide after some years that we must come back to New York. But it will be on one condition; that 25,000 New Yorkers, out of 2,000,000, will be members of the Zionist Organization.

There is something utterly wrong today in the fact that we have 10,000 members out of 2,000,000. It is our unforgivable sin. Dr. Wise said he would rather have an out-of-town Zionist come to Washington once a year, than to come to New York four times a year for business, and incidentally come to the Zionist office. He said he would like to try the experiment of taking ourselves to Washington. He thought it would give immense satisfaction to thousands of Jews in America. We have got to think in the same terms as the B'nai B'rith.

Dr. Heller made the following motion:

THAT the Executive instruct the President to appoint three committees for the purposes suggested by the Committee on Re-organization.

Dr. Heller's motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Dr. Goldman stated that the sub-committee is now in a position to prepare a memorandum to be sent to the next meeting of the Executive on January 11, 1939.

Dr. Goldman took exception to some of the remarks in Mr. Golberg's statement. He wished to remind the Executive that he made no promise in Detroit at all; that he does not make such promises. He made statements such as most of us have made for the past twenty years -- the need for intensification of Zionist life, of bringing more of the spiritual and cultural elements into the work. He assured those present that in the discussion with the sub-committee which began with Rabbi Heller at nine o'clock in the morning -- these questions were considered. The sub-committee considered the cultural and the spiritual aspects of the 55% of New Yorkers and all the talent that New York has, as Dr. Friedland reported. We also know that a year ago Dr. Wise appointed a Survey Committee; and three years ago and five years ago there were committees appointed; and Dr. Goldman added that he remembered being a member of a committee twelve years ago, and he remembered being asked to prepare a memorandum for our organization fourteen years ago; and all the discussions that took place on those memoranda and proposals were not unlike the discussion here this evening, and we did not move. We permitted any number of Jewish organizations to take away the men and the women who properly belong to Zionism and the Z.O.A.

Dr. Goldman said further that there was an insinuation that he shuns the Zionist headquarters. He recalled that in July, after the Detroit Convention, which was on July 4 or 5, from the time he left for Palestine on the 27, in those 22 days he spent 14 days in New York and almost all of them at the Z.O.A. office, and he accomplished absolutely nothing. It took him invariably almost an hour to get from the elevator to the office. He was approached on all kinds of immaterial matters. But even when he stays at the Hotel he finds thirty or forty telegrams and telephone calls; of no special importance.

Dr. Goldman said he was in Washington for three hours during this week and he had more conferences that were of interest to us in that short period than he had in New York in a week or two. We know what happens in New York -- Dr. Wise came to the meeting tonight a little after ten o'clock because he had other engagements. This has happened very frequently -- not only Dr. Wise, but during our emergency work people ran in for five minutes or ten minutes, or a half hour. That also happens to him in Chicago, Dr. Goldman said; he never

liked a Convention or a Conference in Chicago; he could not attend to them properly; but when he comes here he has nothing before him but the Zionist work, and he attends to it. These six or seven national leaders who live in New York have after all, their own work; they do not interrupt their daily calendar; their Zionist work is included in their daily calendar; they try to be at four or five meetings at the same time. If the Z.O.A. Executive will meet in Washington, it will come for the business of Zionism. What some may think is a defect is quite the thing that is going to make it possible for us to do the Zionist work in Washington.

To suggest the reorganization of one eleven Fifth Avenue, without moving, Dr. Goldman continues, is to his mind to expect the impossible; there is that weight which has held us down for years and which will continue to hold us down. Everyone of our meetings, with the exception of this meeting, has been packed by non-members of the Executive. He has asked Mr. Margulies time and again for a meeting of members of the Executive; there are certain matters which have to be discussed, where we want only the judgment of the members of the Executive. We come here to do some business. It happened at one of our meetings that a certain suggestion was made which affected other agencies, and the following day, a non-member of the Executive telephoned to report what had happened here and reported it not as it was acted upon; and then it created friction, and for a week or two we were wondering just what was going to happen. That is the situation at one eleven Fifth Avenue. We do not want to run away from the people; we want to have an office that can function properly, and above all, Dr. Goldman added, he felt the great need of being more and more regularly in Washington, because it may not be the center of Jewish life, but it does happen to be the capitol of the United States.

(Dr. Goldman had to leave for the train to Chicago; Mr. Lipsky took the Chair).

Judge Ellenbogen suggested that the minutes of this meeting should be fuller than they usually are. The Chairman instructed the stenographer to bring in as full a report of the discussion of this meeting as possible.

Re- MR.ZIFF:

Judge Lewis called attention to a meeting he attended by Mr. Ziff, the author of "The Rape of Palestine". He said that Mr. Ziff made quite an impression upon that group.

The Chairman stated that steps are being taken to inform all interested parties that certain representations that are being made by Mr. Ziff are injurious to the cause.

RESOLUTION ON DEATH OF WILLIAM B. LEAF:

Motion was duly made and seconded and unanimously carried

THAT a proper resolution on the death of William B. Leaf be recorded in the minutes; and that the resolution thus adopted be forwarded to the family of the late Mr. Leaf.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON WEDNESDAY,
JANUARY 11, 1939, BEGINNING AT 4 P.M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL,
NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), Messrs. Charles A. Cowen, Harry M. Fisher, A. H. Friedland, Israel Goldstein, Harris J. Levine, Israel H. Levinthal, William M. Lewis, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, A. H. Rosenberg, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Robert Szold; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein (representing Hadassah), Eleazer Lipsky (representing Masada); by invitation: Joseph Cohen, of London, David Ben Gurion, of Palestine.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Messrs. Barnett R. Brickner, Henry Ellenbogen, Abraham Goldstein, Edward L. Israel, Julian W. Mack, Simon Shetzer, Elihu D. Stone, Morris Weinberg and Stephen S. Wise.

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The meeting was called to order at 4:15 P. M.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Secretary submitted a factual report covering the first quarter of the present fiscal year, which indicated a total of approximately 37,000 members in the Z.O.A. Thus far a little over 6,000 renewals have been received; 8,000 new members have been enrolled, making a total as of December 31, 1938 of over 14,000, as compared with 6,000 for the same period last year. About \$40,678 has been received in membership money since October 1, 1938, as against 20,756 last year for the same period. This membership came from 17 Regions. Fourteen of these Regions have actually been approved by the Executive or by some other authoritative body; three have submitted applications for approval.

The Secretary stated that when the question of Regions comes up the whole set-up of the Regional system will have to be revised. He suggested that the Committee discuss the question of membership in general, and called attention to the unusual opportunity to double, or triple the membership.

Reporting on the publications, the Secretary stated that the total mailing list of the Z.O.A. is 39,350, divided as follows: The New Palestine -- 36,250; Dos Yiddishe Folk -- 3,100. The circulation is made up as follows: Dos Yiddishe Folk -- Exchange list : 276; paid subscribers: 407; Z.O.A. membership: 1,998. Two hundred copies of Dos Yiddishe Folk are supplied to newsstands, from which there is no income. The office keeps in reserve 219 copies. New Palestine -- Exchange List: 474; paid subscribers: 372; Young Judaea: 533; Avukah: 250; Masada: 550; U.P.A.: 75 copies; reserve in office: 500; membership: 33,496. The joint members receive only one newspaper.

The Secretary reported further that during the period in review the office arranged for 156 meetings covering 101 Districts in 22 States. These include only meetings arranged by the National Office and for which the National Office supplied speakers. These 156 meetings were addressed by 31 speakers, some speaking more than once.

The income from membership for the first seven months of the current fiscal year was \$101,764; the expense was \$94,446. The income for the first four months following the Convention was \$41,028; the expense for the same period was \$53,709. However, the income for the months of October, November and December, 1938 was \$60,736 -- and the expense was \$40,737 for those three months; so that we had a deficit at the beginning of the fiscal year, but we now have a surplus of \$7,318 at the end of the seven-month period.

DISCUSSION ON SECRETARY'S REPORT:

A lengthy discussion ensued, participated in by Rabbis Israel Goldstein, and I. H. Levinthal; and Messrs. Louis P. Rocker, Charles A. Cowen, Wm. I. Siegel, Charles Ress, Judges Harry Fisher and Wm. M. Lewis, in which the prevailing opinion was that every effort be made to set up an organizational machinery, to utilize the interest created by recent events, for increasing Zionist membership.

In closing the discussion on the subject, the Chairman called upon Mr. Ress to assume the division of the country into a centralized system of Regions manned by competent field workers; and to take this division into consideration in his definition of the scope and function of a Region.

With regard to the Chicago situation, upon which the Secretary and Col. Rosenberg reported briefly, the Chairman suggested that Col. Rosenberg submit a detailed statement, in order that the matter may be properly discussed.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE:

Mr. Louis P. Rocker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, submitted a detailed report on the finances of the Z.O.A. for the seven-month period beginning June 1st and ending December 31, 1938. The report indicated that the pro-rated budget had been exceeded by \$10,727.35 for the seven-month period.

The Chairman asked that information be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive, showing how this excess expenditure was incurred, and why it cost the Z.O.A. an average of \$1,532.48 more a month to operate than originally estimated.

SIR RONALD STORRS:

The Chairman called attention to the presence of Sir Ronald Storrs, former Governor of Jerusalem, in the United States on a lecture tour, and suggested the appointment of a Committee to wait on Sir Ronald to discuss with him the Palestine problem; and also extend an invitation to him to attend a function in his honor.

After a brief discussion on the impressions gathered from Sir Ronald's addresses in various communities:

The Chairman moved

THAT Dr. I. H. Levinthal, Mr. Louis Lipsky and Dr. Stephen S. Wise meet with Sir Ronald Storrs and extend to him an invitation to attend a function to be arranged in his honor in New York City; that in conversation with Sir Ronald, and in a general way, Messrs. Levinthal, Lipsky and Wise speak of the reaction to his addresses in this country.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

DELEGATES TO LONDON CONFERENCES:

The Chairman called attention to the Conferences to be held in London at the beginning of February, and suggested that a small delegation be named to represent the Z.O.A. The non-Zionists of the Jewish Agency have been invited and a small delegation is going.

Mr. Ress moved

THAT Dr. Solomon Goldman, Mr. Louis Lipsky and Dr. Stephen S. Wise be appointed a Committee with full power to select the delegation that is to represent the Z.O.A. at the London Conferences.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

DOS YIDDISHE FOLK:

In discussing Dos Yiddishe Folk, the general consensus of opinion, with the exception of the views expressed by Rabbi Levinthal and Dr. Goldstein, was, that in view of the limited number of readers and because of the fact that the Jewish community was unusually well covered by a friendly Yiddish press, it would be more beneficial to discontinue the magazine and use the budgetary allotment for the issuing of Yiddish pamphlets and perhaps also a Yiddish Year-Book. The Chairman explained that before suspension there would be one or two more issues and a statement of this action would appear in Dos Yiddishe Folk. The matter will be discussed with the editor.

Mr. Rucker moved

THAT the Z.O.A. suspend publication of Dos Yiddishe Folk for a period of time.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

THE NEW PALESTINE:

The Chairman stated that suggestions have come from every part of the country that The New Palestine be changed from a weekly to a monthly. The present format leaves much to be desired. The paper does not compare favorably with other periodicals. It is given to publicizing trivial, banal details and the fine editorials and articles are crowded out by front-page news which is a repetition of what was already published locally before The New Palestine reaches its readers. After discussing in detail the useful purposes which The New Palestine serves, Mr. Lipsky moved

THAT the Chair appoint a Committee with a view to re-forming The New Palestine, either as a weekly, or from the point of view of a monthly, in order that The New Palestine may reasonably conform with the Organization needs of the Z.O.A. and, at the same time, give expression to the things that are in the mind of the Chairman.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT:

The Chairman stated that discussion on the Education Department will have to be held in abeyance until other matters, such as the financial situation, our propaganda machinery, and the membership set-up, etc., are considered. In the meantime, the Education Department is continuing to function. The Chairman suggested that the educational pamphlets issued would be better propaganda material if they were descriptive rather than argumentative, attempting to convey the achievements in Palestine, such as the story of Hanita, Nahalel, etc., and proposed the naming of a committee to read the material now available and all other material, before it is published.

Mr. Cowen moved

THAT an Editorial Committee be appointed, whose duty it shall be to read all material available and also that being prepared for publication by the Education Department.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Chairman appointed the following persons to serve as the Editorial Committee: Rabbi Samuel Blumenfield, Charles A. Cowen, Dr. A. H. Friedland, Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, Dr. Israel Goldstein and Maurice Samuel.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT IN WASHINGTON:

The Chairman stated that the need is felt more and more for a Political Department in Washington. Such department would involve the services of a contact man and an office, and would probably mean an expenditure of from \$12,000 to \$15,000 a year. About \$7,000 is already available -- \$5,000 in Cleveland and \$2,000 in Baltimore.

A brief discussion followed, in which Rabbi Miller, Mr. Lipsky and the Secretary, participated.

Judge Fisher moved

THAT a Committee of three be appointed, with power to establish a Bureau in Washington for such purposes as the Z.O.A. may see fit.

The Chairman stated that Judge Fisher and Mr. Ress have prepared a brief on the question of removing the national office to Washington, and the matter will be further discussed.

PALESTINE DEPARTMENT:

The question of the Palestine Department, its functions and set-up was presented and considered. There was a brief discussion in which the Chairman, Mr. Rocker, Dr. Friedland, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Siegel and Mr. Cowen participated. All felt the need of an enlarged Palestine Department under the joint auspices of all parties and groups in Zionism.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. realizes the need for an enlarged Palestine Bureau, which shall embrace activities pertaining to Tozereth Haaretz, land investment, tourism, Chamber of Commerce, etc.;

THEREFORE, it feels that the Z.O.A. cannot continue - nor is it incumbent upon the Z.O.A. to maintain a Palestine Bureau, unless the cooperation and support of Hadassah, Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, Mizrachi and Poale Zion is contributed toward the upkeep of such a Bureau;

THAT in the event the sub-committee appointed for that purpose is unable to get the assent of these bodies, to this cooperation, for the maintenance of the Palestine Bureau, the Z.O.A. will be compelled to abandon the Bureau.

THAT the sub-committee report back to the Executive for action.

- SECOND SESSION -

INTENSIFICATION OF Z.O.A. ACTIVITIES:

The Chairman introduced the question of how best to intensify the work of the Z.O.A. The matter was discussed at length by a number of the members present, including Mr. Ress, Mrs. Epstein, Rabbi Miller, Mr. Rocker, Dr. Friedland, Judge Fisher, Col. Rosenberg, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Goldstein and Mr. Lipsky.

In summing up the substance of the discussion, the Chairman stressed the following facts to be considered by the Coordinating Committee:

- 1) That an effective reorganization of the Z.O.A. must be brought about through the coordination of the Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayemeth and the Z.O.A., thereby eliminating overlapping, duplication and competitive effort.
- 2) That Regions be formed, manned by competent Field Directors, who are not concerned with partisan politics, and who are thoroughly conversant with the needs of the movement and can make people aware of Palestine, the Basle Program, and the achievement and general ideology of Palestine.
- 3) That the Z.O.A. should outline for itself a definite program of activities. An appeal should be devised which will attract the average Jew to the Z.O.A.
- 4) That a plan be considered for meeting the financial needs in order to bring about such reorganization.

The Coordinating Committee consists of Rabbi James G. Heller, Chairman; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Charles Ress, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Goldman added the name of Mrs. Judith Epstein to the Coordinating Committee.

POLITICAL REPORT: (Mr. Ben Gurion)

Before calling upon Mr. David Ben Gurion, the Chairman read a cable received from Dr. Chaim Weizmann, dated Paris, January 7, 1939, which indicated the influence felt abroad through American pressure.

Mr. Ben Gurion delivered a confidential report on the Political situation.

DISCUSSION ON ALL-JEWISH CONFERENCE IN AMERICA:

In the concluding remarks of Mr. Ben Gurion's report, he advised the holding of an all-Jewish World Conference in America sometime in March, for the purpose of obtaining a general Jewish reaction to the attitude of the British Government towards the London discussions. This reaction he believed should come from the Jewish people as a whole and should be expressed in America.

After a discussion on this proposal, participated in by the Chairman, Messrs. Szold, Louis Lipsky, Ress, Sherman, Siegel, Cowen, Dr. Friedland, Judge Fisher, Rabbi Miller and Eleazer Lipsky -

Mr. Lipsky moved

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A., taking into account the last remarks of Mr. Ben Gurion, vote to support the Executive of the Jewish Agency in carrying out this enterprise, leaving it to a Committee as to the form this enterprise is to take.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Chairman stated that a meeting will shortly be convened of representatives of Hadassah, Poale Zion, Mizrachi, Jewish State Party and the non-Zionists of America. This will be preceded by a Zionist round-table discussion.

Meeting adjourned at midnight.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

NATIONAL OFFICE Z. O. A.
111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

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President
MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

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ההסתדרות הציונית דפיטסבורג

Pittsburgh Zionist District

1107 STANDARD LIFE BUILDING - PITTSBURGH, PA.

COURT 0138

January 23, 1939

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr.:

I regret very much that I was deprived the opportunity of seeing you while I was in your town. When I called your home, you were not in; and I thought I would have a chance to meet with you on Friday, but I had a meeting that day. After the meeting, I was under the weather, and was in bed the whole day Saturday.

I expected to see you at Washington, but then, again, I was on the road, and came home too late to make it. I am certainly sorry that I did not attend the Conference, which, by all reports, was most outstanding in regard to numbers and addresses--especially, I understand that your introduction of Masaryk was a gem, and possibly was the cause of moving Masaryk into making an historic speech which will remain immemorable in the annals of the history of Palestine reconstruction.

I had many things to talk to you about. I wanted to get a line from you, as they say, on many a topic; and was ready, in turn, to impart to you a few things that seemed of interest, but I was not destined to see you, and I regret that.

I expect to be in Cleveland in connection with the Conference of the Histadruth Ivrit, and I will certainly make an effort to call you up and meet with you.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Abraham Goldberg
Abraham Goldberg

AG:dk

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L.J. RUSKIN
PRESIDENT

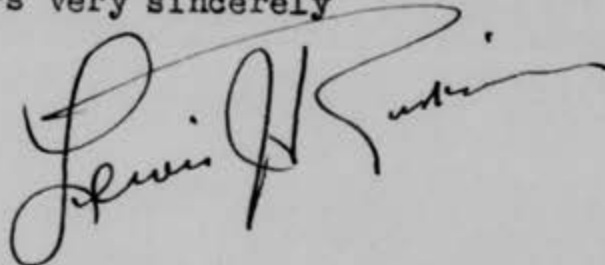
January 26, 1939

Dear Dr. Silver:-

I have given thought to the question of cabling to either Dr. Katznelson or Ben-Gurion and decided that it might be unwise. I shall therefore, even at the risk of losing time, send a confidential letter to Dr. Katznelson and to Ben-Gurion and suggest to the one of them who reaches London first to send you a memorandum on the subject of the Kefarsaba on which we agreed Tuesday in Chicago.

I cannot refrain from again expressing to you the tremendous inspiration that I have derived from your addresses. I am sure you are often told this but up to now, my chemist nature has never been moved by any oratory even of the most famous. Yours is a God-given gift.

Yours very sincerely

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "L.J. Ruskin", with a stylized, flowing script.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE, HELD ON

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 4 P.M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair) and Messrs. Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, A. H. Friedland, Abraham Goldberg, Israel Goldstein, James G. Heller, Harris J. Levine, I. H. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Ludwig Lewisohn, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone; Mrs. Judith Epstein (representing Hadassah); Eleazar Lipsky (representing Masada); Dr. S. Bernstein, by invitation.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Messrs. David Berenstein, Henry Ellenbogen, Harry M. Fisher, Abraham Goldstein, Edward L. Israel, Julian W. Mack, A. H. Rosenberg, Morris Weinberg, Robert Szold and Stephen S. Wise (abroad).

MEMORIAL -- JUDGE LEWIS:

The Chairman called upon Dr. Levinthal who spoke in tribute to the memory of Judge William M. Lewis, member of the Z.O.A. Executive and Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A., who passed away on January 30th. Dr. Levinthal spoke of Judge Lewis' warm friendship, of his qualities of mind and heart. Judge Lewis had many gifts, but the gift which made him so beloved was the good heart he possessed. We have evidence of his good heart in Philadelphia, where he was one of the finest communal workers. There was no Jewish cause that did not win the interest of his heart. He threw himself wholeheartedly into the work of the Zionist movement. He was a true servant of this cause. He was at the beck and call of the Zionist Organization. He went to speak, he travelled, although he knew he was not a healthy man. He wanted to serve in every possible way. His death is a distinct loss to the Zionist Organization and to the whole Palestine movement. All of us bow our heads with reverence to his memory, and everyone in the organization who knew Judge Lewis will say that he leaves us a cherished legacy -- a name that will be remembered and respected by every lover of Zion.

SECRETARY'S REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP:

Mr. Margulies reported that the Z.O.A. membership to date is about 39,500. We have received payment for 20,151 members, representing about 8000 renewals and 12,000 new members who have joined the organization since October 1, 1938, the beginning of the Zionist fiscal year. Last year, on the same date, we had 9,706 renewals and \$33,297 in membership income. This year the membership income is \$60,296.

MR. RESS' REPORT ON REGIONS:

Mr. Ress stated that several methods of Regional set-up have been considered, and the conclusion was reached that State lines should be disregarded and that the method to be adopted should be to pick out key cities and build Regions around those cities. It was felt that the minimum membership of a Region should be 2,000, but that ought not to be final because the potential membership of the geographical unit must be considered. Further West the problem becomes simpler, because the Jewish population is not so large. As to the functions of the Region, it was generally felt that the Region ought to be given a great deal of autonomy, particularly in connection with its educational and cultural activities. Later, as the funds become available, field men should be employed to work in the several Regions. The Region should be asked to contribute a certain amount towards the upkeep of the field men, who should be employed and controlled by the National Office.

Rabbi Heller believed that to arbitrarily establish Regions in various parts of the country would be a very unwise method of procedure, and suggested that persons who have considerable knowledge of Regions already existing throughout the country, be consulted as to geographical areas, and as to the cities around which Regions are to be set up. He suggested also that some arrangement be made in the finances of the organization by which it will be possible to subsidize the Regions.

Rabbi Brickner declared that until the Finance Committee works out a plan whereby we can subsidize Regions, the whole idea of the Regional set-up is just an illusion.

Rabbi Miller expressed the thought that if we think in terms of subsidizing the Regions from the very beginning, we will destroy the initiative on the part of the local people in the Region. A Region should have potentially enough resources in money and in man-power to be self-supporting; it must be able to produce a minimum of 5,000 members.

Mr. Cowen believed that if the best use is to be made of the limited funds and the limited resources at our disposal, some provision must be made so that our man-power and material may be used to equal advantage all over the country.

Dr. Lewisohn agreed with Dr. Heller that the arbitrary re-Regioning of the country will be felt very keenly. The sensibilities of the local people are a very important factor in our work. If we make it a criterion that any territory that can produce 5,000 members can apply for a Region, we will nurse along the sensibilities of the Regions and give them an incentive.

The Chairman suggested that Mr. Ress incorporate this discussion in the written report he is to prepare for circulation among the members of the Executive.

CHAIRMAN OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE:

The Chairman stated that the Executive has to place in nomination the Chairman of the Administrative Committee, and the Administrative Committee will have to vote on the nominee proposed, or else place other names in nomination. It was moved

THAT Judge Louis E. Levinthal be nominated as Chairman of the Z.O.A. Administrative Committee.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

DEPARTMENTALIZATION:

The Chairman recommended the departmentalization of the national office, and suggested as the first step that the Executive define the work of the Secretary of the Z.O.A.

A brief discussion followed in which Messrs. Siegel, Louis Lipsky, Heller, Goldberg, Goldstein, Friedland, Ress, Cowen, Brickner, and Margulies participated. Mr. Louis Lipsky moved

THAT we approve of the suggestion of the President that he be given authority to reorganize the Executive work of the Z.O.A. office, and to make such changes in functions as he may think wise under the circumstances.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Affidavits for Veteran Zionists:

In connection with securing visas for veteran Zionists abroad, it was reported that a Committee is being appointed to help in the matter.

Leiwick's 50th Birthday:

The Executive took note of Mr. Leiwick's 50th birthday celebration.

GENERAL ZIONIST FUNDS:

Mr. Lipsky called attention to certain important general Zionist undertakings in Palestine for which there are no funds available. The Z.O.A. has no money for Palestine purposes at all, unless it undertakes to raise a fund. The other alternative would be to apply to the U.P.A. for an appropriation.

Following a discussion on the matter by Messrs. Lipsky, Goldstein, Heller, Levine, Levinthal, Goldberg, and the Chairman, it was moved,

seconded, and unanimously carried

THAT the Z.O.A. goes on record approving the application that is being made to the Keren Hayesod and the J.N.F. for an appropriation out of the income of the U.P.A. for 1939 of not less than \$75,000 to be utilized by the Z.O.A. for activities in Palestine approved by this Executive.

THAT the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Joint Committee of the Keren Hayesod and J.N.F., which has the authority to complete the agreement under which the U.P.A. is to operate in the year 1939 are instructed to see to it that this proposal is carried through; and

THAT when the matter comes up before the Board of the Keren Hayesod and the Board of the J.N.F., our representatives on those Boards be instructed to see to it that it is carried through; and furthermore,

THAT Mr. Louis Lipsky convey to the members of the Executive in London the attitude of the Z.O.A. Executive.

LONDON DISCUSSIONS:

The Chairman reported briefly on the delegation in London.

Protracted discussion arose as to what, if anything, should be done from this end, while the discussions are in progress.

It was the consensus of opinion that no pressure should be brought to bear at this time, but that factual material be prepared on the Palestine situation, for distribution among press and radio commentators, etc. It was also suggested that a Committee meet with representatives of the Foreign Policy Association in connection with the matter of speakers on the subject of Palestine; and that a statement on the Arab-Jewish situation be prepared by someone best qualified to do this work.

WASHINGTON BUREAU:

The Chairman reported that representatives of the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi met and agreed that a Committee representing the four bodies constitute the National Political Committee to establish an office in Washington with a permanent Director. It was estimated

that a budget of from \$11,000 to \$15,000 would be required. Isadore Breslau, a resident of Washington, D.C. will become the Director of the Bureau and will devote all of his time to the work. It is hoped that the four groups will apportion the expenses of the Bureau.

Mrs. Epstein called attention to the fact that Hadassah has been giving \$7,500 to the Z.O.A. for many years, for political and propaganda purposes; there was no Washington Bureau and there was no specific office for political work. This \$7,500 is Hadassah's allocation for the Washington Bureau, inasmuch as it is for political purposes.

It was pointed out that during the years that Hadassah had been paying \$7,500 to the Z.O.A. the Washington Bureau was not under consideration, and that the political work which we did achieve during that time was covered by the \$7,500. The Washington Bureau, therefore, is an extra undertaking.

Mr. Lipsky made the following motion:

THAT it be stated very clearly that it is the intention of the Zionist Organization of America to establish a Political Bureau in Washington, in cooperation with all recognized Zionist organizations in the United States, with the understanding that the parties contribute in proportion to their strength to the upkeep of that Bureau; and

should it develop that the parties will not contribute to the financial support of the Washington Bureau, the Zionist Organization of America will establish the Bureau under its own auspices.

Mr. Lipsky's motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT:

The Chairman stated that the Z.O.A. is at present in no way equipped for propaganda work. It is the only one of the three organizations at 111 Fifth Avenue that has no public relations man. The Districts throughout the country are complaining that they have no material, no Palestine pictures, etc. It was only in the emergency that we reached the press, the radio commentators, etc. He suggested one of the following two alternatives: (1) That some form of coordination be established with the U.P.A. and J.N.F., and perhaps some of the parties, for the purpose of creating a propaganda department, just as we hope to create a political department that would serve all of the groups; (2) if we have not the optimism to believe that such coordination is obtainable, that the Z.O.A. launch a campaign for \$200,000 to establish its propaganda and education department. The Chairman pointed out that the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith, and the American Jewish Congress are going out to campaign for much larger funds. There is no reason, he felt, why the Z.O.A. cannot do the same thing. With the present

shtimmung throughout the country, he believed that perhaps \$150,000 to \$250,000 could be gotten. A young man, here, from Palestine, is able to supply us with some very fine pictures of Palestine; delegations from abroad have expressed a wish to come here for propaganda purposes -- but to all of these we have to say 'no' because we have not the funds.

Mr. Siegel pointed out that the Z.O.A. is now spending \$10,000 a year for material that serves neither the Z.O.A. as an organization nor the Zionist movement in America. He urged that something be done not only to improve, but to radically change the quality and nature of the material that the Education Department is putting out.

The Chairman stated that the Education Department and the material it puts out can be radically changed and improved if we allow \$25,000 to \$30,000 a year for its work. A report of the Education Department and its work will be considered at the next meeting of the Executive.

In line with Dr. Goldman's proposal regarding coordination, Mr. Lipsky called attention to the opportunity now existing in the U.P.A. through the fact that the U.P.A. is absorbed in a U.J.A. campaign, to separate the propaganda of the U.P.A. from the fund-collecting of the U.P.A. We could then have a combination bureau of the J.N.F. and K.H. specifically for the purposes of propaganda. Thus we will be in a position practically to establish a joint committee in which the Zionist Organization is the directing influence, and all the propaganda to which the Chairman refers - literature, radio, etc.- can be carried through in this propaganda bureau. It will be a propaganda bureau which the Z.O.A. can command. If we can get the proper person, we can establish through him a public relations department which would be in the nature of public propaganda and non-Jewish propaganda, and we would have a general propaganda bureau which would engage in making available to anybody who may be interested material on the essential functions of the Z.O.A.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that, without in any way touching on the broader aspects of the question, we approve the idea of a joint propaganda bureau of the J.N.F. and the K.H., approve the idea of establishing a public relations department, and then leave the other matters to some other committee. If we undertake to go out to raise \$150,000 or \$200,000 we will immediately raise a very serious objection in the U.P.A. which will be reflected in the U.J.A., and it will become impossible for the Z.O.A. actually to dominate the situation. Furthermore, a public declaration of a large campaign of \$150,000 to \$200,000 would encounter much opposition by our own leading Zionists upon whose good will we must depend.

In supporting Mr. Lipsky's proposal, Dr. Goldstein said that we, as Zionists, ought to welcome any program which would bring the Keren Hayesod into its proper place in the consciousness of American Jews; and that can be done best through a coordination program with the J.N.F.

Rabbi Brickner felt that the appeal of the J.N.F. and the K.H. is a philanthropic appeal, whereas the purpose of the Z.O.A. is to make ideological Zionists. The Z.O.A. must have a propaganda department, but it must

be ideological and must be, in a sense, separate from fund-raising.

Mr. Rocker characterized Mr. Lipsky's proposal as a scheme, more or less, for taking more money from the U.P.A. without saying that it is a subvention from the U.P.A. If the U.P.A. had made their direct subvention to the Z.O.A. adequate to the needs of the Z.O.A., the work would reflect very much more in the coffers and on the work of both organizations. The dues of the Z.O.A. do not permit the Z.O.A. to live, and we must supplement our income in some way. One way would be to have the U.P.A. give us a larger subvention. Mr. Rocker felt that Mr. Lipsky's proposal would in effect take out of the Z.O.A. a very necessary function of the Z.O.A., and put it in a body over which the Z.O.A. would have very little direct control.

The Chairman agreed, theoretically, with Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Goldstein, but practically, he believed, the Z.O.A. will not have a propaganda department. Furthermore, the creation of such a department jointly by the K.H. and J.N.F. will lead in the direction of further destruction of the Zionist Organization of America.

The discussion continued along this trend at considerable length, with practically every member of the Executive participating -- some favorably disposed toward Mr. Lipsky's proposition and others opposing it.

No official action was taken. It is understood that the Coordination Committee of which Rabbi Heller is Chairman, will meet in the near future.

Meeting adjourned at midnight.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES,

Secretary.

February 20, 1939

Mr. L. J. Ruskin, President
Ford Hopkins Co. Drug Stores
Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Ruskin:

I have received word from Dr.
Katznelson, who is in London, with reference
to Kefar Saba indicating that they approve
of the project. I wonder what further steps you
have taken in the matter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1939, AT THE HOTEL ASTOR
NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), Messrs. Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Henry Ellenbogen, A. H. Friedland, Israel Goldstein, Edward L. Israel, Harris J. Levine, Israel H. Levinthal, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rucker, Simon Shetzer, Elihu D. Stone; Lawrence Cohen (representing Avukah), Eleazor Lipsky (representing Masada); by invitation: Samuel Caplan, Jacob S. Golub, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Messrs. David Borenstein, James G. Holler, Ludwig Lewisohn, A.H. Rosenberg, Morris Weinberg; and Louis Lipsky, Robert Szold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise (abroad).

TRIBUTE TO DR. MOSES GASTER:

Decided to cable a resolution of condolence to the family of the late Dr. Moses Gaster in London; and that a statement appear in The New Palestine and other publications on behalf of the Z.O.A. in tribute to the memory of Dr. Moses Gaster.

PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN'S 60TH BIRTHDAY:

Decided to dedicate an issue of The New Palestine, Dos Yiddisho Folk and Hadoar to Prof. Albert Einstein, on the occasion of his 60th birthday; and that a resolution be presented to Prof. Einstein on behalf of the Zionist Organization of America.

TRAVELLING EXPENSES OF OUT-OF-TOWN MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE:

The Chairman reported that the \$1500 voted toward the travelling expenses of out-of-town members of the Executive had been exhausted and that an extra allowance would be needed if the expenses for the April and May meetings are to be covered.

Mr. Cowen moved

THAT an additional \$500 be voted towards the travelling expenses of out-of-town members of the Executive.

The motion was unanimously carried.

42ND ANNUAL CONVENTION:

The question of the place and program of the next Convention was considered. It was the consensus of opinion that New York City remain the Convention City; that the program of the Convention be on a higher intellectual plane than in previous years; that selected individuals be asked to begin writing series of articles for The New Palestine on issues before the Convention; and that a Convention Committee be appointed in April to study the Zionist scene and prepare resolutions to be submitted to the Convention. A Committee is also to study the matter of naming proxy delegates to the Convention.

REORGANIZATION AND DEPARTMENTALIZATION OF Z.O.A. :

The Chairman submitted a Memorandum on the Reorganization and Departmentalization of the Z.O.A., prepared in cooperation with the Committee on Reorganization of which Rabbi James G. Heller is Chairman. The Memorandum divided the work of the Organization into three major departments: I. Administrative; II. Cultural; and III. Public Relations. It indicated that the difficulties confronting the Z.O.A., at 111 Fifth Avenue are due primarily to (1) the headquarters themselves which are a physical obstacle (2) the lack of departmentalization and therefore overlapping, and (3) the lack of a staff to head the various departments.

After a thorough analysis of the Memorandum by the President it was moved

1. THAT the Memorandum on the Reorganization and Departmentalization of the Z.O.A. be adopted in principle;
2. THAT the suggested budget be made elastic and the proposals set forth in the Memorandum be implemented as the funds come in;
3. THAT the President be empowered to name such Committees as may be necessary in connection with the carrying out of the Memorandum, as the program develops;
4. THAT, as a first step, an attempt be made, in consultation with the several youth bodies, and in consultation with the Finance Committee, to implement a coordinated youth department and engage a Director for the department.
5. THAT the Finance Committee and the Office Committee study the question of moving the National Offices of the Z. O.A. as quickly as possible.

NEW PALESTINE:

At the request of the President, Mr. Samuel Caplan, Editor of The New Palestine, submitted proposals for transforming the present publication into a weekly magazine. As a weekly it would be of 24 pages (self-cover) of good quality paper, capable of taking half-tones, size 8 3/4" X 11 3/4". The cost would be approximately \$41,000 a year for forty issues, or about \$23,200 beyond the cost of publication in the present format.

A discussion followed in which all participated. It was felt that the additional cost of \$23,200 was prohibitive at this time. In order to help meet the expense, it was suggested that Hadassah be asked to join in the publication of the new weekly. Dr. Harris J. Levine, as Nasi of the Order Sons of Zion, thought that the Order might even agree to suspend publication of their paper and have their members subscribe to the proposed new weekly magazine.

The consensus of opinion was in favor of changing The New Palestine from its present format, to that described by Mr. Caplan, and that, as a last resort, the magazine be published as a monthly.

POLITICAL SITUATION :

The Chairman reported briefly on (1) the situation in London, (2) the attitude that we took vis-a-vis London, and (3) what is our procedure to be for the future.

With regard to the discussions in London, the British Government proposed a restriction of immigration and a permanent minority status for the Jews -- in short, a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. Immediately our people protested very vigorously and our delegates, particularly Dr. Wise, wanted to leave. From this end they were persuaded to remain and not break off the discussions. But at no time in the subsequent discussions, which were all informal -- because our people since then refused to go into formal discussion -- did our delegates regain confidence in MacDonald, or Halifax, or Chamberlain. The British did not believe that they would meet with this unanimous Jewish opposition and they were no doubt impressed by this unanimity.

As to the policy pursued here, the situation was followed very closely by the heads of various Zionist bodies. These leaders shaped the policy, which was one of resistance and firmness to the end. They maintained that we must not make counter-proposals that will draw us into negotiations and will gain us nothing. It appears that subsequently, some members of the Executive were ready to make proposals and to continue negotiations with the British. One of the cables we sent to Mr. Ben-Gurion read: "Do not run away and do not speak softly. There is in the United States a deep sympathy for our position and for the Homeland." Subsequently, there came a cable from Mr. Lipsky, saying "We stand firm. Rumors to the contrary notwithstanding." Since then a cable has come informing us that the Executive proposed writing an official letter withdrawing from the Conference, and they were waiting for an answer from us. Within an hour another cable came saying that the letter was written and the proposals made. Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Szold then telephoned to Dr. Goldman to find out whether they should remain in London for another week or ten days. Our leaders here felt that the American delegation should remain in London and not attend the Conference. Dr. Wise had already sailed. Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Szold were reached on the telephone as they were about to sail. They said they could not remain in London and not attend the Conference; that they would either stay in London and attend the Conference, or they would come home. And so they returned.

At the beginning, Dr. Goldman continued, we did not do much because the cables would say "Please restrain action". Nevertheless, we did a few things, such as declaring a Day of Prayer, and we informed Mr. Chamberlain that this was being done. A cable was also sent to Chamberlain over the signatures of Zionist leaders and heads of Zionist bodies. There were also personal cables to Chamberlain; and our leaders took many other important steps. A cable then came directing us to begin getting some news over to London, some editorials, etc., and we at once organized this work. It was understood that we were not to do it with the same intensity with which it was done in October and November, because

it appears that we are going to be in a critical situation for a longer period of time and therefore the pressure will have to be applied more subtly. The response thus far has been very favorable; and we have had a number of remarkably fine editorials in many of the newspapers of the country, and thousands of signatures have already gone to London. Judge Ellenbogen of Pittsburgh -- to cite one instance -- managed to get 240 organizations to agree to the signing of a cable and they had about 1,265 names cabled over. There were many others. A statement appeared in the press signed by seventeen Senators. There were cables sent by many people in Washington directly to London. The non-Zionist leaders too sent cables to Chamberlain. The Zionist Districts and all of our friends throughout the country have been helpful in applying pressure.

A brief discussion followed Dr. Goldman's report and numerous suggestions were made for further action to be taken.

WASHINGTON BUREAU:

The Chairman then reported on the work of the American Zionist Bureau in Washington which, he said, was functioning very well. It was instrumental in securing the press statement from the seventeen Senators. Among other things, a group of twenty young men is being organized in Washington to do certain work; Christian friends of Palestine are being organized; several Senators have expressed their willingness to act as a sort of unofficial committee; an effort is also being made to organize the Jewish Congressmen. Contacts are being made slowly. Also, research work is being done on old Christian proposals for a Jewish State in Palestine, as far back as the 18th Century. A Bulletin is to be issued for the Senators and Congressmen and for several thousand Christians throughout the country.

JEWSH NATIONAL FUND PURCHASE -- LOAN :

Dr. Israel Goldstein reported on the purchase of a large tract of land in Upper Galilee, of about 98,000 dunams, by the Keren Kayemeth Le' Israel. This purchase would involve an expenditure of approximately two and one-half million dollars. The Jewish National Fund of America has therefore undertaken to raise a loan of one million dollars, on the following basis; The loan is to run for a period of five years, to be amortized at the rate of 20% every year, the interest rate to be 4%, the payment of the interest and principal to be guaranteed by the income of the Jewish National Fund of America, Inc. In order not to conflict with the United Jewish Appeal, an effort will be made to raise this loan quietly and without any publicity, and among people in the various communities who will respond quickly. Debentures or notes will be issued to the subscribers as soon as the Committee in charge completes the necessary details in connection with this loan. Dr. Goldstein reported that gratifying progress had thus far been made in securing subscribers to the loan.

PALESTINE PAVILION:

Mr. Weisgal called attention to the urgent need for an additional \$75,000 in order to complete the Palestine Pavilion in time for the opening of the New York World's Fair on April 30, 1939.

Decided to send a telegram over the signatures of Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein and Dr. Goldman, calling an emergency meeting of the leaders of the U.P.A., J.N.F., Keren Hayesod, Z.O.A., Hadassah, Mizrahi and Poale Zion, for the purpose of considering whether the Palestine Pavilion project be abandoned,

or whether the necessary funds can be secured for its completion in time for the opening of the World's Fair.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT REPORT:

It was decided, in view of the lateness of the hour and the absence of some of the critics of the present Education Department, to postpone the report and discussion on this Department until a subsequent meeting of the Executive.

RESOLUTION OF GRATITUDE TO ANSHE EMET:

The following resolution was moved by Rabbi Brickner, seconded, and unanimously carried:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. feels that the Congregation of which Dr. Solomon Goldman is the Rabbi has done a magnificent thing and rendered a great service to Jewry by releasing him for a considerable time in order to enable him to give his complete time to the work of the Zionist Organization and the Zionist movement; that an appropriate resolution of our appreciation be sent to the Board of the Congregation Anshe Emet for their generous and unique act.

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Irving Millor and Dr. A. H. Friedland were named a Committee to draft the Resolution.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Secretary reported that a letter is going to the Districts over Dr. Goldman's signature informing them that the weeks of March 15 to April 23 are to be devoted to an intensification of Membership work. On April 23, which has been designated "Initiation Day", meetings will be held in the various communities to initiate the new members enrolled. Since October 1, 1938, 12,747 new members have been enrolled in the organization, making the membership as of this day 41,746. As of February 6, 1939, \$78,988 in membership dues was received, as against \$44,044 received last year for the same period.

Meeting adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

SOLOMON GOLDMAN
President

HARRY FRIEDENWALD
LOUIS LIPSKY
JULIAN W. MACK
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
ROBERT SZOLD
STEPHEN S. WISE
Vice-Presidents

WILLIAM M. LEWIS
Chairman, Admin. Comm.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN
Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

MORRIS WEINBERG
Treasurer

EXECUTIVE

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BARNETT R. BRICKNER
CHARLES A. COWEN
HENRY ELLENROGEN
HARRY M. FISHER
HARRY FRIEDBERG
A. H. FRIEDLAND
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
JAMES G. HELLER
EDWARD L. ISRAEL
HARRIS J. LEVINE
ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
MEYER LEVY
IRVING MILLER
CHARLES RESS
LOUIS P. ROCKER
A. H. ROSENBERG
CARL SHERMAN
SIMON SHETZER
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL
ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE

Associate Members

LAWRENCE COHEN
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
ELEAZAR LIPSKY

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Chairman
SAMUEL BERSON
SOL COHEN
A. K. EPSTEIN
HARRY P. FIERST
DANIEL FRISCH
GUSTAVE KLAUSNER
HYMAN KOHN
ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN
A. LIENOVITZ
BORIS MARGOLIN
ELIAR MARKSON
CHARLES RESS
LOUIS RIMSKY
JACOB SINCOFF
SIGMUND THAU
A. I. USLANDER
MORRIS WEINBERG

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

PALESTINE DEPARTMENT
DR. S. BERNSTEIN, DIRECTOR

March 13, 1939

Miss Bessie Kline
Secretary to Rabbi Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Miss Kline:

You may address Mr. Emanuel
Newman at the Kupat Am Building, Achad Ha-Am
Street, Tel-Aviv, Palestine.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. S. Bernstein,
Director, Palestine Dept.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, HELD
SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1939, 10:30 A.M., AT THE HOTEL
ASTOR, BROADWAY & 44th STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Messrs. Samuel Berman, Herman W. Bernstein, Samuel Berson, S. W. Boorstein, Samuel J. Borowsky, A. D. Braham, Israel S. Chipkin, Abraham H. Cohen, Sol Cohen, Charles A. Cowen, Abraham Dubin, Harry P. Fierst, Jacob Fishman, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Abraham Goodman, Harry Grayer, Morris Greenberg, Isidore A. Hassin, Jacob Ish-Kishor, A. K. Isreeli, Samuel Judenfrend, Samuel Kanarvogel, Abraham Krumbein, Meyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Boris Margolin, S. Margoshes, Morris Margulies, Morris Miller, Harry J. Moskowitz, Samuel J. Perry, Harry Projector, Charles Ress, Menahem Ribalow, Bernard G. Richards, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel J. Rothstein, Moses Rubinson, Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Jacob I. Schaffer, Albert D. Schanzer, Joseph J. Schickler, Samuel Schleimer, William I. Siegel, Jacob Sincoff, Abe Sindell, Abraham Spicehandler, Joshua Sprayragen, Nathan Sweedler, Robert Szold, Sigmund Thau, Ben-Dov Waldman, Morris Weinberg, Meyer W. Weisgal, Joseph Weiss, Leo Wilson, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Leo Wolfson; Dr. Abraham Ball, Dr. Ilie Berger, Isadore Breslau, Dr. Frances Burnce, Jacob Cohen, Morris Drob, B. Eisenstein, A. K. Epstein, Benjamin F. Evarts, David Frankel, Daniel Frisch, Jacob Ginsburg, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Abram Granowitz, Charles Greenberg, Joseph Halbert, Isidore Hershfield, Jacob B. Hoffman, Joseph Kraemer, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Morris Mallove, Max Nigrosh, Harry A. Pine, M. Robbins, Leon H. Rose, Henry Rosenbaum, Charles Rosengarten, Benjamin Schultz, Judge Jacob Schwolsky, Saul S. Spiro, Harry Z. Zwelling.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Messrs. Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Eleazer Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Leon Savage, I. A. Abrohams, Benjamin Arenstein, Ralph Bass, Charles M. Bender, David Berenstein, Morton M. Berman, Maurice J. Bloom, Barnett R. Brickner, Jesse B. Calmenson, Lawrence W. Crohn, Azriel L. Eisenberg, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Harry H. Frankel, Paul Gaiser, Henry R. Goldberger, Sol Goldman, Robert M. Hess, Edward L. Israel, Sidney Jaffe, William M. Katz, Gustave Klausner, Max I. Kohrman, Samuel Kranzberg, I. Archer Levin, Moses W. Levinson-Lovi, M. B. Lichtenstein, Eldar Markson, Charles Mishkin, David Polish, Benjamin Rabalsky, Jacob Rabinowitz, Joseph Reder, Aaron Riche, Sam Shankman, Simon Shetzer, Albert M. Shulman, Alexander S. Wolf.

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The meeting was called to order at 10:45 P.M., with Dr. Solomon Goldman in the Chair.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Chairman called upon Mr. Margulies who submitted the following report:

Notwithstanding the very grave events for the Zionist movement that have transpired since the last meeting of the Administrative Committee, which have exerted a great strain on the Organization, the Executive has met regularly in accordance with the schedule drawn up at the beginning of

the current fiscal year. Since the last session of the Administrative Committee, the Executive held four meetings.

The first of these took place on December 21, at which Mr. Lipsky reported on the political situation. He referred to the movement launched in London and Palestine to urge the World Executive not to participate in the London Conference, as a result of the refusal by the British Government to permit the entrance of 10,000 refugee children into Palestine.

The Secretary reported that as of December, the income for membership dues amounted to \$35,000, as against \$17,000. on the corresponding date the previous year. He further reported three new Regions were in the process of formation -- the Southern Region, embracing Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, the Minnesota-Iowa Region, and the Upper Ohio-Michigan Region. He also stated that the Goldman Administrative Fund had thus far received \$16,843 in pledges, of which \$9,561 had already been collected. Practically all of this money had come from New York.

Rabbi James G. Heller, as Chairman of the Reorganization Committee, stated that his Committee had arrived at the following conclusions:

- 1) To set up a joint body embracing the Z.O.A., the U.P.A., and the J.N.F. to avoid overlapping and duplication of effort, particularly in the field of propaganda throughout the country.
- 2) To first introduce the innovation suggested above as an experiment in one of the Regions where the above-named three organizations will work jointly with regard to fund-raising, propaganda, organization, etc.
- 3) To prevail upon the U.P.A., and J.N.F. to take over the Palestine Department.
- 4) To remove the Z.O.A. National Office to Washington, D. C. (since then the American Zionist Bureau has been established in Washington, with Rabbi Isadore Breslau as Director.)
- 5) To establish a Greater New York Zionist Region at the earliest possible moment.
- 6) To initiate a study of the personnel of the Zionist Office.
- 7) To send to London an American emissary who shall represent the American point of view and convey information to the Z.O.A. on events in London.
- 8) To intensify Zionist effort throughout the country by the Organization of Regions and the decentralization of Zionist work.

The Reorganization Committee proposed that for the present these suggestions be referred to three committees.

A resolution of mourning was passed on the death of William B. Leaf of Philadelphia, a life-long Zionist who had rendered important service to the movement.

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The next meeting took place on January 11, at which a detailed discussion arose on the need for the development of a centralized system of Regions, with appropriate machinery to build up a large membership. Mr. Ress was asked by the President to assume, in cooperation with the Secretary the task of dividing the country into Regions, it being understood that for a Region to function effectively it would have to have the use of at least one paid field worker.

The Secretary reported that during the period under review, that is, since the beginning of the current Zionist fiscal year, the National Office had arranged for 156 meetings in 101 Districts, located in 22 States. These meetings had been addressed by over 30 speakers supplied by the National Office. The Secretary made the point that this did not represent a report of all the meetings held by all of the Districts within this period. These were meetings which were either initiated by the National Office, or for which the National Office had supplied speakers.

He further reported that thus far some \$40,000 had been received in membership dues, and that the membership numbered approximately 37,000. The membership income for the past seven months amounted to \$101,764, and that for this period there had been a surplus of income over expense of \$7,318.

Mr. Rocker, as Chairman of the Finance Committee, submitted a detailed report on the finances of the Organization, indicating that the expenses for the past seven months, pro-rated according to the various departments, had exceeded the proposed budget by \$10,727.

Attention was called to the presence in this country of Sir Ronald Storrs and the nature of the speeches he was delivering. A committee was named to confer with him regarding the reaction that his speeches called forth among his American audiences.

Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky and Dr. Goldman were named as a committee with full power to select the delegation that was to represent the Z.O.A. at the London Conferences.

A lengthy discussion ensued concerning the advisability of the continuance of Dos Yiddishe Folk. It was felt by most of those present that the paper does not adequately serve the needs of the Organization, and that the money utilized for publishing the paper could be spent much more beneficially for the printing of pamphlets in Yiddish and the issuance of a Year Book in Yiddish. It was therefore decided to give earnest consideration to the advisability of suspending for a period of time the publication of Dos Yiddishe Folk.

It was also decided that a committee be named to study the possibility of changing the present format of The New Palestine, as well as instituting certain reforms in the paper that will make The New Palestine more attractive in appearance.

An Editorial Committee was named by the President to read and pass upon all material made available and prepared for publication by the Department of Education.

The Executive also discussed the need for enlarging the Palestine Bureau, so as to have that Bureau include among its activities the promotion of Tozereth Ha-aretz, land investments, tourism, and the establishment of a Palestine Chamber of Commerce. It was decided that an effort be made to secure the cooperation of Hadassah, the Poale Zion, Mizrachi, as well as the Keren Hayesod and J.N.F., in supplying the funds for the maintenance of such an enlarged Bureau.

This meeting of the Executive had the benefit of the presence of Mr. David Ben Gurion, who addressed the meeting with regard to his mission to this country. Mr. Ben Gurion took occasion at the close of his address to point out that the weakness of the Zionist movement in America is primarily due to two things: first, disunity among organized Zionists in America, and secondly, the fact that we have divorced the Zionist Organization from the important and practical task of fund-raising.

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The third meeting was held on February 8. At the opening of the meeting Dr. Goldman reported the sad news that the Zionist movement in America had suffered a great loss in the passing of the Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Judge William M. Lewis. Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, as a former Philadelphian, spoke in tribute to Judge Lewis. A resolution of sympathy with the bereaved family was adopted.

Mr. Röss reported that several methods of Regional set-up had been considered, and that the conclusion was reached that State lines should be disregarded, and that instead, certain definite key cities be selected, around which Regions might be built up. However, this being only a tentative report, Dr. Goldman asked Mr. Röss to give further consideration to the problem and at an early date to submit a written report.

The President asked the Executive to give him authority to work out a Memorandum providing for the departmentalization of the National Office. The authority was voted.

Mr. Lipsky called the attention of the Executive to the fact that various important General Zionist undertakings in Palestine were suffering because of lack of funds. The Executive thereupon approved the application to the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund for an appropriation out of the income of the U.P.A. of 1939 of not less than \$75,000, to be utilized by the Z.O.A. for activities in Palestine which were to be approved by the Executive and this approval forwarded to Palestine.

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The last meeting of the Executive was held on March 8, at which Dr. Goldman suggested that the March 17 issue of The New Palestine, Dos Yiddishe Folk, and Hadoar be dedicated to Professor Albert Einstein on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The Executive also voted that a proper resolution be drawn up to be presented to Professor Einstein on behalf of the Z.O.A., and that this resolution be given publicity in our newspapers, as well as in the general press.

By resolution it was decided that a cable of condolence be sent to the family of the late Dr. Mosos Gaster.

The matter of our next Annual Convention was considered. A number of the members felt that it would be in the best interest of an orderly and business-like Convention that the sessions be held elsewhere than New York City. However, it was pointed out the resolution adopted at the Detroit Convention, precluded the holding of the next Convention outside of New York City.

The President was empowered to name a Convention Committee to make a study of the Zionist scene and prepare appropriate resolution to be submitted to the Convention.

In pursuance of the resolution adopted at the previous meeting of the Executive, the President submitted a comprehensive Memorandum on how the departmentalization of the Z.O.A. may be effected. Dr. Goldman suggested 17 departments, to be divided under 3 major supervising units: I. Administrative; II. Cultural; III. Public Relations. The implementation of Dr. Goldman's planned program will require a budget of from \$225,000 to \$240,000.

The discussion which ensued brought out the fact that there were ample sources of income to cover this budget. Practically everyone who took the floor in the discussion was not only in agreement with the proposals made by Dr. Goldman, but expressed hearty approval. The Memorandum as submitted by Dr. Goldman was adopted in principle. The Executive decided that in the best interest of carrying out the proposals made by Dr. Goldman, the budget be made elastic, and that the proposals made be implemented as funds are made available. Dr. Goldman was empowered to name all necessary committees in connection with giving effect to the plan proposed. As a first step it was decided that in consultation with the several youth groups and the Finance Committee, a Youth Department be established with a Director in charge.

It was also decided that the Finance Committee and the Office Committee be directed to look into the question of finding new and adequate premises to which the National Offices are to be moved.

With regard to changing the format of The New Palestine as suggested at a previous meeting of the Executive, a sample copy was submitted by Mr. Samuel Caplan, consisting of 24 pages on glossy paper, size 8 3/4 x 11 3/4 inches. This change, however, would involve an additional cost of \$23,000. The consensus of opinion of the Committee was that this cost made such change prohibitive. The Committee in charge was asked to give the matter further study.

The President acquainted the Executive with the latest information he had received from London, in connection with the London Conference, and with the action taken by us upon advices received from London. For the time being, the work here was primarily confined to the securing of cablegrams to be dispatched to London. Some such 3,000 cablegrams have been sent.

Dr. Goldstein informed the Committee of the purchase by the Jewish National Fund of a large tract of land in Upper Galilee. This purchase would involve an expenditure of approximately two and one-half million dollars. An action has been started in this country to secure a million dollars in the form of a loan, which loan is to be liquidated during the period of five years and is to bear interest at the rate of 4%, the interest and principal to be guaranteed by the income of the Jewish National Fund of America. Dr. Goldstein stated that the exact form of the loan has not as yet been worked out. Whether it will be in the form of debentures or notes, will be decided upon in the course of the next few days. Dr. Goldstein further reported that already gratifying progress has been made in securing subscribers to the loan. At a meeting held on the preceding day convened by Dr. Goldman and Dr. Goldstein, the sum of over \$200,000 had been subscribed.

On a motion made by Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, the Executive unanimously voted to express its deepfelt appreciation and gratitude to the Congregation Anshe Emet of Chicago in granting a leave of absence to Dr. Solomon Goldman, our President, in order to make it possible for him to devote himself entirely and exclusively to his Zionist duties. It was pointed out that the action of the Board of the Congregation Anshe Emet was unique in the annals of American Congregational life.

The Secretary stated that the Z.O.A. membership now numbered 41,746 and that the income from membership dues amounted to \$78,988, as against \$44,044 for the same period last year.

Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal, on behalf of the Palestine Pavilion, stated that unless \$75,000 was made immediately available, the Palestine Pavilion will not open as scheduled on April 30, when the New York World's Fair opens. As a matter of fact, unless means were found for providing the sum necessary the whole project may have to be abandoned. In view of the urgency of the situation, it was decided that, over the signatures of Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, and Dr. Goldman an emergency meeting be immediately convened of the leaders of the Z.O.A., Hadassah, Mizrahi, Poale Zion, and Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth.

Finally, I submit herewith the following summary in connection with the membership as of March 15: The Z.O.A., exclusive of its affiliates, had as of that day a membership enrollment of 42,666. This includes 13,667 new members. The membership income we have received as of the same day amounted to \$82,983, as against \$49,343 last year as of the same day. In fact, last year's income was only \$48,043, for the larger figure includes \$1301 received from the Order Sons of Zion, which thus far this year has not made any remittance.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

The Secretary supplemented his written report, stating that March 15th to April 23rd had been designated as Membership Month. He doubted whether very much could be done for Z.O.A. membership after April 23, first, because by that time the United Jewish Appeal will have been launched throughout the country and Zionists will be called upon to render every possible service to the Campaign; and secondly, this being a Congress year, Zionists will have to cooperate in the sale of Shekolim and prepare for the Election. Mr. Margulies

called attention to the new membership circular which will be sent to the Districts throughout the country, either in bulk, or mailed direct from the National Office to the individual members, in accordance with the wishes of the District leaders. In concluding his report, Mr. Margulies expressed the hope and belief that the Z.O.A. membership will number between 50,000 and 55,000 by the time of the Convention.

TRIBUTE TO JUDGE WILLIAM M. LEWIS:

The Chairman spoke of the great loss sustained in the death of Judge William M. Lewis, late Chairman of the Z.O.A. Administrative Committee. He called upon Judge Morris Rothenberg to speak in eulogy of Judge Lewis.

Judge Rothenberg spoke as follows, while those present stood in silent tribute:

"It is with deep sorrow that I report the untimely death of our friend, co-worker, and leader, the Chairman of this body, Judge William M. Lewis. In the effort to enlist the support of the American Jewish Community for the Zionist cause in the eventful period since the utterance of the Balfour Declaration, many American Jews played a leading part. In the forefront of the leaders who thus distinguished themselves and who made a lasting contribution to the advance of Zionist ideals, was William M. Lewis. During the years of his activity, he occupied many important posts within the Zionist movement. He served as Vice-President of the Zionist Organization of America, and at one time was its acting President. He was National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, co-Chairman of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) and at the time of his death he was the Chairman of the National Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America. He served as a delegate to many Zionist Congresses. In his leisure from judicial duties in the Court of which was a distinguished and respected Judge, Judge Lewis travelled extensively throughout the United States, visiting Jewish centers large and small, and in his labors he brought to bear a genuine eloquence and a strikingly genial personality that won many friends for Palestine and countless admirers for the loyalty and the devotion with which he gave himself to the cause that was nearest to his heart, the upbuilding of a new, free and creative life for his People. His untiring efforts were instrumental in securing large sums of money for the Keren Hayesod, for the Jewish National Fund and for all the constituent parties of the United Palestine Appeal, the Allied Jewish Campaign and the United Jewish Campaign. He did much to enlarge the membership and to enhance the prestige of the Zionist Organization of America. He served many other Jewish institutions and he was a pillar of strength as a citizen and as a Jew in his own community in Philadelphia where he was a leader in every civic and communal undertaking of importance. His friendliness endeared him as a comrade with whom it was a source of deep satisfaction to be associated. I move you that there be inscribed upon the records of this meeting a minute of our profound sorrow at the death of William M. Lewis and of affectionate tribute and respect to his memory, and further, that a copy thereof, together with our condolences, be forwarded to the family of the late William M. Lewis."

NOMINATION OF CHAIRMAN OF ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE:

Before calling for the nomination of a Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Dr. Goldman spoke of the tradition emanating from Judaism and accepted by the whole world, that the report of the death of a leader is instantly followed by the naming of a successor. It is not surprising that such a tradition should have come from our People, he said, because our People do not accept trials as defeats, and sorrow as cessation of dreaming and thinking and going on.

Mr. Jacob B. Hoffman of Philadelphia nominated Judge Louis E. Levinthal, a fellow-Philadelphian, whose Zionist activity has covered every phase of the movement.

The nomination was seconded and the nominations were closed.

Judge Levinthal was unanimously elected as Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Goldman called upon Judge Levinthal to come to the Chair.

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL:

"It is with mixed emotions that I accept this very distinguished office, the Chairmanship of the National Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America. I say mixed emotions, as there is the keen appreciation of the honor implied in your action this morning. There is the sadness, the genuine sadness, because of the tragic loss which we Zionists have sustained, which made it necessary for us to fill the vacancy in the office of Chairman of this Committee. Then, there is also the emotion of gladness that I have an opportunity, I hope, to render greater service to the Zionist movement. I hope it is not necessary for me to introduce myself to my fellow-Zionists. As long as I can remember I have been attending Zionist meetings. My earliest recollections goes back to one of the Conventions of the Federation of American Zionists in Philadelphia, when I was younger than seven years, and my dear father had the honor to be elected vice-President of the Federation of American Zionists, and Dr. Richard Gottheil, President. So that I am not a stranger to Zionism and I am not a stranger to Zionists, I am sure, and I hope that you will consider me one who is going to try to prove worthy of the great honor that you have paid me. I do not like to speak of humility, but I do want you to know that I do have a profound sense of humility in assuming to be the successor of Judge Lewis. Judge Lewis meant a great deal to all American Zionists, but he meant much more to us in Philadelphia. He was not only our devoted leader; he was also our warm and devoted friend. And all of you who knew him intimately knew what a fine personality was his. Judge Rothenberg spoke at a memorial meeting held in Philadelphia on March 9, shortly after the expiration of the Schloshim, and he paid a beautiful tribute on behalf of the Zionist Organization of America. I only hope that I can to some slight degree measure up to the great responsibility which is now mine, as his successor."

DISCUSSION ON SECRETARY'S REPORT:

Mr. Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis urged that the reorganization program be implemented very soon. He expressed the view that the increase in membership

this year is the result of negative conditions in the Jewish world, and that these members must be educated to a fuller appreciation of Zionist values in Jewish life, if their interest and support is to be continued. In the matter of delegates to the Zionist Congress, Mr. Frisch, suggested that delegates be named from cities other than New York, in order that the country at large may feel that it is being adequately represented. Mr. Frisch also wished to know what action was taken at the emergency meeting called in connection with the Palestine Pavilion.

Dr. Goldman stated that the Palestine Pavilion will be finished and opened on time. With regard to the election of delegates to the Congress, he suggested that Mr. Frisch submit definite proposals as to how people in various cities may be included among the delegates. With regard to implementing the reorganization program, Dr. Goldman reported that progress is being made in certain directions. As a result of our deliberations we have established the American Zionist Bureau in Washington, D. C., the budget for which was raised outside of the Z.O.A. Considerable sums were also raised in October and November for the emergency situation. We are slowly developing sources of income. The Zionist Organizations and parties have been working together on public relations, almost since October. The American Zionist Bureau in Washington is not a bureau of the Z.O.A. alone, but of all the Zionist parties and organizations. The Bureau has about \$14,000 which was secured from one source or another. Regarding cultural work, Dr. Goldman believed that the leadership of Hadassah and of the Z.O.A. must come to realize that it is only by uniting the cultural work of both organizations that our purposes can be achieved. As for sources of income, we hope that the 50,000 members will give us about \$125,000; we expect the UPA to continue to contribute; we hope to reach an agreement with Hadassah whereby Hadassah would be spending some \$20,000 on the Washington Bureau and on a combined propaganda program among Zionists of America.

Mr. Richards felt that the members of the Administrative Committee are not sufficiently acquainted with the activities of the Z.O.A. Executive and suggested that a summary of the minutes of the Executive be sent regularly to the members of the Administrative Committee. Mr. Richards was opposed to holding the Convention in New York City during the World's Fair, for he anticipated a noisy and demonstrative Zionist Convention, with very little thinking and considered planning. He suggested that the Executive reconsider the question of holding the Convention in New York City.

Mr. Spicandler made the following motions: (1) that the Administrative Committee meet regularly every month between now and the Convention. The motion was lost. (2) that every 2,000 Shekel payers elect their own candidate; (3) that the Chairman appoint a Committee on Congress Platform to prepare at once a platform to which the candidates could subscribe. Mr. Spicandler further suggested that the country be divided into Congressional Districts and that the candidates be elected locally in their own Districts, to be headed by the ten or twelve national Zionist leaders on the Z.O.A. Ticket.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that Mr. Spicohandler's suggestion is contrary to the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, which calls for a universal election. He recalled that three years ago the first twelve names on the Z.O.A. Ticket constituted the whole American delegation. At the last Congress the Z.O.A. had 22 delegates; Hadassah 18 -- a total of 40 delegates for the General Zionist Ticket. That year was the first time since universal elections have been introduced that the General Zionists in America came first on the Ballot. Previously, the Labor Group came first. Although the Labor Group sold 57,000 Shekolim for the last Congress, and the Z.O.A. and HADASSAH together sold about 130,000, the Labor Group had 37 delegates against the 40 delegates of the Z.O.A. and Hadassah combined.

Dr. Berger of Providence agreed with Mr. Spicohandler in the matter of local candidates.

With regard to the suggestion to change the Convention City, Mr. A.K. Epstein of Chicago moved that in view of the fact that the Administrative Committee is an autonomous body, we recommend to the Executive to find ways and means to legally change the Convention place from New York to any other city deemed suitable. A discussion ensued, participated in by Messrs. Rothstein, Schanzer and Weisgal.

Dr. Goldman explained that the matter of changing the Convention City had been discussed at the last meeting of the Executive and it was agreed that it cannot be done in view of the Convention Resolution. He believed, however, that it will be possible to have a Convention in New York on a very high plane, provided the program is a good one. Dr. Goldman added that it is hoped to extend the Convention this year to four or five days.

After the appeal made by Mr. Weisgal that New York remain the Convention City this year, particularly because of the significance of the Palestine Pavilion at the World's Fair,

Mr. Epstein withdrew his motion.

Mr. William I. Siegel, Chairman of the U.S. Central Shekel Board, dwelt on the importance of the Shekel Campaign this year. The goal is one million Shekolim. The books must be closed on May 25, which leaves about two months in which to sell the million Shekolim. Mr. Siegel urged that all the members concentrate their efforts on the sale of Shekolim, which is a very important phase of Zionist activity, as it gives the Jews of America an opportunity of joining in a mass demonstration for work in Eretz Yisroel.

Dr. Ball suggested that ways and means be discussed to avoid the shortcomings of the last Elections, as a result of which the organizations with the least Shekel-payers elected the largest number of delegates to the Congress.

Mr. Spicohandler's motion

THAT the Chairman appoint a Committee on Congress Platform to prepare at once a platform to which the candidates could subscribe---

was unanimously carried.

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
New England Zionist Region
600 Washington Street
Boston, Mass.

April 3, 1939

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi:

On June 17th and 18th the New England Zionist Region is to hold its Annual Convention and there has been a unanimous request of the Administrative Committee of the New England Zionist Region to extend an invitation to you to be our guest speaker at the Banquet on Sunday evening, June 18th.

This is my last year as President of the Region and I would consider it an honor to present you as our guest speaker.

I would greatly appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(signed) RALPH F. BASS
President.

April 11, 1939

Mr. Ralph F. Bass, President
New England Zionist Region
600 Washington Street
Boston, Mass.

My dear Mr. Bass:

I deeply appreciate your kind invitation to address the banquet of the New England Zionist Region on Sunday evening, June 18th. I should have been very happy to accept it. However, as you know, June is a favorite month for weddings and I have quite a number of weddings already scheduled on that Sunday. I must remain in Cleveland to attend to Congregational duties.

With all good wishes, and hoping to see you at some future time, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE HELD ON THURSDAY, APRIL 13, 1939, 4 P.M.
AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), and Messrs. A.H. Friedland, Abraham Goldberg, James G. Heller, Edward L. Israel, Israel H. Levinthal, Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Irving Miller, Morris Rothenberg, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Stephen S. Wise. By invitation: Meyer W. Weisgal.

Excuses for non-attendance were received from Messrs. David Berenstein, Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Henry Ellenbogen, Julian W. Mack, Harris J. Levine, Charles Ress, A. H. Rosenberg, Simon Shetzer.

The Chairman called on Mr. Morris Margulies to report.

Secretary's Report:

1) Membership: On March 31, 1939, the renewals and new members numbered 30,513. Last year's figure for the same period was 15,334 (showing a 100% gain this year). In addition, there are 14,237 members who, although they have actually not paid their dues during the current fiscal year, cannot be considered as unpaid members because many of them paid last year after the month of March. The total membership, therefore, as of March 31, 1939, is 44,750. This figure includes 15,751 new members. In previous years, the months of April, May and June have been the three best membership months of the year. Mr. Margulies said he was certain of a minimum of 45,000 paid-up members by the time of the Convention.

The income from membership dues, as of March 31, 1939 was \$93,404.60 as compared with \$54,151.50 last year. Actually, it was \$52,850 last year, because the larger figure included \$1301.43 received from the Order Sons of Zion. The money from the Order Sons of Zion has not as yet come in this year.

Mr. Margulies called attention to the recent membership circular, of which 53,820 copies have already been distributed among the 1939 - '38 - '37 and '36 members located in 414 cities.

2) Finances: Mr. Margulies reported that at a meeting of the Finance Committee held on Wednesday, April 12, the financial statement of the Z.O.A. submitted at that meeting showed a balance sheet deficit, as of March 31, 1939, of \$15,157 as against \$27,598 for the same period of the previous year. He pointed out that the difference would actually have been greater than \$12,000, had not the Finance Committee at a recent meeting voted to write off an item of \$9,294, which was carried as a furniture and fixture asset, and \$1,825 which was carried as an Account Receivable due from the Zionist Organization of Chicago.

During the ten months from June 1, 1938 to March 31, 1939, the Z.O.A. received from all sources \$166,049, as against \$152,514 for the same period last year. The income was derived from: (a) Membership (less Shekolim) \$98,927; (b) Advertising and Subscriptions \$3,853; (c) United Palestine Appeal \$45,000; (d) Goldman Dinner Fund \$14,387; and (e) Miscellaneous \$3,882.

For the same period the expenses were \$150,938 this year and \$131,688 last year. About \$9,000 has been forwarded to the American Zionist Bureau at Washington. Subsidies to youth organizations, etc., for the ten-month period total \$16,875.14.

3) The New Palestine: The total mailing list of The New Palestine is 46,000 copies every week, of which 42,449 copies are sent to the Z.O.A. membership, 500 copies kept in reserve at the Z.O.A. office, and the balance is divided among Young Judaea, Avukah, Masada, U.P.A. office, paid subscribers, and the exchange list. The expense of The New Palestine during the first ten months was \$26,154; an additional \$7,200 will be expended during the months of April and May, making the total expense for the entire year \$33,354. The total income of The New Palestine for the same period was \$34,068.75. This income was derived from paid subscriptions \$363; net paid advertising \$1869; allocation from membership dues \$31,836.75. The New Palestine is therefore actually self-sustaining.

4) Dos Yiddishe Folk: The mailing list of Dos Yiddishe Folk is 3,500, of which 2,303 copies are sent to the Z.O.A. members. For the ten-month period (June 1, 1938 - March 31, 1939) the expense of the publication was \$4,115; an additional \$900 will be required for April and May, making a total expenditure for the year of \$5,015. The income for the first ten months was as follows: Paid subscriptions \$27; paid advertising \$100; allocation from membership dues, \$1727.25 -- making a total income of \$1,854.25. The expense exceeds the income by \$3,160.75.

Mr. Lipsky commented favorably on the manner in which the Secretary reported on The New Palestine, saying that the report effectively destroys the legend that The New Palestine was responsible for the deficit of the Z.O.A. Some maintain the belief, he pointed out, that due to the excessive costs of The New Palestine from 1921 to 1930, the deficit of the Z.O.A. was created. The fact is, he said, that the figures will show that The New Palestine at no time exceeded in cost what was received by the Z.O.A. for the support of The New Palestine, and if the same system had been used in those years that Mr. Margulies used in reporting on The New Palestine, it would have been found that the publication was self-sustaining. Whenever The New Palestine published a special issue it always received a grant from some interested party, in some cases the Keren Hayesod, in others the Jewish National Fund, and the money was put into the common pool. Mr. Lipsky felt that The New Palestine ought to be regarded from the point of view of subscriptions, advertising, etc., as indicated in Mr. Margulies' report.

5) Constitution of the Z.O.A.:

The Secretary also reported that a revised edition of the Z.O.A. Constitution, as adopted at the Detroit Convention, had been printed and copies sent to the Chairmen and Secretaries of Zionist Districts throughout the country. Mr. Margulies stated that we are indebted to the members of the Constitution Committees for a very important service. The first Constitution Committee as named by Dr. Wise in 1936 consisted of Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig, Chairman, and Messrs. Carl Sherman, Simon Rifkind, Dr. A. J. Rongy, Leo Wolfson, and Samuel Rothstein. The draft of the Constitution as prepared by this Committee, which had devoted a great deal of time to its labors, was submitted to the 1937 Convention, held at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York. Following this Convention, Dr. Wise appointed Messrs. Charles Ress, Chairman, Samuel Rothstein, Sol Cohen, Meyer Levy and Leo Wolfson, as a Committee to study the draft drawn up by the original Committee on Constitution, together with the amendments and suggestions made by the Convention. The Committee was also authorized to revise such Articles and Sections as will be deemed necessary. The result of the work of these Committees was submitted to the Detroit Convention and, with some slight modifications, adopted in the form now published.

6) Speakers: In concluding his report, the Secretary stated that since the beginning of the present fiscal year the National Office has supplied speakers for 387 meetings held under the auspices of Zionist Districts located in all parts of the country. He read the following letter received from Mr. Pierre van Paassen, dated March 26, 1939:

"Dear Mr. Margulies:

"I want to notify you that I have decided to discontinue my official relationship with the Zionist Organization of America as from April 1, 1939. I have been in the service of the Z.O.A. for a little more than a year, and during that time have carried out the work which I agreed to do; namely, write a book of propagandistic value for Palestine and lecture at least once a week.

"This severance of official relations does not, I assure you, mean a decline in my faith in the Jewish national cause. I merely think I can do more effective work elsewhere. Nor, I hope, will my departure in any way change the deep friendship and admiration I entertain for you.

"With Zion's Greetings,

Yours, as ever
(Signed) PIERRE VAN PAASSEN"

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT REPORT DEFERRED:

The Chairman stated that the Education Department was to have been discussed at this meeting, but Mr. Cowen who could not be present because of illness had requested that the Education Department be not discussed without him. The matter was therefore deferred to a subsequent meeting.

ALIYAH BETH:

Attention was called to the presence in this country of four or five individuals who are soliciting funds for Aliyah Beth. Inquiries have been received at the National Office as to whether these activities have the endorsement of the Z.O.A.

It was the consensus of opinion that, having no information in this matter, we do not endorse it.

REPORT ON RULES GOVERNING ELECTION
OF DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES -- BY CHARLES RESS:

In the absence of Mr. Ress, Rabbi Edward L. Israel read the following report prepared by Mr. Charles Ress:

"At the request of Dr. Goldman I have investigated the use of so-called proxies in connection with the Annual Conventions of the Z.O.A. I set forth in this report a description of the practices which involve the use of proxies and certain recommendations with respect to said practices.

"The word proxy is generally applied to one who votes as the agent or representative of a principal who has the right to vote but does not desire to ex-

ercise that right in person. It also refers to the instrument by which the agent's right to vote is evidenced or created. As applied to Z.O.A. Conventions, a proxy in the usual sense would be a person appointed by a duly elected delegate to vote in his stead. Such procedure is irregular and if practised at all should be prohibited. I have found, however, that the word proxy as used in connection with Z.O.A. Conventions does not have the usual meaning above set forth. The word is used in a special sense which requires a somewhat detailed explanation. It will be seen that our attention needs to be directed to the method by which delegates and alternates are chosen. Normally they are elected by Districts or Societies at meetings convened for that purpose. It is customary, however, that Districts designate Committees on Vacancies with authority to fill vacancies caused by resignations. There generally is no difficulty created where a Committee on Vacancies designates a delegate to fill a vacancy by a proper notice to the national office before the Convention opens. But the following practise has developed. Just before the Convention opens or even during the Convention, a District officer or delegate purporting to act for the Committee on Vacancies will designate a delegate to fill a vacancy due to the failure of the elected delegate and alternate to appear at the Convention. Such designations are also made in cases where the District has failed to elect the full number of delegates to which it is entitled. It is of course difficult for the office staff in charge of credentials at the Convention to determine whether the designation is made by a duly authorized Committee on Vacancies, and whether the person who signs the designation has the authority to do so. Consequently, the practise has been to seat all delegates appointed in the manner described. Since there is no rule that a delegate must be a member of the District which he represents in many, if not most instances, the person appointed will be a member of some other District with opinions which may conflict with the policies of his adopted constituency.

An extension of the above procedure is as follows: Regional Conferences have assumed the right to authorize an officer of the Region to designate delegates for all Districts in the Region which have failed to elect or otherwise designate the full number of delegates to which they are entitled. The irregularity of this proceeding is apparent, but Districts have acquired and permitted single individuals to designate large numbers of delegates. It has for many years been customary to seat delegates appointed in this way.

I am sure I need not comment on the undemocratic nature of the practises described above and the extent to which they open the door to serious abuses. Certainly there is little assurance that the opinions and desires of the members of the Z.O.A. will be expressed by delegates hand-picked in this fashion. The abuses become very evident and seriously detrimental and have given rise to unpleasant charges and recriminations, at Conventions which deal with controversial policies or contested elections.

It is not difficult to formulate rules and regulations which, if enforced, will eliminate the objectionable features of the practises above described. Such rules and regulations should at the same time bring about order and uniformity in the choice of delegates and alternates to national conventions of the Z.O.A. I suggest that rules and regulations substantially as follows be adopted by the Executive, and if adopted, be submitted to the Administrative Committee for approval, as required by Section 8 of Article VIII. of the Constitution.

- I. No person shall be granted a credential as delegate or alternate to Conventions of the Z.O.A. unless
(a) he has been elected or designated in the manner set forth below, and (b) his election or designation has been certified to the national board of elections

by written certification as set forth below, no later than 11 A.M. on the first day of the Convention.

- II. (a) Delegates and alternates of Districts, Societies, Camps of the Order Sons of Zion, and Masada Chapters, each of which will for convenience be referred to in these regulations as Districts, shall be elected by the members thereof at an election which shall be held pursuant to regulations promulgated by the national board of elections. A District may, however, appoint a Committee on Vacancies to fill vacancies caused by the resignation of delegates or alternates.
- (b) Delegates and alternates of Regions shall be elected at a conference of representatives of all Districts in the Region or at a meeting of the Executive or Administrative Committee of the Region. The Region may designate a Committee on Vacancies to fill vacancies caused by resignations.
- (c) Delegates and alternates of Participating Organizations shall be elected as provided in their respective agreements with the Z.O.A.
- III. Certifications of the election or designation of delegates or alternates shall be subscribed by the President or Vice-President or Secretary of the District, Region, or participating organization or of its Board of Elections or Committee on Vacancies, and shall be accepted only if the names of the members of the Board of Elections or Committee on Vacancies and the officers thereof shall have been filed with the National Board of Elections no later than the day next preceding the first day of the Convention."

Discussion on Report:

Mr. Ress' report was discussed at length.

Mr. Lipsky moved

THAT all reference to the right of Districts or Regions to appoint Committees on Vacancies be eliminated.

Rabbi Heller moved the following amendment:

THAT henceforth Districts and Regions shall elect people from their own Districts or Regions to represent them at Zionist Conventions.

Dr. Goldman observed that the Committee on Vacancies implied in Mr. Lipsky's motion is the local Committee on Vacancies, whereas he (Dr. Goldman) now wished to eliminate the national Committee on Vacancies, in order to insure that delegates to the Convention cannot be named by members of the Convention, or by those who are planning or making arrangements for the Convention, in the event

that alternates do not come to the Convention to replace the delegates who cannot attend. Dr. Goldman pointed out that although actually there is no Committee on Vacancies nationally, we were acting as if there were one.

Dr. Goldman was informed that there never has been a National Committee on Vacancies.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone offered the following amendment to Mr. Lipsky's motion:

THAT, in the absence at the Convention of a delegate or alternate designated by any District or Region, no substitute or proxy delegate can be provided for the absentee by anyone.

Mr. Lipsky said he saw nothing wrong in the Districts (who cannot send delegates to the Convention) having a list of names of persons who are available to be elected, and whom they can elect to represent the District if they so choose.

The Chairman believed that this privilege can be easily abused. He recalled that the names on the list published are usually overwhelmingly New Yorkers, instead of country-wide. He felt that the representation of New York should be on the basis of the actual Zionist membership in New York, which is only about 25% of the membership of the Z.O.A. The whole country works and provides a membership, and the people in New York get themselves elected by the people in Los Angeles and other points and discourage those communities year after year from sending their own delegates to the Convention. This, he urged, should be eliminated; the Districts should have the right to name and elect their own delegates and alternates, and the National Office should have nothing whatever to do with the supplying of candidates for the Convention. This should be done in the local communities and there will then be no abuses, although we may have fifty to seventy-five delegates less.

Mr. Abraham Goldberg declared that every good rule can be abused. He wondered whether it is really undemocratic for a District like Portland, Ore., who may find that its delegate cannot attend, to elect Dr. Wise as its representative. Dr. Wise could, of course, be elected in his own New York District, but the result would be that the smaller man in the District would have no chance of election. The same is true in a number of other Districts where our leaders reside. This tradition of filling vacancies has existed for the past thirty years and there were no abuses until the last two or three years.

Mr. Wm. I. Siegel agreed that it is perfectly proper for a man from New York to represent Portland, Ore., if Portland, Ore. has not a candidate who can conveniently attend the Convention. He suggested that the National Office invite every District and every Region in the country to submit the names of people who are willing to serve as proxy-delegates, to be included in the list, so that the list will not be solely a New York list. Mr. Siegel added that he knew of no organization that does not have a Committee on Vacancies. He urged that the Committee on Vacancies be not eliminated, because its elimination will mean the depopulation of the Convention. What might be done is to limit it so that the Committee on Vacancies shall have power, in the event of the absence of all delegates or all alternates of the Districts, to elect somebody who happens to be at the Convention.

Rabbi Israel suggested the complete elimination of the possibility of an election of delegates at large, but that certain Districts be allowed to choose from the National leadership men who do not have the time to enter the election contests and who may therefore possibly not be elected as delegates to the Convention. He suggested further that Mr. Lipsky's motion, eliminating local Committees on Vacancies, be adopted, and that the Districts and Regions throughout the country be requested to send to the National Office at a specified time before the Convention, a complete list of all possible delegates and alternates to the Convention. Every delegate and alternate from that District or Region must be on that list. Rabbi Israel asked whether it were possible to limit the appointment of delegates from the national group, and whether it would be regarded as undemocratic to limit those names to a list of men who are members of the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Z.O.A. In other words, that members of the Executive and Administrative Committees should automatically be selected by any District or Region as their delegates, and in that way — though it may be somewhat arbitrary — we will realize the possibility of including among the Convention delegates, men who are nationally prominent in New York and who might otherwise be omitted. Rabbi Israel's substitute motion was as follows:

THAT a list of delegates and alternates to the Zionist Convention from the various Districts and Regions be submitted to the National Office at a specified time before the Convention;

THAT the list of names of members of the Executive and Administrative Committees be open to the Regions and Districts, for election of delegates to represent them, in the event their delegates or alternates cannot attend the Convention.

Rabbi Heller stated that the Z.O.A. is not the only organization that is presented with this problem; many Jewish organizations in the country have national figures, but the people in the vicinity where these national figures reside, elect them locally as delegates to the Convention. He felt that if we cannot have a representative Convention, we should not have a Convention at all.

Mr. Lipsky thought it would be limiting the rights of the Districts or Regions to tell them whom to elect. If they wish to elect a certain national leader and are prevented from doing so, that is undemocratic. By permitting them to name exactly whom they choose to name, we will be providing for a democratic spirit. Mr. Lipsky suggested that the Districts and Regions be informed that they can elect anyone whom they want to elect; and we should not in any way influence the election of any persons by the submission of a list; that a resolution be adopted with regard to the policy of the Committee on Vacancies. The Districts and Regions should be instructed to elect their delegates and alternates and proxies on or before a certain specified day before the Convention.

Rabbi Heller asked what is there to prevent any group of individuals from representing any other part of the country, even if the lists are not submitted by the National Office.

Mr. Szold suggested that, in addition to the delegates to the Convention, the Z.O.A. Executive should have the right to elect twelve delegates, just like the Virilists are elected at the Zionist Congress.

Dr. Goldman felt that we were unnecessarily concerned with the election of the six or eight or ten people who will always be elected.

Mr. Szold formulated the following substitute motion:

1. THAT proxies or substitutes (except as above provided) shall not be permitted; that neither the National Office, nor any officer, nor employee thereof shall suggest any candidate for election by a District or other elective body to the Convention.
2. THAT no delegate or alternate shall be seated in a Convention unless (a) he shall have been duly elected by a District or other duly constituted elective body; and (b) his election shall have been certified by the Board of Elections of the District or other elective body, on a date prior to the opening of the Convention; and (c) he is a member of the District or other elective body.

The motion: THAT a delegate must be a resident of the District which he represents -- was LOST.

It was finally moved, seconded and unanimously carried

THAT the report submitted by Mr. Charles Ress, together with the discussion of the Executive and the substitute motion of Mr. Szold, be referred to a Committee with power to prepare the proper ruling.

Dr. Goldman asked Judge Louis E. Levinthal to look into the Constitutional provisions governing the adoption of rules and regulations, and to ascertain whether the rules relative to the election of Convention delegates and alternates must be submitted for approval to the Administrative Committee.

YOUTH AND PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENTS:

The Chairman asked to be empowered to appoint a Committee whose duty it shall be to find the proper personnel for the departments of Youth and Propaganda, so that these departments can begin to function in September.

It was thereupon duly moved, seconded and unanimously carried

THAT the President be empowered to appoint a Committee, with a view to establishing the Youth and Propaganda Departments.

1939 CONVENTION:

The Chairman stated that since the last meeting of the Executive and of the Administrative Committee the date of Jewish Day at the New York World's Fair had been changed. Originally, the date set was Monday, June 26, and because of that the Z.O.A. Convention this year was antedated one week, and arrangements made with the Commodore Hotel (the Convention headquarters) to extend the Convention date to include Wednesday and Thursday, June 28 and 29.

Mr. Weisgal recalled that the first date suggested for Jewish Day at the Fair was July 3 (Herzl's Yahrzeit), and the reason it was set instead for June 26 was because the Z.O.A. could not get hotel accommodations for the July 1 week-end. Mr. Weisgal felt, however, that the question of Jewish Day has no relation to the Convention; regardless of whether we have Jewish Day or not, the Convention should be held in New York because of the Palestine Pavilion. There were some differences of opinion among the members of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Pavilion as to the advisability of having Jewish Day at all. The matter was held in abeyance and the members of the Board have since reversed themselves to a considerable extent, but too late to have Jewish Day on Monday, June 26. Mr. Weisgal thought that from the point of view of the Z.O.A. and of the Convention, it is perhaps better that Jewish Day, as such -- with all the excitement that accompanies it -- is not held during the Convention. He suggested instead a Zionist Organization Day, for the same date (June 26), which could take the form of a demonstration for about 50,000 people, in the Court of Peace on the Fair grounds, with appropriate ceremonies, speakers, and music. There will be no income whatsoever, although there will be an expense involved in arranging the function. Mr. Weisgal added that the question of Jewish Day at a later date will be considered again at the next meeting of the Pavilion Board of Directors.

The Chairman felt that it is unnecessary to have a Zionist Organization Day, inasmuch as it is still planned to have a Jewish Day. He suggested that the Secretary ascertain from the Commodore Hotel whether the Convention dates can be changed to the July 1 week-end, since many people are planning to be in New York over July 4.

PROGRAM OF CONVENTION:

The Chairman stated that a Committee on Convention Organization (or Arrangements Committee) will be appointed for the purpose of considering such matters as (1) whether the Convention must have a banquet; (2) whether the Convention should have luncheons; (3) whether a Convention Bulletin should be published, such as was published by the Congress for a period of three days; etc., etc. There will also be appointed a Program Committee which will plan the program of the Convention.

With regard to the program of the Convention, the Chairman thought that it should be somewhat different this year from previous years. He proposed that institutes be arranged on the absorptive capacity of Palestine, on Cooperatives in Palestine, on Land in Palestine; plenary sessions on youth, on District programs, etc.; round-table discussions; etc., etc.

Rabbi Heller stated that the general criticism in the past has been that the delegates had very little part in the deliberations at the Convention. He suggested that some kind of program be devised whereby the delegates could participate.

Mr. Stone pointed out that the only opportunity the delegates have to

discuss matters is when the Convention Committees make their reports, and these reports usually come in at the last hour, when the delegates are tired and ready to go home. He suggested that as far as possible the "mass-meeting" character of the major part of the Convention be limited, and that the Committees be asked to make their reports earlier in the Convention, so that the delegates will have ample opportunity to express themselves. Unless there is discussion from the floor, the assembly lacks the character of a Convention.

Rabbi Israel said he did not think it possible to speed up the work of the Convention Committees, because that would result in half-baked reports. Something should be done, however, to increase the tempo of the first few days of the Convention.

Mr. Goldberg believed that aside from the fact that the delegates do not have an opportunity to participate in the discussion at the Convention, the real difficulty is that when a delegate is placed on a Convention Committee, he is put in a position where he cannot possibly participate, because the Committees are not deliberative bodies. He suggested that experts on the various subjects to be discussed should be asked to lead the discussions at the Committee meetings. The discussion can be opened by one of the delegates at the Convention, and the expert can then be called upon to lead the discussion. Furthermore, the delegates should be permitted to state their preference as to which Convention Committee they wish to be placed on.

The Chairman stated that the leader of the discussion may not always be found among the Zionists. In a Committee, however, the leader must be a member of the Zionist Organization.

Rabbi Heller suggested that a definite effort be made to reduce the number of addresses at the Convention.

YOUNG JUDAEA SUBSIDY:

The Secretary presented a request from the Finance Committee that the subsidy of \$5,000 a year for Young Judaea should be increased to \$7,200, that is, at the rate of \$600 a month. Young Judaea has been receiving -- with the approval of the Finance Committee -- \$600 a month for the last ten months, with the understanding that an adjustment would be made in the budget at a later date. They have already received the amount of \$6,000. The formal request to increase the budgetary allowance from \$5,000 to \$7,200 was therefore referred to the Executive.

The Chairman believed that the Executive should express its resentment; that the Finance Committee should be censured; and that the \$1,000 expended by Young Judaea (during the past ten months) beyond the \$5,000 subvention allotted it, should be credited to its subvention of next year.

Mr. Lipsky moved

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. disapproves of the action of the Finance Committee in the matter of Young Judaea, but that the \$6,000 paid out be allowed for the current year.

TRAVELLING EXPENSES OF OUT-OF-TOWN MEMBERS:

The Secretary reported that at the previous meeting of the Executive it was decided to increase the allotment for travelling expenses to out-of-town members of the Executive, from \$1,500 to \$2,000. It has since then been ascertained that the amount already expended was \$2,000. Hence the Finance Committee referred to the Executive for its approval the allotment of an additional \$500 for this purpose, making the total to be expended \$2,500.

Rabbi Miller thereupon duly moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the Executive vote an additional \$500 for the travelling expenses of out-of-town members to meetings of the Executive -- making a total of \$2,500 for this item.

The meeting was adjourned at 7:00 P.M.



"Zionism aims to create a publicly secured, legally assured home for the Jewish people in Palestine."—The Basic Platform.

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Max Levinson, Newport News
Dr. E. J. Lipson, Richmond
Harry Madanick, Baltimore
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Rabbi Paul Reich, Norfolk
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SEABOARD ZIONIST REGION

(Maryland, Virginia, District of Columbia, North and South Carolina, Delaware)

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

305 HEARST TOWER BUILDING

PHONE, PLAZA 0725

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

April 14, 1939

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, O

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Nothing would please us better than to have you honor us with your attendance at the 17th Annual Conference of the Seaboard Zionist Region to be held Saturday night, Sunday and Monday, May 13, 14 and 15th, at the Chamberlin Hotel, Old Point Comfort, Va.

No doubt, you are as usual taxed for time and may not find it possible to join us. May we therefore, ask you to do the next best thing which will to some extent make up for your absence? Please be good enough to send us your official greetings as National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal. Your message will prove an inspiration to us to do our fullest share as Zionists and Jews in this crucial period of our movement.

Please send your greetings direct to the Seaboard Zionist Region office, 305 Hearst Tower Bldg., Baltimore, Maryland.

Thanking you for this courtesy and cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Simon J. Levin
Simon J. Levin
Executive Director

REMEMBER -

17th ANNUAL SEABOARD ZIONIST CONFERENCE
Chamberlin Hotel -- Old Point Comfort, Va.

— 3 —
IMPORTANT
DATES

1939	MAY	1939
SAT.	SUN.	MON.
13	14	15

BE THERE!



"Zionism aims to create a publicly secured, legally assured home for the Jewish people in Palestine."—The Basle Platform.

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

305 HEARST TOWER BUILDING

PHONE, PLAZA 0725

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

April 27, 1939

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Chairman, United Palestine Appeal
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

May I respectfully draw your attention to my recent communication suggesting that you send greetings to the 17th Annual Conference of the Seaboard Zionist Region to be held Saturday night, Sunday and Monday, May 13, 14, and 15, 1939, at the Chamberlin Hotel, Old Point Comfort, Virginia.

I wish to emphasize that these greetings will be a stimulating factor in promoting successful deliberations at our annual gathering.

Thanking you for this help and encouraging cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Simon J. Levin
Executive Director

REMEMBER -

17th ANNUAL SEABOARD ZIONIST CONFERENCE
Chamberlin Hotel - - Old Point Comfort, Va.

— 3 —
IMPORTANT
D A T E S

1939 MAY 1939		
SAT.	SUN.	MON.
13	14	15

BE THERE!

May 1, 1939

Mr. Simon J. Levin, Executive Director
Seaboard Zionist Region
305 Heartst Tower Building
Baltimore, Md.

My dear Mr. Levin:

Please extend to the delegates who will attend the 17th Annual Conference of the Seaboard Zionist Region my warmest greetings. I regret greatly that pressure of other work, principally in connection with the United Jewish Appeal, makes it impossible for me to attend the Conference. I hope that your deliberations will prove fruitful and that great good for our common cause will result from it.

It is heartening to see Jewry throughout this country rise to the challenge of a grave and trying hour. There has been a gratifying manifestation of a keener awareness on the part of our people to the importance of Palestine and a greater readiness to support with their resources of means and of spirit the remarkable unfolding Jewish life there.

The Zionist Movement is going through one of the most critical periods of its history. Hard and trying days are ahead of us. But many another people is being tried today in the iron furnace. Many international sanctions and pledges are being grossly ignored or violated. There is an evil spirit abroad in the world today defiling many a sanctuary of humanity.

But my confidence is strong that if we will remain steadfast and loyal to our convictions and ideals and not give way to fear or despair, we shall come through this hour of wrath strengthened and unscathed.

There are strong hands and stout hearts building the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. We, here, must match their faith and courage.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

May 1, 1939

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EDWARD L. ISRAEL
HARRIS J. LEVINE
ISRAEL H. LEVINthal
MEYER LEVY
IRVING MILLER
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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
% The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

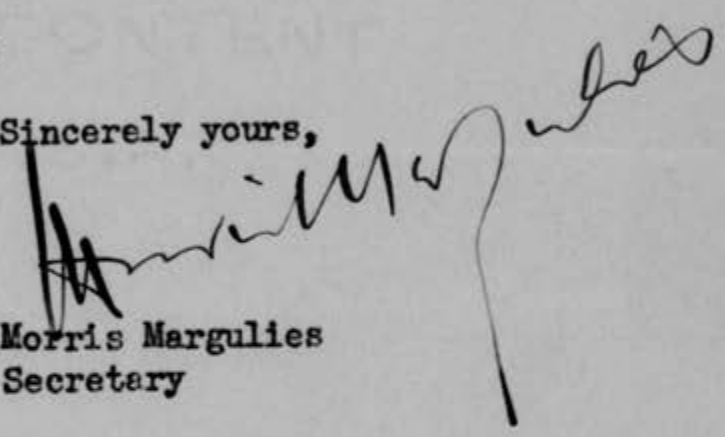
Dear Dr. Silver:

The Chairman of our Wheeling, West Virginia Zionist District wrote me today that he has just learned that on or about June 6th you are to deliver a lecture at the commencement exercises of a nearby college. The Wheeling Zionists would be tremendously encouraged if you would be gracious enough to visit their city at any time convenient to you. They have asked me to intervene with you on their behalf. Would it be possible for you, during your visit to the college, to meet with the Zionists?

I am in no position to make any suggestions as to time, for I do not know whether your lecture is in the morning, in the evening, nor on what date it is. I do know that the Zionist function will be arranged to suit your convenience.

Eagerly awaiting word from you, I am

Sincerely yours,


Morris Margulies
Secretary

MM:HG

May 3, 1939

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

My dear Mr. Margulies:

I appreciate very much the invitation of the Wheeling Zionists to address them. I wish I were free to accept their invitation. I am scheduled to deliver the Baccalaureate Address at the State Teachers College on Sunday afternoon, June 4th, and I am motoring back in time to keep a wedding engagement in Cleveland that same evening.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

305 HEARST TOWER BUILDING

PHONE, PLAZA 0725

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

May 23, 1939.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple-Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Your inspiring message was read at the Seaboard Zionist Regional Conference and I have been requested to write and thank you for the encouragement your message gave to all the delegates on that occasion.

We are determined to follow your leadership in these crucial times and to place ourselves solely at your disposal for Palestine and overseas needs.

As Zionists we are ready to meet any and all challenges foisted upon us by our adversaries, to the end, that Palestine may be speedily restored as the land of Israel.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Ellison
Daniel Ellison
President.

החמדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

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SIGMUND THAU
A. I. USLANDER
MORRIS WEINBERG

ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

May 29, 1939.

TO THE CHAIRMEN OF
ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Friend:

I am enclosing copy of an article by Westbrook Pegler which appeared on May 27th in the New York World Telegram and many other newspapers throughout the country in which Pegler's column is syndicated.

The article, as you will see, is a vicious attack on the Zionist movement and a base libel upon American Jews. Every newspaper which printed it should be flooded with letters of protest.

Accordingly, if the article was published by a newspaper in your city, you are urged to see to it that as many letters as possible are immediately written to that newspaper in answer to Pegler's attack. I enclose a brief summary of the points that may be used as the basis for the letters, which should not be uniform, but should be an expression of the writer's own feelings.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies
Morris Margulies
Secretary

Encls.

FAIR ENOUGH

(Saturday, May 27, 1939. Published in New York World Telegram and many other papers throughout the country).

It is my belief that most American Jews not only have no interest in Palestine but resent the insinuation inherent in the case that they desire some other homeland than the United States. The agitation of the problem in this country, including representations to the American State Department on behalf of the Palestine community by certain prominent Jews who call themselves leaders, put other American Jews in a false position, and gives undeserved aid and comfort to a band of Hitlerized American terrorists who allege that all Jews withhold devotion to the land of their birth. Men and women who were born in this country and who are utterly loyal to their native land thus are made to suffer suspicion and other penalties for sentiments of which they are innocent.

Regardless of the legal, political and diplomatic facts of the problem, the American people will not sympathize with an effort to create a homeland for those who are already citizens of other countries, including this one.

American Methodists, Baptists and Catholics are content with this as their homeland, and, in a simple, direct way, will ask themselves why American Jews should not only want another but call on other nations to guarantee and protect it, instead of fighting out their own problems.

The fact is that comparatively few American Jews are active in this agitation, the vast majority of them being either indifferent to the movement or opposed to it on the ground that it suggests some weakness or division in their own love of the United States.

The so-called Jewish homeland is an artificial creation attempted as the result of a bargain which the British agreed to in violation of another

bargain at a time when they would have promised anybody anything to save their lives.

It hasn't worked up to now, and the British are in a terrible sweat, as they weasel around in the manner of a county court shyster trying to prove that they promised less than they did. But that is their problem, and the problem of the Arabs and some Jews, but not the problem of the American Jews except those who voluntarily and formally declare themselves in on it.

If those concerned can work it out, that will be fine, but the American people will not commission their government to take any responsibility for the fulfillment of a British promise or the protection of any other homeland than this one, always excepting the mysterious and unexplored possibilities of the Monroe Doctrine.

This document commits us to the job of protecting much British and French property on this side of the water, and protecting certain South American countries from their own folly, should they decide to throw in with a new Spanish Fascist empire under General Franco.

The hyphenism of the Nazis is popularly detested and openly rebuked here, but it is just as reasonable to ask the American nation to help the Germans recapture Danzig as it is for certain Jews of American nationality to press the government or people for any official aid for this so-called homeland.

Those Jews who do cherish the idea and the hope of its fulfillment, and want to give their ability and money for it, have a legal right to do so. But there should be some means by which the American who regards this as his only homeland, and resents any suggestion that he wants another, could dissociate himself from the propaganda.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LETTERS TO NEWSPAPERS IN ANSWER

TO PEGLER'S ARTICLE

- - -

1. Mr. Pegler's first point is that most American Jews have no interest in Palestine.

Answer: The Jewish Agency for Palestine, in which non-Zionists as well as Zionists are included, represents virtually all organized American Jewry in support of the upbuilding of Palestine and the Jewish National Home. Furthermore, not only Jews but people of all races and creeds aware of the dire Jewish refugee problem understand the great necessity of a homeland for Jews where they may live in freedom.

2. Mr. Pegler says that American Jewish citizens by supporting the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine divert their allegiance from their own country.

Answer: (a) When Czechoslovakia was dismembered and then destroyed all liberty-loving peoples cried "treachery and betrayal". Such outraged feelings stemmed from the democratic belief that all people are entitled to a national home. American citizens of Czech origin in this country were not accused nor could they be rightly accused of divided allegiance when they deplored the conquest of Czechoslovakia.

(b) America is composed of people of many national origins. The citizenship of no one can rightly be impugned who shows an interest in the country of his forebears. The Americanism of Justice Brandeis, Justice Frankfurter and hundreds of other illustrious American citizens cannot be brought into question because of their profound interest in the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish National Home.

2. Mr. Pegler's third point is that the American Government should not be asked to urge the fulfillment of a British promise.

Answer: The Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate over Palestine were endorsed by fifty-two nations, including the United States. The Congress of the United States gave its official sanction by a Joint Resolution in 1922. Every American President, since Woodrow Wilson, has given his endorsement to the effort to rebuild Palestine as a Jewish National Home.

The British-American Mandate Convention of 1924 provides that no change in the Palestine Mandate may be made without agreement with the American Government. Wherever American interests are involved, particularly those covered by treaties, the American Government has the moral and legal right to intervene. The Palestine Mandate is no exception. There are over \$100,000,000 of investments by American citizens in Palestine which are endangered by the change proposed by the British Government in the status of Palestine. The American Government has a legal right to seek the protection of American interests in Palestine.

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RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

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ENCOURAGED BY GRATIFYING INCREASE YOUR MEMBERSHIP. URGE
YOU PLEASE PROCEED IMMEDIATE REINSTATEMENT 182 MEMBERS
STILL IN ARREARS YOUR SOCIETY IMPERATIVE WE REACH NATIONAL
QUOTA BEFORE CONVENTION IN FACE PRESENT EMERGENCY.
REINSTATEMENT DELINQUENT MEMBERS WITHIN FORTNIGHT
ESSENTIAL FOR ATTAINMENT THIS OBJECTIVE. WE COUNT UPON
YOUR HELP. =

SOLOMON GOLDMAN MORRIS MARGULIES.

182.

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING HELD ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1939, 4 P.M.
AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), and Messrs. Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Henry Ellenbogen, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Israel Goldstein, Israel H. Levinthal, Louis E. Levinthal, Irving Miller, Morris Margulies, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Morris Rothenberg, William I. Siegel, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Stephen S. Wise; Samuel Caplan; Adrian Schwartz (representing Avukah).

Excuses for absence received from Messrs. David Berenstein, Harry Friedenwald, Edward L. Israel, Julian W. Mack, Louis Lipsky, A. H. Rosenberg, Simon Shetzer.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

Shekolim: Mr. Margulies reported that according to the statement submitted by the U.S. Central Shekel Board, 342,182 Shekolim were sold in the United States during 1938-9 as against 269,424 sold in 1936-7 -- an increase of 72,758 Shekolim for the present year, which will enable the American Zionists to have a total of 115 delegates as against 90 delegates at the last Congress. The Zionist Organization of America will have 34 delegates (two years ago, 22 delegates); Hadasah will have 29 (two years ago, 18); the Poale Zion, 34 (two years ago, 32); Mizrahi, 17 (same as two years ago); and the State Party one delegate (same as two years ago). The Z.O.A. and Hadassah will have 63 delegates jointly, against the 52 delegates of the other three parties combined. This is the first time in the history of the movement that the General Zionists in America will have a larger delegation than the other parties all together.

Mr. William I. Siegel, as Chairman of the Shekel Board, informed the meeting that the Executive in Jerusalem had contemplated changing the basis of representation per delegate from 3,000 to 4,000 Shekel-payers, but that the Shekel Board had cabled its refusal to proceed on that basis. He reported that cash has been received for the full number of Shekolim listed, and last week a check for \$35,000 was sent to Jerusalem. The Shekel Campaign has been kept open until June 11 and it is hoped that additional Shekolim will be sold.

The Secretary reported further that although we did not have an intensive Shekel Campaign, in addition to our membership Shekolim the Z.O.A. disposed of 37,453 Shekolim, which includes a little over 1600 sold by the Order Sons of Zion, Masada and Avukah.

Membership: Reporting on membership, the Secretary stated that the Shekel effort and the appeal for the Goldman Administration Fund had retarded the membership work this year. The paid up membership as of June 1, 1939 is 38,534, as against 22,711 last year. New members enrolled number 19,428; members in arrears as of June 1, 9,500. Every effort is being made to have these members pay their dues. The income from membership dues this year was \$122,513, as against \$79,123 last year.

METHOD OF ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO CONGRESS:

Dr. Wise inquired as to the method to be employed in the election of delegates to the World Zionist Congress.

Mr. Margulies stated that the procedure in past Congress years was to elect the delegates at the Zionist Conventions.

Judge Rothenberg called attention to the fact that this method was not a Constitution-

al provision and we were therefore free to have any other procedure we may deem advisable. He recalled that the question of the mode of election of delegates to the Congress was considered by the Congress Court several times. At one time our procedure was challenged by the Congress, and the Congress Court ruled that our method of election was illegal; that the only legal election was an election according to the statutes of the World Zionist Organization, which provide for a popular election, such as the Shekel Board originally contemplated carrying through. If all of the parties agreed that the election be eliminated, there was nobody to challenge the election, and it was approved. It may be, however, Judge Rothenberg pointed out, that someone may challenge the election at the Congress, and therefore it is worthwhile having that point in mind.

In past years, Judge Rothenberg recalled, a list was proposed to the National Executive Committee, which recommended that list to the Convention of the Z.O.A. and the Convention voted on that list. The country at large was always resentful of the fact that the New York members generally predominated.

Mr. Abraham Goldstein suggested that the Executive take into consideration that there are many out-of-town delegates who are not known to the members of the Executive, and who are therefore not elected.

With a view to decreasing the list of candidates, Dr. Wise moved

THAT the President be authorized to address an official communication to the list of candidates for delegateship to the World Zionist Congress, inquiring whether, in the event that they are elected, they will attend the Congress.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Dr. Wise made the further motion

THAT the Executive endeavor between now and the Zionist Convention to prepare a list of delegates to be submitted to the Convention, with the understanding that if the Convention does not choose to accept it, we have an election at the Convention.

Judge Rothenberg offered the following substitute motion:

THAT a list of delegates be prepared by the Executive, taking into consideration qualifications, Regional representation, etc., to be submitted to the Convention for approval; that if the Convention approves the proposed list, no election be held; if the Convention disapproves, an election be held at the Convention.

Mr. Rocker and Judge Ellenbogen offered the suggestion that in order to insure having a representative delegation at the Congress, the Executive elect one-half or two-thirds of the delegates and the Convention elect the balance.

The Chairman pointed out that if we have an election, all of the delegates should be elected and not only a part of the list.

A vote was then taken on Dr. Wise's motion and Judge Rothenberg's substitute motion. Both were defeated -- 7 voting in favor; 9 opposed.

Mr. Goldberg moved

THAT the method of electing delegates to the World Zionist Congress, by the Zionist Convention, be continued.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Mr. Charles Ress then moved

THAT the Executive, through a sub-Committee, be empowered to add names to the list of candidates to be submitted for election at the Zionist Convention.

Mr. Ress' motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Dr. Wise moved

THAT the Executive recommend to the Convention that the delegates to the Convention be instructed to vote for the minimum of 34 delegates to which the Zionist Organization of America is entitled; that if a ballot is returned with only a part of the 34 candidates voted for, the ballot shall be considered invalid.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Wise pointed out that this recommendation is binding upon the Convention unless the Convention reverses it by a vote.

The Chairman presented the requests of Histadruth Ivrit and of Avukah that each be allowed to name its own delegate to the World Zionist Congress.

A brief discussion ensued in which it was pointed out that (1) neither Histadruth Ivrit nor Avukah is exclusively a Z.O.A. affiliate, and (2) neither has succeeded in securing independently the necessary minimum of 3,000 Shekel-payers to entitle them to a delegate according to the Congress rules.

It was thereupon decided that the requests of Histadruth Ivrit and of Avukah for delegates to the Congress be not granted.

MR. LOUIS LIPSKY:

Dr. Wise called attention to the illness of Mr. Lipsky who is at a hospital for observation, and suggested that a message be sent to him on behalf of the Executive, expressing the hope that he will speedily be restored to health and to his usefulness to the Zionist movement.

Unanimously adopted.

CLEVELAND MEMBERSHIP DUES:

read a letter from the Treasurer of the Cleveland Zionist District, calling
The Secretary called attention to the situation existing in Cleveland, Ohio, where the two Zionist Societies were functioning and enjoying the rights and privileges of Districts. One of the Societies is accepting from its members dues of \$4 a year. The other two groups in the community ask and receive \$5 a year. The two groups complain that the third group is offering, in the first place, unfair competition,

and in the second place, officially every member of the third organization receives a Z.O.A. membership card from the National Office, stating that he has paid \$5.00 dues to the organization. In the third place, they maintain that this is unconstitutional, for the Constitution requires a minimum of \$5.00 a year. The Z.O.A. receives from the third organization the same amount as it does from the other two, namely, \$3.00 out of every membership dues.

It was recalled by some of the members present that this matter had been brought up for consideration at the meeting of the Executive held on April 27, 1938. No action was taken, therefore, pending a reference to the minutes of that meeting.

PURCHASE OF WOLFFSOHN BOOK:

The Chairman called attention to the "Life of David Wolffsohn" by Dr. Emil B. Cohn, which is about to appear. It was moved, seconded and unanimously carried

THAT the members of the Executive assume the obligation of subscribing to 100 copies of this book -- the cost of same not to exceed the sum of \$300.00 -- the sale of the books to be allocated among the members of the Executive.

This motion was referred to the Finance Committee for its approval.

CONVENTION PROGRAM:

The Chairman submitted the tentative program of the Convention.

Dr. Wise suggested that a Labor Member of the House of Commons be invited to address the Convention.

Dr. Goldman suggested that it would be wiser to have a Member of the Conservative Party address the Convention.

In line with Dr. Goldman's suggestion, Dr. Wise proposed the name of Hon. Leopold S. Amery, former Secretary for the Colonies. He suggested furthermore that it would be worthwhile spending \$2,000 to bring over one outstanding Labor leader and one Conservative leader.

Judge Ellenbogen suggested that good public relations require that if a Member of Parliament is invited, a member of the United States Congress should also be invited.

Rabbi Brickner asked what is the note to be struck at this Convention. He felt that the Executive should crystallize its thinking and not come to the Convention to air its views. He suggested that the Executive be called together in an all-day session to discuss the implications of the White Paper for Zionism, for the Yishuv and particularly for the American Zionist Organization. There should be some kind of a consensus of opinion by the leaders of American Zionism, he felt, to raise the hopes of our people; to retain the morale; to indicate how we feel, and how the Yishuv and the rest of the Zionist world should stand.

It was pointed out by Dr. Wise and by Dr. Goldman that the question broached by Rabbi Brickner had been considered by the Political Committee at its various meetings; articles and editorials have appeared in The New Palestine, indicating the direction in which American Zionism would have to move. Furthermore, Dr. Weizmann has been asked how to indicate the general program, and there was a cable from Ben Gurion stating that we are to continue to build and to buy land. It is, of course, to be taken for granted, Dr. Goldman added, that the men who will be invited to speak at

the Convention sessions will be asked not to speak in general terms, but to give their mind and thought to the situation as it is at present. On the other hand, we shall have to wait for the Zionist Congress in Geneva for a definition of future policy.

Rabbi Brickner said he felt that the Convention must work out some formula; that it does not seem quite logical or necessary for American Zionists to wait altogether for a program. Every country in the world, including the Yishuv, is confused, but out of their confusion they will go on working and living, and in the midst of their confusion they will build some kind of a program. Upon every national convention there is an obligation to struggle with the problem, he urged, and to work out its program as it sees fit.

Dr. Goldman stated that a definite program of action for the Yishuv and for the general political front will be defined at the Zionist Congress. As for our own position here in America, and what we are to say in American Zionism, he believed that despite the fact that the matter requires serious thinking, we shall after much thinking be doing what we did extemporaneously at meetings that we had in the last several weeks. First, all of us know that we are to continue to build in Palestine; secondly, we are all agreed to resist the British. The form which that resistance will take will have to be defined by the Congress, and perhaps even more by the Yishuv than by the Congress. Thirdly, in our own situation here we will have to have considerable discussion with our non-Zionist and anti-Zionist friends. We will have to answer again the question of Americanism and Zionism. Our program is going to be an intensification of Zionist propaganda, of Zionist education, a reaffirmation of our right to Palestine and of our determination to build it.

Judge Rothenberg observed that if the Yishuv is not acting quickly in the situation, he for one is willing to assume that there are some reasons for it. So far as this country is concerned, he said he has rarely seen such activity as was shown by the President of the Zionist Organization and by his associates. Officially, everything has been done that could be done.

Dr. Wise felt that Dr. Goldman's Presidential address at the Convention will strike the keynote of the Convention proceedings. He said that even if we had a great program prepared he would urge that we wait until the Congress, for he believed that American Zionists should keep their minds open.

YOUNG JUDAEA -- SUBVENTION:

Mr. Rocker called attention to the fact that at the meeting of the Executive held on April 13, 1939, the Finance Committee requested the Executive to increase the subvention of Young Judaea from \$5,000 to \$7,500, stating at the same time that Young Judaea had been granted an increase of \$1,125 by the Finance Committee. The Executive turned down the request of the Finance Committee and the President expressed himself quite plainly on the matter; a motion was passed in which it was stated that the \$6,000 that was already voted by the Finance Committee should stand, and the resentment of the Executive was expressed. Mr. Rocker recalled that the Executive, when considering the budget, had allowed the additional sum of \$2,500 which was to be distributed by the Finance Committee under the mandate of the Convention, and that the Finance Committee acted thoroughly within its rights in granting the request of Young Judaea for an additional subsidy of \$1100. Mr. Rocker stated that he had been requested by the Finance Committee, as their spokesman, to arrange that the Executive remove from the minutes of the April 13th meeting all of the sentiments expressed therein which reflect on the ability of the Finance Committee. Mr. Rocker added that the Finance Committee had appointed a sub-committee to look into the question of youth subsidies, meetings were held with representatives of the three organizations, and every-

thing that was done was entirely within the rights of the Finance Committee. The Finance Committee now asks that the Executive grant the additional subsidy of \$1,075 to Young Judaea.

The Chairman stated that to the best of his knowledge there never came before the Executive a request from the Finance Committee to allow Young Judaea an additional subvention. The report came to the Executive that the Finance Committee had voted and was already issuing checks for Young Judaea on the basis of a budget which Young Judaea had increased for itself. It was not a request before us to vote on a matter; we were presented with a fait accompli. Because of this fact the Executive expressed resentment and the Chair joined in that resentment. Furthermore, Dr. Goldman added, the Convention never set aside an extra \$5,000 or \$2,500 for specific youth groups; the Convention did not list Young Judaea or any other group; the Convention set aside \$2,500 for additional youth subsidies. At no time do we find in the minutes of the Finance Committee that the Finance Committee turned to the other youth organizations and asked them to submit their budgets of the previous years or to submit their additional needs, and then proceeded to make an allocation of the \$2,500 on the basis of those requests. Apparently Young Judaea assumed that it can take out of that money the sum of \$1,125 without consulting the others. The fact remains, Dr. Goldman said, that the other youth organizations have turned to the President and to the Executive, from time to time, for additional allocations, and the President did not even bring any of these requests before the Executive. The Executive then was confronted with this: It would receive a report that the Finance Committee had acted in behalf of one of the youth groups in disregard of all the others.

Mr. Siegel felt that the Finance Committee has a right to feel offended by the form of the action taken by the Executive at its meeting on April 13.

Mr. Röss said he was somewhat shocked by the language in the minutes in reference to the Finance Committee. The Chairman is quite correct, he said, in the statement that the minutes of the Finance Committee did not reflect exactly what the Finance Committee did. The sub-committee interviewed representatives of the youth organizations; it gave the matter a great deal of attention and came to the conclusion that the only organization which could use the slight addition to the subsidy which could be given them, with sufficient value, was Young Judaea. Perhaps the sub-committee was wrong in its conclusion, Mr. Röss added, but it was not a hasty conclusion. In the Finance Committee something happened which is responsible for the lack of clarity in the minutes; the report of the sub-committee does not appear as such in the minutes of the Finance Committee, but is written up in an informal way. The Finance Committee still thinks that where the Convention added \$2,500 for youth subsidies and the Executive had taken no action; and where there appears in the minutes of the Executive a general resolution authorizing the Finance Committee to adjust certain budgetary items which needed adjustment in the funds, it is at least open to question as to whether the Finance Committee did not have the right to take the additional \$2,500 and adjust it in its judgment to the youth groups. Mr. Röss added that he did not think that the Chair or the Executive should assume that the Finance Committee did not act strictly within its prerogative. The Finance Committee should have made a recommendation to the Executive, instead of acting, but on the other hand, the Executive is not very correct in its decision.

The Chairman observed that there are two things involved which must be kept apart: (1) the question of whether the expressions made at the meeting of the Executive and the language appearing in the minutes should stand or not; (2) the question of principle involved. If the sub-committee of the Finance Committee met with the several youth groups, it should have been reflected somewhere in the minutes of the Finance Committee or in the report that reached the Executive. It is not reflected.

Furthermore, Dr. Goldman said, he had reason to believe that the matter needs further investigation because of the statement made at this meeting of the Executive that the only organization to whom the funds should be allocated was Young Judaea. If Masada received funds without bringing it to the attention of the Executive, Dr. Goldman declared, he would personally express resentment and would ask the Executive to join with him. If Masada can go to the Finance Committee and get some help, and if Avukah can do likewise, -- Dr. Goldman wondered why it is that, in the course of the year, he constantly keeps on receiving letters containing requests from these youth groups, begging for \$50 and \$100. If the Finance Committee had available \$2,500, why did it not allocate that money on the basis of their budgets, Dr. Goldman asked. If that has been done, it is not reflected in the minutes of the Finance Committee. Furthermore, it is not reflected in the pressure being brought to bear upon the Executive by the youth groups. Dr. Goldman reiterated that during the meetings at which he has presided there has never come a request from Young Judaea, such as Mr. Rocker states was brought before us.

Mr. Rocker stated that as Chairman of the Finance Committee he felt that the \$6,100 voted to Young Judaea was absolutely within the province of the Finance Committee, and that there was no justification whatever in the language used by the President. He requested that the whole matter be stricken from the minutes of the April 13, 1939 meeting of the Executive, and that the request made at the present meeting of the Executive be given consideration.

Dr. Goldman continued that, at the April 13 meeting, when the Executive was presented the bare statement without any background and the checks were already issued for an advance in the subvention of one of the subsidiary organizations, among his remarks were that "we have been thinking the entire year in terms of reorganization and departmentalization; a Committee was appointed which presented us with a memorandum; the Executive at two meetings voted first on the adoption of the memorandum in principle, and at the April 13 meeting proceeded to implement the memorandum by voting the establishment of a youth department as part of the Z.O.A."; and then, while this reorganization is going on, we are suddenly confronted by the fact that one organization has taken it upon itself to suddenly expand its work.

Mr. Cowen moved

THAT the Secretary be requested to correct the minutes and to eliminate anything that reflects on the Finance Committee.

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

THAT a sub-committee of the Executive be appointed to confer, as quickly as possible, with a Committee of the Finance Committee regarding the difference of opinion that has arisen between the Finance Committee and the Executive with respect to the matter of additional disbursements to Young Judaea and other youth organizations;

THAT the Committee report its findings to the next meeting of the Executive;

THAT until such report is made by the Committee to the Executive, action by the Executive bearing on this matter be postponed.

Mr. Szold suggested that the two Committees have the power to consider the request for the additional money. So far as general principle is concerned, Mr. Szold pointed out, one thing is perfectly clear: on the general proposition of authority, there is no question but that the Finance Committee is subject, generally speaking, to the Executive. However, we learn today that the Convention passed a resolution which appears on its face to grant \$2,500 to be spent by the Finance Committee without the consent of the Executive. If that is so, it is something specific and furnishes no precedent for anything.

ORGANIZATIONAL REPRESENTATION AT Z.O.A. CONVENTION:

The Secretary submitted a list of organizations that are annually invited to send delegates to the Z.O.A. Convention with voting rights. This practice dates back to 1920, Mr. Margulies pointed out. He suggested that there be a definite ruling on this matter by the Executive, in view of the new ruling on the matter of Z.O.A. delegates.

Mr. Szold moved

THAT the officers of the Zionist Organization of America be empowered to decide regarding the matter of representation of other organizations at the Z.O.A. Convention.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

FINAL MEETING OF EXECUTIVE:

It was tentatively decided to hold the final meeting of the Executive on Friday, June 23.

Meeting adjourned at 7:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

June 11, 1939

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JULIAN W. MACK
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MORRIS MARGULIES
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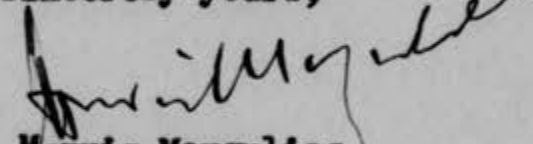
Dear Rabbi Silver:

I beg to direct your attention to the attached copy of a statement by David Ben Gurion, entitled "The Great Betrayal", containing a comprehensive analysis of the new British policy embodied in the White Paper.

To my knowledge, this statement, which comprises four whole pages in The Palestine Post, is the most expert and clear-cut reply published by a leader of the Jewish Agency to the British plan.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,


Morris Margulies
Secretary

MM:TW

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות תכרית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
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ISRAEL MALTIN
Auditor

June 12, 1939.

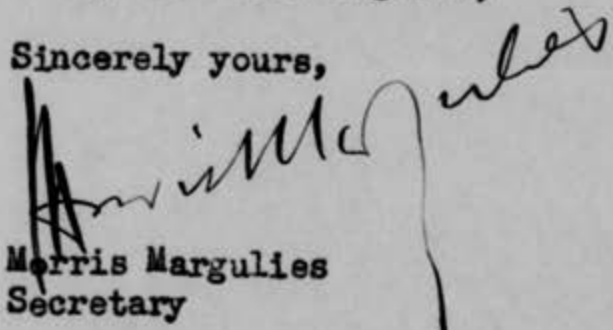
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On behalf of Dr. Solomon Goldman and of the Z.O.A. Executive, I cordially invite you to address the closing session of the forthcoming Zionist Convention scheduled for Wednesday morning, June 28, at the Palestine Pavilion of the New York World's Fair. I earnestly hope that you will find it possible to send us an affirmative reply.

Eagerly awaiting your acceptance, I am, with kind regards,

Sincerely yours,


Morris Margulies
Secretary

June 16, 1939

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

My dear Mr. Margulies:

Thank you for your kind letter of June 12 and for the invitation which you extend to me to address the closing session of the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America on June 28th. As my family and I are sailing for Europe on June 21st, it will not be possible for me to attend the Convention and to accept your kind invitation.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	FOREIGN
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE CABLE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED CABLE
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
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PATRONS SHOULD CHECK CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED. OTHERWISE MESSAGE WILL BE TRANSMITTED AS A FULL-RATE COMMUNICATION

Postal Telegraph

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Commercial
Cables



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STANDARD TIME

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

Form 2L

Cundatol

SUGGESTED TELEGRAM

PETITION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

THE PRESIDENT
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, RESPECTFULLY PETITION YOU, MR. PRESIDENT,
TO GIVE PUBLIC EXPRESSION TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT'S SYMPATHY
WITH THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME POLICY UNDER THE PALESTINE
MANDATE AND TO INTERCEDE WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO THE
END OF KEEPING OPEN THE GATES OF THE HOLY LAND FOR A LARGESCALE
JEWISH IMMIGRATION AND AS A HAVEN FOR THE REFUGEES.

(SIGNATURES)

Ohio
93rd GENERAL ASSEMBLY

H.J.R. 15

REGULAR SESSION

1939 - 1940

MR. KASCH

JOINT RESOLUTION

Memorializing congress to adopt legislation
relative to the purchase of all private and
public property in one of the states of the
United States to be used as a home land for
Jewish refugees.

WHEREAS, Members of the Jewish race are being persecuted
by some foreign governments; and

WHEREAS, These many thousands of members of that race are
forced to surrender their property and civil liberties to those
foreign governments and are forced to leave these foreign nations
under serious economic pressure; and

WHEREAS, The economic condition of those people is a serious
problem to the several governments of the world, which economic con-
dition can be materially alleviated by the government of the United
States of America, which government can bring immediate relief to
the many thousands of such refugees who are now in sore distress and
dire need; now, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OHIO,
That we, the members of the ninety-third general assembly memorialize
the congress of the United States to enact legislation relative to
the financing of the purchase of all of the private, corporate and
public property, both real and personal in one of the forty-eight
states of the United States to be resold to a public corporation,
controlled, supervised and operated by a commission of members of the
Jewish race with the entire purchase price to be repaid by the members
of that race who may reside therein within one hundred years after
the date of such purchase; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That such state shall become a Jewish home land and state of refuge for all Jews who are not now residents of the United States and who are or may in the future be refugees of a foreign country; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the present immigration restrictions, be so modified as to permit the entry into this country of foreign Jews who are or may be persecuted persons and who may desire to become a resident of such Jewish home state and who as a prerequisite of such entry, which entry shall be under the supervision of a newly created board of Jewish immigration, shall agree that those so admitted become residents of such Jewish home state and that they and their children shall remain residents of such state for the length of their lives; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the purchase of such state of the United States must be agreed to by a majority vote of the electors of such state; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge each of the Ohio senators and congressmen to lend their aid and support to the enactment of such legislation at the earliest time possible; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the president of the United States, Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and to each senator and congressman from Ohio serving in congress.