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Zionist Organization of America, 1940.

COPY OF LETTER SENT TO:
DR. GOLDMAN, MR. SZOLD,
and MR. ROCKER

January 24th, 1940

Dr. Solomon Goldman, President
Zionist Organization of America
220 South State Street
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Dr. Goldman:

The undersigned members of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, in support of a decision made by a large number of members of the Council from New York and vicinity, at a meeting held on January 22nd at the Hotel Abbey, respectfully and urgently request you to suspend all action on the reorganization plan subject to a review of the entire plan by the National Administrative Council.

Simultaneously we are dispatching a request to the Chairman of the Council to put this item on the agenda of the February 4th session in Baltimore.

Our reasons are as follows:

- 1- The substance of the reorganization is largely unknown to the leadership of the Zionist Organization of America centered in the Council which for many years has been the major factor in the successful functioning of the Zionist movement throughout the country.
- 2- The reorganization plan seems to involve so many changes in personnel particularly with regard to older and the more articulate members of the Organization who served as builders of the movement in America that the country at large may look upon the plan as a purge of old Zionists to make good your several utterances in public for the elimination of the older generation from the active cadres of the movement.
- 3- The organization at large which under various circumstances has shown a jealousy of its democratic rights against tendencies of self-rule on the part of leaders may resent the wholesale changes without being permitted the opportunity of examining them and probably offering alternatives.
- 4- The membership at large will be baffled most particularly by the implementation of the plan at this late hour in the life of the present administration without giving a hearing to all sides.
- 5- The Zionist movement has been known to treat its paid officials as comrades and to deal with due deference to all concerned. This policy has gained high public esteem for the movement and its leaders. Summary action of the Administration toward popular workers in the ranks and on the highest councils of the Organization will create ill-will and friction which our movement can ill afford.

To prevent these results, we see no other way but to at least obtain the sanction of the National Administration Council which, between conventions, is the court of last resort in our Organization.

We should also like to draw your attention to the fact that Mr. Louis P. Rocker at a meeting of the Finance Committee held on January 8th gave definite assurance that no changes in personnel would be made before the next meeting of the National Administrative Council.

SIGNED BY THIRTY-SIX MEMBERS OF
THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

החסתדרות הציונית של ארצות חברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

SOLOMON GOLDMAN
President

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LOUIS LIPSKY
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MORRIS ROTHENBERG
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Chairman, Nat'l. Admin. Council

LOUIS P. ROCKER
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ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE

Associate Members

MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
ALFRED J. KAHN
ELEAZAR LIPSKY

January 25, 1940.

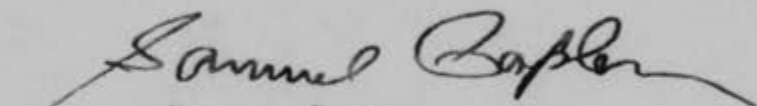
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

It is planned to present Dr. Weizmann with a souvenir volume of greetings from leaders in American Jewry on the occasion of his current visit to the United States.

In view of the fact that you are a member of the Reception Committee for Dr. Weizmann, may I inquire whether you would care to have a letter from you, addressed to Dr. Weizmann, made available for this volume?

Sincerely yours,


Samuel Caplan

ET

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL,
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1 P.M., 1940, AT THE LORD BALTIMORE HOTEL
BALTIMORE, MD.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal (in the Chair), Dr. Israel A. Abrams, Chicago, Ill.; Oscar Altschuler, Youngstown, Ohio; Maurice Bernhardt, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Samuel Berson, New York; Dr. S. W. Boorstein, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel J. Borowsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D.C.; Adolph Brinberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Abraham H. Cohen, Forest Hills, L.I.; Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill, L.I.; Charles Cowen, New York; Bernard Crausman, Bronx, N.Y.; Morris Drob, Philadelphia, Pa.; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; A. K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.; Harry P. Fierst, New York; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Fishman, New York; Harry E. Frankel, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.; Rabbi Napthali Frischberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dr. Moses Gellman, Baltimore, Md.; Abraham Goldberg, New York; Meyer Goldberg, Bronx, N.Y.; Rabbi H. R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.; Fred Goldentyer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hyman Goldman, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, New York; Abraham Goodman, Bronx, N.Y.; Paul Gordon, Baltimore, Md.; Morris Greenberg, Bronx, N.Y.; Rabbi Wm. Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; Murray I. Gurfoin, New York; Leo Guzik, New York; Benjamin H. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Ohio; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D.C.; Samuel Insolbuch, New York; Arnold K. Isreeli, Bronx, N.Y.; I. M. Jaffo, Butler, Pa.; Samuel Judenfreund, New York; Harry J. Kahn, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel Kanarvogel, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel J. Keiser, Baltimore, Md.; Leon Kohn, New York; Mordocai Konowitz, Jamaica, L.I.; Abraham Krumbein, New York; Samuel Kuhl, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dr. Harris J. Levine, New York; Harry Levine, Loominster, Mass.; L.I. Levinson, Atlantic City, N.J.; Irving Lipkowitz, New York; Eleazer Lipsky, New York; Louis Lipsky, New York; David S. Maltin, Bronx, N.Y.; Dr. Samuel Margoshes, New York; Morris Margulies, New York; Rabbi Irving Miller, Far Rockaway, L.I.; Morris Miller, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Harry J. Moskowitz, Far Rockaway, L.I.; Rabbi Harry Nelson, Bridgeport, Conn.; Samuel J. Perry, Laurelton, L.I.; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N.J.; Isaac Potts, Baltimore, Md.; Herman Quittman, New York; Jacob Rand, New York; Charles Ross, New York; Bernard G. Richards, New York; Louis Rinsky, New York; Oscar Robins, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Louis P. Rucker, New York; Leon H. Roso, Camden, N.J.; H. Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N.J.; Samuel J. Rothstein, New York; Moses Robinson, Bronx, N.Y.; Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Mrs. John M. Safer, Washington, D.C.; Leon Savago, New York; Albert D. Schanzer, New York; Irving Schatzberg, Laurelton, L.I.; Joseph J. Schickler, Long Beach, L.I.; Samuel Schleimer, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Benj. Schultz, Yonkers, N.Y.; Dr. Leo B. Schwartz, Bronx, N.Y.; Judge Jacob Schwolsky, Hartford, Conn.; Rabbi Bernard Segal, Queens Village, L.I.; Bernard Shelvin, New York; Carl Shorman, New York; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Abe Sindell, Bronx, N.Y.; Abraham Spicohandler, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Louis E. Spiegler, Washington, D.C.; Saul S. Spiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Robert Szold, New York; David Tannenbaum, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Sigmund Thau, New York; Abraham I. Uslander, Elizabeth, N.J.; Morris Weinberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Hon. Jacob Weiss, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph Weiss, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Leo Wilson, Bronx, N.Y.; Leo Wolfson, New York; Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.; Mesdames E. J. Feltzer, and Mrs. R. Taurover, representing the National Board of Hadassah.

Excuses for Non-Attendance were received from Messrs. Maxwell Abboll, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. B. W. Abramson, Columbus, Ohio; Dr. Abraham Ball, Albany, N.Y.; Judge Samuel Barnett, New Bedford, Mass.; Ralph Bass, Mattapan, Mass.; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R.I.; Rabbi Morton M. Berman, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Berman, New York; Herman W. Bernstein, New York; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; A. D. Braham, New York; Louis Braines, Perth Amboy, N.J.; Rabbi Barnett R. Bric'ner, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. Frances Burnce, Dorchester, Mass.; Jesse E. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; David I. Cantor, Buffalo, N.Y.; Julius M. Cantor, New York; Samuel Caploe, Dorchester, Mass.; Israel S. Chipkin, New York; Lawrence W. Crohn, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Ed Diamondstone, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Flushing, L.I.; Dr. Samuel Edison, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. A. L. Eisenberg, Cincinnati, Ohio; Col. Benjamin F. Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.; Dr. F. M. Falkman, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. Hyman Frank, New Castle, Pa.; Herman S. Fried, New York; Paul J. Gaiser, Dayton, Ohio; Jacob Ginsburg, Wellesley, Mass.; Rabbi Joshua L. Goldberg, Astoria, L.I.; Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Toledo, Ohio; Albert Goldman, Rochester, N.Y.; Wm. H. Goldman, St. Louis, Mo.; Gustave L. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Cal.; Joseph Goldstein, Rochester, N.Y.; Joseph Goodman, Troy, N.Y.; Cecil R. Gordon, Newton, Mass.; Rabbi Louis Greenberg, New Haven, Conn.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Herschel Horwitz, St. Paul, Minn.; Adolph Hubbard, Roxbury, Mass.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; Max Kabatznick, Boston, Mass.; Alfred Kahn, New York; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Rabbi Philip Kleinman, Portland, Ore.; I. Archer Levin, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Meyer Levy, New York; I. Lowin, San Antonio, Texas; Philip Lewis, New York; Dr. M. E. Lichtenstein, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Judge Julian W. Mack, New York; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Louis J. Moss, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Arthur H. Neulander, Richmond Hill, L.I.; Max Nigrosh, Mattapan, Mass.; William Nimelman, Niagara Falls, N.Y.; Max Perlman, New York; Jacob Rabinowitz, Boston, Mass.; Harry A. Rachlin, Buffalo, N.Y.; Hyman J. Reit, New York; Sol Reiter, Newburgh, N.Y.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Cal.; Laurence M. Ring, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Jos. Roschovsky, Atlantic City, N.J.; Paul Safro, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Leon B. Sager, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Woodmere, L.I.; Herman A. Sarachan, Rochester, N.Y.; Jacob I. Schaffer, Bronx, N.Y.; Abe Simon, Chicago, Ill.; Philip Slomovitz, Detroit, Mich.; Dewey D. Stone, Taunton, Mass.; Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Cal.; Judge Nathan Sweedler, Brooklyn, N.Y.; I. A. Swiss, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York; Dr. Samuel Wurzel, Bridgeport, Conn.; Marcus M. Zotkin, New York.

The meeting was called to order at 2 P.M., with Judge Louis E. Levinthal in the Chair. As the first order of business, the Chairman called upon the Secretary to report. Mr. Margulies submitted the following report:

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

This, the third meeting of the National Administrative Council, coincides with the conclusion of the first-third of our fiscal year. Unlike my two previous reports, this statement will contain no reference to meetings of the Executive and the Emergency Committee, for with respect to the Emergency

Committee I have reported only insofar as its activities were reflected in the minutes of the Executive. The Executive met but once since the last meeting of the Council, on December 13th. A summary of this meeting was sent to you. The meeting scheduled for January was abandoned for a meeting with Dr. Weizmann, in which the Executive Boards of all the Zionist organizations in America participated, and which was held on January 22nd. My observations this afternoon, therefore, will be confined almost exclusively to the departmental activities within the Z.O.A. I will begin with propaganda.

1. PROPAGANDA: Early in the season it became apparent that the Districts this year will carry on a more intensive propaganda than heretofore, which, of course, will necessitate the placing at the disposal of the Districts of an unprecedented number of speakers. In all, 53 different speakers cooperated with us in our propaganda activities. They addressed 242 meetings under the auspices of 137 Districts. To do that, they visited 86 cities, located in 26 States. In the instance of 34 meetings, the Districts paid a lecture fee. For 208 meetings we succeeded in securing speakers who were kind enough to donate their services. The figures submitted herewith refer only to meetings either arranged and initiated by headquarters, and for which speakers had been provided by us.

This year, more than ever before, we made use of motion pictures as a propaganda medium. The Z.O.A. has this year the exclusive use of three films: "After Two Thousand Years" and "Tel Aviv", both of which are in technicolor, silent 16 mm. films; and "Sanctuary", a 16 mm. sound film. Since the beginning of the fiscal year, 112 bookings were made for these films, in 95 communities, 68 of which were outside of New York. I would like to add here that the figure of 95 communities is incomplete, for a number of Districts -- for example, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and others, showed these films also in various neighboring communities.

As to the reaction of those in charge of programs, with respect to the effectiveness of these films, I would like to quote two expressions typical of those received from many cities. Mr. Abraham Goldstein of Hartford wrote, after witnessing a showing of "Tel Aviv":

"The film was a delight. We were like unto that dream when we beheld how the Lord brought back those who returned from captivity. As an example, many present wept with joy."

Judge Samuel Barnett of New Bedford, Mass.; wrote, after viewing the film "Sanctuary":

"Everyone was well impressed and felt that films do more to educate our people on the great work being done to build Palestine than any lecture or speech could do."

To both types of meetings -- those addressed by speakers and those at which films were shown -- literature was supplied. At the last meeting of the Council I reported on the folder or Manual which had been prepared and which had been distributed among the District Chairmen and Secretaries, Chairmen on Membership, and such other key-workers whose names were forwarded to us by either of the aforementioned District officers. This folder, as you will recall, contains six new leaflets prepared for this season. During

the period under review, 206,000 copies were distributed. This figure does not include pamphlets published during previous years that were sent on request.

2. PUBLICATIONS: Naturally, our propaganda received great stimulus from our official publications -- The New Palestine and Dos Yiddishe Folk. 49,250 copies of The New Palestine are now published weekly. Of these, 43,683 copies are sent to the Z.O.A. membership; 400 copies are kept in reserve at the office. The balance is divided among Young Judaea, Avukah, and Masada subscribers, the U.P.A., the exchange list, and paid subscribers consisting of non-Jews, primarily Clergymen, libraries, and Jews who are not members of the Z.O.A. On the basis of allocating \$1.00 of the membership dues as a subscription to The New Palestine, The New Palestine during the past eight months shows a surplus of \$3,445. This figure is calculated as follows: Income of The New Palestine from June 1 to January 31 -- \$26,362 for both subscription and advertising. The latter amounted to \$2,700 net. The expenses for that period were \$22,917. The advertising income during the first four months of the current fiscal year shows an improvement of about 25% over that of last year. There is every reason to believe that the advertising revenue will steadily rise, for The New Palestine now enjoys membership in the Audit Bureau of Circulation, which is of great significance to advertisers.

Dos Yiddish Folk now prints bi-weekly 4,050 copies. Of these 3,050 are sent to Z.O.A. members; 450 are mailed to paid subscribers and persons on the exchange list -- newspapers and advertising agencies. The balance is distributed on newspaper stands on the Lower East Side, the Bronx and parts of Brooklyn.

The expense of the publication for the past eight months, June through January inclusive, was \$4,172. The income for the period, from advertising and subscriptions was \$1,200. The paper, therefore, operated for the period under review, at a loss of \$2,972.

3. PALESTINE BUREAU: For the past few years, the national headquarters has been the scene of a constant daily stream of refugee European Zionists. Up until September these were mainly confined to former citizens of the German Reich. Then they began to come from what was Austria and Czechoslovakia. With the outbreak of the war, these numbers have steadily increased. Daily the Secretary is called upon to meet Zionists who occupied important posts in the war-afflicted lands. Though every attempt possible is being made to aid these people, by trying to secure positions for them, or recommending them to people who might be of help, contacting the National Refugee Service and pointing out the significance of the personality concerned, a great deal of this work has been done by the Palestine Bureau, of which Dr. S. Bernstein is in charge, especially in connection with furnishing information and Consular assistance with regard to bringing over relatives from European countries to Palestine. A large number of the cases handled involved correspondence with various Palestine Bureaus abroad, notably with the Palestine Office recently set up at Geneva, Switzerland by the Jewish Agency, which is rendering valuable service in this connection.

At this point let me say that there is good reason to hope that the Palestine Government intends to issue a new immigration schedule for April 1940.

I base this statement on the fact that the Palestine Government, through the intermediary of the British Passport Control Office in New York, has made inquiries as to what number of Capitalist Certificates will be required by us for this period. On the basis of records in the files of the Palestine Bureau, we informed the British Passport Control Office that approximately 200 Certificates will be required by us, fifty for American citizens who desire to settle in Palestine, and 150 for European relatives for whom American citizens have deposited the required sum of £1,000 each. We requested only 150 for European applicants because of a ruling by the Palestine Government that no applications be accepted in behalf of prospective immigrants still residing in Germany. Consequently, we can be helpful only to those German refugees who succeeded in finding temporary shelter outside of Germany. The 200 Capitalist Certificates referred to will involve an aggregate deposit of about one million dollars in Palestine banks. This is approximately the same number of Certificates we utilized during the corresponding period of last year.

4. EDUCATION DEPARTMENT: The Education Department of which Dr. Jacob S. Golub is the Director, has issued during the past four months a series of eight outlines prepared for lectures and discussion meetings. A colloquy was prepared on the theme "Why An American Jew Should Be A Zionist" and "What Are The Possibilities of Palestine for Becoming the Jewish Homeland?" Other material prepared by the Department included an "Information Please" game; a radio skit describing the present situation in Palestine; and a new version of the "Professor Quiz" game issued last season. The colloquy, "Information Please" and the radio skits were widely borrowed by other Zionist organizations and extensively reproduced.

The Department also prepared a slide talk with a set of about 90 slides that were carefully selected and can be used in illustrated lectures.

Sensing the need of a guide for study groups aiming to reach especially new members who have but scant information about Zionism, the Director has issued a syllabus entitled, "Introduction to Zionism", setting forth an approach to the Jewish problem.

In order to make possible for Zionist groups to celebrate Chamisho Osor B'shevat, a portfolio of materials was prepared for the Festival.

5. FINANCES: Due to the fact that only three days have elapsed since the end of the past month, and these three days include Shabboth, no complete financial report was available for this meeting. However, as of December 31, 1939 the report showed an increase in the deficit of almost \$19,000 for the period of June 1 to December 31. To be more specific, the deficit on December 31, 1938 was \$23,691, and on December 31, 1939 it was \$42,217.

The financial report will be brought up to date in time for the next meeting of the Executive, which is scheduled for February 14th, a summary of which will be sent to the members of this body following the meeting of the Executive.

6. MEMBERSHIP: The Z.O.A. has now, exclusive of its affiliates, 50,308 members -- the largest membership in the history of the Organization.

4,750 new members have been enrolled since October 1st.

The membership income for the period amounts to \$59,962 as against 65,075 last year. Last year's figure includes \$2500 that we received from Hadassah, one-third of the \$7500 a year Hadassah paid as an affiliation tax. This year Hadassah has thus far not met this tax. A committee was named by Dr. Goldman to meet with a committee of Hadassah to discuss -- if possible negotiate -- a new arrangement. The two committees will meet in the course of the next few days. Of course even a day changes the picture. For example, had this report been compiled say as of February 2nd I should then have reported that last year on February 2nd \$274 was received for membership whereas this year on February 2nd we received for membership \$2,519.

Compared with previous enrollments; the figure of over 50,000 is, of course, gratifying. Nevertheless, there is no occasion for a feeling of satisfaction. There are other aspects not quite so encouraging to be considered. In the first place, the renewals this year amount to 19,403, as against 19,689 last year -- a falling off of some 250 members. True that the falling off has been in communities where we have good Zionists and where, I feel certain, the ground lost will be recovered. For your information, I want to state that the main difficulty has been with some forty Districts out of a total of 360. These forty Districts this year are behind over 3,000 members, as compared with last year for the same period. Three communities, in particular, have not kept abreast -- Brooklyn, Chicago and Washington. These three cities alone are 1,437 members behind last year. Based on my knowledge of the people responsible for Zionist work in these communities, I can candidly say that before long these particular communities will positively regain their losses. But I am very much concerned over the fact that less than 5,000 new members have been enrolled thus far. Last year at this time, the new members numbered twice that many.

May I therefore take this opportunity to appeal to all those present, particularly those members coming from the cities where the membership has not kept abreast, that immediately upon their return to their respective communities, they intensify their membership efforts. We are living in unusual times, and unusual methods ought to be adopted in order to broaden and strengthen our great Organization.

Discussion on Secretary's Report:

Dr. Epstein of Chicago called attention to the fact that no reference had been made in the report to the activities of the American Zionist Bureau in Washington. The Secretary explained that the Washington Bureau is now under the auspices of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs and is no longer our exclusive Z.O.A. activity. He expressed the hope, however, that before adjournment, a report on the Washington Bureau would be submitted.

Dr. Epstein further expressed the belief that Chicago had not fallen short in its membership this year. He reported that Chicago has close to 4200 members and that an active campaign is now in progress. The Secretary pointed out that he mentioned the three communities of Brooklyn, Chicago and Washington because their total delinquent membership equalled that of the other 37 delinquent communities combined.

With regard to Washington, Rabbi Breslau pointed out that last year Washington increased its membership from 450 to 1002 and enrolled 550 new members. This year thus far about 96% of last year's membership has been re-enrolled, which gives assurance that this year's total membership will top last year's figure by a considerable number.

In reply to an inquiry from Rabbi Schultz of Yonkers, N.Y., the Secretary reported that the contract providing for the payment of a \$7500 affiliation tax by Hadassah to the Z.O.A. has thus far not been renewed.

Regarding the Brooklyn membership situation, Mr. Samuel J. Borowsky stated that last year the membership campaign started in Brooklyn much earlier than this year. In several of the Districts the membership work began only a few weeks ago, and present reports indicate that there is no reason to fear that Brooklyn will fall behind this year; on the contrary, Brooklyn is going ahead with its membership work.

REPORT OF DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN:

The President opened his report with the reading of a telegram addressed to the Administrative Council by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, as follows:

"To my deepest regret I am unable, because of important engagements connected with the object of my visit to this country, to participate in Sunday's meeting of the Administrative Council, and I am denied the pleasure of personal contact with the leading workers of the Z.O.A. I have repeated on several occasions during my stay here that despite the dark world situation and the critical position of our people, there is a gleam of light on the horizon to guide us to our goal. The establishment of a free and sovereign Jewish National Home after the war is the objective that should be fixed in our minds, but as a primary condition we must see to it that what we have erected with so much effort and devotion shall survive the present upheaval. There are great opportunities before us, but they are coupled with tremendous responsibilities, which I pray we shall have the strength to shoulder. We do not expect political miracles. We will get out of the political situation what we put into it. And the most important political factor is a strong and ever stronger Palestine which it is within the power of the Jewish People to accomplish. With eyes fixed upon our manifest destination, let us pursue our course with single-minded devotion and unflexible determination.

(Signed) CHAIM WEIZMANN"

Dr. Goldman stated that for some time, Dr. Weizmann has been seriously concerned with the economic situation of the Yishuv. There is a crying need to help the Yishuv beyond the budgetary assistance that we have been giving

over a period of years. The three or four years of terror, the increase in the population ---particularly in the last two or three years, when almost all of the immigrants arrived in a destitute condition -- the outbreak of the war, -- all have tended to bring about a serious economic situation in Palestine.

During his short stay here, Dr. Weizmann hopes to lay the foundation for a special action which will make available to the Yishuv larger sums of money than has been made available, heretofore, through the Keren Hayesod, the Keren Kayemeth, or the United Palestine Appeal. After much deliberation, Dr. Weizmann and other leaders have come to the conclusion that the only solution to this problem is to propose to the Jews of America -- both Zionist and non-Zionist -- that they undertake the securing of a loan to the extent of four million dollars. Dr. Weizmann is establishing contacts with Zionists and non-Zionists throughout the country and is presenting our needs to them.

The political reports today become financial reports, Dr. Goldman continued. Even if we raise the full amount of the loan and even if the joint drive this year yields the full quota, not all of our problems will be solved and not all of our needs will be met. We shall need, in addition, a fairly substantial sum for the transportation of refugees. The moneys available do not make it possible for us to move all of our people who are ready to go to Palestine. We have no fund for transportation and one must be created.

The suggestion has come that the Zionists in America follow the example set by the Yishuv. In Palestine a self-imposed taxation has been proclaimed and it is recommended that a "transportation tax" be assessed upon each member of the Zionist Organization, to be used for no other purpose but the transportation of refugees to Palestine. Such a tax, self-imposed by 200,000 men, women, and young people in the country, should produce a handsome sum of money for this purpose.

Dr. Goldman reported further that an effort is being made to formulate our aims and objectives in Palestine for presentation to the forthcoming peace conference. We are taking advantage of Dr. Weizmann's presence in this country to discuss this matter with him.

In conclusion Dr. Goldman stated that the visit of Dr. Weizmann is being utilized towards three objectives: (1) to stimulate and to deepen Zionist sentiment; (2) to make available larger sums of money for the Yishuv; (3) to consider political objectives. Despite the fact that Dr. Weizmann has been in the country only a short time, he has met with success along the three fronts. In every city that he has visited, there has been a deepening of sentiment. He has made connections with respect to the loan; and also with respect to the political work affecting Palestine.

DISCUSSION ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT:

Mr. Bernard Sholvin asked what the ZOA is doing in order to promote Dr. Weizmann's objectives in this country, and whether the ZOA has done anything to enlist the interest of Washington in those objectives. He asserted that the ZOA had inadequately publicized the presence of Dr. Weizmann in this country.

Dr. Goldman stated that the several departments concerned with the question have done everything to give Dr. Weizmann's visit the widest publicity. In the cities where Dr. Weizmann was present, stories and numerous photographs have appeared in the leading papers. Dr. Weizmann's meeting with the President will likewise be reported in the press.

Rabbi Schultz urged that the matter of the self-imposed "Transportation Tax" be considered very carefully. Mr. Abraham Goldberg said he did not believe that the proposed loan could "put over" our case. He felt that we must begin to speak of an "International Loan", so that other peoples can subscribe to the issue; that Palestine cannot be rebuilt unless the peoples of the world underwrite a loan. Loans have been raised for the Greeks, the Turks, and others, Mr. Goldberg pointed out, and he saw no reason why it could not be done for the Jewish Homeland. He expressed the thought that American Zionists would over-subscribe the loan, if it were properly explained to them.

Rabbi Elias Charry of Indianapolis suggested that a resolution be presented in line with the President's proposal for a loan.

The Chairman then read the following resolution:

"The plight of tens of thousands of Jews, forced to flee from lands of persecution, stranded in many ports, unable to continue their journey for lack of means, has stirred the hearts of all American Jewry.

"The funds of the United Palestine Appeal in which are combined the income of the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayometh, are used now, as heretofore, for the purpose of meeting the normal budget of the Jewish Agency and for land purchase in Palestine. These funds, at best inadequate, are used to maintain and to extend the economic structure of the Yishuv which, in the face of the present disturbed world conditions, must be safeguarded, and cannot be diverted to the emergency need of refugee transportation. Clearly, therefore, it is the duty of the Zionists to make available at once the sums needed to meet this grave emergency.

"Without resorting to a public appeal for funds, the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America imposes upon the individual members of the Zionist Organization of America the moral obligation of a voluntary tax of any amount within their capacity to give, to be used for the purpose of refugee transportation.

"Relying upon the sense of duty of every American Zionist, we are confident that the money will be made immediately available to the Zionist Organization of America in order to enable it to discharge the urgent task of refugee transportation."

It was moved and seconded

THAT this resolution be adopted.

A substitute motion was made

THAT the resolution be accepted and referred to the Executive for implementation.

Dr. Epstein of Chicago moved an amendment

THAT a minimum sum be named as the goal to be set for the loan.

The amendment was seconded.

Discussion on Resolution:

Mr. Abraham Spicehandler of New York City opposed the imposition of a tax on Zionist members, on the ground that the responsibility for transporting refugees to Palestine rested with the United Jewish Appeal. He believed that the United Jewish Appeal should agree to allocate the necessary sums for this purpose.

Mr. Leon Savage of the Bronx, suggested that a junior issue should be arranged in connection with the proposed loan, to be used exclusively for the transportation of refugees to Palestine. He felt that the Junior Issue would be the answer to such arguments as Mr. Spicehandler presented.

Mr. Bernard Shelvin of New York City supported in principle the resolution presented by the Chairman as well as the amendment to refer the whole question to the Executive, because he considered it a "very delicate proposition." He felt, therefore, that the Executive should formulate a plan for presenting the entire matter to the Jewish world.

Dr. Goldman stated that the very problems raised here, and the suggestions made by the previous speakers have been thoroughly discussed, and that were it possible for us to get the J.D.C. or the U.J.A. to agree to a large allocation for transportation, we would have had the money by this time. Details for the consideration of a Junior Issue were also thoroughly discussed. What it is hoped to achieve at this meeting of the National Council is an approval or rejection of the spirit and intention of the Resolution.

Dr. Epstein withdrew his amendment.

The Resolution as submitted by the Chairmen was unanimously carried.

Mr. Louis Lipsky said that it is essential to remove the impression that the proposed collection of additional money outside of the United Jewish Appeal constitutes ipso facto a violation of an agreement between the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal. That is erroneous, Mr. Lipsky explained. In the first place, the Z.O.A. has a perfect right, under the Constitution of the ZOA, to impose any assessment it finds necessary upon its members. It ought to be clearly understood that the Zionist Organization as well as the J.D.C. has a right to make a loan on its income or on its property at any time it so desires, without violating in the slightest degree any agreement that we may have. It is very important that the National Administrative Council, when officially informed of the fact that Dr. Weizmann is engaged in the effort of raising a loan, discuss and express its opinion on the matter. It would be gross negligence on our part, if, after hearing that report, we say it is not our business. Mr. Lipsky thereupon moved

THAT the National Administrative Council here expresses its deep satisfaction with the action taken by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, with the approval of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, for the raising of a fund of \$4,000,000 or more for the purpose of carrying through Zionist enterprises during these critical times.

Mr. Samuel Fishman of New York doubted that the amount of the loan would be raised, pointing to the fact that the full amount of the J.N.F. loan had not been raised. He urged, however, that since Mr. Lipsky has clarified the situation with regard to the J.D.C., the National Council endorse the proposed loan and endeavor to carry it through.

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

Dr. Solomon Goldman asked that the National Administrative Council call upon the Zionist Districts and Regions of the country to change their procedure with respect to Dr. Weizmann's visit in the United States. The procedure thus far has been that every Zionist community, every Zionist District, as well as every Hadassah Chapter and Mizrachi and Poale Zion branch, have been asking Dr. Weizmann or the Emergency Committee to arrange for his coming to their respective community. This is not feasible. The representative Zionists in every community should arrange for an appointment to meet with Dr. Weizmann. It would be very helpful if about three hundred Zionists from throughout the country would visit Dr. Weizmann and tell him that they stand ready to assume their obligation toward the loan.

CONTINUATION OF DR. GOLDMAN'S REPORT:

Continuing his report, Dr. Goldman stated that for quite a number of years, there has been the feeling among organized Zionists that there is a need for strengthening the Organization. As far back as October, 1938, the Executive began to deal with this problem. As a result of suggestions and proposals offered at Executive meetings and subsequent meetings by specially appointed commissions, a plan of reorganization was crystallized. The Executive voted on it, adopted it, and a report was made to the Administrative Council in March, 1939.

It has been felt that the Zionist movement in America suffers from decentralization. Our organizations, emanating from one body - the Zionist Organization of America - have pursued their own course and with the passing of the years have become autonomous bodies, which in itself is not harmful; but they have also become rival and duplicating bodies, which is harmful. It was therefore felt that some modus operandi should be worked out among the three major bodies, the ZOA, the UPA, and the JNF, that would lead to the elimination of such duplication and rivalry.

It was also felt that the duplication of Zionist effort was not confined only to the funds and the ZOA, but that it applied also to our relationship with other Zionist organizations. There should be some common interests on which a Commission could sit down and work out a scheme similar to the "Territorial Plan" or the "Ben Gurion Plan" for united Zionist activity. This was discussed by the Executive at a number of meetings.

We discussed the question of proportionate representation in the movement. There is a tradition that because New York is the location of the bulk of the American Jewish Community, it is to exercise its control over the entire country. But it is also true that we are a national organization; that in every part of the country Jews work for the movement and for the Organization, and are entitled to their share of representation. The proposal then is, that this representation be more along the lines of a national organization -- on the basis of membership in the respective Regions. There should be a geographic and numerical definition -- and the Region that will seek larger representation will have to enroll a larger membership. It is also recommended that the Administrative Council have representation on the basis of membership in the respective Regions. Further, instead of members of the Administrative Council being elected at the National Convention, it is recommended that the Regions elect their members to the Council prior to the Convention. Thus ample time will be afforded them to discuss nominations and to conduct campaigns. It will instill life in the Regions and will also solve the problem of electing a membership more in accordance with the number set forth in the Z.O.A. Constitution.

It was also felt that the Zionist staff needs adjustment, consolidation, and certain changes. The President assumed that in these matters, after fourteen months of discussion by the Executive, the adoption of the plan generally, and after having it reported to the Administrative Council, he was authorized to make whatever changes and modifications were necessary for the strengthening of the ZOA. This he has done through a Committee of the Finance Committee and of the Executive.

DISCUSSION ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT ON REORGANIZATION:

Mr. Samuel J. Borowsky of Brooklyn, N.Y. said he found himself at a disadvantage in discussing the President's report because in his opinion the issue presented was not clear-cut. As a member of the Council, he said he had not received a copy of any Plan of Reorganization, and he assumed the same was the case with every other member present, with the exception of members of the Executive. He felt that the members of the Council should be informed from stage to stage of important proposals and developments that take place with regard to our organizational procedure. Mr. Borowsky added that it was his own good fortune to have obtained a copy of the Reorganization Plan in an informal way. There is not a member of the Administrative Council, including those of New York, he continued, who do not recognize the importance of a revaluation of our organizational structure. There is need always to readjust our machinery to new conditions that arise in Jewish life and in Zionist life generally. New Yorkers admit that they do not constitute the sole voice of Zionism in America. He believed furthermore that any plan of reorganization should be presented in very definite form before a body with legislative powers, such as the National Administrative Council, and should receive a very definite mandate from such a body. The Reorganization Plan, as such, has actually never been carefully examined by people who are, per se, experts in matters of organization and office management. The Reorganization Plan presented by our President is a splendid document, but it has some very serious defects on which, Mr. Borowsky thought, members of the Administrative Council had the right to express their opinion. Furthermore, he felt that a certain fundamental principle of Zionist procedure has been overlooked. The Zionist Congress, Mr. Borowsky recalled, long ago recognized the right of

civil service for employees in the Zionist movement. There is a feeling on the part of many Zionists that in some of the proposed changes, justice has not been done to some of the men in our civil service. Under these circumstances, Mr. Borowsky felt that he cannot vote a blanket approval of the President's plan. In conclusion, Mr. Borowsky urged that the President refrain from forcing upon the members of the National Council an act which some of the members cannot accept although they are very anxious to make the President feel that they stand behind him otherwise.

Mr. A. K. Isreeli of the Bronx, N.Y. expressed the opinion that the Memorandum on Reorganization contained many defects and he characterized the plan as a "hasty document". He suggested that, in implementing the plan, the advice of experts in the various fields be sought in connection with the various departments of the organization. Mr. Isreeli moved that a committee be named, representing all shades of opinion, to discuss and bring in a report on this matter.

Judge Harry M. Fisher of Chicago raised a point of order that the National Council is not constitutionally qualified to take action in matters upon which the Executive has already acted. The Chairman upheld Judge Fisher's point of order and ruled Mr. Isreeli's motion out of order.

In reply to an inquiry from Mr. Jochanon I. Rudavsky of Brooklyn, N. Y. the Chairman ruled that while the Administrative Council may discuss a subject and submit a recommendation to the Executive or to the President of the ZOA, it cannot over-rule action taken by the Executive or by the Finance Committee.

For further clarity, Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati asked whether the Chairman's ruling applies only insofar as matters of personnel and salaries are concerned and does not embrace questions of reorganization, policy, etc.

The Chairman explained that the Constitution provides that the Executive and Administrative Council have concurrent jurisdiction in matters of policy, but in the event of a difference arising between the Executive and the Administrative Council in the matter of policy, then the decision of the Administrative Council shall be paramount and conclusive. He reiterated that the question of compensation or the discharge of employees is exclusively vested in the Executive.

Mr. Hyman Goldman of Washington, D.C. called attention to the fact that Dr. Goldman stated specifically in his report that the Executive had voted in principle in favor of the Reorganization Program. He added that he was in favor of giving the President the authority to reorganize the ZOA as he saw fit.

Mr. Abraham Spicandler of Brooklyn, N.Y. expressed the opinion that the Reorganization Plan was presented far too late in the President's tenure of office.

Mr. Harry J. Kahn of the Bronx, N.Y. took exception to the President's remarks concerning the preponderance of National Council members from New York, pointing out that members on the Council are selected for their qualifications.

Mr. Bernard G. Richards of New York felt that there were many changes and reforms needed in the Organization which he did not find in the President's Plan, and that if members of the Administrative Council had been given an

opportunity to study the Plan in advance, certain additional valuable suggestions might have been forthcoming. In spite of the necessity for reorganization, Mr. Richards felt that the Secretary's report indicated that the organization is moving forward.

Mr. Abraham Goldstein of Hartford, Conn. expressed the thought that the Reorganization Plan has created so much dissension as to make it unworkable, and that it therefore precludes the possibility of bringing new blood into the Organization. He suggested that the matter be gone into more carefully.

Mr. Leo Wolfson of New York City agreed with those who maintained that the members of the Administrative Council should have been consulted with regard to the Reorganization Plan, and suggested that the conduct of the Organization be governed solely by the Rules of the Constitution.

Mr. Bernard Shelvin of New York City stated that while he upholds the right of the President to effect reorganization, and is not opposed to the President's Plan in principle, he nevertheless objects to the method of the plan, because it involves incriminations against veteran Zionists, and he also regards its presentation as untimely, in view of the presence of Dr. Weizmann in the country. Mr. Shelvin then moved

THAT a committee of the National Administrative Council be designated for the purpose of studying every item of the proposed Plan of Reorganization, and submit a report to the next session of the National Council.

Mr. Shelvin's motion was seconded.

Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York City said he considered the issue from two angles: first, whether or not the plan is needed; and second, by whether it is timely. He believed that while the Plan represents the judgment of a great many earnest and capable people, it nevertheless had not received the intimate consideration and whole-hearted approval of the former Presidents of the Organization, who, having dealt with the common organizational problems of the ZOA, are more conversant with them than anyone else. He added that, as President of the Jewish National Fund, where a reorganization had been effected, and because of his having had considerable experience in that field, he would gladly have offered his advice to the Committee.

Speaking on the question of timeliness, Dr. Goldstein thought the proper time to have implemented the President's ideas on reorganization was within a month or two after his assumption of office, and not almost at the expiration of his term of Administration. He felt that it would be unfair to burden the next Administration with difficulties created at the end of the present Administration. Dr. Goldstein believed, therefore, that the reorganization should be worked out by the Vice-Presidents of the ZOA; that the plan should be ready in time for the next Convention; and should be implemented at the beginning of the next Administration. Then we shall have an improved Zionist Organization of America.

Mr. Szold asked for a point of order, pointing out that Dr. Goldstein should have presented this view at the proper place, namely, the Z.O.A. Executive which deals with matters of compensation, employment and reorganization. Dr. Goldstein should have recognized, he explained, that that Constitutional body acted with a full vote and that body did not have to refer to anybody else. Mr. Szold therefore asked that the Chair rule on this matter -- that the Executive Committee, a duly constituted body to pass on this problem, has passed on it.

Mr. Szold's point of order was well taken.

Mr. Carl Sherman of New York City remarked that the National Council is here dealing with a comprehensive reorganization plan. The Executive has dealt, it is true, with two items pertaining to personnel, but he believed that the other large questions that still have to do with this larger question of the method of reorganization, should not be dealt with as a point of order. No one present at this meeting of the Council, he pointed out, is discussing the question as to how much someone should receive or should not receive. Dr. Goldstein did not discuss the question of salary or bonus, which is all that the Executive has dealt with.

Dr. James G. Heller of Cincinnati deprecated the fact that in the light of Jewish world conditions and the pressing needs of Zionism today, the Administrative Council should engage itself in such a lengthy and heated discussion on the subject of internal reorganization. In analyzing the discussion that had taken place, Dr. Heller said that he was forcibly impressed with the fact that the discussion had concerned itself merely with voicing objections to the methods and timeliness of the Plan, and had not considered the Plan itself.

All who are members of the Executive know, Dr. Heller continued, that this is not a question which has arisen during the last month or two; that at the very first meeting of the Executive called in October, 1938, Dr. Goldman had presented in detail suggestions in connection with the Plan. It is therefore utterly unfair to represent to this meeting that this Plan is something new, which is now being thrust upon the attention of the Zionist Organization. Dr. Heller added that he had hoped this meeting of the Administrative Council would concern itself with some of the very pressing and imperative problems of Zionism in the United States, such as (1) the divisions made between the collecting of funds and the carrying on of propaganda. (2) Another point for consideration should have been the question of proportional representation. An Organization cannot be run with an Administrative Council of more than 300 members -- whether they are from New York or elsewhere. Dr. Heller believed that Dr. Goldman's election had constituted a mandate to make thorough-going changes in the personnel and in the National Office. In effecting necessary changes in personnel, all that can be asked is that justice shall be shown to any individual who has a long record of service in the Zionist Organization. As to the statement that it is wrong to implement the Plan at this time and that more caution need be exercised, Dr. Heller called attention to the fact that it took sixteen months to reach this point, due to the caution with which the Executive had been proceeding. Dr. Heller believed that throughout his Administration, the President had been fettered in carrying out his work for the welfare of the Organization. This Administrative Council ought to have enough wisdom, he concluded, not to take out of the President's hands the power to influence or to direct the very things which are the life and the meaning of the Organization.

Dr. Goldman then took the floor, to correct a number of erroneous impressions, explaining that the Administrative Council had heretofore received a report from the Executive on the consideration of the Reorganization Plan. The proposals were given in brief outline and approval in general was given at a meeting of the Administrative Council held in March, 1939. Dr. Goldman then declared that the discussion this afternoon had centered around a brief memorandum and outlined report which had been submitted, rather than the general report itself, which had been drawn up only after consideration of every detail affecting the work of the Organization. He had made an intensive study of the personnel and of the physical conditions of the office, showing why the ZOA had not functioned for many years as an efficient, successful, or well-organized body. It has been maintained, Dr. Goldman added, that the Organization does not possess the vitality inherent in the Zionist idea. He said he was ready to condemn any reflection made on the integrity of the Organization itself but that he could not do the same with regard to internal workings of the Organization. Dr. Goldman recalled that those thoughts had been expressed by him time and again at meetings of the Executive. The analysis had been made and a Commission appointed by the Executive had worked out the proposals. Dr. Goldman asserted that as long as the terms of reorganization were general, there was agreement; but when the question of implementation arose, the situation had changed.

Dr. Goldman then clarified in detail a number of matters which came up during the afternoon discussion, such as (1) the basis of representation on the Executive Committee and Administrative Council; (2) the question of changes required in office personnel; and (3) the timeliness of the presentation of the Plan of Reorganization.

In conclusion Dr. Goldman stated that despite the fact that he had given the best that was in him during the past eighteen months, he felt that his attempts to bring about a successful Administration had been frustrated.

It was finally moved by Mr. Lipsky, seconded and carried

THAT after hearing the report of the President with regard to plans for the reorganization of the Zionist Organization of America, and believing that such reorganization is required by the growth of the Zionist movement and by the extension of the responsibilities of the Zionist Organization of America, we call upon the Chairman of the Administrative Council to name a Commission, with a view to the close study and scrutiny of all these recommendations, to report to the Executive of the Z.O.A.

Dr. Goldman stated that the Committee, when appointed, can deal with the general plan, but that it cannot affect the matters of reorganization now in process.

In explaining his motion Mr. Lipsky said he assumed, as a matter of course, that the proposed Commission will be bound by the Constitution; that it is not empowered to act contrary to the Constitution or to take away functions from the bodies created by the Constitution to whom those functions belong. This Commission is to be named for study of the proposals and for recommendation to

the administrative body which has to deal with the matter, in accordance with the Constitution of the Z.O.A.

Thereupon Mr. Charles Ress offered the following amendment:

THAT the Administrative Council recommends that the Commission also consider the question of staff reorganization, for the purpose of making a recommendation to the Executive, on which the Executive may act.

Senator Weiss considered the amendment as contrary to the spirit of the motion.

Dr. Goldman stated that he understood the motion to embrace the interpretation that ^{was} put on it, and therefore the amendment was unnecessary.

The Chairman ruled the amendment out of order.

Mr. Ress appealed from the ruling of the Chair.

At this point Judge Fisher was invited by Judge Levinthal to preside over the meeting. Judge Fisher put the amendment to a vote. Mr. Ress protested, stating that before the vote is taken both he and Judge Levinthal, according to parliamentary procedure, were entitled to state their point of view with respect to the question before the body. This was denied and the Chair proceeded to put the motion to a vote. The vote was in the affirmative. The Chairman's ruling was sustained.

The Chairman called attention to the presence at this meeting of Dr. Harry Friedenwald, one of the pioneer Zionists of America, an early President of the Zionist Organization of America when it was still known as the Federation of American Zionists. We are all very happy to be here in Baltimore for many reasons, the Chairman added, but above all, because it affords us the opportunity to extend greetings to our beloved former President, Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

Dr. Friedenwald said he was greatly pleased to have this opportunity of meeting with members of the National Administrative Council and expressed the hope that the Council would hold further sessions in Baltimore.

The meeting adjourned at 7:00 P. M., with the singing of Hatikvah.

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TRI-STATE ZIONIST CONVENTION

WILLIAM PENN HOTEL - FEBRUARY 25, 1940

PITTSBURGH, PA.

CONVENTION COMMITTEE

HARRY P. LETWIN
GENERAL CHAIRMAN

HERMAN FINEBERG
RESERVATION CHAIRMAN

JACK J. FELMAN
MAX ROGAL
SOL BLACK

REGIONAL CHAIRMEN

J. ADLER
RABBI SIMON APRIL
M. A. BENNETT
JULIUS BROIDA
ABE COHEN
DR. M. H. COHEN
HERMAN L. COOPER
ALBERT DAVIS
SIMON DAVIS
SAM EDELSTEIN
ALBERT FICKMAN
SQUIRE J. S. GOLDSTEIN
DR. ARTHUR A. GREENE
S. HAROLD GROSSMAN
EDGAR HENDERSON
FRANK LEVIN
ROBERT MARCUS
MAX A. MEYEROVICH
ALEX MOYER
I. MEYERSON
RABBI ZEV K. NELSON
LEONARD POKEMPNER
C. JOSEPH RECHT
M. RESNICK
NATHAN ROTTER
A. SHULMAN
SOL SILVERMAN
DR. F. W. STEINER
RABBI LEON STITSKIN
ELVIN TEITELBAUM
DR. I. H. WACHS
HON. SAMUEL WEISS
HARRY WOOLF
M. ZASS

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

LESTER BENJAMIN
PHIL KATZ
M. A. SANDERS
MILTON K. SUSMAN

AGENDA COMMITTEE

SAUL S. SPIRO, CHAIRMAN
ISRAEL A. ABRAMS
ABE R. COHEN
JUDGE BENJAMIN LENCHER
DR. M. B. LICHTENSTEIN
ALEX LOWENTHAL
MORRIS NEAMAN
NATHAN SAVAGE
I. A. SWISS

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

HARRY BERLIN
H. M. CAPLAN
DR. M. H. FISHER
SAMUEL GOLDSTOCK
JULIUS HALPERN
BERNARD KAPLAN
A. R. KLETZ
MRS. NAT LANGUE
DR. ABRAHAM LEWIN
HARRY I. NEAMAN
OSCAR ROBBINS
OSCAR ROBINS
MRS. FRANK RUBENSTEIN
JACOB SEDER
EMANUEL SPECTOR

FINANCE COMMITTEE

JOSEPH PORTER, CHAIRMAN
BENJAMIN CHAIT
RUDOLPH HANNAU
A. L. MARS
LOUIS MICHAELS
DAVID H. WEINER
MEYER YANOVITZ
ELLIOTT FINKEL

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

I. G. SIMON

February 8, 1940

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
2 E. 105th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The Tri-State Zionist Convention will take place on February 25th in the Wm. Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh.

In connection with this Convention, we are printing a Souvenir Book, and would like to have a message from you for this book, in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal. I would appreciate receiving your message just as soon as possible, as the book will be going to press very soon.

With many thanks, I am

Sincerely yours,

Saul S. Spiro
Saul S. Spiro, President
Pittsburgh Zionist District

SSS/gd

SUMMARY OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1940, 4 P.M.,
AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, BROADWAY AND 44TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair); Messrs. David Berenstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mordecai Konowitz, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Aaron Riche, Louis P. Rocker, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Hon. Carl Sherman, Robert Szold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah); by invitation: Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

Excuses for Absence received from Robert M. Bernstein, Albert K. Epstein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edw. L. Israel, Rabbi Isr. H. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Judge Julian W. Mack, A.H. Rosenberg, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Simon Shetzer, Wm. I. Siegel, Morris Weinberg.

NEW HERZL BIOGRAPHY: It was decided to purchase 500 copies of the new English translation of Bein's Biography of Herzl, now being published by the Jewish Publication Soc.

UNIONIZATION OF Z.O.A. OFFICE STAFF: The Secretary reported that the Z.O.A. Staff had been organized into a unit and had made application to join the American Federation of Labor. The matter of the unionization of the Staff was referred to the Finance Committee, to be brought back to the Executive for approval.

REMOVAL OF Z.O.A. HEADQUARTERS: The Chairman reported that the U.P.A. had definitely decided to move from 111 Fifth Ave. The question arose as to whether the Z.O.A. should also move. Dr. Goldstein stated that if the Z.O.A. moved, the J.N.F. would feel obliged to move too. Rabbi Miller made a motion which was seconded and unanimously carried: THAT a Committee be named to confer with a Committee of the U.P.A. and of the J.N.F. on the question of removal of the offices of the three Organizations to one building.

REFUGEE TRANSPORTATION LOAN: Dr. Nahum Goldmann of Geneva, a member of the World Zionist Executive, addressed the meeting on the invitation of the Chair. He spoke on the positive and negative aspects of the Aliyah Beth, and described the situation of Jews in the territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany.

Discussion arose as to the method of procedure in connection with the voluntary tax and the attitude of the J.D.C. towards this effort. While it was pointed out that the Z.O.A. has the authority to levy such an assessment ~~among~~ its membership, it was strongly urged, at the same time, that the J.D.C. be fully apprised and an amicable agreement reached in this matter.

DR. WEIZMANN'S VISIT IN CONNECTION WITH \$4,000,000 LOAN: The Chairman reported that the first effort in connection with the loan was made in Chicago, where three meetings arranged for Dr. Weizmann were devoted to a consideration of the loan. A group of people active in the Welfare Funds were prepared to subscribe \$72,000 towards the loan. Encouraged by the results in Chicago, the Chairman proceeded to arrange contacts for Dr. Weizmann in Florida, during the latter's visit there. Everywhere the leaders of the Welfare Funds were approached, most of them non-Zionists, they took rather favorably to the loan.

Dr. Wise called attention to Dr. Weizmann's wish that a conference be convened of representative Zionists throughout the country, where Dr. Weizmann could explain to them the intent and purpose of the loan. The Chairman instructed that such a conference be arranged.

REPORT ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH HADASSAH: Judge Morris Rothenberg, Chairman of the Committee on ZOA - Hadassah Relations, reported on the meeting of his Committee with the Hadassah Committee. The agreement entered into between the two Organizations in 1933 required that Hadassah pay to the ZOA an annual Affiliation Tax of \$7500, provided that Hadassah remain the sole Women's Zionist Organization recognized by the Zionist Organization of America. In 1939 Hadassah gave notice to the ZOA that they no longer wished to continue the affiliation tax. Hadassah feels that they are a parallel organization

and are under no obligation to be subjected to such a tax. However, Hadassah might consider earmarking their money for certain definite ZOA activities, as for example, Youth. The matter is to be further considered at the next Board meeting. The Executive decided to await the outcome of the Hadassah Board meeting.

REPORT ON REGIONS: The Committee on Regions, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Charles Ross, prepared a tentative plan, dividing the country into ten geographical units, ranging from 1500 members (in the sparsely settled communities where the Jewish population is small) to 7,500 (in the more populated Jewish sections). The ten geographical units proposed embrace the following States: (1) Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont; (2) New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania (Philadelphia to Harrisburg); (3) New York State (exclusive of Westchester); (4) New York City (Bronx, Brooklyn, Long Island, Manhattan) and Westchester; (5) Alabama, Delaware, Dist. of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, No. Carolina, So. Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia; (6) Western Pennsylvania (Altoona to New Castle), Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky; (7) Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin; (8) Iowa, Idaho, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, No. Dakota, So. Dakota, Wyoming; (9) Arkansas, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico; and (10) California, Washington, Oregon, and Nevada.

Discussion centered on the ways and means of financing the Region, inasmuch as the only definite source of income is the \$1.00 refund from membership dues. It was suggested that the J.N.F. and U.P.A. be invited to share in the expense of the Regional Office and the Regional Director who would be employed by the three organizations and coordinate the activities of the three organizations. But it was pointed out that such a plan would not be feasible because of the party affiliations, ^{constituting} the two fund-raising agencies. Mr. Goldberg suggested that between now and the Convention the Committee on Regions confer separately with every existing Region in the country, with a view to making a thorough study of the existing Regions. Mr. Ross was authorized to proceed with the plan submitted, taking into consideration the discussion of the Executive and Mr. Goldberg's suggestion.

COURT OF HONOR: Judge Louis E. Levinthal reported for the Court of Honor of which he is the Chairman. A session of the Court was held on Sunday, February 4th, at Baltimore, and a number of decisions arrived at, among them that the decision of the Court, when submitted to the Executive, is not to be debatable.

DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT CONVENTION: It was the consensus of opinion that the Executive observe the tradition of having the Convention either the last week-end in June or the first week-end in July. Mr. Lipsky suggested that the preliminaries of the Convention commence on Friday, instead of Saturday night, in order to give the delegates the benefit of conversations and discussions before being plunged into the business of the Convention. As for the Convention City, the Executive recommended to the National Administrative Council that the Convention be held in the Midwest -- among the cities to be considered are Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Chicago and St. Louis.

ESTABLISHING OF INSTITUTE ON ZIONISM AND YOUTH COUNCIL: The Chairman called attention to the proposal of Emanuel Neumann for the establishment of a Council of Zionist Youth Organizations and Institute on Zionism for the Youth. Mr. Kahn of Avukah reported that members of various youth organizations had already met and formed such a Council. It was moved by the Executive that a Committee be appointed to give consideration to the matter, together with the Youth Council which has already been set up.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

February 16, 1940

Mr. Saul S. Spiro, President
Pittsburgh Zionist District
901 Keystone Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Mr. Spiro:

Please extend to the delegates who will attend the Tri-State Zionist Convention my warmest greetings.

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 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

החברות 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
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Chairman, Nat'l. Admin. Council

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Chairman, Finance Committee

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Treasurer

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MORRIS MARGULIES
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Associate Members

MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
ALFRED J. KAHN
ELEAZAR LIPSKY

February 20, 1940.

TO THE CHAIRMAN AND SECRETARIES
OF ZIONIST DISTRICTS:

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

To intensify the membership effort and to show appreciation of the meritorious service rendered by some of your workers, we have decided to offer the following awards:

1. The member who will obtain 10 new members will receive as a gift an autographed copy of "Crisis and Decision" by Dr. Solomon Goldman; and
2. The member who will obtain 25 new members will be awarded an autographed set of the three volumes of "Selected Works" by Louis Lipsky.

This offer is valid as of March 1st to May 15th, 1940.

"Crisis and Decision" covers a range of subjects of intimate concern to the Jewish people and answers with factual information innumerable questions which agitate thinking men and women everywhere.

Mr. Lipsky's works, which include a history of thirty years of American Zionism, present an authoritative and historical evaluation of the development of the Zionist movement and of Jewish life in the United States.

I am confident that the announcement of the award of these works will serve to spur on your membership enrollment. I would therefore earnestly suggest that you bring this offer, without delay, to the attention of your membership.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies
Morris Margulies
Secretary

SUMMARY OF ZOA EXECUTIVE MINUTES. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1940, 4 P.M. AT THE ASTOR HOTEL
BROADWAY AND 44TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair); Messrs. David Berenstein, Robert M. Bernstein, Charles A. Cowen, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Murray I. Gurfein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Mordecai Konowitz, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, (representing Hadassah); Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah); Matthew Huttner (representing Masada).

Excuses for Absence received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Dr. Albert K. Epstein, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Simon Shetzer.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

1) "Voluntary Assessment": The Secretary reported that 75,000 copies of the circular letter had been printed in connection with the "Voluntary Tax", that these are being mailed to the ZOA, Order Sons of Zion, Masada and Avukah membership.

2) Propaganda: The Secretary further reported that Dr. Weizmann's presence in this country has had a stimulating effect upon the Zionist situation. The local Zionist Districts were primarily responsible for the success of the meetings addressed by Dr. Weizmann in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. The Secretary also reported an intensified interest in Zionist propaganda meetings throughout the country, -- the demand for speakers by far exceeding the supply.

3) Membership: The total membership to date is 52,452, including the 6,866 new members enrolled since October 1st, 1939. 26,470 of the 52,452 memberships are still to be renewed. The renewals and new members number 25,840 -- a drop of 630 compared with last year this time.

The Chairman pointed out that only 3½ months remain till the next Convention and urged that the major effort of the National Office henceforth be directed toward the collection of dues.

COMMISSION ON REORGANIZATION: Judge Louis E. Levinthal reported that a Commission on Reorganization had been named, pursuant to the resolution adopted at the February 4th meeting of the National Council. The Commission will be divided into three sub-committees; the Chairman of the entire Commission is Mr. Louis Lipsky. Each sub-committee is to deal with a different phase of the reorganization problem, (1) Sub-Committee on Relation of ZOA to Fund-Raising Organizations: Rabbi James G. Heller, Chairman; Messrs. Samuel Berson, Louis P. Rocker, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Benjamin J. Harris, Leo Wilson, Arnold K. Isreeli, Dr. Israel Goldstein; (2) Sub-Committee on Relation of Z.O.A. and other Zionist Bodies: Israel Chipkin, Chairman; Messrs. Bernard G. Richards, Daniel Ellison, Robert Szold, Saul S. Spiro, Louis E. Spiegler, Daniel Frisch, Judge Morris Rothenberg; (3) Sub-Committee on Reorganization of Z.O.A. and Internal Matters of Organization; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chairman; Messrs. Dewey D. Stone, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Robert M. Bernstein, Mordecai Konowitz, Alfred H. Sachs, Samuel J. Borowsky, Charles Ress. The entire Commission will meet prior to the next National Council meeting.

NEXT MEETING OF NATIONAL COUNCIL: It was recommended that the next meeting of the Council be held in or near the City of New York; also, that the date of the next Executive meeting be advanced to coincide with the date of the National Council meeting, -- both Committees to have sessions on the same day.

CONVENTION: (1) In order to secure Convention accommodations, pending the selection of the Convention City by the National Council, it was decided to make tentative reservations in Pittsburgh and Chicago, in one of which cities the Convention will likely be held. (2) The President was authorized to name a Convention Committee.

ZOA FINANCES: The Chairman called attention to the expenditure in excess of the budget during the first nine months of the current fiscal year, and proposed the naming of a Committee on Budget Control, to be part of the Z.O.A. Finance Committee, -- the Budget Control Committee to endeavor to keep the expenditures of the various Departments within the budget adopted by the Executive and the Administrative Council. He named Messrs. Morris Margulies, Louis P. Rucker, Z. Lovavy (the Comptroller), as members of the Budget Control Committee.

Mr. Rucker stated that a comparative statement, showing the detailed expenses of the various Departments this year and last year during the same period is being prepared.

FINANCE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS: Mr. Rucker also presented two recommendations submitted by the Finance Committee for the approval of the Executive. These recommendations are with respect to (1) The Palestine Department; and (2) Paid Propagandists. The first recommendation is to the effect that inasmuch as it is expected that the Emergency Committee will take over the Palestine Department, the Palestine Department be dispensed with and the present personnel be retained as Editor of Dos Yiddish Folk at a reduced salary. The second recommendation calls for the removing of paid propagandists from the payroll of the Z.O.A.

There was protracted discussion as to what is involved in the first recommendation. After hearing an expression of views by Mr. Carl Sherman, Rabbi James G. Heller, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mr. Robert Szold, Mr. Mordecai Konowitz, Mr. Charles Ress, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Mr. Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Mr. Charles A. Cowen, as well as the response of the Chairman, the Executive unanimously adopted the following motion submitted by Dr. Wise and embodying amendments made by Judge Fisher and Rabbi Heller:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. accepts the recommendation of the Finance Committee, with the understanding that we shall seek to move the Emergency Committee either to accept the responsibility for a real Palestine Bureau, or else move the Zionist organizations in America collectively to undertake the responsibility -- it being understood that the reorganization shall take effect no later than May 15th; that, in the interim, the Passport Bureau be continued until it is taken over.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1940
4 P.M. at the ASTOR HOTEL, BROADWAY AND 44TH ST., NEW YORK.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair); Messrs. David Berenstein, Robert M. Bernstein, Charles A. Cowen, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Murray I. Gurfein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Mordecai Konowitz, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rucker, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. David de Sola Pool (representing Hadassah); Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah); Matthew Huttner (representing Masada).

Excuses for Absence: received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Dr. Albert K. Epstein, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Simon Shetzer.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

1. Voluntary Assessment:

The Secretary reported that the appeal for the "Voluntary Tax" was in the mails. The delay in implementing the decision of the February 4th National Council meeting was due to two factors: (1) the negotiations initiated with a view to having this action sponsored and undertaken by all of the Zionist organizations as a united effort, instead of each organization acting individually; and (2) the question as to the amount to be assessed. At first, a \$1.00 tax was proposed; but it was finally decided to omit any reference to the amount. 75,000 copies of the circular have been printed, of which 52,400 are being mailed to the Z.O.A. membership, and 15,800 to individual Shekel-payers. The Order Sons of Zion will send out 4,000 copies early in April. Masada will send out 1200 to its membership, and Avukah will also cooperate.

2. Propaganda:

further

The Secretary reported that Dr. Weizmann's presence in this country, although under the auspices of the Emergency Committee, the U.P.A., and other agencies, has had a very profound effect upon the Zionist situation. This is due to the fact that the local Zionist Districts were primarily responsible for the success of the meetings which Dr. Weizmann addressed in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, etc.

The Secretary also reported that throughout the country there has been an intensified interest in Zionist propaganda meetings, and that the demand for speakers by far exceeds the available speakers' roster -- most of the Districts requesting one of the same six or eight personalities.

3. Membership:

With regard to the membership situation, the Secretary reported that the membership at the end of the last fiscal year totaled 45,586. This year to date 6,866 new members have been enrolled, making a total of 52,452. Of this number, 26,470 memberships still have to be renewed. It is not expected, however, that all of these will be renewed; that a 10% minimum loss is inevitable. To date, renewals and new members, paid for since October 1, 1939, number 25,840, -- a drop of about 630 members compared with the same date last year, when the renewals and new members totaled 26,470. The number of Districts throughout the country now total 320; 65 are behind last year's membership figures; 156 have approximately the same membership as last year; 99 are ahead of last year.

4. Finances:

Reporting on the finances of the Organization, Mr. Margulies stated that the membership income as of March 12, 1940 was \$83,511. Last year for the same period it was \$86,811. However, last year's figure included the item of \$3,125 paid by Hadassah. This year Hadassah has as yet made no payment. Excluding Hadassah's last year's payment, the difference between last year's receipts and this year's is \$175. There were also special contributions last year amounting to over \$14,000; this year this source of income yielded only \$1,050. Mr. Margulies called attention to the decision of the National Council last October to make an effort to raise an additional \$40,000 to supplement the income from membership, etc., but added that, as yet, no opportunity has presented itself for implementing that decision. The U.P.A. income is the same as it was last year for this period, namely, \$40,500.

5. Publications:

As new members are enrolled, the circulation of the Z.O.A. publications is increased. The latest issue of the New Palestine numbered 54,750 copies; Dos Yiddish Folk, 4,000 copies. The New Palestine has succeeded in slightly increasing its income from advertising. As of March 1, 1940, the New Palestine's revenue from advertising was \$3,142; last year for the same period \$1,742.

6. Moving of Z.O.A. Offices:

With regard to moving, the Secretary reported that, following the decision of the previous meeting of the Executive, Mr. Rocker and he had looked at eight or ten places selected from lists submitted by real estate agents, but thus far no definite selection has been agreed upon.

The Chairman called attention to the statement in the Secretary's report that 26,470 members have not paid their dues for the current year. He pointed out that only 3½ months remain until the next Convention, and urged that if last year's membership record is to be equalled, the major effort of the National Office should be directed from now on to the collection of dues.

COMMISSION ON REORGANIZATION:

Judge Levinthal reported, as Chairman of the National Administrative Council, that subsequent to the February 4th meeting of the Council, as a result of the

resolution adopted by that body, he had named a Commission on Re-organization, divided into three sub-committees. The Commission on Reorganization is to report to the Executive and Administrative Council the result of its deliberations. Mr. Louis Lipsky is to serve as Chairman of the entire Commission. Rabbi Heller is to serve as Chairman of the sub-committee to study the problem of the ZOA and fund-raising organizations, with a view to effecting coordination and closer cooperation between the Z.O.A. and the fund-raising bodies. The members of this sub-committee are Messrs. Samuel Berson, Louis P. Rucker, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Benjamin H. Harris, Leo Wilson, Arnold K. Isreeli. Mr. Israel Chipkin was appointed Chairman of a sub-committee to concern itself with the problem of the relationship between the Zionist Organization of America and other Zionist bodies, with a view to effecting coordination and closer unity between all Zionist groups. The members of this sub-committee are Messrs. Bernard G. Richards, Daniel Ellison, Robert Szold, Saul S. Spiro, Louis E. Spiegler, Daniel Frisch. The third sub-committee is to study the present structure of the Zionist Organization of America, and to consider the recommendations of Dr. Goldman, seeking to give the Organization greater national scope, viz., the suggestion that members of the National Administrative Council be elected by Regions, each Region to be represented on the Council in proportion to its ZOA membership; the study of Constitutional Amendments to effectuate such changes in the structure of the Organization. Judge Fisher has been named as Chairman of this sub-committee, and the members are Messrs. Dewey E. Stone, Ezra Shapiro, Robert M. Bernstein, Mordecai Konowitz, Alfred H. Sachs, Samuel J. Borowsky.

A meeting of the Chairman of the Reorganization Commission, and the Chairmen of the three sub-committees with Dr. Goldman and Judge Levinthal, will be held in the evening, following this meeting of the Executive. Judge Levinthal hoped to ~~conclude~~^{conclude} a meeting of the entire Commission prior to the next meeting of the Administrative Council. The next meeting of the Council, Judge Levinthal added, will be in Pittsburgh on March 31st, afternoon and evening; the Commission will meet Saturday night, and the sub-committees will meet Sunday morning. It is expected to have three meetings of the Commission, -- one in Pittsburgh and two additional meetings. Judge Levinthal suggested that it would be helpful if the Executive could make an appropriation to enable the members of the Commission to attend at least two of the three meetings.

Mr. Lipsky made a few observations with regard to the Commission. He considered it unfortunate that in advance of the coming together of the Commission, the functions of the three sub-committees had already been defined. He felt that this would serve to break up the unity of the process which should be maintained, if possible, in the consideration of all phases of the problem. If the problem of reorganization is to be confined to the technique of the Z.O.A., the Constitution of the Z.O.A., and the management of the Z.O.A., an opportunity is being lost in bringing about order in the confusion which now prevails throughout the Zionist movement. We should endeavor not only to produce order in the Zionist Organization of America, but to produce some semblance of order in the Zionist movement as a whole.

Mr. Lipsky further said that he had read carefully the President's Memorandum on Reorganization, and that it is quite obvious from a cursory review of that Memorandum that what the President was struggling with is a confusion that prevails in the Zionist movement -- the relation of the Z.O.A. to the Keren Hayesod, to the Keren Kayemeth, to the various Zionist organizations, to the various youth movements, etc. -- and there is in the Memorandum a sense of confusion which arises out of the confusion which extends over the boundaries of the Zionist Organization. The Commission therefore has to consider the question as a whole, and after it has

discussed the problem from all phases, it will be in a position to take up the various phases. There may be several matters that will be found to merit the entire attention of one section of the Commission, he believed. Mr. Lipsky reiterated that it ought to be understood by the Executive that the Commission on Reorganization is undertaking to see whether it cannot bring about order, not only in the Z.O.A., but in the entire movement, because that is the crux of the whole question, and the Z.O.A. by itself will never be able to establish order in education, in organization, in fund-raising, in political work, in Palestine work, etc. unless something is established that means a union of all forces. The Z.O.A. cannot exist in a world of disorder. It is not the localized problems of the Z.O.A. that have to be considered, but rather the broader aspects of the Organization.

Rabbi Heller expressed the thought that the question is not merely the establishment of order, but the order of the "establishment". There are certain questions within the Z.O.A. that ought to be contingent upon the relation of other Zionist organizations and other groups, either in fund-raising or in general organizational work. Rabbi Heller said he saw no practical difficulty in arriving at that. He suggested that the question of the internal organization, and the order in which the problem should be approached should be left to the consideration of the Committee itself.

Judge Fisher pointed out that the criticism made was that the reorganization plan would not work out in time to be presented to the next Convention; therefore, so far as the work with respect to the internal organization of the Z.O.A. is concerned, there ought to be no delay in getting started. He assumed that the three meetings of the three sub-committees of the Commission will jointly deal with the very problems we have in mind, and the divisions of the functions of the three sub-committees can be redefined.

Judge Levinthal recalled that Dr. Goldman at the Baltimore meeting of the Administrative Council divided his plan into three separate parts. For the purpose of expediting the procedure, Judge Levinthal thought the entire Commission should be divided into the three sub-committees above named. The sub-committees may have to be redivided, or certain people may have to be added to the sub-committees. The meeting of the Chairman of the Commission and the sub-committee Chairmen in the evening will be helpful to plan the procedure for the future.

Mr. Ress regarded the omission from the Commission of the Chairman of the sub-committee on Regions, as an expression of a lack of confidence in him, as Chairman. He therefore tendered his resignation as Chairman of the sub-committee on Regions.

The Chairman felt sure that Judge Levinthal had not omitted Mr. Ress by design, and that if Judge Levinthal had started selecting the names from the Executive list first, instead of the National Council list (which includes the Executive) he would not have omitted Mr. Ress.

Mr. Lipsky thought it was an oversight on the part of Judge Levinthal to have omitted Mr. Ress, Judge Rothenberg, and Dr. Israel Goldstein, all of whom could be very helpful in the work of the Commission. Judge Levinthal stated that he thought these men could be consulted and their views obtained; and that he did not think they had to be members of the Commission.

The Chairman expressed the opinion that Mr. Ress, as the Chairman of the Keren Hayesod, and Dr. Goldstein, as the Chairman of the Jewish National Fund, do not belong on the sub-committee of the Commission; that coordination and cooperation with those two bodies will have to be considered. As for

Judge Rothenberg and other members of the Executive who are intimately acquainted with the problems of the movement, they will be consulted by the Commission.

Mr. Lipsky voiced the opinion that Mr. Ress, by virtue of his office as Chairman of the Keren Hayesod, should be on the Commission; the same holds true of Dr. Goldstein, as President of the Jewish National Fund. We must have the good-will and the understanding not only of the institutions but also of their leaders.

Rabbi Heller stated that he could understand Mr. Ress' feelings that he should have some part in the discussions of the reorganization of the Z.O.A. but he could not understand Mr. Lipsky's last point, inasmuch as, the Commission, after discussing its plans, will have a number of meetings with representatives of the Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayometh, etc.

Mr. Goldberg moved

THAT, in the interest of the success of the Commission's efforts, Mr. Charles Ress, Dr. Israel Goldstein, and Judge Morris Rothenberg be invited to join the Commission.

Mr. Goldberg felt that much could be gained by the Commission from the experience of these men in various fields of Zionist endeavor.

The Chair ruled Mr. Goldberg's motion out of order, because the election of members to the Commission cannot be entertained. The Chair explained that there was no intention either on the part of Judge Levinthal, or of himself (who saw Judge Levinthal's list of names) to eliminate any individual from the Commission on Reorganization; that with respect to the heads of Funds, as well as heads of organizations, he thought they should be invited after the Commission has had at least one or two meetings and could present them with certain findings, not with certain results.

Mr. Sherman suggested that, in connection with the first meeting of the Commission, which seems to be interrelated with the meeting of the Administrative Council, some consideration be given as to whether the Administrative Council should meet in Pittsburgh, especially since the last meeting was in Baltimore. He suggested that the next meeting of the Council be held in New York, calling attention to the fact that some time ago it had been decided to have every other meeting in New York.

Judge Fisher suggested that some of the meetings of the National Council be held on the same day or the day following or preceding the Executive meeting, so as to insure the presence of the members of the Executive at the National Council meetings, and also obviate the question of transportation expense in some instances.

Mr. Shapiro suggested that a meeting of the Commission be convened for Saturday afternoon or evening, the Executive meeting ~~for~~ Sunday morning, and the Administrative Council, Sunday afternoon and evening.

In order to meet the above proposals, the Chairman felt that it will be necessary to advance the date of the next meeting of the Executive.

Dr Wise. moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the final settlement of the date and place of the next meeting of the National Administrative Council be referred to Dr. Solomon Goldman and Judge Louis E. Levinthal.

Mr. Carl Sherman moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the recommendation be made to the Chairman of the National Administrative Council that the next meeting of the Council be held in or near the city of New York.

CONVENTION RESERVATIONS:

The Chairman called attention to the fact that the Constitution of the Z.O.A. provides that the National Administrative Council vote on the Convention city. Inasmuch as the next meeting of the Council will not be held until April, the Convention may find itself without accommodations. He therefore suggested that tentative reservations be made in Chicago and Pittsburgh.

It was thereupon moved, seconded, and carried

THAT tentative reservations be made in Chicago and Pittsburgh in connection with the holding of the next Convention in one of those two cities.

CONVENTION COMMITTEE:

The President was authorized to name the Convention Committee.

FINANCES:

The Chairman called attention to the fact that during the first nine months of the current fiscal year the Z.O.A. expended the sum of \$163,000 -- \$25,763 beyond the budget voted by the Executive and Administrative Council; that practically every Department, with the exception of one or two smaller departments, spent in excess of from \$169 to a maximum of \$8,731. The Chairman stated that it is to be deplored that this excess expenditure was made without any authorization, that is, there was no authority given to the Departments to spend the money. He therefore felt that there should be a Budget Control Committee, as a part of the Finance Committee, to see to it, first, that the various Departments live within the budget adopted, if at all possible; and secondly, in the event that the various Departments find it necessary to spend more than the budget, the expenditures should be properly considered and properly authorized. He suggested that the proposed Budget Control Committee should consist of Messrs. Margulies, Levavy, and Rucker.

The Chairman's proposal was interpreted by some as a reflection on the Finance Committee.

Mr. Rucker stated that the report of the excess expenditure came as a surprise to the members at a meeting of the Finance Committee, and he had asked the Comptroller, Mr. Levavy, to prepare a comparative statement showing the detailed expenses of the various Departments for this year and for last year during

the same period. Mr. Rocker will then be enabled to explain in detail at the next meeting of the Executive the expenditure of \$25,763 in excess of the budget.

Mr. Rocker agreed as to the advisability of the President's naming a Committee on Budget Control.

FINANCE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS:

Mr. Rocker stated that on behalf of the Finance Committee, he desired to submit ^{his recommendations} for the approval of the Executive:

1.) Palestine Department: Mr. Rocker expected that this activity will be taken over in large measure by the Emergency Committee. Therefore, the present personnel will devote itself exclusively to the publication of Dos Yiddish Folk. The Finance Committee recommends that the Palestine Department be dispensed with and that Dr. S. Bernstein be retained as Editor of Dos Yiddish Folk at \$40.00 a week.

2.) Paid Propagandists: It was the feeling of the Finance Committee that since there is available in this country a large number of propagandists whose services are at the disposal of the Z.O.A., there is no necessity for retaining anyone on the payroll as a paid propagandist. The Finance Committee therefore recommends that all propagandists be on a volunteer basis, and that wherever arrangements are made with individuals for remuneration, these arrangements be on an individual basis, for work and services rendered.

Rabbi Heller moved that Mr. Rocker's report be received and the recommendations of the Finance Committee be considered seriatim. The motion was seconded.

Discussion on Finance Committee Recommendations:

There followed a protracted discussion on the recommendations of the Finance Committee.

Mr. Sherman expressed the thought that these recommendations implicitly disregard the motion adopted at the meeting of the National Council, as a result of which the Commission on Reorganization was named, and that if the Commission is going to function, piece-meal recommendations should not be presented in the meantime.

Rabbi Heller differed with Mr. Sherman's view and recalled Mr. Lipsky's explanation in Baltimore of the motion adopted by the Council.

Mr. Lipsky stated that the Palestine Bureau has existed for over thirty years under the direction of the Zionist Organization. It has been confined almost exclusively to the securing of passports, visas, etc. At the same time, there has grown up certain supervisory matters in which the Zionist organizations in America participate. The Chairman of the Committee in charge of the Bureau is Mr. Louis Segal of the Poale-Zion. This committee, or Palestine Amt, passes upon all schedules and visas. The expense of the Bureau has been paid by the Z.O.A. and its actual supervision is in the hands of the Zionist organizations in America. Mr. Lipsky declared that Mr. Rocker's proposal implies the casting

adrift of the Palestine Bureau, taking out the man who is responsible for the visas and passports, and putting him in charge of the editing of Dos Yiddish Folk; and he characterized such conduct on the part of the Z.O.A. as unbusinesslike and improper. The Zionist Organization has been responsible for a splendid piece of work, he felt, and it was never intended that the Palestine Bureau should be responsible for anything else outside of what it has been doing; and now, without knowing which body is to take over the Palestine Bureau -- whether it is to be the Emergency Committee or the Keren Hayesod -- Mr. Rocker recommends that the person in charge of the work be removed. The Palestine Bureau is functioning every day, and Mr. Lipsky urged that it be not dismantled in this hasty fashion. He believed that the Commission on Reorganization should consider the matter of the Palestine Bureau.

The Chairman stated that the matter of the Palestine Bureau is not altogether as new as here presented.

Dr. Wise recalled that the question has been under consideration for a number of years -- also, during his entire Administration -- and that he and Mr. Lipsky had strongly favored the reassignment of the Palestine Bureau to all of the Zionist organizations in America.

The Chairman added that such a proposal was made on March 9th. It was in the background of the discussion in Baltimore. In private conversations it had been agreed, he said, that the Emergency Committee take over the "passport" department until such time as a Palestine Department in the true sense of the word is built up to concern itself with all the questions that such Department should concern itself with. The Finance Committee, being aware of these discussions and aware of such a motion, is now proposing that Dr. Bernstein be retained by the Z.O.A. as Editor of Dos Yiddish Folk, assuming that the Emergency Committee will take over the passport department of the Organization.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the Emergency Committee is a temporary body. Through the Commission on Reorganization an attempt will be made to create a union of Zionist forces. If such union cannot be established, the Z.O.A. would not be inclined to hand over the Palestine Bureau to some unknown or temporary body. Mr. Lipsky moved, therefore,

THAT the matter of the Palestine Bureau be deferred until after the Commission on Reorganization will have met.

Mr. Szold regarded this matter as a question of compensation to one of the members of the staff, and, as such, he said, it had been before the Executive and the Finance Committee for a long time. He recalled also that the Finance Committee had met with the President some months ago and had arrived at certain figures; that a sub-committee was subsequently appointed, consisting of himself, Messrs. Rocker and Berson, and the sub-committee had gone into some of those matters; that thereafter the Finance Committee met and made a certain recommendation as to salary. All of this, he said, was done prior to the meeting in Baltimore which dealt with those questions. Furthermore, Mr. Szold pointed out, the Constitution contains no provision to the effect that the Administrative Council can pass on matters of salary and compensation; such matters are to be dealt with, first, by

the Finance Committee; and secondly, by the Executive of the Z.O.A. He thought that this particular matter which Mr. Rocker has recommended was passed on long ago, and that it is only out of deference to the regularity of the Constitution and to orderly procedure that it now comes up. He believed that this subject had been disposed of in substance by the Baltimore Resolution which said that, so far as the larger matters of the Organization are concerned, a Commission should be appointed. But it was very definitely understood by everybody, he said, that the matters of staff and compensation which had been dealt with by the Finance Committee -- and everybody knew what they were -- had been voted on by the Executive. Mr. Szold felt that these larger questions are not involved, and to bring in these larger matters will only serve to confuse this matter of the staff.

Mr. Konowitz inquired whether, in the event that the Finance Committee recommendations were accepted, the passport work would be continued, and who would pay for it pending the taking over of the Palestine Bureau by the Emergency Committee.

The Chairman stated that there was an understanding that the Emergency Committee will take over the passport work.

Mr. Lipsky explained that there was a discussion in the Emergency Committee regarding the establishment of an enlarged Palestine Bureau in which there should be a department for passports and visas. That Bureau has not been established as yet. The matter is quite open. The question is, therefore, whether the Z.O.A. which has maintained a passport bureau for twenty-two years should, without consideration as to who takes it over leave it suspended in the air pending the decision of the Emergency Committee. Since it has not been settled in the Emergency Committee, it is premature to bring the matter up here as if it were a fait accompli.

Mr. Röss observed that reference had been made to the Emergency Committee having an understanding that it is going to undertake certain general Zionist work. The Emergency Committee, he pointed out, has in itself not been legalized; on the other hand, it has taken upon itself permanent functions. He recommended, therefore, that the Commission on Reorganization consider carefully what the functions of the Emergency Committee should be; and that after the Commission on Reorganization will have gone into this question, the Executive should consider it. Mr. Röss moved

THAT action on the recommendation of the Finance Committee with regard to the Palestine Bureau be postponed until the whole matter has been thoroughly considered by the Commission on Reorganization.

The Chairman stated that the Executive had voted a year ago on the elimination of the Palestine Department from the Z.O.A., and that it was not then meticulous as to who takes it over. The Chairman said further that he had found that the procedure of the Executive had been to vote in theory on every improvement and every change, provided those resolutions are "put on ice" and forgotten. The moment a specific piece of work is attempted which involves dealing with a person, the Executive shows a tendency to retreat. When Mr. Lipsky made his motion in Baltimore, the Chairman recalled that he (the Chairman) feared that there would be some misunderstanding about that motion; whereupon he rose and stated that the motion is acceptable provided it does not refer to the reorganization of the staff. He was at a loss to understand, therefore, the pressure now to reopen this question as though it were something entirely new. The Administrative Council knew of it; the Finance Committee has dealt with the question for several months. The Chairman believed the Executive should now vote on it.

Rabbi Levinthal said he had no recollection of the Executive having passed a motion last year to disband the Palestine Bureau. Assuming that such a motion was passed, the Administration showed neglect in not carrying out the resolution of the Executive. If the matter has been voted on and has been held in abeyance for a year, it does not require a new motion at this time. Referring to Mr. Szold's argument, Rabbi Levinthal pointed out that if the Finance Committee's recommendation dealt primarily with a change of personnel, with salaries of persons, it would be within the sphere of the Executive to discuss the matter and to vote upon it at once, because the Executive is the highest authority in the matter of personnel. However, Mr. Rocker did not present a recommendation that Dr. Bernstein be dismissed and someone else engaged in Dr. Bernstein's place; if that were Mr. Rocker's report, it would be in keeping with his (Mr. Rocker's) functions. Mr. Rocker's report actually recommends the disbanding of the entire Palestine Department, and it is the function of the Executive to decide whether or not to take such procedure. Rabbi Levinthal strongly felt that it would be detrimental to the morale of the Organization and of the whole Zionist movement in this country to suddenly close a Department that has been functioning for over twenty years. If it were found that the Palestine Department had not been run satisfactorily, charges could be brought up; but there is no such charge here -- the Finance Committee does not say that Dr. Bernstein is not doing his duty.

It is felt that the Palestine Department should come under the joint auspices of the Hadassah, Mizrachi, and Poale-Zion; but if the department is disbanded now, there will be no opportunity of getting the support of all these organizations. On the other hand, if the Department still functions, it can be pointed out to the other organizations that the Palestine Department is doing the work of all of the organizations and it should be extended. Rabbi Levinthal believed that the Palestine Department is the first Department that should come under the combined auspices of all the Palestine bodies, and that there is no justification for suddenly closing its doors. It is the function of the Commission on Reorganization, he felt, to study the matter of the Palestine Department.

Mr. Goldberg stated that the Palestine Department has many functions, but unfortunately it has been reduced to merely obtaining passports. He agreed with Rabbi Levinthal that the Palestine Department should be enlarged, and that the matter should be gone into by the Commission on Reorganization.

Dr. Wise thought that Mr. Rocker should have told the Executive what was in the mind of the Finance Committee when it made its recommendation with respect to the Palestine Department. He believed that there is no ill-will against the present head of the Palestine Department. Mr. Lipsky and he (Dr. Wise) had discussed the matter of the Palestine Department some time ago and felt that it is utterly unfair for the Z.O.A., with its ⁱⁿadequate income, to be compelled alone to bear the burden which rests just as properly upon Hadassah, Mizrachi and the Poale Zion as it does upon the Z.O.A. Dr. Wise then spoke of the many admirable qualities of Dr. Bernstein, and recalled that several years ago he had talked with Mr. Rocker and his Committee regarding the Palestine Department, and it was thought then that, however admirable Dr. Bernstein was, he is not the man for the leadership of a Bureau which might be made one of the most important services in the totality of the Zionist movement in this country. Dr. Wise then moved

THAT the recommendation of the Finance Committee with regard to the Palestine Bureau be accepted, with the understanding that the implementation of this recommendation shall be contingent upon the assumption of this entire problem either by the Emergency Committee or by the allied Zionist bodies in America.

Dr. Goldstein inquired whether the extension of the scope of the Palestine Department would imply that Dr. Bernstein is considered unqualified or disqualified to serve in that Department. He felt that Dr. Bernstein should continue in the Palestine Department, and proposed that for the time being nothing be done except see to it that this enlarged program of the Palestine Department about which we have talked for several years, shall finally be made a reality.

Judge Fisher made the following amendment to Dr. Wise's motion:

THAT the report of the Finance Committee be amended to read that the Passport Department with its present personnel be continued until such time as the reorganized Palestine Department will take over that work.

Judge Fisher's amendment was seconded.

The Chairman said he gathered from some of the remarks made at this meeting with regard to the Palestine Department, that a survey was made three years ago which brought recommendations with respect to this Department similar to those that were acted upon by the Executive a year ago. Furthermore, attempts at organization and reorganization were made twelve years ago, and tonight we ask "What is the rush?"; and Rabbi Levinthal wonders why we did not act when it was voted on nine months ago. It was said tonight that there were no charges made. It was not found necessary to bring charges and to go into a discussion as to whether the work is done or the work is not done. For example- the Chairman added - it would be embarrassing to the Zionists of New York if the Zionists of the country were to discover that from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 salaries are paid by the Organization for work done for the Manhattan Bronx, and Brooklyn Districts, and the records department of the Organization is today behind in its work although the department is over-staffed.

Mr. Rocker's report in itself is a compromise, the Chairman stated. If the Finance Committee had acted courageously and had not been subjected to discussing this matter over and over again, it would have said: "We have no Palestine Department and we never had one!" It would have said that last year it was voted that whatever we have of this department be eliminated and be turned over to the inter-Party Committee. With regard to the Emergency Committee, the Chairman pointed out that it only supercedes temporarily the inter-Party Committee; the inter-Party Committee voted itself into an Emergency Committee after Dr. Weizmann had asked a few persons to do some of the work. All of these discussions, the Chairman observed, go back to one and the same fact in the situation, -- the inability on the part of the Organization, or the reluctance on the part of the Organization to make changes that are necessary, changes that have been recommended by surveys; changes that have been asked for by Conventions; changes that have been awaited by Zionists throughout the country. To tie up what we are now discussing with the Commissions that are appointed is as far-fetched here as it was in Baltimore. The third sub-committee of the Commission on Reorganization is to concern itself with certain Constitutional changes with respect to representation throughout the country, with respect to elections, etc., etc., the respective merits of the rules and privileges of the Administrative Council and the Executive; and it was understood that it has nothing to do with the reorganization of the staff. The Chairman declared that if in Baltimore the vote had been otherwise, he would not today be sitting in the Chair. He construed Judge Fisher's amendment, he said, as all of the other motions that have been made here in the last two years, in the spirit of the lack of action taken during the past years.

Mr. Sherman said he was very much pained at the attitude the President is taking with respect to questions that all of us are trying to deal with as fairly as our judgment will permit us. It is not fair to say that the Executive refuses to act on the question of an individual or a salary if it is presented. The whole Executive supported the President's specific recommendations with respect to at least two important individuals, and, in the case of one individual, on the direct understanding that the President name another person in his place. Furthermore, Mr. Sherman recalled that when the conditions were reported under which these employees were discharged, he (Mr. Sherman) was the first to state that if it be a recommendation made by the President it should be approved. All of these questions that are bothering the rank and file can be dealt with in the Commission on Reorganization. If the Finance Committee is withholding something with respect to these particular recommendations, and the Executive is asked to vote because something is being withheld, that is not an appeal to the judgment of the members of the Executive who want to know the facts. It does not help the Executive to be told that there is something further that they ought to know, or that there is something wrong somewhere else, and that therefore the Executive ought to vote on this recommendation of the Finance Committee.

Rabbi Heller felt that cognizance should be taken of the fact that certain questions of personnel are bound up with problems of organization. The assumption that everything should be postponed until the Commission on Reorganization reports is one to which he personally will not subscribe. It is highly problematical, he pointed out, whether this Commission will accomplish more than the other Commissions have. If it does, it will be an exception, and not the rule. Rabbi Heller suggested that instead of postponing action on the matter of the Palestine Bureau and thereby deliberating whether it should be a joint department, the Executive take action now. He thereupon offered the following amendment to Dr. Wise's motion:

THAT the Executive believes that the Palestine Department should be a joint responsibility of all the Zionist bodies, and that these bodies be requested to take over the Bureau within a given period, with the recommendation that Dr. Bernstein's services be continued in charge of some section of the work.

Rabbi Israel reported that he had visited quite a number of communities in the last couple of weeks and had spoken to Zionists, and there is a general feeling of bewilderment among Zionists as to what the Executive is about. One Zionist had remarked to him that he sympathized with the position of Dr. Goldman who is faced with many emergency matters, but that now Dr. Goldman is trying to do everything in the few months before the Convention and he is making many mistakes. That attitude is rather widespread, Rabbi Israel observed. He expressed the view that if there is to be a reorganization of the staff it should be done drastically; if heads have to fall they should fall at once; but there should not be created a hysterical condition in the staff, each one wondering who is going to be out at the next Executive meeting -- a state of affairs that certainly does not satisfy the best Zionist interests. Whatever is to be done should be decided upon and should be done as a single piece of work, so that the Zionists in America will not be kept in constant turmoil.

Speaking on the resolution, Mr. Cowen said that when the statement is made that the office must be "cleaned out" and that certain people must be removed for the good and welfare of the Organization, there may be general agreement, but he felt these people cannot be permitted to leave the Organization under a cloud. Dr.

Bernstein's work as Head of the Palestine Bureau has always been splendid, Mr. Cowen thought, and he challenged anybody to deny it. He added that he did not wish to stand in the way of these changes being made, but he thought the motion should be passed in the form as suggested by Dr. Wise and Judge Fisher, rather than by the Finance Committee Chairman, because the report of the Finance Committee Chairman -- whether he intended it or not -- carried with it an innuendo.

Mr. Lipsky felt that the Chairman's remark is the point from which all the differences begin. Dr. Goldman is so impatient -- so irreconcilable; he desires that the things he wants done, be done at once, without realizing that we are not dealing here merely with a machine, or with an Organization or with Laws and By-Laws. We are dealing with a movement that has lived for many years, and if those who were the beginners of the movement would have been so impatient with human frailties, the movement would never have started anything that would have been worthwhile. Mr. Lipsky said further that he had been confronted with conditions, on occasion, where he (Mr. Lipsky) wanted things done which could not be done -- no matter what arguments he used. It would have been very easy for him to say, at such times, that we have to be determined and ruthless. Speaking of former Presidents of the Z.O.A., Mr. Lipsky recalled that when Mr. Seld came into the Presidency of the Z.O.A., he found a staff. It belonged to nobody but the Z.O.A. He looked over the staff, and at the end of two years he had the same staff that was there before. When Judge Rothenberg came into the office, he undoubtedly wanted to change many things, but everything was connected with the Organization, and the staff remained.

Mr. Lipsky pleaded with Dr. Goldman not to act so impatiently in the matter, in as much as human-beings are involved. It is impossible to work in an Organization unless one is willing and able to compromise, to agree to something that represents everyone concerned, he pointed out. This attitude of always taking the extreme point of view, that if a certain step is not taken, everything is lost, is the wrong attitude; these things are only incidental to the movement.

The Chairman expressed his gratitude to Mr. Lipsky for his elucidation, and confessed that he does not have the patience; and he is not responsible for the irritation, which, he said, is the result of the difficulty of taking action. He pointed out that he had never at these meetings spoken with heat; and added that he wished to say -- very definitely -- that he has gradually and slowly reached the conclusion that he cannot go on; that it is useless for him to do so knowing that motions can be made one way and resolutions can be made another way. He saw the need of internal reorganization, he said -- minor things that are not at all vital to the movement, but which have prevented the Executive from dealing with the larger questions, and which have made it impossible for the Z.O.A. to do the work in the country that it should have done. We have long discussions on the political situation and we make all sorts of suggestions, but we have created no organization to carry out these plans. Similarly, he felt, nothing will result from the "assessment" fund. In concluding his remarks, Dr. Goldman expressed the hope that for the next several months till the next Convention someone else will carry on the work of the Z.O.A.

The motion submitted by Dr. Wise and amended by Judge Fisher and Rabbi Heller was then voted upon. The amended motion reads as follows:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. accepts the recommendation of the Finance Committee, with the understanding that we shall seek to move the Emergency Committee either to accept the responsibility for a real

Palestine Bureau, or else move the Zionist organizations in America collectively to undertake the responsibility, -- it being understood that the reorganization shall take effect no later than May 15th; that in the interim, the Passport Bureau be continued until it is taken over.

The motion as amended was seconded and unanimously carried.

Before adjourning the meeting, the Chairman reiterated the hope that the Executive will name someone to take care of the affairs of the Organization until the next Convention.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE, THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1940
8:30 P.M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, BROADWAY AND 44TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), Messrs. David Berenstein, Robert M. Bernstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Dr. A.K. Epstein, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Murray Gurfain, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Mordecai Konowitz, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Carl Sherman, Simon Shetzer, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. de Sola Pool (representing Hadassah); Matthew Huttner (representing Masada); Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah).

Excuses for Absence received from Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Judge Julian W. Mack.

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The meeting was called to order at 8:30 P. M., with Dr. Solomon Goldman in the Chair. At the outset, the Chairman stated that he regretted the manner in which he adjourned the March 13th meeting and did not want to allow the mood created there to prevail. He therefore thought it wisest to reconvene the Executive as soon as possible, and so called this special meeting, to continue with the business left unfinished at the last regular meeting. The Executive at its March 13th meeting had before it a report of the Finance Committee; the Chairman called upon Mr. Rocker to continue with that report.

Mr. Rocker stated that at the March 13th meeting of the Executive, two recommendations of the Finance Committee were presented by him for the approval of the Executive. The first proposal, in connection with the Palestine Department, was acted upon.

The second recommendation asked that all propagandists be on a volunteer basis, and that wherever arrangements are made with individuals for remuneration, these arrangements be on an individual basis, for work and services rendered.

Mr. Sherman inquired whether the sole purpose of this special meeting was to complete the unfinished business of the last meeting.

The Chairman stated that the purpose was to continue with the Plan of Reorganization.

Mr. Shetzer moved the adoption of the recommendation of the Finance Committee, with respect to paid propagandists.

Mr. Ress asked who are the paid propagandists at present in the employ of the Z.O.A.

Answering Mr. Röss' question, Mr. Margulies said the only paid propagandist is Mr. Abraham Goldberg.

Mr. Margulies further stated that if this proposal is predicated on the assumption that it is the proposal of the Finance Committee, an error has been committed. He said he was present at the meeting of the Finance Committee and that Committee had definitely refused to approve the two proposals submitted by Mr. Røcker. He felt that Mr. Røcker has every right as a member of this body to make any kind of proposal, but that it is not in accord with the record for Mr. Røcker to say that this is a proposal of the Finance Committee. Mr. Margulies recalled that after a very thorough discussion, the Finance Committee had voted almost unanimously that all of these questions are outside of the jurisdiction of the Finance Committee, in view of the fact that at the last meeting of the National Administrative Council, a Commission was appointed that is to deal with all of these matters; and pending the report of the Commission, the Finance Committee felt that it was outside of its purview to deal with this matter.

Mr. Røcker stated that at the last meeting of the Finance Committee this question did not come up at all. The recommendation was made during the absence of Mr. Margulies. He had asked Mr. Margulies and Mr. Maltin at that meeting to step out of the room, and the Finance Committee then passed on four or five recommendations. The recommendations with respect to the Palestine Department and to paid propagandists were passed unanimously by the Finance Committee.

Mr. Margulies said further that if Mr. Røcker had reference to a meeting in December which he (Mr. Margulies) did not attend, Mr. Røcker had failed to make it clear; but if Mr. Røcker was referring to the last meeting of the Finance Committee, then the statement is correct that the Finance Committee refused to approve the proposals. Since no minutes were kept of the December meeting of the Finance Committee, Mr. Margulies said, Mr. Røcker had submitted to the last meeting of the Finance Committee, a list of the motions that had been adopted at the December meeting. This list the Finance Committee refused to endorse. Whether or not this action on the part of the Finance Committee involved a repudiation of its earlier and previous decision, Mr. Margulies added, he is in no position to say; he is speaking only of the action taken by the Finance Committee at its meeting held some two weeks ago.

The Chairman suggested that since there was a difference of agreement between the Secretary of the Z.O.A. and the Chairman of the Finance Committee, as to what the record is, Mr. Røcker should be asked either to make this motion as a member of the Executive, or to rule that the Chairman of the Finance Committee will be in a better position to know what the resolution of the Finance Committee was.

Mr. Röss asked Mr. Røcker when the meeting of the Finance Committee was held at which that recommendation was adopted.

Mr. Røcker replied that he thought it was at the meeting held late in December.

Mr. Shorman asked if Mr. Margulies was correct in stating that this matter came up at the last meeting of the Finance Committee and a different result was obtained.

Mr. Röss asked whether there was any meeting of the Executive subsequent to the meeting of the Finance Committee at which these recommendations were not reported.

The Chairman stated that at the last meeting of the Executive this report was made and was not challenged.

Mr. Röss asked why this report of the Finance Committee was not submitted to the meeting of the Executive held following that session of the Finance Committee.

The Chairman stated that quite a number of times Committees of this body had met and adopted resolutions which had not come before the Executive for a month and sometimes for two or three months. He then called for discussion on Mr. Rösser's motion.

Mr. Lipsky asked whether the motion is submitted as a principle to be adopted by the Executive, because, he pointed out, the Z.O.A. employs organizers and propagandists, and pays them.

Mr. Rösser explained that these organizers and propagandists are not employed on an annual basis.

Mr. Röss amended Mr. Rösser's motion as follows:

THAT, in view of the fact that the only propagandist employed by the Z.O.A. is Mr. Abraham Goldberg, and the year is almost at an end, any action taken by the Executive shall be effective subsequent to the next Convention.

The amendment was seconded.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that, on the basis of experience and not on theory, the Executive will be committing a grave error in adopting Mr. Rösser's motion. The Z.O.A. operated primarily with volunteer speakers; the National Office arranged from 600 to 700 meetings a year, and that figure does not cover all of the meetings held throughout the country, for no actual record is kept of all the meetings. Supplying speakers to Districts is the main service rendered by the National Office. If the Z.O.A. is to depend exclusively on volunteer speakers, the Organization will be very seriously handicapped, because most of the speakers are drawn from the Rabbinate. We should be and are very grateful to the Rabbinate for their splendid cooperation. However, the invitations have to be suited to the convenience of the Rabbis. The Z.O.A. to adequately meet the demands made should have two or three people in its service. The principle suggested is in and for itself vicious; and will result in inefficiency, from the point of view of properly carrying on the business of the Organization. We certainly must have at least one person on whom we can call, without regard to his convenience and without regard to any other duties he may have to perform.

Mr. Röss urged that if the principle of the question is to be voted on, his amendment be adopted, pointing out that his only purpose was to remove the personal aspect of the question. He added that he would prefer the adoption by the Executive of general principles really fundamental to the Organization, without touching the personal issue. Mr. Röss felt that Mr. Goldberg should be permitted to complete his year's work uninterruptedly,

and he therefore appealed to the Executive to omit the personal aspect of the motion, by adopting his amendment.

Mr. Sherman inquired whether the only principle to be adopted was that paid propagandists should not be on an annual basis.

Dr. Goldstein asked whether Mr. Röss' suggestion was included within the motion; and also, whether the motion, if adopted, was to become effective immediately; or whether it was possible, within the framework of the motion, that the motion shall not become effective until after the next Convention.

Mr. Shetzer believed that, since there are no annual contracts for Z.O.A. employees, but rather a week to week arrangement, the motion should be effective as of the date of adoption.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that the salary agreed upon is not on a week to week basis, but on an annual basis, and is paid semi-monthly.

Mr. Bernstein of Philadelphia doubted the authority of the Executive in the matter, except insofar as it involves establishing a principle. Furthermore, Mr. Bernstein believed that the motion could not take effect until the end of the year, in the event that an annual contract does exist.

Judge Fisher stated that all that is contemplated in the recommendation and in the motion is that henceforth no contracts of any kind shall be made with propagandists; that if, from time to time, the services of a paid propagandist is necessary, he will be called in and paid for the services rendered. If there is an annual contract with a propagandist, the motion would not effect him until the expiration of his term of contract. If there is no annual contract, or if there is a contract by the month or by the week, a new arrangement, based on services rendered, will have to be made with the propagandist. If merely the principle is to be adopted, it is not necessary to go beyond adopting this motion.

Mr. Lipsky believed that any conclusion reached by the Executive, with regard to matters of organization or propaganda, should be based upon a clear understanding of the Zionist situation. The U.P.A. for example, without making any contract, employs a person for an indefinite period of time to speak whenever he is called upon. The Z.O.A. at one time had such an arrangement with Maurice Samuel and with Pierre van Paassen; and the National Fund has some arrangement with Ben Avi. There is nothing repugnant, Mr. Lipsky declared, in serving the Zionist movement as a speaker or organizer on a term basis, nor has it ever been regarded as something inadvisable, or not in keeping with Zionist principles. On the contrary, he pointed out, it was one of the essentials for the development of the Zionist movement.

Mr. Lipsky saw no principle involved in the recommendation of the Finance Committee, for the Z.O.A. never contracted for anyone's services, and no one ever wanted any contractual rights. Nor had it ever been suggested that the Z.O.A. should adopt the principle that a speaker cannot become a paid servant of the movement because he happens to be a propagandist. Mr. Lipsky suggested that the principle be put in rational form- that for the next couple of years the Z.O.A. will have no paid propagandists because of the plethora of propagandists. To make it appear that a principle of efficiency had been discovered

is repugnant to one's common sense, and the Executive ought not to make itself ludicrous by accepting such a principle.

The Chairman recalled that, shortly after his assumption of the Presidency, there was considerable discussion regarding the propagandist on the payroll of the Organization. It had been called to his attention at that time that the man had been away from the country for quite a long time, and that even when he was in the country, he was not rendering service. There was a discussion at a meeting of the Finance Committee, immediately after the Convention in July, as to who should bring the information to the man that the Organization can no longer continue to pay his salary because he is no longer rendering service. It was agreed at that time that somebody should talk to him. Shortly after that, Dr. Goldman left for Palestine and Europe, and when he returned, he discovered that this man was still on the payroll; that no one had as yet gathered the courage to speak to this man and tell him that, in view of the fact that he was no longer rendering service, he should no longer be on the payroll. In other words, for four or five or six months there was a man on the payroll who had not been rendering service. He was there on an annual basis. He was elected for a year or two. That was the origin.

The Chairman further recalled that there were reports at times that another man delivered fourteen addresses over a period of six or seven months, also annually on the payroll; and so it was felt that such contracts lend themselves to abuse, and we began to think of this principle, which is a principle that is employed by a good many organizations. Those organizations may not have it on paper, because they may never have had either annual contracts, or their contracts could not have been abused. There are many organizations who employ propagandists to perform special tasks.

Mr. Goldberg stated that he had never been away from the country for five or six months; that when he does go away he goes for the purpose of serving the cause. He asserted that he is not paid, but underpaid; therefore, to speak of him as a "paid propagandist" is ridiculous. Mr. Goldberg said further that he has been a worker in the Zionist movement for forty years and he felt that he has a certain status in the movement. The payment that he received was, more or less, an expense account, for he would not "sell" his speeches for \$75 a week. He pointed out that a lecturer's services are required from September to May; during the summer months very little can be done; therefore, his fiscal year ends in September.

Mr. Sherman suggested that the matter be referred to the Reorganization Commission. Whether an annual contract or any other arrangement is involved, the only decent thing is to let it run until the Convention, he urged. Mr. Sherman thereupon moved

THAT the matter be referred to the Commission on Reorganization.

Mr. Sherman's motion was seconded.

Judge Fisher believed that the question of procedure was settled in Baltimore, and that this is not a matter for the Commission.

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Mr. Ress pointed out that the question of "paid propagandists" had not been mentioned in Baltimore.

Judge Fisher maintained that the understanding reached in Baltimore was that the Reorganization Commission was not to deal with matters of personnel.

Mr. Lipsky agreed that the Executive has a right to hire and discharge employees.

Judge Fisher said it was not a question of principle, but rather of changing the staff. He was willing to accept the suggestion made by Mr. Lipsky, and offered the following substitute motion, in place of all others:

THAT all arrangements that now exist with paid propagandists be terminated as of the first of June, 1940;

THAT the President, now appoint a Committee to negotiate with Mr. Abraham Goldberg for any arrangement that should be made for the future.

Judge Fisher's motion was seconded.

Mr. Sherman pointed out that his motion to refer the matter to the Reorganization Commission would obviate the necessity of the Executive continuing to deal with it.

Rabbi Brickner considered Mr. Sherman's motion out of order, because of the agreement at Baltimore that the matter of personnel is the prerogative of the Executive.

The Chairman ruled that Mr. Sherman's motion was in order; that while the understanding in Baltimore was that questions of personnel need not be referred to the Commission, it does not necessarily mean that it could not be referred.

Mr. Lipsky said it was understood in Baltimore that the appointment of a Commission on Reorganization did not take away any of the Constitutional rights of the Executive; and in view of the fact that the Executive always had a right to employ and discharge, that right is still legal. The Executive can, however, dispose of a matter in any manner it sees fit.

The Chairman pointed out that the agreement in Baltimore merely intended to make it possible for the Executive to act, without having to wait either for the Reorganization Commission or for the Convention. For this reason, the idea of postponing action was taken out of the resolution calling for the formation of a Reorganization Commission.

Rabbi Heller thought the Executive could, if it so wished, refer the matter before it to the Reorganization Commission; but he considered it highly inadvisable to do so. The resolution in Baltimore was adopted, he said, because of the general feeling that it was inadvisable to discuss matters of personnel before large bodies.

Mr. Sherman's motion to refer the matter to the Reorganization Commission was put to a vote. The motion was defeated by a vote of 14 to 9.

Speaking on Judge Fisher's motion, Rabbi Miller pointed out that automatically the term of service of all Z.O.A. employees expires with the Convention. Therefore it is unparliamentary to make a motion that the status of any person come to an end on June 1st.

Mr. Siegel stated that he could not cast an intelligent vote without knowing the nature of the contract with Mr. Goldberg, or the consequences of a vote calling either for termination of service or change of status.

Judge Fisher replied that Mr. Goldberg has no contract, but is being paid on a term basis and not on the basis of services rendered.

Mr. Ress voiced the opinion that Mr. Goldberg has a contract, which he can enforce, to serve the Organization until the beginning of the next fiscal year.

Rabbi Heller felt that the Organization should try to make the change for Mr. Goldberg as easy for him as possible, and suggested that Judge Fisher amend the date in his motion from June 1st, to October 1st.

Personally, Judge Fisher did not think the Executive ought to tie the hands of the next Administration, but he agreed to the change suggested by Rabbi Heller.

Judge Fisher's motion, as amended, reads as follows:

THAT all arrangements that now exist with paid propagandists be terminated as of the first of October;

THAT the President now appoint a Committee to negotiate with Mr. Goldberg for any arrangements that should be made for the future.

Judge Fisher's amended motion was put to a vote and was unanimously carried.

The Chairman stated that the Committee to be appointed will report at the next meeting of the Executive.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

Judge Fisher then arose to present a further motion. Before presenting the motion, he remarked that the Zionist Organization has grown to approximately 50,000 members. He felt that if the Z.O.A. would properly organize and conduct an intensive campaign in the country, the present membership would be doubled in another year. He believed that New York was a very fertile field and had hardly been plowed. With the new problems confronting the Organization, he said, it is impossible for one person to carry the entire burden of the Administrative work of the Z.O.A.; and especially will this be true if there will really be a reorganization of the kind contemplated in the appointment of the Commission. Judge Fisher further expressed the thought that the

new Administration ought to enter upon its work with at least the Administrative Department organized, so that it will function without some of the present weaknesses which, he said, he did not attribute to any particular individual or individuals. In order to achieve that, he proposed that the Z.O.A. appoint a person, properly qualified, for the position, at a salary large enough to enable the Organization to get the best available person to be the Executive Director of the Z.O.A. He moved

THAT the President be authorized to appoint a Committee which, acting with the advice of the President, should look for and find some person to be appointed as Executive Director; the Committee to report at the next meeting, or, at the latest, at the May meeting of the Executive, the result of its labors, together with the conditions of employment of the Executive Director, including the salary to be paid, tenure of office, etc., etc.

Judge Fisher asserted that this proposal is not intended to displace anybody. It may involve some change of functions, he said, but without a paid Director of the kind who can make contact in the country, and who would be in a position to coordinate Zionist work generally, we are not going to be able to take full advantage of the opportunity we now have to put the Zionist Organization on a firm basis.

Mr. William I. Siegel opposed the motion, pointing out that it does not emanate from a well-considered or long-considered desire to serve the interests of the Z.O.A., having been sprung on the Executive with an incomprehensible rapidity, and its possible effectuation being urged upon the Executive with an indecent haste.

Mr. Siegel recalled that the Z.O.A. had considered the question of reorganization for three or four years. He had been one of the authors of the ill-fated Survey Committee Report, in which was pointed out an opportunity for the Z.O.A. to save \$20,000. The Survey Committee had worked for a period of months, and what is said as far as personalities were involved, it did with a good deal of heartburn, knowing that it might hurt some people which the Committee would regret. That proposal finally went by the wayside, and since then the Executive has been discussing "Reorganization". No one seems to have been particularly peeved that there had been no reorganization. Now, suddenly, it is proposed that the fundamental structure of the Z.O.A. be changed, and someone else engaged to carry on a work which so far has been carried on with eminent satisfaction to all. Furthermore, since there is to be a new Administration in July, it is inconceivable that ten weeks before the Convention -or, at the latest by the May meeting - a decision must be reached which would involve the Organization in a considerable expenditure, for it is assumed that the office of Executive Director will carry with it a salary of \$10 000 a year.

Mr. Carl Sherman asked for clarification on the subject, and inquired as to the duties of the proposed Executive Director; also, who is to be replaced by the Executive Director.

In Answer to Mr. Ross' inquiry as to whether the status of the Secretary will be affected, Judge Fisher's reply was: Certainly not -- till the Convention.

Judge Fisher added that he hoped the status of the present Secretary will be affected only to the extent that he will be in charge of what he (Judge Fisher) regards as the most important function in the Zionist Organization, namely, membership throughout the country.

Rabbi Heller was disturbed at the nature of this discussion, and felt that the Executive should discuss the welfare of the Organization, rather than personal feelings and accusations. He wondered why a proposal cannot be discussed on its merits. It ought to be assumed, he said, that the members of the Executive have the welfare of the Organization at heart, and are trying to meet a situation which is very fundamental in the Zionist world and in the Zionist Organization of America. If it be true that there was a Committee on Reorganization and Survey four years ago, the persons interested at that time, should be the very first to welcome a discussion on Reorganization and how to implement it, instead of picking flaws in every proposal. Moreover, this proposal was not foisted upon the Executive with indecent haste.

In concluding his remarks Rabbi Heller expressed the belief that if it were possible to secure the services of a man to direct the propaganda of the Organization in its relation to the actual scene, and to organize the employees of the Organization into a staff which would be able to carry his ideas into effect, Zionism in America would be effectuated in a much greater degree than at present.

Mr. Lipsky believed that the proposal contained in Judge Fisher's motion is a step that should have been taken years ago by the Z.O.A. As a matter of fact, it is not a novelty in the Zionist Organization. He recalled that twenty-two years ago the Z.O.A. setup included an Executive Secretary, a Secretary for Organization, a Secretary for Education, etc., which he considered a workable scheme. It is ridiculous to assume that an Organization of the significance of the Zionist movement can be conducted by a personnel which is limited to the few people we have. We have a very few people, and a great wrong has been done to them in some of these discussions by attributing our failure to reinforce them as a sign of their weakness. Whether the situation is remedied by having an Executive Director, or by having a collective directing the affairs of the office, is an open question. He pointed out that in the President's Memorandum on Reorganization there is a provision for a Political Secretary, a Director for Education, for Propaganda, for Palestine, etc. There has been created in the U.P.A. an Executive Director who practically controls the whole Administration, but in a movement such as the Z.O.A. represents, that sort of thing is impossible; those who would control the policies of the Zionist Organization must be personalities. Otherwise their work could not technically be effective.

Mr. Lipsky further suggested that the method of procedure in this matter be very carefully considered. It would be a great mistake, he thought, to appoint a Committee to get somebody within thirty days, and then to confront the Convention with a fait accompli. Whoever is to be appointed has to be introduced into the Zionist fold as a personality; he has to come into the Zionist Organization with a certain amount of support on the part of Zionists. In order to insure this procedure, Mr. Lipsky suggested that the Executive recommend that, in the budget to be submitted to the Convention, provision be made for Directors of the various Departments in the Z.O.A.

Mr. Lipsky also called attention to the fact that in the Plan for Reorganization there are two issues involved: (1) the internal reorganization of the Z.O.A.; (2) the reorganization of the movement as a whole. No progress can be made in connection with the former without taking into account all the confusion that prevails in the movement. In the creation of order in the Zionist movement, it may be that the Palestine Bureau which we think is a burden upon us at the present time, will be transferred to the collective Zionist groups. It may happen, also, that the Political Secretary may have to be the Political Secretary not of the Z.O.A. alone. It may be very difficult to effectuate this federation of Zionist organizations in America; but in the event that it materializes, there is the possibility that this man whom we regard as being the keystone of our Organization, may become the keystone of the united Zionist organizations. Mr. Lipsky suggested that the Committee which is to find an Executive Director be asked to name two or three candidates, instead of only one, as he thought it would be a great mistake to limit the selection to one. He did not favor the name "Executive Director", believing that it bears the implication that what is intended is someone to merely act as a co-ordinator in the office; whereas, what is actually intended is someone who may be used as an executive or departmental person.

Mr. Lipsky further expressed the thought that it will be difficult to find any person of any standing unless he feels that the whole organization is with him. Such a person will not come in if he feels that there is a division of opinion in the Executive or Administrative Committee. Therefore, conditions have to be created under which the best men are likely to come in; and one of the first requisites is to create the feeling that we have an Organization which is strong enough to engage such men. The Z.O.A. was at no time as strong as it is today, and we ought not to depreciate the Z.O.A. in the public view.

Judge Fisher declared that the very suggestion which Mr. Lipsky made necessitates a report not later than May. We do not have to necessarily hire the man at that time; none of us would want to bring in anyone who might have trouble immediately after the Convention; but if prestige is to be added to the person or persons, action should be taken not later than the meeting in May, as suggested in the motion.

Mr. Siegel observed that this is peculiarly a matter for the Convention to discuss, together with such recommendations as may come from the Executive. The Convention can decide whether or not it wants to do it. The Convention will be able to ascertain as to the availability of persons or personalities. Because there will be a Convention in ten or eleven weeks, there is no need for any haste at all, Mr. Siegel added, except for personal thinking by the members of this Executive. He moved that Judge Fisher's motion be tabled.

Mr. Ross doubted whether Judge Fisher's recommendation could be implemented without a Constitutional amendment, inasmuch as the motion creates the office of Executive Director, whereas the Constitution of the Z.O.A. provides only for a Secretary, who presumably is exercising the functions of an Executive Director. At the time the Convention voted to insert a provision in the Constitution that the Secretary be elected by the Executive instead of at the Convention, it was clearly stated that the reason for that provision was that the Executive was electing an Executive Secretary. In other words, the term "Secretary", in the Constitution, means "Executive Secretary", and the duties and functions of the Secretary, both in intent and in practice, have been those of an Executive Director. Mr. Ross added that when, earlier in the discussion, he had asked

Judge Fisher what effect his motion would have on the Secretary's functions, he had in mind the Constitutional provision. Manifestly, he said, it is intended by Judge Fisher's motion to cut down the function of Secretary and to put the Secretary in charge of a Department of Organization. This is strictly a reorganization question, and yet, suddenly, out of the reorganization questions (which involve not only the Z.O.A., but if the Z.O.A. is to function, a principle of understanding of all the organizations, the relationship between them, etc.) one item is picked out to be brought up at a special meeting -- and illegally brought before this meeting. Mr. Ress explained that at a special meeting the purposes of the meeting must be stated, and the purposes of this special meeting had not been stated. He reiterated that Judge Fisher's recommendation constituted a reorganization question, and as such should be submitted to the Commission on Reorganization. He added that he will abide by the decision of the Commission, when it comes before the proper body for approval.

by

Rabbi Israel observed that/the very statement of the Chairman of the Reorganization Commission, he and his Commission are engaged in larger issues which are extremely important and which concern themselves with correlating the Zionist bodies. Rabbi Israel was in thorough sympathy with that, and expressed the hope that the Commission will be successful in its efforts. In the meantime, he said, he finds himself in the position of an elected member of the Executive, and a part of the movement, and he feels it necessary to come to the Convention with something definite by way of recommendation. As far as any personalities are involved in this discussion, he is on a personal basis very kindly disposed to them, he said. His personal relations with Mr. Margulies have always been of the closest, and within the field of activity that he has been able to pursue, he found Mr. Margulies not only cooperative, but as efficient as he possibly could be. However, Mr. Margulies knows best that there is something in the whole setup of our Organization which does not even permit him to function best. We hear all sorts of complaints throughout the country, Rabbi Israel pointed out, and referred briefly to the unrest existing in Nebraska and Iowa, which he had discovered on his recent visit to those States.

As for the proposal to refer to the Reorganization Commission, the motion with regard to an Executive Secretary, Rabbi Israel did not feel that the Committee on Reorganization (with its broader aspects of work which it has in mind and on which it ought to concentrate its efforts) is the Committee to handle this proposition. Furthermore, he saw no reason for all this discussion of personalities. He is in sympathy with this motion, he said, not as an opponent of Mr. Margulies', but as one who feels Mr. Margulies has a real service to render to the Z.O.A., and who hopes to see, through this reorganization, Mr. Margulies' capacity increased and not diminished.

As far as the President is concerned, Rabbi Israel felt that no one can criticize the President's zeal for Zionism, but the President and others of the Executive have felt that no matter what the zeal of an individual, there is something in the frame-work of the Organization which prevents that zeal from becoming effective. Rabbi Israel concluded with the thought that the Executive must accept its responsibility in the matter, and see whether something cannot be done before its term of office ends.

Rabbi Levinthal thought that the term which Judge Fisher used is rather an unfortunate one - that the description applied to an assistant to the President - who cannot be in the office. He could readily understand the need for an assistant to the President in any large organization, he said. Furthermore, he thought that the term "Executive Director" had several objections: First, as Mr. Ross pointed out -- the Constitution will have to be amended; secondly, there is bound to be a clash between two people who have almost similar types of duties. If Judge Fisher meant any other type of director, he did not make it clear, Rabbi Levinthal added.

Mr. Stone considered the proposal ill-timed. The fact that it has been under consideration for eighteen months and nothing had come of it, and the fact that it had been discussed for three or four years and nothing has been done until now, makes it questionable as to whether it should be acted upon so near the Convention. In the first place, if a man possessing all the qualifications described by Judge Fisher is found, he will have to make a survey of the office, and it will be extremely inconvenient to make a thorough study at this time. Then come the summer months. Secondly, it would be unethical for the present Executive to impose a person on the next Administration. Thirdly, no person of the type described by Judge Fisher will enter into the service of the Organization without a contract for two or three years. If that person -- whether he be called Assistant to the President, or Executive Director -- is to represent the President, the newly elected President is entitled to choose whom he wants. This proposal should have come a year ago, instead of now. The Committee will take a month to consider a man; the question of salary will then have to be referred to the Finance Committee; and the budget has already been exceeded. Mr. Stone therefore suggested that Judge Fisher's motion be presented to the next Convention in the form of a recommendation from the present Executive to the incoming Administration.

Mr. Goldberg stated that he agreed with every word uttered by Rabbi Heller and Rabbi Israel, but he wished to correct the erroneous notion that this is something new, for it is not at all new. He suggested that a Committee on Personnel be appointed to work hand in hand with the Commission on Reorganization, -- the Committee on Personnel to decide on the various departmental heads to be proposed to the Reorganization Commission; and the Reorganization Commission to submit recommendations to the forthcoming Convention.

Rabbi Miller made a few observations for the purpose of seeking clarification on Judge Fisher's proposal. He thought that Rabbi Israel struck a very important note in his discussion of Judge Fisher's motion when he spoke of the feeling throughout the country that the Organization is not functioning efficiently, that it is not living up to its possibilities, that some improvements and some changes must be introduced if the potentialities of the Organization are to be exploited, and a more effectively functioning Organization is to be created. However, Rabbi Miller thought that Rabbi Israel did not go far enough; and furthermore, he thought that the Executive, as a responsible body, is not going far enough in an analysis of that very situation that Rabbi Israel referred to and with which Rabbi Miller agreed, because he too has an opportunity to travel around and to speak to many Zionists and to receive the very same impression that Rabbi Israel received. Rabbi Miller added, in this connection, that he had come to a very different diagnosis. In analysing the situation, he said, he reverts over and over again to the same analysis, namely,

that over a course of years we ourselves have denuded the Z.O.A. of all its functions -- we have divested it of all of its activities save one, and that is, the annually recurring drive for membership. It has almost become nauseating to have to hear at every meeting that we have so many members, so many renewals, so many have not renewed, etc., etc. One would think -- and one would be perfectly right in thinking -- that the entire business of the Organization rests in membership. This Organization cannot function; it cannot maintain the interest of its members, because as it is constituted, at the present time, it has nothing to give to its membership. Not only has it nothing to give to its membership, but what is even worse, it has nothing to ask of its membership; it has no demands to make of its membership; it has no responsibilities to give to its membership. The National Fund comes with definite responsibilities; the U.P.A. places upon Zionists and upon Jews in general definite responsibilities. The only responsibility that the Z.O.A. places upon its members over and over again is: Get members; get members; get members!

Rabbi Miller expressed the belief that the answer to Rabbi Israel's observation, with which all concur -- that this Organization is not functioning; that there is dissatisfaction in the ranks -- is the re-clothing of the Z.O.A. with functions, the taking-back to ourselves of the many activities that we have transferred to other agencies. He pointed to the fact that Hadassah's success lies in its being a twelve-month-a-year functioning Organization. It gives to every Chapter a calendar that calls for a special activity every single month of the year -- a special activity within the framework, and structure of Hadassah -- responsible to Hadassah, reflecting credit upon Hadassah, if achieved, and reflecting discredit upon Hadassah if not achieved. A definite responsibility is laid at the door of every single Chapter, which it must perform; otherwise the Organization has a right to demand an explanation from that Chapter in very, very concrete terms.

Rabbi Miller then put the following question to the Executive: If the Z.O.A. is destined to remain within its present framework -- in other words, if we have created such autonomous agencies that we cannot take back any of these functions to ourselves, that we must go on functioning in this vacuous manner in which we are -- what is an Executive Director going to do? What are we going to give him to do? Political work is in the hands of the Political Secretary in Washington; membership is to be left with our present Secretary who has to be given the title of Director of Membership. For education we are looking for a man, and, as Mr. Lipsky pointed out, he will have to be a man in whom the education world and the Zionist world will have confidence. Rabbi Miller declared that he could see a task for an Executive Director if we can bring the Z.O.A. back to its former strength, to its multi-colored duties, to its former virility. Otherwise, he wondered how the Z.O.A. could utilize the services of an Executive Director. He suggested, therefore, that the plans should be crystallized in the interest of that reorganization which all of the members of the Executive are anxious to see come about. The chief purpose of the Reorganization Commission, he maintained, is to see whether the Z.O.A. cannot begin to function as it has functioned in the past. The Reorganization Commission ought to begin looking into the possibilities of the Z.O.A. decentralizing itself, creating Regions, and assigning responsibilities and functions to these Regions in an active Zionist way.

Rabbi Miller further suggested that, conjointly with the Reorganization Commission, the Chairman should be empowered by the Executive to appoint a

Committee on Personnel, so that, as functions are created and are given to the Z.O.A., and are revived insofar as the Organization is concerned, the Committee on Personnel will be in a position to bring in recommendations. The Reorganization Commission should bring in a full report in May, or, at the latest, the first week in June; and there should also be a report of the Reorganization Commission with regard to Z.O.A. functions, and of the Committee on Personnel with regard to persons to carry out these functions which the Commission will outline.

Mr. Margulies asked that his friends do not make him an issue in this discussion. Based on knowledge and experience gained as a result of his connection with the Zionist Organization - which goes back to the days of his boyhood - and for the past seven years during which he served as Secretary of the Z.O.A., he is of the opinion that the program outlined by Rabbi Miller is the most practical for the Organization to adopt.

Insofar as the Z.O.A. staff is concerned, Mr. Margulies stated, it is important to make clear that the Z.O.A. staff is one of the most efficient of that of any Jewish Organization in the country. This may be a broad statement, but it is nevertheless a fact. Few members present of this Executive are actually familiar with the scope and size of the staff. The entire executive staff consists of five persons. These are Dr. S. Bernstein, who is in charge of the Palestine Bureau and who also serves as the Managing Editor of *Dos Yiddish Folk*; Mr. Abraham Goldberg, the only paid speaker on the staff and who is also the Editor of *Dos Yiddish Folk*; Mr. Samuel Caplan, Managing Editor of *The New Palestine*, and who also looks after the English publicity; the Comptroller, Mr. Z. Levavy - - and the Secretary. In addition, of course, we have some twenty-eight or thirty stenographers, copyists, filing clerks, etc. Mr. Margulies inquired whether any member of the Executive present can point to a single instance where the Z.O.A. staff has failed to meet its obligations; where it has proven itself inefficient in carrying on the business of the Organization -- whether that pertain to propaganda, organization, or any other activity; furthermore, whether any member of the Executive has ever received any complaint from District officers or other Zionists, reflecting on the efficiency of the staff.

Mr. Margulies further stated that in connection with the membership he wanted to present the following figures: In 1932, when Judge Rothenberg became the President of the Organization, and he (Margulies) assumed the duties of Secretary, the total membership was approximately 8,400; now the membership totals over 50,000. With the exception of a change in the personnel of the Managing Editorship of *The New Palestine* and the office of Comptroller, the staff then was as it is today, except in the instance of the Secretary's office. That office included the late Mr. de Haas, Mr. Kornfeld and Mr. Magida. In other words, insofar as the Secretarial work was concerned, three people managed an Organization numbering 8,400 members, whereas one person now looks after the Secretarial duties of an Organization numbering over 50,000.

Mr. Margulies also drew a comparison between the membership growth of the Z.O.A. and that of Hadassah. "Hadassah's growth and progress deserves everyone's admiration", Mr. Margulies said. "I consider Hadassah in many respects a model Organization. However, we must not overlook the fact that in 1932, when the Z.O.A. membership was a little over 8,000, Hadassah had a membership of over 30,000 -- I believe it was 32,000. Mrs. Epstein reported

to the last Convention of Hadassah, as Mrs. Pool will bear me out, a total membership of 70,000 -- in other words, a gain of some 38,000. We reported to our Convention at the end of June, 1939, ~~we gained some 38,000. We reported to our Convention at the end of June, 1939,~~ a total membership of over 45,000 -- a gain of 37,000. Draw your own conclusions as to the significance of the difference in growth."

Mr. Margulies deplored the practice of belittling the achievements of the Z.O.A. Instead of speaking of our accomplishments in laudatory terms, as do the leaders of other organizations, we are constantly deprecating our efforts. This disparagement does not help the prestige of the Z.O.A.; on the contrary, it serves to demoralize all those who come in contact with the Organization. Furthermore, the facts do not warrant such criticism, for we have done a fine job. The time has come when we should take inventory not on the basis of failure, but on the basis of our strength, growth and success.

Rabbi Brickner asked that a vote be taken on Judge Fisher's motion.

Mr. Sherman felt that further clarification was needed before an intelligent vote could be taken on Judge Fisher's motion. He agreed with the observations and the suggestions offered by Rabbi Miller. On the other hand, he pointed out, if it is intended through Judge Fisher's motion merely to have a fait accompli to cram down the throats of the Convention, the very purpose of the motion will be jeopardized. Furthermore, he doubted whether the proposal made could be constitutionally adopted.

Judge Rothenberg expressed himself in entire agreement with the President. He pointed out, however, the difficulties of effecting a reorganization in the Z.O.A., recalling that past Presidents of the Organization had attempted it. He felt that the Organization needed a change in many directions for ~~a number of~~ years, but he thought that the method now pursued is an unfortunate one, and that the President has done himself an injustice in the way he is handling the question. He had no doubt that the President was unquestionably animated by the highest motives, but thought that perhaps the method of reorganization is not the right one. He said he had seen questions of personnel discussed and changes made in other organizations, but he had never seen people go through the torture of being discussed in an open meeting. Every man in the Organization is trembling that, perhaps tomorrow, his summons will come. It is a very lamentable procedure that has been adopted.

Judge Rothenberg said further that he had always understood that the way to handle a readjustment problem was for a Committee on Personnel or Readjustment to consider the question, bring in a report as a whole; even in the case of one man it has been done that way. But in the Z.O.A. we not only throw a man out, but first we cover him with mud. That is why we have difficulty in engaging people in the Z.O.A. -- they know that, sooner or later, they will be subjected to that kind of procedure. By handling the reorganization in this piece-meal fashion, each man becomes an issue. Judge Rothenberg urged that, before it is too late, the President reconsider how this problem should be handled.

Judge Rothenberg said further that he could not conceive of a more unfortunate method than bringing this question into the Convention; we have had it at Conventions in the past, he recalled, and it became a political question. Each man's following makes it a political issue and it becomes a very miserable affair. He suggested, therefore, that the matter be submitted to the Reorganization Commission which, if possible, should come to an agreement as to the changes that can be made before the Convention. He was in favor of making changes, he said, but he had never been in favor of turning out on the streets a man who had served for many years and who had been a good Zionist. That is the gravest injustice that can be done. Judge Rothenberg had been associated with Labor Unions and pointed out that when a man works two weeks he cannot be turned out. A man at the age of 58 or 60 should not be thrown out on the street, if he is still able to perform service. Mr. Maltin could have been employed as bookkeeper. There was no need to throw him out. The same thing should not be repeated with respect to others. Most of the men of the Zionist Organization are loyal, hard-working, honest Zionists. Whether they should continue in their particular jobs is a question to be discussed.

In conclusion Judge Rothenberg emphasized that there is no reason for stirring up things and making political issues; that is the very thing that should be avoided. He reiterated the suggestion that the Reorganization Commission should handle the reorganization problem as a whole.

DR. GOLDMAN'S REMARKS:

I am not going to reply to the insinuations or to the open attacks made on the Chairman, because that will not help us one way or another. The Chairman, the President of the Z.O.A. -- since our last ruling some four years ago limiting his tenure of office to two years -- is no longer an important person in the movement. He may be of extraordinary gigantic stature, but he will not make his contributions in two years. He will come and he will go, and in the next 25 or 30 years we will see a parade of Presidents. He is not important, so it is not important to answer criticisms. But there are certain statements of fact which I believe are important to be dealt with.

I have heard time and again: 'The proposals are fine; the plan is a good plan. Not only are the proposals good, but they are very old. They were already made by Administrations and by Survey Committees time and again, and have had the consideration and the support of Administrations for a number of years.' That I have heard time and again. What was unfortunate, as Judge Rothenberg stated tonight, was the method of procedure. 'The President, inexperienced in any such matters, came into the Organization and clumsily -- that word was used tonight -- attempted to make changes which required more delicacy, which ought to be left to a Committee, etc.' It seems, as a result of the discussions tonight and of the discussions we have had for a considerable time, that it is the President who caused these widespread discussions, and that it was his clumsiness that is responsible for the torturo of this one and of that one. As a matter of fact, Judge Rothenberg, we did exactly what you suggest. A plan was proposed, discussed, accepted, acted upon, and I proceeded to talk with one or two ^{men} as to their status in the Organization. As to whether men can be dismissed or not, -- that is a matter which we may discuss. And I discovered two things: first, that the men to whom I spoke told me that they were the Zionist Organization and that I was talking nonsense

when I thought of dismissing them, or of making certain amicable arrangements with them; and secondly, that if I appointed Committees, they would refuse to appear before the Committees.

I happen to be a man who speaks straight; I don't cover up. For example, Mr. Golberg and Mr. Margulies could well have walked out while we were having this discussion. I have been a member of organizations for many years -- large bodies -- where men of great importance were being considered and discussed as to their status or continued status. They felt it their bounden duty that when there was a word uttered with respect to themselves, as a matter of courtesy, as a matter of proper procedure and practice, it required that they step out. (At this point Mr. Margulies left the room).

Now, our Organization is differently-minded. There has developed a sentiment, a tradition, that when you suggest any change with reference to persons, you are incidentally guilty of creating a political issue. I did not raise the Maltin issue to national importance. I had a very quiet conversation with Mr. Maltin. It lasted for an hour. I said that there was a Committee; that the Committee would discuss with him terms and make dispensations; that I called him in to tell him that certain reorganization was necessary, which would affect his position. Mr. Maltin informed me that he would not meet a Committee. On that very day a group of gentlemen came with a petition, and then meetings were called. The method became what Judge Rothenberg described it to be, not because of anything the Chairman did, but because of the tradition of the Organization that you dare not, -- and if you dare, it becomes a political issue, which is taken to the country at large, to this District or that District. And that created the situation, not the method in which we handled it.

Now, with regard to the issue before us -- as to whether this is not brought to the attention of the Executive suddenly, as to whether the change is not too late; etc., etc. -- I want to say this: When I came into the Organization, -- I am not as inhuman as some of you gentlemen have come to think, and I also want to say that I do not agree with Mr. Ress that I was only to write messages and to make speeches -- I thought it was the function of the Executive to concern itself with these Organization matters, and that it was my duty, as the President, to lead the Executive in dealing with these matters. I suggested in the kindest and friendliest way to Mr. Margulies many times to limit himself to membership work. I said to him: 'You know, you began with 8,000; and now we have grown to 30,000, 40,000 -- do this job; go after it.' You will recall that at the first meeting after the Convention, when the election of Mr. Margulies came up, I suggested that Mr. Margulies should be elected only as Secretary or Director of Membership. That discussion lasted for about an hour and a half -- at the meeting in July, 1939. We can forget; we forget things that we don't agree with -- it is natural -- but these things are not sudden.

When I stepped into the Organization, I asked myself: 'Who is tying this thing together?' I happen to be on the governing bodies of other organizations, some national, -- for example, the B'nai B'rith -- and some State or City organizations, and I cannot think of a single one where there is not an Executive Director who is the very heart, and, at the same time, the head of the organization. Now there may be ten, fifteen departments, but there is a coordinating Secretary and he is the outstanding personality. This is true of the B'nai B'rith, the Welfare Funds throughout the country, our philanthropies, and our educational systems.

To greet this proposal as something novel and unheard of can be only the result of our friendship, our affection, our personal interests, all of which are right and proper, and they should be thus respected. It would be unpardonable if the men who have worked with us for years should have no consideration from members of the Executive. But that should not blind us to the fact that these things are everyday practice, and that this goes on throughout the country - everywhere. That is why this does not come before the Reorganization Commission; it does not belong there. Why? The Reorganization Commission concerns itself with those forms of reorganization that are pertinent to the Zionist Organization as such, that have no parallel elsewhere, that contemplate innovations. But what we, as an Executive have been dealing with, and what a sub-committee has been dealing with, and what the Chairman has primarily concerned himself with, is not with innovations, but with matters that have been neglected, to eliminate defects that everyone, almost without exception privately thinks necessary, and should have been done ten or fifteen years ago. This has nothing to do with innovation: A coordinating secretary of gigantic stature for the Z.O.A., who, because of his intellectual size, because of his experience, will be recognized by the country as the man, and will make it possible for all of us to have the other organizations defer to us. It is not only because you have divested the Z.O.A. over a period of years of its functions that you are in the present position. It is because the other organizations have made an attempt to change internally and to get the best and the most competent personnel; and those men are not going to recognize the Z.O.A. until we have the personnel that enjoys the same prestige and is equally outstanding. That is not making history; that is removing a defect in the Organization, of which we have known for years.

When it comes to Abe Goldberg, you may say that I am opposed to him because he fought me in Detroit. I did not know until after Detroit that he fought me. But certainly, Mr. Margulies elected me in Detroit and he has been a friend of mine; but I will not sacrifice the future of the movement because of friendships. I know what the movement needs, and you do, too.

These things have to be dealt with honestly and frankly. I can understand personal relations, and friendship, etc., but we are thinking of the destiny of the movement, and personal relations must not be in the way. I know many of you, in your own affairs -- whether you are lawyers in your offices, or Rabbis in your Congregations -- you have come in and you have made the changes that you felt were essential to the progress of your work. In some cases you retired individuals; in other cases you offered compensation; in still other cases you changed the status and position of a man. Fifty thousand members should keep a man busy a good twelve months in the year -- certainly, nine or ten months in the year. This is ample for an individual to do, if we are not thinking in terms of getting 20,000 members in one year, and losing them the next year. We closed the last year with 46,000 members; now, with the year almost at an end, we have 26,000; 5,000 are new members -- that means only 19,000 members. Some 26,000 members have not renewed their membership. I am praying and I am hoping that between now and the Convention at least two-thirds of them will renew it.

It is no offense to Mr. Margulies to have this position, and it need not become the issue that it is made. I am astounded that a man whose common sense I have come to admire, should ascribe to the Chairman the motive that we want to come to the Convention and say that we have changed a few people in the staff. What kind of an achievement can that be for the sake of itself -- changing a few people on the staff?

It can be said that this Administration has done rather well. There is a Bureau in Washington; there have been certain contacts established. Certain conflicts have been eliminated. It was generally agreed that the protest against the White Paper was one of the best organized in the history of the country. If I feel so impelled, I would be able to write a message singing my praises, that I was not completely a "Batlon". I have no such intentions. I never looked for "koved", and I don't look for "koved" now. I feel and I have felt all through the years, as a Zionist, that the Organization needs reorganization; and reorganization does not mean Commissions, and it does not mean surveys. Reorganization means men in the Organization who will themselves make surveys, who will themselves be experts and show you how the thing is to be done. I am a member of the Hillel Foundation Commission; I do not say in what University a Foundation should be opened; my Executive Director tells me where a Foundation should be opened. And I have been for twenty, twenty-five years in organization work and everywhere I sat humbly and I listened to the Executive Director, just as my Board and my Congregation listen to me as to what is to be done and what is not to be done. I am the Executive Director of my Congregation. Is the Zionist Organization the only Organization where the Administration must be hampered and blocked year after year because you dare not change personnel? I do not think we can improve or make a contribution to the Organization under such circumstances.

Please believe me that I have absolutely nothing personal in this whole business. If any of you have an erroneous impression -- and I mention it because it has been stated -- that I am looking for a third term, and that I want so to surround myself as to make it possible, -- gentlemen, you don't know what these two years have done. They have broken me and came near breaking my Congregation. I have sought nothing and I seek nothing out of the Reorganization Plan. I have talked of the Zionist movement all of my life and I have always felt, long before I was here in the Chair, that what the movement needs -- not only in New York, but throughout the country -- is new personnel, new life. That is what we need. There have grown up under our eyes two, three million Jews who, I regret to say, do not understand Abe Goldberg and they don't understand me. They think we are odd; they think we are curious. We want to reckon with them, unless we assume that Zionism in every city must remain with the people who have been there twenty-five, thirty, forty years. No; we have to have a staff that can deal with this new generation that has grown up here, and we have to have an Executive Director who becomes the symbol of that staff, vis-a-vis the President. I have no other intention. I did not want any public discussion, Judge Rothenberg. I did not want just to hurt people; and in connection with only one person was the suggestion made that there be complete elimination, and that we could not help. It was impossible to leave a man with the books, and another man to stand over him. In no other case has there been any suggestion of complete elimination. There has been no harshness, and there has been no hardness. I may have made mistakes -- I regret them. My intention was to make those changes of which we ourselves and the Zionists throughout the country have spoken for a period of fifteen years.

Dr. Wise said he thought that the Chairman's statement covers the case very fully from his (the Chairman's) point of view. Addressing himself to Mr. Lipsky, Dr. Wise proposed that if Mr. Lipsky does not want any defeatist

things to be said about Zionism in America, he should cable to Dr. Weizmann, who, it is reported had made a statement in London which is completely discrediting to the Zionist Organization and to its leadership. If Dr. Goldman has been guilty in a lesser way of assuming a defeatist attitude and indulging himself in an occasional self-deprecating tone, Dr. Weizmann has committed a major wrong to the Z.O.A. The correction of the defeatist mood should begin in London before it is brought to the American Zionist Organization.

Dr. Wise said further that he felt very strongly as Mr. Lipsky does, that the plan of the World Zionist Congress to bring all Zionist organizations into a Territorial Union, should be implemented. However, that was not done, and that was one of things that had motivated him to name the Survey Committee. He had given Mr. Röss, as Chairman of the Committee, the fullest measure of support in compiling the Survey and in presenting the recommendations, which he and Mr. Röss at that time had agreed could not be effectuated. Tonight again Mr. Lipsky says that we must have a strong, centralized Zionist Organization, but we have no all-embracing Organization. Hadassah ignores us when it does not deride us; Hadassah goes its own way in sweet scorn of the Z.O.A., with a gentle, but unfeigned contempt of the Z.O.A.; and that could not happen if the Z.O.A. were well disciplined and had a strong Organization, and if Hadassah did not have the consciousness that it was being finely managed, just as the Z.O.A. is not managed or disciplined at all.

Dr. Wise reiterated that he thought the Chairman had covered the case fully, though he believed that the President has made some mistakes.

Dr. Wise favored Rabbi Levinthal's suggestion for an assistant to the President, pointing out that he, too, in his own work at the Jewish Institute of Religion has an assistant. Dr. Wise pointed out also that if he had wished it he could have remained the President of the Z.O.A., following the Detroit Convention, but he felt that a new strength, a new quality, a new name was needed in the Organization. A man must recognize his limitations, and he must take stock of himself, Dr. Wise declared.

The President, he said, has given the Z.O.A. all that he could. He sometimes made the mistake, however, of not taking into his confidence three or four of the elders who had served in the office of President before him. Dr. Goldman has not asked for power and he has not asked to be permitted to do wrongful things; but he wants to improve the tracks upon which the train shall move after he leaves the office; and he thinks a more skillful pilot might be found than this man who has a great gift for organization and for membership. But after all, this man is not the best man in America, and, Dr. Wise added, he did not think the best man in America could be found to do all that an Assistant to the President should do.

In conclusion Dr. Wise declared that there is nothing radical or extraordinary in the motion presented by Judge Fisher, and urged that the Executive adopt the motion without any further delay.

Judge Fisher's motion was then put to a vote and was adopted.

Messrs. William I. Siegel, Charles Röss, Carl Shorman, and Meyer Levy asked to be recorded as voting against the motion.

REMOVAL OF Z.O.A. HEADQUARTERS:

Mr. Rucker reported that a Committee representing the Z.O.A., U.P.A., and J.N.F. had met to consider the question of moving the offices of the three organizations to the same building, in accordance with a previous decision of the Executive. Mr. Montor, on behalf of the U.P.A., subsequently signed a lease for the U.P.A. to rent space in the Liggett's Building located at 41 East 42nd Street, and the U.P.A. is preparing to move there by April 1st. Mr. Margulies and Mr. Rucker had looked at space available in the same building with a view to having the Z.O.A. move there too; however, the rental is \$1.75 a square foot, which is considerably more than the Z.O.A. now pays at 111 Fifth Avenue. They also examined space available in other office buildings, but thus far have found nothing suitable.

Mr. Rucker wondered whether the Executive ought not rescind its decision to move the headquarters of the Z.O.A., since its intention was to have the three Organizations move together, and the U.P.A. has already arranged to move to a building where the rental is too high for the Z.O.A.

Mr. Lipsky felt that the Z.O.A. offices ought to be moved. He believed that the Z.O.A. could manage to get along with less space, and thus reduce the total rental costs. He suggested that the Z.O.A. headquarters should be removed to the same building with the U.P.A.

Mr. Resser thereupon moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the Finance Committee be authorized to rent space in the Liggett's Building, at the cheapest possible rate.

The meeting adjourned after midnight.

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE, THURSDAY, MARCH 21, 1940
8:30 P.M. AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, BROADWAY AND 44TH STREET, N.Y.C.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), Messrs. David Berenstein, Robert M. Bernstein, Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Dr. A. K. Epstein, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Murray Gurfein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Mordecai Konowitz, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Carl Sherman, Simon Shetzer, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. de Sola Pool (representing Hadassah); Matthew Huttner (representing Masada); Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah).

Excuses for Absence were received from Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Harris J. Levine and Judge Julian W. Mack.

Dr. Goldman in opening the meeting stated that he had called this special meeting of the Executive for the purpose of continuing with the business left unfinished at the last regular meeting on March 13th.

PAID PROPAGANDISTS: Mr. Rocker then presented the second recommendation, namely, that all paid propagandists on the payroll of the Z.O.A. be removed; that wherever arrangements are made with individuals for remuneration, these arrangements be on an individual basis, for work and services rendered.

In answer to an inquiry made by Mr. Charles Ress as to who are the paid propagandists of the Z.O.A., the Secretary stated that Mr. Abraham Goldberg was the only propagandist on the payroll of the Z.O.A.

A motion to refer the matter to the Commission on Reorganization was defeated by a vote of 14 to 9.

Judge Fisher made the following substitute motion, which was adopted. **THAT** all arrangements that now exist with paid propagandists be terminated as of the first of October; that the President now appoint a Committee to negotiate with Mr. Abraham Goldberg for any arrangements that should be made for the future.

The Chairman stated that the Committee to be appointed will report at the next Executive meeting.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Judge Fisher then presented a further motion, as follows: **THAT** the President be authorized to appoint a Committee which, acting with the advice of the President, should look for and find some person to be appointed as Executive Director; the Committee to report at the next meeting, or, at the latest, at the May meeting of the Executive, the result of its labors, together with the conditions of employment of the Executive Director, including the salary to be paid, tenure of office, etc., etc.

A long discussion ensued, in which it was pointed out that the proposal required a Constitutional amendment, there being no provision in the Constitution for an Executive Director, but only for a Secretary, who presumably is exercising the functions of an Executive Director. It was also urged that the proposal should properly come for consideration by the Reorganization Commission and action by the next Convention. On the other hand, it was stated that the proposal involved a reform which had been too long delayed and by immediate action the Executive would bring about its accomplishment. Dr. Goldman concluded the discussion by urging favorable action on the motion. Judge Fisher's motion was adopted by ~~the~~ majority vote.

REMOVAL OF Z.O.A. OFFICES: Mr. Rocker reported that a Committee representing the Z.O.A., U.P.A. and J.N.F. had met to consider the question of moving, in accordance with a previous decision of the Executive, since it was the feeling that the three organizations should move to the same building, if not on the same floor. Mr. Montor subsequently signed a lease for the U.P.A. at the Liggett's Building, located at 41 East 42nd Street, and the U.P.A. will move to that building by April 1st. Mr. Margulies and Mr. Rocker looked at some space in the same building, but the rental is \$1.75 a square foot which is considerably more than the Z.O.A. is paying at present. Mr. Rocker and Mr. Margulies also looked at space available in other office buildings, but could find nothing suitable.

Since it was the intention that the three organizations move together, and the U.P.A. has already moved and the Z.O.A. finds the rental in the Liggett's Building too high, Mr. Rocker wondered whether the decision to move the Z.O.A. offices should not be rescinded.

Mr. Ress moved, and it was seconded and carried, THAT the Finance Committee be authorized to rent space in the Liggett's Building, at the cheapest rate possible.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

New England Zionist Region

600 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.



ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

TELEPHONE
DEVONSHIRE 6966

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
401 SLATER BUILDING
WORCESTER, MASS.

March 25, 1940

PRESIDENT
JOSEPH GOLDBERG

LIFE HONORARY PRESIDENT
HON. ELIHU D. STONE

HONORARY PRESIDENTS
BENJAMIN F. EVARTS
RALPH F. BASS

VICE-PRESIDENTS
HON. SAMUEL BARNET
LOUIS E. BROWN
DR. FRANCES BURNCE
ELDAR MARKSON
MYER MINSKY
RABBI JOSEPH S. SHUBOW
DEWEY D. STONE
JULIUS STONE
ALBERT H. WOOLFSON

SECRETARY
ISADORE H. Y. MUCHNICK

TREASURER
BERNARD W. MARCUS

FINANCE COMMITTEE
JACOB RABINOVITZ, CHAIRMAN
SAMUEL CAPLOE
ELDAR MARKSON

AUDITOR
GEORGE GOULD

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JACOB COHEN
DR. ROBERT I. DIAMOND
MAURICE ELUTO
SAMUEL GALIS
DR. JOSEPH GITTER
I. GLASER
CECIL R. GORDON
J. S. GORDON
SAMUEL GREEN
ADOLPH HUBBARD
MAX KABATZNICK
HARRY LEVINE
DR. MOSES W. LEVINSON-LOVI
MAX NIGROSH
HON. LOUIS A. NOVINS
JACOB PROMBOIM
HON. DAVID A. ROSE
BERNARD ROSENBERG
LOUIS RUDNICK
LOUIS B. SCHILLER
MENDELL M. SELIG
BENJAMIN M. SIEGEL
BENNETT SILVERBLATT
DR. A. H. STONE
ELI STONE
JOSEPH TALAMO

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS
CARL ALPERT
DAVID CHASE
JOSEPH NEIPRIS

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

It may be still early for me to write to you, but I know how heavy your schedule is and I wish to take this opportunity of extending to you an invitation to be our guest speaker at the annual New England Regional Convention to be held about the middle of June.

We are planning an unusual gathering this year and we trust that you will be able to be with us.

An honorarium has been set aside for your use. I do hope that you will be able to visit with us.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Goldberg
Joseph Goldberg, President

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING. SUNDAY. APRIL 14, 1940. 10:00 A.M.
AT THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL, 9TH AND CHESTNUT STS., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PRESENT: Dr. Solomon Goldman (in the Chair), Messrs. David Berenstein, Robert M. Bernstein, Charles A. Cowen, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Mordecai Konowitz, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Louis Lipsky, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Simon Shetzer, William I. Siegel, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg; Mrs. Tamar de Sola Pool (representing Hadassah); Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah; Nathaniel Cohen (representing Masada).

Excuses for Absence received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Dr. A. K. Epstein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Carl Sherman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

The meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M., with Dr. Solomon Goldman in the Chair.

The Chairman announced that the presentation of the Secretary's report would be postponed, at the request of the Secretary, to the session of the Administrative Council in the afternoon, since it was assumed that the members of the Executive would remain for that meeting.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Louis Lipsky (as Chairman of the Reorganization Commission) to report on the session of the Commission held Saturday night, April 13th. (The understanding was that the report of the Commission was to come before the Executive.)

REPORT OF REORGANIZATION COMMISSION:

Mr. Lipsky stated that the resolution adopted by the Commission on Reorganization had not as yet been formulated. He reported that at the Oneg Shabbath Saturday afternoon, general proposals were submitted and elaborately discussed. A formal meeting of the Commission was held in the evening. The matters discussed were divided into two categories relating to: (1) coordination with other Zionist organizations and institutions; and (2) inner structural changes in the Z.O.A. itself. Two meetings of the sub-committees were held,-- one under the Chairmanship of Mr. Israel Chipkin who acted for two of the sub-committees in the absence of Dr. Holler; and the other, under the Chairmanship of Judge Fisher. The latter dealt with the structural changes in the Z.O.A.

Insofar as the Committee on Coordination is concerned, it appeared that there was fundamental agreement, practically unanimous, that there should be appointed by the Executive, a permanent committee which should endeavor to establish contact with all Zionist organizations and institutions in the United States, with a view to the coordination of activities wherever such coordination is feasible. This had no relation to the possibilities of cooperation with governing bodies of these institutions, but had relation specifically to the activities undertaken by those groups, regarding them as corporate units in themselves. Furthermore, this Permanent Coordinating Committee was to explore

the possibilities for the establishment of a permanent union of Zionist organizations, or a permanent federation of Zionist groups and organizations, to see whether some sort of arrangement could be reached jointly with the counsel and consent of these organizations.

Mr. Lipsky reported further that a plan was submitted to the Commission with regard to formal adoption by the Z.O.A. of the principle of union of all the Zionist organizations in America, -- the union to be permanent and based upon Constitutional lines. It was felt by the Commission, after the discussion, that this extreme proposal could not be followed, but that a more moderate position may be taken with regard to the idea of union, which is reflected in the appointment of this Committee on Coordination to probe the possibilities.

The Chairman suggested that Mr. Lipsky give some of the background that prompted the Commission to adopt this action.

Mr. Lipsky stated that it was his contention at the beginning of the discussions of the Commission that all attempts to establish order in the Z.O.A. were dependent upon the possibility of establishing order in the Zionist movement; that many of the problems that confronted the Z.O.A. would be solved if we were to establish, in a union of all of the Zionist organizations in America, a certain understanding and control of Zionist affairs. That position, it was felt, the Z.O.A. should not take just now. Instead of taking the position of definitely stating that we believe in such a union, it was agreed that there should be a Committee appointed to probe the possibilities and to look into the conditions under which such a union could be established.

Mr. Lipsky expressed the opinion that our perplexity in connection with most of the matters in Zionist life in the United States ~~is~~ is due to the multiplicity of activity, in which there is a great deal of disorder. If we were to establish order in this multiplicity of activity with which the Zionist Organization is continuously related, a great deal of the disorder in the Zionist Organization would disappear.

We may think - Mr. Lipsky continued - that in certain organizations and institutions there is no inclination for this cooperation, but if the Z.O.A. would take a position in the matter and come with a firm determination to the conclusion that this is a desirable thing, it would have an immense effect upon other organizations.

The Commission on Reorganization unanimously agreed that a Permanent Committee on Coordination be set up by the Executive, leaving this Committee to carry the proposition further; it avoided a decision on this matter in principle.

With regard to the proposals relating to the Z.O.A. reorganization, these were presented in a report that was given by Judge Fisher and had to do with certain changes in structure; some of them might involve changes in the Constitution; some of them may be adopted in the form of Resolutions at the forthcoming Convention. These proposals dealt with the question of the establishment of Regions on a permanent Constitutional basis, the method of the election of the Administrative Council, and certain other incidental questions. That sub-committee (on structural changes) is to continue to function, with the understanding that it is to meet several times before May 25th and be prepared to submit, in time for the Convention, such Constitutional changes as it contemplates recommending.

Insofar as the report of this sub-committee is concerned, it is to be presented to the Executive, instead of to the Commission; so that, for all practical purposes, the Commission on Reorganization has adjourned sine die, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our work is completed.

The Executive is required to act with regard to the appointment of the Permanent Committee on Coordination; as well as to act on the recommendation that the report of Judge Fisher's sub-committee is to be given to the Executive and be ready before May 25th.

The Chairman suggested that the reports of the two sub-committees be separated, since they are virtually two reports. He explained that the absence of Dr. Heller from the meetings of the Commission, necessitated the merging of two of the sub-committees into one. Supplementing Mr. Lipsky's report the Chairman stated that, after long deliberation, the Commission had accepted the proposal as set forth above by Mr. Lipsky.

In order to convey the totality of the picture, Dr. Goldstein called attention to the fact that much of the discussions of the Commission centered upon the need of a greater measure of discipline in our own ranks, a greater sense of organizational responsibility, and a greater effort to attend the meetings of those other bodies, so that the Z.O.A. as such might function more ably and more effectively in those deliberations. Furthermore, it was agreed generally, regardless of the attitude toward any formula of organization, that the Z.O.A. could well afford to emulate the example set by some of the other Zionist bodies, in the vigilant and persistent manner in which they carry out their responsibilities. From this Executive there should go forth a strengthened sense of discipline that will redound to the benefit of the Z.O.A., and in the interest of a more orderly and more effective Zionist movement.

Mr. Ress moved

THAT Mr. Lipsky's report on behalf of the Reorganization Commission be accepted.

The motion was seconded.

Mr. Siegel moved an amendment

THAT a written report should be rendered one week prior to the meeting of the Executive at which the report will be submitted.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that Judge Fisher's sub-committee is to report to the Executive before the 25th of May.

The Chairman stated that Judge Fisher's sub-committee is the only remaining sub-committee to report, and it is that report which the Executive would want a week before the meeting.

Mr. Abraham Goldstein inquired as to whether the report outlined by Mr. Lipsky represents an accurate picture of what the Reorganization Commission intends to do; also, whether Mr. Lipsky's report completes the work of the Commission on Reorganization and no other problems confronting the Zionist movement will be dealt with by the Commission.

The Chairman stated that the Commission, when named, was to consider two questions: one extra-curricula, and the other concerned with the Z.O.A. At the meeting of the Commission it was felt that the first task naturally involves all of the other organizations within the Zionist movement, and that the Commission could only go so far as to initiate action. That business of the Commission is completed. The Commission has only one other task to perform, namely, the consideration of structural changes within the Z.O.A. The subcommittee of the Commission dealing with that question has not finished its work, and it cannot -- because of this point of reference -- go beyond what it was appointed to do. When it has completed its task, instead of reporting to the Commission, it will have to report to the Executive.

Mr. Lipsky explained that the Reorganization Commission goes out of existence, with the exception of that part of the Commission represented by Judge Fisher's sub-committee. That does not preclude the presentation of any proposal dealing with reorganization outside of the Commission, in the Executive, or at the Convention; but insofar as the Reorganization Commission is concerned, as well as insofar as the President's Memorandum on Reorganization, and the Survey Committee Report submitted by Mr. Ross two years ago are concerned -- all these matters that were involved and that were submitted have been absorbed through the action recommended and by the existence of Judge Fisher's sub-committee. Judge Fisher's Commission is not a roving Commission either; it has limited its observations to certain things that relate to the governmental machinery of the Zionist Organization, such as the matter of Regions, the method of election of members of the Administrative Council, and the Executive, and similar matters. These matters are in the control of the Convention.

Mr. Shetzer inquired whether, in speaking of coordination of Zionist bodies, all parallel Zionist groups are included, such as the Poale-Zion, Mizrachi, Hadassah, U.P.A., J.N.F., etc.

The answer was in the affirmative. Mr. Shetzer then pointed out that the U.P.A. and J.N.F. are themselves coordinated bodies in which the Zionist parties are already represented, and asked whether it is intended to have coordination of those parallel groups which include within them the institutions which themselves represent coordinated groups.

The Chairman stated that that was part of the discussion of the Reorganization Commission, and was referred to time and again. Mr. Shetzer's inquiry, he said, simply called attention to the fact that the matter is not quite as simple as it sounds in the motion presented. But that too -- the fact that several coordinated bodies exist and there is still no coordination, and that there are parallel bodies that are outside of any claim of coordination -- is to be considered by the Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Lipsky maintained that there is coordination in the activities of the Keren Hayesod and Jewish National Fund. His contention was that there has to be created a "dach" organization in which all these coordinations would be united, because each body exists at present for itself. One group exists in the Z.O.A., one in the Keren Hayesod, another in the Political Committee, and another in the Palestine Committee. Therefore, we have to create a federation of activities under some constitutional control for these institutions and activities in which we are already represented, because that control in the Keren Hayesod and in the National Fund is not a coordinated control; it is a

separate control, and our own people, representing us in these institutions, act as obstacles in the way of cooperation and coordination. There is no authority over and above them that looks at the whole question from a unified point of view.

Rabbi Miller observed that the resolution indicates a pious wish on our part; it orders the Executive to appoint a Permanent Committee whose function it shall be to coordinate if possible among the various parties, those activities within the Zionist movement, that ought to be coordinated. The resolution does not represent from our point of view a call to the other parties to do the very same thing that we are setting about to do now. Rabbi Miller suggested that a much more effective proposal would be

THAT the Executive shall be directed to request every Party and every fund-raising agency, in conjunction with the Z.O.A., to appoint permanent committees, all of which together should constitute a Coordinating Committee of all the parties, for the purpose of coordination of those activities within the fund-raising bodies and the parties that can be coordinated.

Rabbi Miller added that it is one thing to appoint a committee which is merely a committee to get in touch with the other parties and to ask them to name similar coordinating committees; but it is quite another thing for such a request to come officially from the Z.O.A. The Z.O.A. is willing to take the initiative in such coordination. It therefore should invite every Zionist body to appoint a committee of two or three, together with the Z.O.A. to constitute a permanent coordinating committee of the Zionist bodies, for the purpose of keeping check and exercising coordination in every single matter that demands coordination. Rabbi Miller further suggested that a statement embodying this suggestion be publicized in the press.

The Chairman pointed out that Rabbi Miller's proposal is merely a re-statement of Mr. Lipsky's second motion made at the meeting of the Reorganization Commission Saturday night; that after Mr. Lipsky had made his motion, and after it was discussed, there was a further motion that it be recommended to the other organizations.

Rabbi Miller explained that he did not imply a federation of organizations, but rather a coordination of those activities within the fund-raising bodies and the parties that can be coordinated, and he believed that this will not be achieved by merely the Z.O.A. appointing a coordinating committee.

The Chairman felt that Rabbi Miller had misunderstood the recommendation of the Reorganization Commission.

Mr. Lipsky explained that the intention was that the Committee on Coordination should get in touch with the program and the activities of the other organizations and immediately invite committees from those bodies; whereas, Rabbi Miller's proposal is that the Z.O.A. should approach these bodies in a wholesale way. Mr. Lipsky thought it would not be advisable to make it dependent upon a wholesale approach to the situation, pointing out that what can be achieved with the Keren Hayesod cannot be so easily done with the National Fund, Mizrachi, or Poale Zion, but that as soon as they are brought together, it will be found that we will not get coordination from any one of them because of the formal unity thus created against the whole idea.

Mr. Szold pointed out that two coordinating sub-committees were originally appointed in the Reorganization Commission: (1) the sub-Committee on Coordination of the fund-raising activities, under the Chairmanship of Rabbi Heller; (2) The Coordinating Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Israel Chipkin, which was to deal with the cooperation and co-ordination of the various parties. Mr. Szold believed it would assist in the understanding of the situation if those two sub-committees and two functions were kept separate for the time being. Because of Rabbi Heller's absence from the meetings of the Commission, the two committees and their discussions were consolidated. This served to lengthen the discussions of the Commission which might otherwise have been shorter.

Mr. Szold then spoke of the general feeling prevailing that duplication and confusion exists in the Zionist Districts because they receive material simultaneously from the J.N.F., ~~and~~ the U.P.A. and the Z.O.A. However, it was felt that the Keren Hayesod and the J.N.F. could find a remedy between themselves if the Z.O.A. would take the lead in the matter and instruct its representatives on the Boards of the J.N.F. and the K.H. to work for the co-ordination of the three bodies and the elimination of the existing confusion.

As for the coordination of the various organizations, that is subject to analysis in a variety of ways. One plan is the so-called Ben Gurion, or Territorial Organization, which calls for the complete elimination of all the existing Zionist organizations and the creation of one all-embracing Zionist Organization which all the others must join. Secondly, there is the idea of having a union - not of membership consolidation, but a federation of existing organizations, which federation would coordinate activities, and at the same time leave the separate organizations intact. The immediate question that arises is the basis on which the coordination is to be worked out, -- that is, what is to be the "Schlissel" in a federation of the Z.O.A., Poale Zion, Mizrachi, and Hadassah? If a "Schlissel" is worked out by which the Z.O.A. gets a 50% basis, that basis could be accepted throughout the country.

A third proposal, Mr. Szold recalled, was that a real plan for a union or federation could be developed after a thorough study of the programs, membership, functions, and Constitutions of the various Zionist organizations. Taking into account all of the foregoing, the Commission recommended the appointment of a coordinating committee to begin functioning without waiting for any large scheme of coordination. The Commission felt that the Z.O.A. could not yet take the step of saying that there should be a territorial organization. The proposed Committee on Coordination is to gather all the facts and to report to the Executive, with a view to ascertaining exactly along what lines the union of forces can be worked out.

Mr. Ress agreed entirely with Mr. Szold's analysis. He observed that the second part of the motion implied the creation of some form of machinery (perhaps involving a Constitutional set-up) which was the very thing the Committee on Coordination was to discuss in conjunction with the other organizations. That is something which lies in the future. A great deal will have to be done before such activity and such a body comes into existence. The question arises as to what should be done in the meantime. Mr. Ress believed that we should not wait for coordination, but make an effort to bring order out of the confusion that exists. It appears then that the Coordinating Committee of the Z.O.A. is simply to be a committee which will contact other

organizations, particularly those organizations in which the Z.O.A. is directly represented. Mr. Ress pointed out that that Committee will be welcomed by both the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, because the coordination which it seeks to bring about is now being discussed by these bodies.

Mr. Ress further expressed the belief that coordination will not take the place of those other bodies, as some envisage, because it involves the question of parties and a great many activities which do not come within the purview of either the National Fund or the Keren Hayesod. Coordination ought to be brought about and it can be brought about immediately if the Z.O.A. will, first of all, educate its members and its governing bodies to the idea that the Z.O.A. must take a more direct interest in the activities of these organizations and actually function as Z.O.A. members within them. Such a step on the part of the Z.O.A. will be welcomed by the institutions, Mr. Ress asserted.

Mr. Ress also expressed the hope that in this general plan the question broached by Mr. Shetzer will be kept in mind. When we have real coordination these bodies themselves will remain the instruments through which the general activity is carried out; when that is achieved, the Keren Hayesod which needs building up, will have certain definite functions to perform in the Zionist scene in America.

Mr. Ress further urged that cognizance be taken of the fact that the Z.O.A. as the coordinating body, should keep the organizations alive and very vitally connected with the Z.O.A.

Dr. Goldstein pointed to the fact that the Commission in its discussions came to the conclusion that the Z.O.A. ought to feel its way in this matter before making any declarations or any formulation. He urged that the Executive approve the Commission's recommendation, namely:

THAT the Z.O.A. appoint a committee whose purpose it shall be to probe the possibilities of coordination.

When that Committee comes back with its report the Executive may decide what action to take.

Mr. Siegel observed that the only difference between Mr. Lipsky's and Rabbi Miller's proposals is the matter of procedure. He believed that if the Z.O.A. were to issue an invitation now to the other organizations, without first ascertaining their approval, the prestige of the Z.O.A. might be jeopardized by their refusal, and the success of the plan might be jeopardized by its not having been thoroughly canvassed. He did not regard the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth as particularly vital in this problem, pointing out that they are the beneficiaries of the labor of the other bodies; that such monies as are collected for the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth are collected by members of the Z.O.A., Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion, etc. Therefore, he believed the special emphasis on coordination, which to some extent will involve setting up authority, ought to be in sympathy with bodies like Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion.

In answer to Mr. Bernstein's inquiry as to whether the motion carried with it a suggestion as to the number of members the Coordinating Committee should consist of, the Chairman replied that that suggestion should be embodied in a separate motion.

of a desire for a round-table discussion were trances of oratory and had no basis in fact. His animosity toward the Zionist Organization, based upon a false impression he has, regarding discrimination against Revisionism in Palestine, was quite irrational.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the Z.O.A. Executive does not seem to react properly in the matter. Many of its members are writers and speakers; yet it is left entirely to the machinery of the Organization to provide a policy. In other parties and organizations -- if the party or the organization takes an attitude of antagonism or aggression toward the Revisionists -- immediately there are dozens of people ready to contribute to the thought that is involved in the controversy. This was not the case in the Z.O.A. Inaction on the part of Zionists with regard to important developments in the movement makes the expression of the Z.O.A. position very difficult.

The Chairman pointed out that the lack of reaction to Revisionism prior to and even after Jabotinsky's arrival, was due neither to negligence nor to accident, nor even to a crowded agenda. Our position at one time was that the less articulate we are on the subject of Revisionism the less we will advertise it. As a matter of fact, prior to the last meeting of the Emergency Committee which found it necessary to do something, the question had already been discussed and the consensus of opinion favored the above course.

Mr. Abraham Goldberg believed that the Executive had erred in not adopting an attitude toward various questions that arose in Zionism. Instead of leaving it to the Editors and speakers the matter should have been discussed and a decision reached by the Executive on this question. Mr. Goldberg added that he could recall no meeting of the Executive where the official Z.O.A. organs had been discussed, where attitudes toward various questions were discussed, or where directives were given to the editors. Dos Yiddish Folk did not comment on Jabotinsky at all, not knowing the attitude it was expected to assume. Mr. Goldberg stated that he had written two articles in the Morning Journal, but had refrained from writing on the subject in Dos Yiddish Folk.

Mr. Goldberg urged that the former practice be revived of including on the agenda of Executive meetings (1) a report of the J.N.F.; (2) a report of the U.P.A.; (3) a report on publications; (4) a report on Palestine immigration; those reports to be followed by discussion. Only in this way, Mr. Goldberg, believed, can policy be established.

Mr. Goldberg contended that the Jabotinsky matter is not within the purview of the Emergency Committee; that it should first have come before the Executive for a consensus of opinion; that it should then have been referred to the Emergency Committee to sound the opinions of the Mizrachi, Poale Zion, Hadassah, and to ascertain the possibilities of issuing a general as well as separate statement. While there should be a general statement, such a statement is bound to reveal the attack; but if the Z.O.A. were to come out against Revisionism, it would be much stronger than if the Poale-Zion came out against it. Mr. Goldberg advised against the idea of coordination in the matter of propaganda, if the Z.O.A. is to maintain its identity.

Commenting further on the Chairman's report on the Emergency Committee, Mr. Goldberg expressed the thought that the work among German Zionist immigrants was not the task of the Emergency Committee, but rather that of the individual organizations -- Z.O.A., Poale Zion, and Mizrachi -- for eventually the German immigrants will become members of one of these organizations.

Mr. Goldberg recalled that some time ago the Executive recommended that the Emergency Committee be expanded. As at present constituted, the Emergency Committee is not adequately representative. Mr. Goldberg asked what had happened to this recommendation.

With regard to the Washington Bureau, Mr. Goldberg expressed dissatisfaction with the Bureau and with what he regarded as the haphazard fashion and lack of policy in publishing pamphlets. There is no Editorial Board to formulate policy. The pamphlet containing a reprint of the Land Restriction speeches is untimely because the public is busy with much larger affairs. Because of the lack of editorial guidance, pamphlets are being printed or reprinted without consideration of the needs of the moment. The Emergency Committee is about to publish a pamphlet on the Jabotinsky matter. Mr. Goldberg reminded those present that the Emergency Committee is a Political Committee and as such should deal with the emergency which arises out of the political situation. This does not include the Jabotinsky problem which will be with us for years. A brochure to prove that Palestine can absorb all the refugees and that there is room for millions of Jews, is more important at this time than the Jabotinsky question.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Goldberg formulated his proposals as follows: (1) That the Emergency Committee should be extended and enlarged to become a real Council which should include the non-Zionists; (2) that an Editorial Board be set up to formulate policy and give guidance to the Washington Bureau in connection with its publications.

Mr. Ross agreed in large part with Mr. Goldberg's remarks. He felt that, while much is being said about the confusion and lack of order in Zionist life, the Emergency Committee itself is spreading confusion among Zionists. In the first place, the name "Emergency" Committee is a misnomer; for it is not an "emergency" committee and is not acting as such. Therefore, to hold itself forth for Zionists to think about it as an "emergency" committee and then to report on activities that are not emergency activities, is bound to create confusion in the minds of Zionists in this country. The Emergency Committee is an arm of the World Zionist Organization, appointed by the World Zionist Organization, and accountable to the World Zionist Organization. Mr. Ross could see no reason for the existence of such a body in this country. If an emergency existed which represented a breakdown in the machinery of the World Zionist Organization, there would be need of such a body in this country. But there is no breakdown. When the war started it was feared that the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem would not be able to continue to function as heretofore. The Emergency Committee in this country sprang into existence in the same way. Therefore, as a representative of the World Zionist Organization placed in our midst, it creates confusion. It is practically disfranchising the Zionists of America; it is taking their work away from them; and is one of the worst elements of disorder in the American and Zionist scene. If such a body is to continue to exist it ought to be strictly representative, Mr. Ross added.

Commenting on Mr. Lipsky's statement that members of the Executive do not react as they should, Mr. Ross attributed this to the prevailing sentiment that policy is being made by the few people who are sitting in the Emergency Committee. In concluding his remarks, Mr. Ross declared that the Emergency Committee -- which is not an emergency committee -- is an anomalous thing in our midst today, and he suggested that one of the first steps in the direction of bringing order

into the Zionist movement was to bring order out of that anomalous instrument. Mr. Röss also believed that Mr. Goldberg's suggestion with regard to enlarging the Political Committee is very pertinent and that if given a little thought and consideration ~~it~~ would result in much more intelligent thinking among Zionists.

Judge Fisher agreed with much that was said, except for the last remark - that there is no need for the Emergency Committee in its present form. He believed there is need for it, and that in the event of the absence of the Emergency Committee, a part of the World Zionist Executive ought to be in this country. He believed it was wrong, however, for the Emergency Committee, to undertake on its own initiative to do Zionist work in America. The Emergency Committee should act for the World Zionist Organization; much of its work should be directed to the Zionists of America, and should be carried on through the existing Zionist agencies. Judge Fisher agreed with the statement made that the work in connection with the German Zionists should have come before the Executive; that the Emergency Committee should have adopted a policy and turned over this work to the existing organizations. Finally, he thought, there ought to be in writing a statement of what the relationship is between the Emergency Committee and the other organizations.

Judge Fisher felt that the Zionists ought to initiate an immediate plan for a scholarly study of the whole Jewish problem, in preparation for the Peace Conference. The work should be divided into two functions: (1) to gather all available factual material on the Jews of the world, so that, from time to time, we would let the world know what the situation is and watch the changes that come about. (2) to study the aims and the demands we want to present to the world. All this ought to be prepared by scholars -- not Jews alone -- so that when the time comes to appear before the World Peace Conference, our facts will have been gathered by men of authority, and our demands will be properly formulated. The details in connection with that work are many. That is a piece of work which the Zionists ought to initiate and place, in detailed form, before the Emergency Committee.

Dr. Goldstein believed that the Emergency Committee was justified in coming into being. At the last Zionist Congress it was unanimously felt that something would have to be done to maintain Zionist authority in the United States at a time when the lines of communication with London and Jerusalem might be broken. It so happened that the state of alarm which overwhelmed the Congress was not justified by the needs of the immediate future. For the past six months the things that were expected to happen in international warfare did not happen. But that does not mean, Dr. Goldstein maintained, that the organization of the Emergency Committee was not justified. The Emergency Committee emerged out of a war psychosis. That state of affairs which was feared at that time, may come into being any day, because the war is certainly proceeding to a climax, and for that reason it would be foolish at this time to suggest that this Emergency Committee should cease to exist.

In answer to the question: Has the Emergency Committee functioned as such a Committee ought to function? Dr. Goldstein believed that had the war crisis developed as was expected, the Emergency Committee would have had so much to do that all of those collateral things that seem to us to belong now to the Z.O.A. and to the other parties, would never have come into the agenda. But, because of the nature of the situation, it was only natural that a Committee

already formed, with a budget of expense at its disposal, should perhaps unconsciously gravitate to a certain number of activities which strictly speaking, do not belong to it.

Dr. Goldstein believed that the root of the difficulty lies in the fact that this Executive was not taken into the full confidence of the Emergency Committee. ~~Dr. Goldstein was inclined to believe~~ ^{He thought} that Hadassah, Poale Zion, and to some extent Mizrachi, have a fuller sense of participation in the business of the Emergency Committee than the Z.O.A. has. If that is the root of the difficulty which accounts for our discontent and confusion, it is certainly something which can be easily remedied, ~~Dr. Goldstein thought~~. It should not be difficult for the President to present a report to the Executive periodically. If that is done, the Executive will, in the course of time, develop greater confidence and a greater sense of participation in the business of this very important Committee which must not be permitted to go out of existence.

Mr. Ross asked whether Dr. Goldstein meant that these matters should be presented to the Executive as a fait accompli.

Dr. Goldstein replied that he thought there are some things which cannot wait, if they are really emergencies. On the other hand, if it is the kind of an emergency that can wait for a meeting of the Executive -- the results to be brought back and the reaction of the other parties correlated -- it is not the kind of an emergency which he had contemplated as a possibility. There are other questions, such as the Revisionist question, which certainly ought to come before the Executive for a full discussion, and there are many other problems on the agenda of the Emergency Committee that could well wait until the other parties are ready to react to them.

Dr. Goldstein felt that the Emergency Committee is that coordinating body, in effect, which many of those present are talking about as a desideratum. And because there is such a coordinating body, and for the lack of any other coordinating body, it is only inevitable that some of these questions should come to the attention of the Emergency Committee.

Mr. Lipsky felt that Dr. Goldstein had presented an objective view of the situation. He recalled that the Emergency Committee was the result of anxieties and prognostications which prevailed in international Zionist circles with regard to what would happen should war break out, and that the matter was discussed at the Geneva Congress. Many of the organizations were preparing for the transfer of their archives over a year and a half ago; they thought that at any moment war was going to break out. Mr. Lipsky pointed out that from the Zionist point of view the political affairs of the Zionist Organization ~~was~~ ^{are} exclusively in the hands of the World Zionist Executive, and from a legal point of view and from an organization point of view, Dr. Weizmann and his co-workers in the Executive are supposed to be directing political activity everywhere. What they were considering at the time they talked of the appointment of the Emergency Committee in the United States was to have an arm of the Executive in the United States, receiving instructions from the Executive and working in close contact with the Executive in the determination of policy. It was felt that inevitably a situation was about to develop which would bring into play the execution of policies which are determined by the whole Zionist movement. That is why there was an arbitrary action taken by the Executive, overriding every precedent in Zionist statutes and ordering the setting up of the Emergency Committee. A group of men were ordered to organize that arm of the Executive to take care of such emergencies which the Executive itself would not be able to execute.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that Palestine is now about fifty percent closed; and the instructions that come from Palestine and from London indicate that there is a certain field in which the Zionist Executive is unable to operate. The Emergency Committee was set up to meet that situation. One is unjustified in stating that, since the Emergency Committee was formed for that purpose and there was an inter-party arrangement with the Poale Zion and Mizrachi, this Emergency Committee should cease to exist because it does not fit in with our original version of what the Emergency Committee should be.

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As for the German question, Mr. Lipsky explained that this work should have been done by the Z.O.A., but the funds were not available and the situation was growing more acute every day. On the other hand, the Emergency Committee had the means to finance the work among the German Zionists in this country and there was no objection to its doing so on the part of any of the Zionist parties. Therefore, Mr. Lipsky saw no reason for raising the constitutional point that the Emergency Committee should not do this work.

With regard to the point made that the Z.O.A. representatives on the Emergency Committee are tied up with every activity of the Zionist movement, -- some of them, heads of fund-raising organizations, etc. -- Mr. Lipsky pointed out that if there had been a constitutional arrangement by which no action could be taken without the consent of the organizations represented, those representatives could not act without some kind of a directive. But the fact is that the Poale Zion and Mizrachi representatives on the Emergency Committee have the authority to commit their organizations. The Poale Zion and Mizrachi had agreed that if they were granted two representatives on the Emergency Committee, they would abide by any decision arrived at by the Emergency Committee. The Z.O.A. representatives also would have been compelled to make decisions in the Emergency Committee, on their own responsibility, without having recourse to the Z.O.A. Executive. This does not present a difficult situation, Mr. Lipsky maintained, because in emergency matters decisions must be made. Mr. Lipsky also expressed the opinion that in all probability in the course of the next few months the whole complexion of the Emergency Committee will have to change as a result of international developments.

In concluding his remarks Mr. Lipsky pointed out that at the meetings of the Emergency Committee there has been a consensus of opinion on many matters. He concurred with Dr. Goldstein that the structure of the Emergency Committee should be completed, and urged that, whether or not it is legally or constitutionally a part of the Z.O.A., the Emergency Committee be made a part of the business of the Z.O.A.; and that reports be submitted to the Executive. Whether action has already been taken or is being contemplated, is immaterial, provided the Z.O.A. representatives on the Emergency Committee have in mind opinions that are prevalent among the members of the Executive. In general, Mr. Lipsky thought the Emergency Committee has performed a very useful purpose.

Mr. Cowen observed that the Emergency Committee has taken on the functions of the Z.O.A. as a whole and he felt that this situation must be remedied. With regard to the Revisionist situation, Mr. Cowen said, in his travels throughout the country he found that in many of the cities the Zionists did not know what to do when the Revisionists asked for funds from the Welfare Chests. He urged that it is the business of the Z.O.A. to hamper any such effort on the part of the Revisionists, who should not be strengthened or enabled to carry on work that is not in their prerogative. They had a committee in Cleveland that

misrepresented the entire situation, and some of our less-informed Zionists were endeavoring to obtain funds for them. That is a situation which should not have obtained in the United States. In some cities it is not doubt too late to alter it, but in the other communities the situation should be made clear to the Zionists. It is evident, Mr. Cowen asserted, that there has not been the proper impact upon the minds of the Zionists with regard to this situation, and he urged that the Districts be given definite and complete instructions with regard to the Revisionist matter.

The Chairman said that he welcomed all constructive or objective criticism; he resented, however, insinuations and subtle personal references. With regard to the matters that he has had to deal with ever since he stepped into the Organization -- whether it concerned persons or issues -- he spoke of the persons or issues with absolute frankness and honesty. He regretted to say that some of the Zionists had not acted in like manner. If, instead of a member of this Executive setting out to criticize the present Administration in the public press, he would concern himself with the actual facts in the situation and would even differ in every conceivable way, Dr. Goldman said, he would have no objection.

Dr. Goldman said further that Rabbi Brickner wanted to write a reply (to the articles) for him, and that he had wired Rabbi Brickner that this is unworthy of a reply; and, to the Editor of the paper who publishes these articles, Dr. Goldman had sent one of his books. Personally, Dr. Goldman added, these things mean nothing to him, but he resented that they do not deal with the situation directly.

Referring to Mr. Goldberg's criticism earlier in the meeting, with regard to the lack of an editorial board in connection with the publications issued by the Washington Bureau, the Chairman asked: There is the Editorial Board of The New Palestine? Why didn't Mr. Goldberg raise the question of an editorial board three or seven years ago, or the whole of last year. No one raised the question. As a matter of fact -- Dr. Goldman pointed out ~~that~~ in his Memorandum on Reorganization and Departmentalization he had recommended the establishment of an editorial board.

Dr. Goldman said further that his relationship to the Emergency Committee is not so personal that he has to defend it or censure it. Much of what has been said at this Executive meeting is perfectly correct -- there is no question about it, -- the manner in which the Emergency Committee was called into existence, the definition of its authority. As to the authority it has or does not have, all of it is unsettled. This matter has been discussed extensively by the Emergency Committee itself. It may be that we should have asked our friends in London and in Jerusalem for a definition, but we thought we should grope our way.

In answer to Judge Fisher, the Chairman stated that the Emergency Committee has not elected a Secretary or a Director who could give the Committee his full time or attention. The Committee has imposed upon Mr. Samuel Caplan, who is busy editing The New Palestine which in itself is a task. Mr. Caplan gives his spare time and energy to the Emergency Committee and he does his best.

Dr. Goldman took exception to the statement that there have been no reports of the Emergency Committee presented to the Executive. In going through the

records it will be discovered, he said, that out of the six or seven meetings held since the Emergency Committee was founded, only two meetings omitted the Emergency Committee from the agenda; that at every meeting -- soon after Mr. Margulies gave his report -- he (Dr. Goldman) gave his report which was always a report on the activities of the Emergency Committee. There was always discussion on the report and there was always disagreement as to what the Emergency Committee does or does not do. The recommendation of the Executive that there be established a Council or prop to the Emergency Committee was adopted by the Emergency Committee; then a counter-proposal was made that, in place of this Council, an institute be established and that fifty or sixty Zionists from all over America be brought together to deal with the question of Arab-Jewish relations and all of the major political questions. The proposal was discussed and voted upon, but it was not acted upon because of the limitation of time and energy of the seven or eight people on the Committee.

It is not correct to imply, Dr. Goldman said, that we did not keep the Districts of the country informed with regard to the Revisionist fund. We did draft a statement which was sent out to all the organizations and to all the Districts, informing them that, no matter what name Revisionists travel under, they were still Revisionists.

It may be, Dr. Goldman agreed, that some of the activities do not belong in the Emergency Committee. But after all, the Emergency Committee does happen to have seven representatives of this body. It also has worthy representation from Hadassah, Poale Zion, and Mizrachi, and they too might be trusted to know whether the things that they are undertaking are absolutely pertinent. While politically or organizationally there were no major problems as a result of the war, there were other problems, which it would have taken a long time for the individual organizations to act upon, and those problems the Emergency Committee rightly stepped in to deal with. Evidently, Dr. Goldman added, the President of the World Zionist Organization, after spending six weeks in this country, was so impressed with the Emergency Committee that he wanted to extend it to include also non-Zionists.

Answering the criticism with regard to the Bulletins issued by the American Zionist Bureau at Washington, D.C., Dr. Goldman said it may be true that the Bulletins do not meet the purpose, but added that thousands of letters were received from leading personalities in American Christian life, speaking of the Bulletins in the highest terms of praise. At a recent meeting of the Emergency Committee the Hadassah representative suggested that they be universally spread. Dr. Goldman here pointed out that in reporting on the Bulletin he had said that it was felt that the Bulletin should begin dealing with the more immediate political problems and that an effort is being made in that direction. No one regarded the form or the underlying conception of these Bulletins as anything permanent, he said. There is need of editorial and publication committees everywhere in our whole field of work, he felt. Both Rabbi Breslau and he had worked on the Bulletins, and, under the circumstances, and with the means at their disposal, they did the very best they could. The Emergency Committee and every member on it, and the Washington Bureau, welcome every criticism and every suggestion, Dr. Goldman added.

Referring to the articles published in The Day, Dr. Goldman expressed the opinion that these articles were written "cooperatively" in as much as the writer received information of a confidential nature.

Dr. Goldman also said he was surprised to receive a letter from Mr. David Wertheim with the statement that the Palestine Department does not belong to the Z.O.A. but to the Jewish Agency. Dr. Goldman said this information was news to him, since for the last two years no one informed him thereof.

Mr. William I. Siegel moved, and it was seconded

THAT the Executive give a vote of confidence to the Emergency Committee.

Mr. Goldberg rose to state that he had no part in the publication of the aforementioned articles, denying categorically any insinuation to the contrary. He added that he regretted the publication of these articles. He resented the fact that the Chairman had created the impression that his criticism with regard to the Emergency Committee was a continuation of that campaign.

Mrs. Pool did not think it was fair, if Mr. Goldberg did not write the articles, to give the impression that he did.

The Chairman explained that Mr. Goldberg had nothing to do with the articles.

With regard to the suggestion that Emergency Committee reports be circulated among the members of the Executive and National Council, the Secretary pointed out that the Emergency Committee reports are recorded in the minutes of the Executive meetings; and that, in accordance with a decision adopted by the Administrative Council last year, summaries of all Executive meetings are sent to all members of the Administrative Council, including the Executive.

Judge Fisher expressed the thought that no self-respecting body of men could listen to what the President had said, and then pass on without taking some action. If a member of the Administrative Council wrote an article such as the President has reported here, it should be the duty of the Executive to take action at the Administrative Council meeting to be held in the afternoon.

The Chairman stated that the Administrative Council will have a very busy session, and suggested that the Executive forget about the articles.

Mr. Abraham Goldstein expressed the belief that it is a matter of discipline in the Organization and the Executive should know about it. From the point of view of Zionists who read Yiddish it is important that something be done about this irresponsible act.

The Chairman explained that because he had appointed the Court of Honor he did not want anyone who attacked him personally to come before it during his Administration.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that there are any number of people in the Z.O.A. who might be called "problem children" and we have to know how to deal with them, with special regard for the delicate position in which the Z.O.A. is now placed. As to the author of the articles, he ought to be dealt with in such a way as would make him feel that in the Z.O.A. we intend to maintain that moral, that intellectual discipline which an Organization like the Z.O.A. should have by this time. Mr. Lipsky further suggested that steps be taken to see to it

that the Z.O.A. present to the public at large, at the next Convention, a united Organization and not an Organization that is engaged in an internal fight. There is no cause for anger and there are no issues of any importance that should divide us.

Mr. Shetzer felt that the Executive could not pass by this situation without taking some very definite and formal action with reference to the problem. He therefore moved

THAT the matter of Mr. Israeeli and the articles he has written be referred to the Court of Honor for determination, and that pending final determination, Mr. Israeeli be suspended from membership on the National Administrative Council and be denied all prerogatives offered by that official position.

Mr. Shetzer's motion was seconded.

At the request of Dr. Goldman, Mr. Lipsky took the Chair.

Mr. Cowen pointed out that the Executive has no authority to suspend a member of the National Administrative Council.

Mr. Shetzer thereupon amended his motion to make it a recommendation to the Administrative Council that it suspend Mr. Israeeli pending final determination by the Court of Honor.

Mr. Ross explained that it is an established principle not to judge a man until he is given a fair trial, and the suspension of a man is a conviction -- it is a temporary conviction, but it has the effect of convicting the man. Mr. Ross felt that the last thing the Executive ought to do is to plunge that matter into the midst of the Administrative Council meeting. He suggested that the second part of Mr. Shetzer's motion be withdrawn and that the suggestion with regard to the Court of Honor be adopted unanimously.

Dr. Goldstein believed that every person who had taken a prominent part in the discussions during the past several months and expressed a point of view contrary to that recommended by the President has been suspected of being a co-author of the articles. The question is -- how to deal with this matter. Referring it to the Court of Honor will not accomplish very much because, in the meantime, it will take weeks if not months for the Court of Honor to hand down its decision. This is the psychological moment for trying to cure the condition if it can be cured. It is a question of self-discipline and cooperation among Zionists. Dr. Goldstein suggested that, instead of dealing with this matter in an official way, a consensus of opinion should be expressed at the meeting of the National Council. This, he thought, would be more effective than any decision of the Court of Honor, though he had no objection to referring it to the Court of Honor. This expression of opinion on the part of the Administrative Council will show the writer of the articles that he has committed an offense and will also show how the almost unanimous opinion of the Zionist movement reacts to this offense. Dr. Goldstein further suggested that the initiative in this connection be taken not only by Dr. Goldman's own adherents, but rather by some of those who have contrary views.

Mr. Lipsky (in the Chair) suggested that it would be sufficient for the purpose, (taking into account Mr. Rees' point), that the Executive adopt a motion condemning the publication of the articles in the press by a member of the Administrative Council, and recommending the matter to the Court of Honor for its consideration.

Dr. Goldman pointed out that as an individual any member of the Executive may express his opinion with regard to those articles, but the Executive as a body has not the information to condemn them. Therefore, the Executive can vote on Mr. Shetzer's motion

THAT the writer of the articles and the articles should be brought before the Court of Honor; but the Executive cannot condemn before reading the articles.

Mr. Shetzer thereupon made the following motion:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A., having taken notice of a series of articles published by a member of the Administrative Council, and having had a report as to the character of those articles, refers the articles and the writer of those articles to the Court of Honor for adjudication.

Seconded.

Judge Fisher then offered the following amendment to the motion:

THAT the Court of Honor report back its findings by the next meeting of the Executive.

The motion as amended was seconded and unanimously carried.

It was the consensus of opinion that this motion be reported to the meeting of the National Administrative Council in the afternoon.

The Chairman expressed the thought that if the motion is presented at the meeting of the National Council, Mr. Israeli will have the right to ask for the floor.

Mr. Goldberg moved the following additional amendment to the motion:

THAT the Chairman of the National Council be authorized to declare that this matter is not open for discussion, inasmuch as it is to be submitted to the Court of Honor.

Mr. Goldberg's amendment was seconded and carried.

The amended motion, as finally adopted, reads as follows:

THAT the Executive, having taken notice of a series of articles published by a member of the National Administrative Council, and having had

a report as to the character of those articles, refers the articles and the writer of those articles to the Court of Honor for adjudication;

THAT the Court of Honor report back its findings by the next meeting of the Executive;

THAT this action of the Executive be reported to the meeting of the National Administrative Council to be held in the afternoon;

THAT the Chairman of the National Administrative Council be authorized to declare that this matter is not open for discussion, inasmuch as it is to be submitted to the Court of Honor.

Mr. Ross moved

THAT Mr. Louis Lipsky be given the right to appoint an advocate of the Executive on the Court of Honor.

Mr. Ross' motion was seconded and carried.

EXPENSES FOR REORGANIZATION COMMISSION MEMBERS:

Mr. Szold moved

THAT the Executive authorized the payment of travelling expenses of the members of the Reorganization Commission, in connection with attending meetings of the Reorganization Commission.

The Secretary pointed out that the Sub-Committee of which Judge Fisher is the Chairman consists of eight members -- one residing in Chicago, one in Boston, two in Cleveland, one in Philadelphia, and three in the vicinity of New York.

Mr. Robert Bernstein of Philadelphia wished to be eliminated from consideration in the matter of reimbursement of expenses.

Dr. Goldman suggested that one of the meetings of the sub-Committee be held in New York and one in Cleveland to reduce expenses.

Mr. Szold's motion was seconded and carried.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO CONVENTION:

Judge Fisher moved

THAT the methods of electing delegates to the Convention, which have prevailed heretofore, be adopted as the methods for the ensuing Convention;

THAT the Election Week be fixed as the last week in May.

Mr. Ross pointed out that the Executive had prescribed regulations with respect to the Election of delegates to the Convention. However, he said, the motion is harmless. He amended Judge Fisher's motion to read:

THAT the date of the Election be fixed by the
Committee on Convention.

Judge Fisher's motion as amended by Mr. Ross, was then seconded and carried. The amended motion as adopted reads:

THAT the methods of electing delegates to the
Convention, which have prevailed heretofore, be
adopted as the methods for the ensuing Convention;

THAT the date of the Election be fixed by the
Committee on Convention.

The meeting adjourned at 1:15 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

MINUTES OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL MEETING, SUNDAY, APRIL 14, 1940,
2 P.M., AT THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL, 9TH & CHESTNUT STS., PHILA., PA.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal (in the Chair), and Dr. Israel A. Abrams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Joseph Andelman, Atlantic City, N.J.; Phil I. Ban, Chicago, Ill.; David Berenstein, St. Louis, Mo.; Maurice Bernhardt, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel Berson, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, Kingston, N.Y.; Samuel J. Borowsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.; A. D. Braham, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Louis Braines, Perth Amboy, N.J.; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D.C.; Adolph Brinberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Isaac Carmel, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Israel S. Chipkin, New York City; Abraham H. Cohen, Forest Hills, L.I.; Nat Cohen, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill, L.I.; Charles A. Cowen, New York City; Dr. David Feldman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harry P. Fierst, New York City; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Fishman, Brooklyn, N.Y.; David Frankol, Trenton, N.J.; Harry Friedberg, Kansas City, Mo.; Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis, Ind.; Dr. Moses Gellman, Baltimore, Md.; Jacob Ginsburg, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abraham Goldberg, New York City; Rabbi Henry R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.; Fred Goldentyer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Albert Goldman, Rochester, N.Y.; Hyman Goldman, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, New York City; Abraham Goodman, Bronx, N.Y.; Abraham Goodman, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Joseph Goodman, Troy, N.Y.; Jerome J. Greenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Joseph Halbert, Atlantic City, N.J.; Benjamin H. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D.C.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Arnold K. Isreeli, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel F. Jacobson, Chicago, Ill.; Sidney E. Jaffe, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel Judenfrend, Bronx, N.Y.; Alfred Kahn, New York City; Samuel Kanarvogel, Bronx, N.Y.; William M. Katz, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel J. Keiser, Baltimore, Md.; Rabbi S. Joshua Kohn, Utica, N.Y.; Mordecai Konowitz, Jamaica, L.I.; Isaac Kopstein, Atlantic City, N.J.; Rabbi Simon G. Kramer, Bronx, N.Y.; L. I. Levenson, Atlantic City, N.J.; Moyer Levine, Philadelphia, Pa.; Irving D. Lipkowitz, New York City; Louis Lipsky, New York City; Dr. S. Margoshes, New York City; Max Palley, Atlantic City, N.J.; Isaac Potts, Baltimore, Md.; Sol Reiter, Newburgh, N.Y.; Morris Margulies, New York City; Charles Ress, New York City; Bernard G. Richards, New York City; Louis P. Rucker, New York City; Col A. H. Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Moses Robinson, Bronx, N.Y.; Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Woodmere, L.I.; Leon Savage, Bronx, N.Y.; Jacob I. Schaffer, Bronx, N.Y.; Dr. Leo B. Schwartz, Bronx, N.Y.; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Hon. Wm. I. Siegel, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Abe Sindell, Bronx, N.Y.; Abraham Spicehandler, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Saul S. Spiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Joshua Sprayragon, New York City; Dewey D. Stone, Taunton, Mass.; Robert Szold, New York City; Dr. David Tannenbaum, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Sigmund Thau, New York City; Abraham I. Uslander, Elizabeth, N.J.; Morris Weinberg, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Harry Weinstein, Babylon, L.I.; Meyer W. Weisgal, New York City; Mrs. Rose I. Bender, Philadelphia, Mrs. Ben Rosen, Philadelphia, and Mrs. David de Sola Pool, New York City (representing Hadassah); Paul Byne, Brooklyn, Raphael Pinchas, Brooklyn (representing Masada); by invitation: Moshe Smilansky (Palestine), Dr. Josef Cohn (London).

Excuses for Absence: received from Messrs. Maxwell Abbell, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi A. E. Abramowitz, Chicago, Ill.; Meyer Abrams, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. B. W. Abramson, Columbus, Ohio; Rabbi Philip R. Alstat, New York City; Benjamin Arenstein, Richmond, Va.; Dr. Abraham Ball, Albany, N.Y.; Judge Samuel Barnett, New Bedford, Mass.; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R.I.; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. Frances Burnce, Dorchester, Mass.; Josse B. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; David I. Cantor, Buffalo, N.Y.; Julius M. Cantor, New York City;

Samuel Caploe, Dorchester, Mass.; Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, Charleston, W. Va.; Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Flushing, L.I.; Dr. A.L. Eisenberg, Cincinnati, Ohio; Judge Henry Ellonbogen, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. A.K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.; Col. Benjamin Evarts, Holyoke, Mass.; Dr. Hyman Frank, New Castle, Pa.; Harry H. Frankel, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jacob Ginsburg, Wellesley, Mass.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Toledo, Ohio; Sol Goldman, St. Louis, Mo.; Wm. H. Goldman, St. Louis, Mo.; Gustavo L. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Cal.; Joseph Goldstein, Rochester, N.Y.; Max Goodman, Elmhurst, L.I.; Cecil Gordon, Newton, Mass.; Harry Grayer, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi Harry Halporn, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Ohio; B. Horwich, Chicago, Ill.; Adolph Hubbard, Boston, Mass.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; Max Kabatznick, Boston, Mass.; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; George J. Klein, Cleveland, Ohio; Max I. Kohrman, Cleveland, Ohio; Samuel Kranzberg, St. Louis, Mo.; Abraham Krumbein, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dr. Mosos W. Levinson-Lovi, Roxbury, Mass.; Dr. I. Archer Levin, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Brooklyn, N.Y.; I. Lewin, San Antonio, Texas; Dr. M. B. Lichtenstein, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Judge Julian W. Mack, New York City; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Meyer Minsky, Bangor, Maine; Harry Nachman, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.; Max Nigrosh, Mattapan, Mass.; Max Perlman, New York City; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N.J.; Herman Zvi Quittman, Bronx, N.Y.; Benjamin Rabalsky, Boston, Mass.; Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.; Harry A. Rachlin, Buffalo, N.Y.; Hon. Hyman J. Reit, New York City; Meyer Rich, Atlanta, Ga.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Cal.; Laurence M. Ring, Boston, Mass.; Dr. Morton Robbins, Nashua, N.H.; Dr. Joseph Roschovsky, Atlantic City, N.J.; Samuel J. Rothstein, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Paul Safro, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Herman A. Sarachan, Rochester, N.Y.; Carl Sherman, New York City; Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Providence, R.I.; Philip Slomovitz, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Jacob L. Solomon, Newark, N.J.; Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Cal.; Samuel M. Stuckgold, Bronx, N.Y.; Judge Nathan Sweedler, Brooklyn, N.Y.; I. A. Swiss, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Rabbi Julius Washer, Uniontown, Pa.; Rabbi Irving A. Weingart, Fort Wayne, Ind.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Leo Wilson, Bronx, N.Y.; Dr. Stephen S. Wisc, New York City; Leo Wolfson, New York City; Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.

The meeting was called to order at 2:30 P. M., with Judge Levinthal in the Chair. The Chairman welcomed the members present.

TRIBUTE TO DECEASED:

The Administrative Council recorded its deepfelt sorrow at the recent passing of two former members -- Leon Rose of Camden, N.J.; and Paul M. Wintrob of Philadelphia, Pa., both of whom, although young in years, were veterans in local Zionist activities.

The Council also expressed its sorrow at the passing of Maurice L. Avner, pioneer Zionist worker in Pittsburgh and prominently identified with the early development of the Zionist movement in this country.

Tribute was paid to the late Dr. Cyrus Adler, whom the Chairman referred to as an outstanding figure in American Jewish life, and the recognized leader of the Jewish community in Philadelphia. The Chairman called attention to the current issue of The New Palestine which contains some very fitting tributes to the memory of Dr. Cyrus Adler, and which express the sentiments of all American Zionists. As a fellow-Philadelphian the Chairman added his personal tribute to the memory of Dr. Adler. He recalled that even before the establishment of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Adler had manifested his genuine interest in Palestine, and read a cherished letter which Dr. Adler had sent to him from Jerusalem on April 7, 1929, a few months before the Agency was established. The letter follows:

"Dear Mr. Levinthal: I was very glad at this distance to get a word from Philadelphia and to know that you are undertaking the Chairmanship of the Philadelphia Campaign of the U.P.A. I have been in Palestine for only one week and I had decided not to express any opinion about the work here until the end of one month's stay which in itself is quite insufficient to form an adequate judgment. However, this one week I have seen a number of colonies, a number of schools, primary and secondary, the University. A worthwhile effort is being made here with sincerity and with intelligence. I should like to have the privilege of contributing \$200 to the Fund this year, and I venture to express the hope that all of my co-religionists in Philadelphia will contribute according to their means and their contributions to all other worthy Jewish causes."

The Chairman added that this letter used during the U.P.A. Campaign in 1929, galvanized the support of all elements of the Philadelphia Jewish community, for the U.P.A.

The members present then rose in silent tribute to the memory of Dr. Cyrus Adler.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Secretary presented the following report:

In deference to the presence of our esteemed and very welcome guest, Mr. Moshe Smilansky, whom it will be our privilege to hear at this session; and also mindful of the crowded agenda, I will limit my report to a few factual statements on the main activities of the Organization:

1) Self-Assessment Tax:

The first subject I want to discuss is that of the self-assessment tax, which was proclaimed at the last meeting of the Council on February 4th in Baltimore. It should be explained that there was some delay in implementing the decision then adopted. Two factors were responsible: (1) The negotiations initiated with a view to having this activity sponsored jointly by all of the Zionist organizations in America, instead of by each organization separately. To bring about collective action, a series of discussions took place, between representatives of the various organizations, culminating in a decision that, in the interest of the project, this activity should be carried out by each organization individually. (2) Another factor which contributed to the delay was the discussion on the proposal that a uniform tax of \$1.00 be imposed on each member, instead of leaving the amount of the contribution to the discretion of the individual member.

As of April 10th, we have received towards this fund \$10,777, representing thus far contributions made by a little over 2,000 persons. In other words, the contributions have been on an average basis of \$5.00 per contributor. Those of you who have followed the lists published in The New Palestine know that there have been many contributions of as little as \$1.00. There have been some contributions -- a very small number -- of \$100. But the average has been \$5.00 per person. There are still close to 50,000 members who have not yet responded to this appeal. You will recall that when we began to implement this decision, a letter went out on March 13th to every District Chairman, informing him that an appeal will go out to each member. This individual appeal went out about the 15th or 16th of March. The report that I am submitting to you, therefore, covers a period of about three weeks. On April 2nd we sent an additional appeal to the District Chairman, in which we urged that they consult the lists published in The New Palestine, and advised them to appoint a Committee who, after checking this list, should endeavor to secure contributions from those who have not as yet responded. The contributions during the last week have been smaller both in volume and in amount than they have been in the first weeks. We are going to attempt, through a conference of some New York District Chairmen called for this coming Thursday night, to find out just what the District can do to accelerate this activity. If we meet with success, we will try to pass it on to the rest of the country. However, it must be understood that in view of the significance of the action that has been undertaken by the Z.O.A. to ameliorate the plight of refugees now stranded in various parts of Europe, the need for assuring the success of this activity cannot be stressed too strongly. \$10,000 is far too small a sum for this activity.

2) Propaganda:

The next aspect of our work that I should like to take up is that of propaganda. Since the last meeting of the Council Dr. Weizmann has left these shores. Dr. Weizmann's presence in this country -- although under the auspices of the Emergency Committee, the U.P.A. and other agencies -- has had a profound effect upon the Z.O.A. situation. This is due to the fact that our Zionist Districts were primarily responsible for the success of the meeting which Dr. Weizmann addressed in New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and other communities. Throughout the country there has also been an intensified interest in Zionist propaganda, which has resulted in a great demand for speakers, -- the demand by far exceeding the number of speakers available. The main difficulty, however, lies in the fact that most of the Districts confine their requests to the same array of six or eight outstanding personalities.

3) Publications:

Concerning our publications -- as new members are enrolled the circulation of both The New Palestine and Dos Yiddishe Folk increases. Thus in the last week in March, 54,750 copies of The New Palestine were published, and 4,000 copies of Dos Yiddishe Folk. The New Palestine is showing a slight increase in its advertising revenue.

4) Finances:

With respect to finances, as of April 10th, we have received in membership dues \$99,697. Last year for the same period we had received \$102,767. However, last year's figure included the item of \$3,750 paid by Hadassah as an affiliation fee. This year no such payment has been made.

Last year, in addition to the membership income, we had received special contributions amounting to over \$14,000. This year this source yielded only a little over \$1,000. Thus far no opportunity has been found for implementing the decision of the National Council last October to make an effort to raise an additional \$40,000 to supplement the income from the membership. The income from the U.P.A. is the same as it was last year for the period, namely, \$40,500.

5) Membership:

We closed the fiscal year, October 1, 1939, with a total membership of 45,108. Of this number, as of April 10, 1940, 22,130 members have paid their dues for the current year, thus leaving 22,978 members whose dues still have to be collected. In addition to the members who have already paid their dues, there have been enrolled during this period 8,487 new members. Thus, the total membership as of April 10th numbers 53,595.

Whether this figure will be as large at the end of the current fiscal year - October 1, 1940 - depends entirely upon the success of our efforts to collect the dues from the nearly 23,000 members who have not yet paid their dues for the current year. I want to stress the point that while there are still five months remaining until the end of the present fiscal year, there are actually only some ten weeks -- the period until the next Convention -- when any effective work can be done. Very little membership activity is carried on during the months of July, August and September. Last year these three months produced only 1,152 members.

An analysis of the membership situation reveals that 66 out of 325 Districts are ahead of last year; 198 Districts have approximately the same membership as of last year; and 62 Districts are behind. These 62 Districts are 5,000 behind in their membership as compared with the same period last year. Of these, 10 Districts alone show a falling-off of 2,655.

Had these Districts kept pace with their enrollment of last year, we would have shown today an increase in membership of about 4,200, due to the gains obtained in other communities. It is therefore obvious that an earnest effort will have to be made by the 62 Districts lagging behind to increase their membership. But above all, it will be necessary to concentrate upon the 10 Districts that show the biggest falling-off.

On the basis of my knowledge of the situation obtaining in these communities, I am safe in asserting that a good many of them will regain the ground they have lost. However, I should like to make one additional observation, and that is, that it would be foolhardy to assume that a 100% enrollment is possible. Conservatively speaking, we must figure on a loss of anywhere from 10% to 20%. There is no organization in the country, as there is no business in the country, that can carry the very same membership year in, year out, or continue to do business with the same accounts year in, year out. There must be a steady replenishing if there is to be no retrogression.

In conclusion, Mr. Margulies said:

Mr. Chairman: We have here present practically the bulk of the organized leadership of the Z.O.A. I would like to appeal, through you, to the members present, that they go back to these Districts, and if they come from the 62 Districts that are in arrears - or particularly the ten Districts that are very much behind - that they make an earnest effort, between now and June 15th, at the latest, to bring about a change in the tempo of the membership enrollment in their respective communities.

DISCUSSION ON SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Chairman called for discussion on the Secretary's report. No discussion took place.

It was thereupon moved and seconded

THAT the report of the Secretary be accepted.

The motion was unanimously carried.

DESIGNATION OF CONVENTION CITY:

With regard to the Convention City, the Secretary reported that the Executive had suggested for the consideration of the National Council, four cities, namely, Buffalo, St. Louis, Chicago and Pittsburgh. At a subsequent meeting of the Executive two of the cities were eliminated and only Chicago and Pittsburgh were seriously considered. Accordingly, the Executive adopted a recommendation that reservations be made in those cities, in order to insure proper accommodation for the Convention. Reservations have thus been made at the Palmer House and Stevens Hotel in Chicago; and at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh. The Secretary stated further that he had received a number of resolutions and expressions of opinion with respect to the next Convention City, which he was prepared to submit for consideration.

Discussion on Convention City:

Mr. Isaac Kopstein of Atlantic City urged that Atlantic City be considered. He stated that, in view of the fact that the last Convention, when a new president was elected, was held in a midwestern city - Detroit - this year which is also a presidential election year the Convention be held in an eastern city, namely, in Atlantic City.

Mr. Simon Shetzer of Detroit moved:

THAT the City of Chicago be designated as the Convention City for 1940.

The motion was seconded.

Rabbi Henry R. Goldberger of Altoona, Pa. reported, as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee of the Tri-State Region which met several weeks ago, that a Resolution was passed at that Conference urging that the next Convention be held in Pittsburgh. He therefore presented the motion

THAT Pittsburgh be designated as the Convention City for 1940.

The motion was seconded.

Mr. Isidore Hershfield of Washington, D.C., suggested that only Atlantic City be considered as the Convention City, instead of Chicago or Pittsburgh.

In order to facilitate action of the Council in the matter, Mr. Lipsky moved the following substitute motion which was seconded:

THAT the Administrative Council limit its consideration to the two cities recommended by the Executive, namely, Chicago and Pittsburgh.

Mr. Samuel Judenfreund of New York City moved

THAT Mr. Lipsky's substitute motion be tabled.

The motion to table was lost -- 31 voting in favor and 40 opposed.

The Chairman then called for a vote on Mr. Lipsky's substitute motion. It was carried by a majority vote.

Mr. Leon Savage of the Bronx, N.Y. suggested that the spokesman of those favoring Chicago and Pittsburgh respectively state the advantages of each city, so that the members of the Council may be in a position to judge as to which is preferable.

Mr. William I. Siegel of Brooklyn, N.Y. pointed out that the election of a Convention City is not merely a matter of geography; other considerations are also involved and there ought to be a relatively free discussion on the matter. In the interest of economy of time, he suggested that each speaker be limited to two minutes.

The Chairman then read the following Resolutions adopted by (1) The Connecticut Zionist Region; (2) the New England Zionist Region; and (3) the Northwest Zionist Region:

1) "At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Connecticut Zionist Region, the following motion was seconded and passed: THAT the Executive Committee of the Connecticut Zionist Region goes on record as favoring the holding of the Annual National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Pittsburgh this year, providing the sum of \$2500 is raised to defray the National and local expenses of the Convention.' It was also passed THAT a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America."

2) "At a meeting of a large number of Presidents of Zionist Districts within the New England Region, and Officers of said Region assembled at a meeting on April 10, 1940, it was voted to go on record as favoring the holding of the Annual National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Pittsburgh this year, provided the sum of \$2500 is raised 'to defray the national and local expenses of the Convention'. It was also passed THAT a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America."

3) "The Northwest Regional Zionist Conference held at Minneapolis, Minn. on March 31, 1940, deems it wise and important, in the interest of the strengthening and enlargement of the Zionist Organization of America, THAT the 1940 Convention be held at a city as far West as possible, thereby giving an opportunity to many Zionists to receive the inspiration which is engendered by the discussions of the Convention. We therefore urge the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America to select the City of Chicago, Ill., or some point farther West for the holding of the 1940 Convention."

On behalf of the Zionists of Chicago, Mr. Wm. I. Katz, invited the Z.O.A. to hold its forthcoming Convention in that city, pointing out the advantages of Chicago as a Convention City. Furthermore, he called attention to the fact that for two years the Zionist Organization of America has had Chicago's representatives as its President, during which time the Zionists of Chicago missed his presence in the city. The Chicago Zionists think it fitting, in consideration of Dr. Goldman's accomplishments for the Z.O.A., that Chicago be designated as the Convention City this year.

Mr. Saul Spiro of Pittsburgh, Pa., called attention to the fact that in a communication to Mr. Margulies, Mr. Joseph Porter had conveyed the information that Pittsburgh would contribute \$2500 towards the Convention expenses, if the Convention were held in that city.

Mr. Margulies stated that he had received the letter referred to by Mr. Spiro several weeks ago, immediately following the Tri-State Convention; and that the Chairman of the Administrative Council had received a copy of it. Mr. Margulies pointed out, furthermore, that this action on the part of the Pittsburgh Zionists is a known fact and is implied in the Resolutions adopted by the Connecticut and the New England Zionist Regions.

Dr. Samuel Margoshes of New York City stated that the vast majority of the Jewish population in the United States is located between Chicago and New York; the Jewish population West of Chicago is negligible. Therefore, he thought if delegates from the large Jewish centers are to attend the Convention, it should be held neither in Chicago nor New York, but in Pittsburgh which lies midway.

Mr. Charles Ress of New York City observed that in addition to the question of the location of the Convention City relative to Jewish population, there is involved the very important matter of cost. There is no need to hold the Convention in Chicago for the delegates to show their appreciation for the services rendered by the President of the Z.O.A. At Detroit, when his election took place, there was an expression of joy which was not dimmed in the slightest degree because the Convention was in Detroit instead of Chicago. The delegates from all over the United States will unite with the Chicago delegates in a tribute to Dr. Goldman. The place of the Convention is immaterial as far as that is concerned; but the question of cost is material. It will cost considerably more for most of the delegates to travel to Chicago. In the interest of those delegates who are not wealthy, and in order to insure a large attendance, Mr. Ress urged that Pittsburgh be chosen as the Convention City.

Mr. Jochanon I. Rudavsky of Brooklyn, N.Y. recalled that the last time the Convention met in Pittsburgh was in 1929; the last Convention in Chicago was in 1933. Therefore, as a matter of priority Pittsburgh should be considered. The members of the National Council were obliged to spend considerable money this year in travelling to meetings in Philadelphia and Baltimore. The Eastern delegates would want to see the Convention in Atlantic City this year, but are waiting Atlantic City in order to be fair to those delegates who live in the Middle West. Pittsburgh is the logical city for the Convention this year.

Mr. Simon Shetzer of Detroit declared that all of the reasons advanced here could also be advanced for holding the Convention in Chicago. He believed that the bulk of the Z.O.A. membership is not to be found in the East. On the basis of economy and the question of cost, he pointed out that last year the

delegates came from the West to the East; therefore, the expenses should be balanced by taking the Convention to the West this year. Furthermore, on the basis of good procedure the Z.O.A. ought to follow the procedure of many National Organizations by alternating the Conventions between the East and the West. It was brought to the East last year primarily to give the delegates an opportunity to visit the Palestine Pavilion at the World's Fair. It is much easier for the Convention to meet in Chicago than in Pittsburgh or New York. In keeping with the scope of a truly national organization, and in the interest of affording an opportunity in alternate years for the members in the West to attend a Convention once in two years, Mr. Shetzer urged that the Convention this year be held in Chicago.

Judge Harry M. Fisher of Chicago pointed out that all meetings of the Z.O.A. Executive are held in New York; the National Council meetings have been held in the East, the furthest city being Baltimore. It is true that the Convention has a much larger attendance than meetings of the National Administrative Council; on the other hand, the National Council and the Executive are constituted of representatives of all the Zionists, including those of the West. It is not too much for the West to ask that at least once in seven or eight years the Convention be held where the Zionists living West of Pittsburgh can be accommodated. Judge Fisher appealed particularly to the representatives of Pittsburgh to yield to Chicago this year. He said he did not believe that any question of election is involved. Dr. Goldman is not a candidate for reelection; he has said so publicly. If Dr. Goldman were a candidate, Judge Fisher asserted that he (Judge Fisher) would not ask for the Convention to come to Chicago. But Chicago has given up Dr. Goldman to the Zionist Organization for two years. The Congregation of which he is the spiritual head and which has needed him during those two years, needs him now. Voluntarily it gave him a leave of absence not only from Friday to Friday, but for some six months of his short administration; it gave him a complete leave of absence. Dr. Goldman's Congregation has suffered by it, and it feels that, when it joins with the Zionists in Chicago to invite this Convention to come to Chicago, that that invitation ought to be very seriously considered and, in the absence of overwhelming reasons to the contrary, ought to be accepted. Dr. Goldman's Congregation wants to join with the Zionist Organization of Chicago in acting as host to the Zionist Organization of America, to whom it has given its spiritual leader for two years to devote his continuous and unremitting service to the movement. If it should so happen that there are expressions of gratitude to the Rabbi, Chicago ought to be the place. Moreover, Chicago, is the heart of the Middle West; it needs some inspiration. Chicago raised its Zionist membership during those two years from 800 to close to 4500. That effort can be continued and spread even beyond Chicago as a result of the inspiration that would come from a gathering of the Zionists of America. Chicago feels that it needs it. Finally, it is the wish of the President himself that this Convention be held in his City; that, saving any compelling reason why it should not be held there, the invitation should be accepted. For those who got on the train from New York going to Pittsburgh, the cost will not be very much greater going to Chicago. Some saving, however, will be made by those coming from the West. It should be to the interest of the Z.O.A. to encourage the Middle West where so many Jews live - even though it is less than 50% of the Jews of America - by bringing the Convention closer to them.

vote

At this point a roll-call was taken as to whether Chicago or Pittsburgh should be designated as the 1940 Convention City. The results of the vote showed 41 members in favor of Chicago, and 47 in favor of Pittsburgh.

Col. A.H. Rosenberg of Chicago, Ill. then rose to read a letter he had received from Judge Henry Ellenbogen of Pittsburgh (absent from this meeting) stating that he can understand the reason why Chicago feels that it ought to be the place for holding the 1940 Convention, and adding that he (Judge Ellenbogen) personally would have no objection to Pittsburgh yielding to Chicago this year, because Chicago is the home of the President of the Z.O.A. Col. Rosenberg pointed out that Judge Ellenbogen had originally wanted the Convention held in Pittsburgh.

Rabbi Goldberger called attention to the fact that, at the Tri-State Regional Conference, over three hundred delegates assembled and passed a Resolution asking that the Convention this year be held in Pittsburgh. He assumed, therefore, that Judge Ellenbogen had written the letter in his private capacity since the Region had not authorized it.

Mr. David Berenstein of St. Louis, Mo. moved, and it was seconded by Co. Rosenberg,

THAT the designation of Pittsburgh be made unanimous.

The motion was carried by a majority vote.

MOSHE SMILANSKY OF PALESTINE:

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Moshe Smilansky of Palestine, President of the Palestine Farmers' Federation (Histadruth Ha'Ikarim), and expressed the sincere hope of the National Administrative Council that his mission to this country will meet with success.

Mr. Smilansky, speaking in Yiddish, conveyed the greetings of the Yishuv in Palestine. He dwelt upon the various problems confronting the Yishuv since the outbreak of the war. With respect to the political position, he pointed out that the land restrictions also aroused the opposition of the Arabs and that in all circles the legislation was considered an unwise move on the part of the British Government. Arabs actually consider the legislation a calamity to their interests. Mr. Smilansky expressed the belief that the Yishuv can cope with the situation. Moreover, the present emergency in Palestine may afford new opportunities for Jews, and we alone will be to blame if we do not take immediate advantage of these opportunities. He expressed gratification over the fact that in the last six months relations between the Jews and Arabs have improved to an extent that has not been witnessed for many years. In order to consolidate this friendship the Jewish Agency has named a committee to study the question of cooperation between Jews and Arabs.

In regard to the economic position in Palestine, Mr. Smilansky stated that the problem has become aggravated during the first half year of the war. The economic situation is interlinked primarily with two factors: (1) the status of the orange industry; and (2) the influx of refugees. The refugee question, which is becoming a heavy burden on the Yishuv, calls for drastic solution. He added that it is necessary to transfer large numbers of refugees from the cities to the colonies in order to avoid a serious crisis in the future.

Explaining in detail the implications of the new land legislation, Mr. Smilansky pointed out that no less than one and a half million dunams of land are available for purchase by Jews even under the land restrictions. This area is equal to the total holdings which Jews have acquired in the last sixty years. The only obstacle appears to be the lack of finances. Mr. Smilansky explained that he came to the United States under the auspices of the Jewish National Fund, and that his coming at this time, is due to the critical stage we are now in. Two problems confront us: (1) the steady influx of thousands of immigrants who cannot be organized and readily absorbed in Palestine. Immigrants who are hungry and unorganized can become a problem if we do not provide them with the bare necessities of life.

Speaking as a farmer, Mr. Smilansky felt that the prospects for bringing Jews back to the soil are good. During the last fifty years Jews have learned to irrigate the land and till the soil. Palestine soil has been rendered cultivable 75% by Jews and only 25% by Arabs and Christians.

(2) The second problem is the preparation for the eventual Peace Conference at the conclusion of the present War where the question of Palestine and the Jewish problem will, of course, be discussed. The best way that we can prepare adequately for the Peace Conference is by establishing new colonies in Palestine; by buying at least a half million dunams of land and settling additional hundreds of thousands of Jews.

Mr. Smilansky said further that he came to America for two purposes; (1) To help the Keren Kayemeth by addressing meetings and contacting various people with a view to strengthening the Keren Kayemeth in this country; (2) ~~to accelerate the purchase of land~~ in Palestine not only with National Fund money but also with private funds.

Mr. Smilansky said further that his mission, in this connection, is to find ways of tying up the purchase of land by private individuals with the Keren Kayemeth. One method would be for Jewish Organizations to purchase land through the Keren Kayemeth. However, the responsibility rests with the Jews of America to understand the significance of and to help this important activity. We dare not postpone; we dare not hesitate. Mr. Smilansky finally appealed to those present to help him achieve his mission in this country. Without land a people cannot survive either morally or economically. Land is now the most important question, and the opportunity to acquire it is within our immediate reach.

Dr. Goldman pointed out that Mr. Smilansky had brought to the members of the Council a message of hope and, at the same time, a striking and inescapable challenge. Mr. Smilansky has placed the present problem before us in such a way that we must face it.

Referring to the Land Restriction situation, Dr. Goldman recalled that within the last two years it had been said that while there can be an Aliyah Beth, there cannot be a Keren Kayemeth Beth. The statement made by Mr. Smilansky constitutes the greater challenge and the inevitable incentive. Until now the assumption was the the whole of Eretz Israel -- from Dan to Beersheba -- is

available to us, and Dr. Goldman added, he still believes that that is so and will remain so. But legally we have been restricted and we are protesting against the restrictions. We protest on the basis of political rights and on the basis of historic rights, but primarily in recent years our protest has been that we have our people in Palestine and we need land for them, and we are being restricted. Now Mr. Smilansky brings us the information that, over and above these restrictions, there is immediately purchasable in Palestine as much land as we had acquired in the past sixty years, and Mr. Smilansky rightly emphasises this fact and points out to us that unless we materialize this purchase, we will stand before the world -- or at the peace table -- in a peculiar situation.

Dr. Goldman here pointed out that the Zionists have not as yet prepared their proposals for the Peace Conference. Some thought is being given to the matter, undoubtedly, by the Executive in Jerusalem and in London, and some of us have had occasion to discuss the matter here. Dr. Goldman said that he doubted whether there will be any change in our demand that the whole of Palestine be opened to us. Assuming that the war continues for another two or three years, and that during that time we do not acquire the land that we can acquire, with what face will we come before the world to argue that we want more land, when that which was available to us was not instantly purchased.

Dr. Goldman added that he was not in a position to say to Mr. Smilansky how far, as an official body, the Z.O.A. is prepared to be helpful in connection with his second project, but he believed that some way will be found. Dr. Goldman further pointed out that we have several Funds and several drives and several efforts, and a way will have to be found to include in some of those efforts the purchase of land by private individuals through the Keren Kayemeth. There is a field of activity within the present framework of the Keren Kayemeth, without interfering with our agreement and without becoming guilty of a breach of faith or contract; there is room not merely for redoubling our activity, but multiplying it a hundred-fold, and to reinspire us to rekindle for the Keren Kayemeth the enthusiasm we had for it many years ago, when we learned that this is the very essence of our effort. It can be done and it should be done in this direction. The Keren Kayemeth has been doing it for a number of years; now it has added impetus from the message brought by so distinguished a visitor who, in his own personal way -- in his own career, in his own life -- is the very embodiment of the past that we created in Palestine. We cannot find a more indigenous representative symbolic of the whole effort of Palestine than is our guest Moshe Smilansky. He came to us with all humility and brought to us this message. Even though Mr. Smilansky is officially the guest of the Keren Kayemeth, we as an Organization declare to Dr. Goldstein and to the Keren Kayemeth people that we regard Mr. Smilansky as much our guest as theirs -- that is, that the Zionist Districts and Regions throughout the country regard themselves as the hosts to and the co-workers of Moshe Smilansky in any community to which he comes.

Mr. Margulies suggested that this fine tribute paid by the President of the Z.O.A. to Mr. Smilansky should not simply remain on the record of the Administrative Council, but that this body give direction to the Executive

or the President of the Z.O.A. that a small committee be appointed with a view to working out some plan for the implementation of the proposals made by Dr. Goldman.

Mr. Margulies further called attention to the fact that one of the things referred to time and again in the discussions of the Reorganization Commission was the fact that the Z.O.A. has denuded itself of various activities. Even in connection with the J.N.F. we do not appear in the picture to the extent that we actually participate in the work; that is because no record is made of the work actually done by us for the J.N.F. Mr. Smilansky's proposal presents a specific piece of work that may become a special task of the Z.O.A., where the Districts and the Zionists will be given an opportunity to work a specific project. Mr. Margulies thereupon moved

THAT the President be authorized to name a small Committee to work out a plan looking towards the implementation of Dr. Goldman's proposal with respect to Mr. Moshe Smilansky's mission in this country.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

ARTICLES IN YIDDISH PRESS:

The Chairman reported that at the meeting of the Executive held earlier in the day, an action was taken which the Executive was instructed to report to this meeting of the National Administrative Council. He called upon the Secretary to present the action, which is as follows:

THAT the Executive having taken notice of a series of articles published by a member of the National Administrative Council, and having had a report as to the character of those articles, refers the articles and the writer of those articles to the Court of Honor for adjudication;

THAT the Court of Honor report back its findings by the next meeting of the Executive;

THAT this action of the Executive be reported to the meeting of the National Administrative Council to be held in the afternoon; and

THAT the Chairman of the National Administrative Council be authorized to declare that this matter is not open for discussion, inasmuch as it is to be submitted to the Court of Honor.

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL:

It was moved and seconded

THAT the next meeting of the National Administrative Council be held in New York City,

Dr. Goldman pointed out that there may be a meeting of the National Council before the next Convention. A meeting of the Council is always held prior to the Convention and in the city of the Convention. It is possible, therefore, that there may not be another meeting before the eve of the Pittsburgh Convention. Dr. Goldman pointed out further that it has been very difficult to arrange meetings of the Council monthly; they were convened every six weeks as near the month as possible. This motion binding us to hold the next meeting in New York, would be tying our hands because the next meeting may have to be held in Pittsburgh.

In view of Dr. Goldman's explanation, the motion was amended to read

THAT the next meeting of the National Administrative Council be held in New York, if there is to be a meeting before the Pittsburgh Convention.

The motion as amended was seconded and carried.

The Chairman indicated that the meeting had finished its business for the day.

Mr. Isadore Hershfield of Washington, D.C. thereupon made a motion to adjourn.

Mr. Dewey D. Stone of Taunton, Mass. opposed the motion to adjourn, pointing out that some of the members present were anxious to hear a report on the activities of the Emergency Committee. He believed that the President had something to say to the Council in addition to the few remarks he had already made.

Mr. Hershfield felt that the members were very dissatisfied at having been called away from their home towns merely to vote on the next Convention City; that could have been done through the mails at no expense to the members. He expressed the hope that ~~the members~~ will not be called to meetings when the National Administrative Council has no business to transact.

Mr. Robert M. Bernstein of Philadelphia, Pa. pointed out that the reason meetings of the Council are called whether there is business or not, is because of the decision that ~~the Council~~ should meet once a month or nearly once a month. Therefore, no criticism need be directed towards the Chairman of the Administrative Council.

Mr. Borowsky felt that there is no excuse either on the part of the Administration or on the part of the Chairman for the manner in which the agendas for the meetings of the Administrative Council are arranged, and generally, for the manner in which Zionist business is being transacted in the last few months.

He said, that if the business had been done in regular procedure, there would have been reports presented, first, on matters that affect the Administrative Council; secondly, on the very important matters that have arisen at the Executive meetings; and thirdly, on any matters that might be of importance to the members of the Administrative Council. The members of the Council travel great distances; they spend money; and there is not even presented to them a visual picture of what is transpiring behind the scenes. There is no excuse, he declared, for such an attitude on the part of the Administration towards the Administrative Council. Considerable criticism has been levelled against the Administrative Council because it is ineffective, too massive in constitution, unresponsive -- in some cases, even that it is not responsible. The way to make a body responsible is to give it information, to ask it for cooperation, and to receive its reaction. Nothing of the sort has been done.

Mr. Borowsky urged that the motion to adjourn be reconsidered, and that a report on the Reorganization Commission be presented. The Reorganization Commission has been in session nearly twenty-four hours, and something has been evolved out of those discussions. Furthermore, some of the members would like to hear a report on the progress of the U.P.A. and the J.N.F. Mr. Borowsky said he had been seeking information for a long time on the actual contract between the U.P.A. and the J.D.C. and he never found that information. The members of the Administrative Council ought to know what the progress is.

Mr. Borowsky said further that he had noticed in the minutes of the Executive meeting a discussion with regard to the appointment of an Executive Director for the Z.O.A. This idea is not new in the Z.O.A., he recalled; it has been tried and found not feasible. Mr. Borowsky wondered why it is that all of a sudden, when there is no money in the Z.O.A. treasury and we are running behind, there appears an urgency to create a super-structure in the Organization.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Borowsky expressed the thought that the meetings of the Administrative Council could have been made very stimulating, very instructive, and very responsive, if the effort were exerted to do so.

Dr. Goldman observed that if Mr. Borowsky had not generalized and had directed his criticism to the agenda of this meeting, there might have been some justice and some merit to his criticism. But when Mr. Borowsky went beyond that, and generalized with respect to all of the meetings of the Administrative Council, Dr. Goldman believed that his recollection was poor. He recalled that only two or three meetings of the Council had been held, and at those meetings detailed reports were presented and ample discussion permitted. Today we invited Mr. Smilansky to be here. We want to make his address and the message that he brings with regard to the Keren Kayemeth, a substantial part of the discussion of this meeting. Furthermore, some of the members have been in session for some twenty-four hours -- some of them as members of the Reorganization Commission, and others as members of the Executive, and as these discussions would advance and as the day advances, there would be a tendency to disperse. A very limited agenda had therefore been planned for the National Council meeting. Dr. Goldman further stated that he had intended to give a report of the Emergency Committee and to deal with other matters that have taken place within the last several weeks. He was rather surprised, he said, to find that soon after the vote on where the Convention was to be held -- even

before Mr. Smilansky had finished talking - a good third of the audience gradually left, and another third of the audience was getting ready to leave. For this reason Dr. Goldman had informed the Chairman that he would forego the privilege of making his report.

With regard to the discussions of the Reorganization Commission, concerning which Mr. Borowsky spoke, Dr. Goldman stated that on the basis of the resolution adopted by the Administrative Council at the February 4th meeting in Baltimore, the Commission on Reorganization was directed to bring its report to the Executive and not to the Administrative Council. He added that he did not know why it was done so; he had no recollection what the particular reason was, but evidently the thought was that after this Commission shall have finished its work and the Executive will have had time to digest its report and the whole thing will have been completed, the report of those discussions will be presented to the Administrative Council. A discussion took place yesterday at the meeting of the Reorganization Commission; a crowded meeting of the Executive took place this morning; and a sub-committee of the Commission has not yet made its report. The Executive this morning directed the sub-Committee, as the Commission did last night, to continue to meet and to have its report ready by the 25th of May. Dr. Goldman believed that the report should not be submitted to the Administrative Council before the whole thing is digested.

Dr. Goldman recalled that the Administrative Council had voted to receive summaries of the Executive meetings regularly. These summaries have been mailed to all members of the National Council. Dr. Goldman thought that these contain many problems for discussion and many questions for information.

Furthermore, Dr. Goldman pointed out that the motion to adjourn this meeting of the Council had come from the Council itself and not from the Chairman. Dr. Goldman reiterated that the agenda of this meeting, coming at the tail-end of twenty-four hours of discussion, with a guest who was to make certain proposals, was necessarily limited.

Mr. Rudavsky inquired whether the summaries of the Executive minutes that are sent to the members of the Administrative Council reflect all discussion and all action that takes place at the meetings of the Executive.

Dr. Goldman replied that the Secretary uses his discretion with regard to information that can be sent out to a body of 300. Neither the President nor the Chairman of the Administrative Council interfere in this regard with the discretion of the Secretary.

Mr. Rudavsky pointed out that there was nothing in these summaries about the J.N.F. or the U.P.A. It appears that all the Executive was discussing for the last two or three months was whether one should be called a propagandist, or whether an Executive Director should be engaged.

The Commission on Reorganization recommended that one representative for each 500 members shall constitute the next Administrative Council. Mr. Rudavsky believed that at every meeting of the Administrative Council there ought to be a general debate, so that some of the members may say here what they do not get an opportunity to say otherwise. We are now going through a critical period in the history of our movement. It was the business of the Executive to submit

Mr. Smilansky's proposals a long time ago and not wait until now, to prepare pamphlets to be circulated among the Districts. Our Executive is spending too much time on matters that are trivial and of no importance.

Dr. Goldman stated that the Commission and the Executive had met for a total of eight hours, and not more than a total of forty minutes or possibly an hour was devoted to a discussion of representation on the National Administrative Council. The other discussions dealt with larger aspects of the reorganization problem. Furthermore, it is not correct to say that Mr. Smilansky's proposals could have been brought to the members of the Council at the Baltimore meeting; he only came to this country the last week in March and brought those proposals with him. The facts should be stated as they are, Dr. Goldman said, instead of adding this unnecessary criticism. There is enough to criticize of the Executive and of the Administration without injecting things that do not belong and that do not reflect what is actually transpiring.

Dr. Goldman reminded the members present that at the beginning of this meeting this afternoon, the Secretary advisedly presented a comprehensive report of several rather important activities, among them the self-assessment tax (Aliyah Both); furthermore, that some 29,000 or 30,000 members had not paid their membership dues. The Chairman had called for discussion following the Secretary's report and no one rose to discuss those questions. Instead, the sentiment was to hurry on to the question of where the Convention was to be held. Dr. Goldman observed that there was an impatience displayed in connection with that question. In the Secretary's report there was opportunity for discussion for a whole day. The question of propaganda was touched upon; membership; self-assessment, -- why was it not discussed. Those who have criticized the procedure might well be tolerant of some of the omissions that are made by the Chairman.

As to the character of the meetings of the Executive as to the type of discussion taking place there, a difference of opinion exists among us. There are those who think that it is always better to discuss the ideological problems, the larger problems, and to be oblivious of some practical problems; there are others who think that the implementation of the larger problems must, of necessity, be rooted in the practical problems. That is why the Executive has devoted some time to the discussion of certain technical and organizational questions.

As to the charge that is being continuously made that the Executive members are being paid their railroad expenses, Dr. Goldman pointed out that they are not being paid all the time; they are being paid within a certain sum of money set aside for that purpose and voted by the Executive.

Mr. Spicehandler recalled that the Administrative Council used to be the Zionist Parliament. This year, because of a motion adopted, the Administrative Council met five or six times; last year, only two or three times. The reason the Administrative Council does not dispose of important questions is that they are presented to the Council at a moment when the members are unprepared. We do not know what the agenda is. The Administrative Council has a history of many years, and it has procedure and precedence. The members used to receive reports of the various activities of the Organization. Mr. Spicehandler agreed with Dr. Goldman that it is difficult to convene a meeting of the Administrative Council at a set date. On the other hand, he pointed out, if the members knew that all they were called together for was to decide between Chicago and Pittsburgh as the Convention City, many of the members would not have come to this meeting.

Furthermore, had the members known that there was no agenda prepared for this meeting, they themselves would have brought one. In conclusion, Mr. Spicehandler said that he hoped the next Convention will find it possible to bring back the Administrative Council to its former efficiency and status.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that it was Mr. Spicehandler who had offered the motion which made it mandatory for the Z.O.A. to convene meetings of the Administrative Council regularly whether there is an adequate agenda or not. As for the size of the Council, the Convention is responsible for that. The Constitution provides that the "Administrative Council shall consist of the officers, members of the Executive, the Regional Chairmen, and such additional number of members, not exceeding one hundred, as the Convention shall prescribe.....". The list that was presented to the last Convention contained over 250 names. The Administrative Committee in former years never met as frequently as now. Meetings were usually held four times a year, between November and June.

Mr. Ress declared that the Administrative Council is itself responsible for a situation which exists and which is due to the fact that the members of the Administrative Council do not read the Constitution. There is a provision in the Constitution that the Administrative Council should adopt its own rules and regulations. Hence, the Administrative Council can exercise its own prerogative; it can establish procedure, decide when the meetings can be held, where they can be held, and also the agenda. Mr. Ress thereupon moved

THAT the Chairman be directed and authorized to appoint a Committee of Three members of the Administrative Council (excluding members of the Executive) of whom Mr. Samuel J. Borowsky should be a member, to confer with the Chairman in the preparation of the agendas of the Administrative Council meetings.

The Chairman suggested that Mr. Ress' motion be amended as follows:

THAT the Chairman of the Administrative Council appoint a Committee of Three, of whom Mr. Samuel J. Borowsky shall be a member, which Committee shall be made up of members of the Administrative Council who are not members of the Executive -- which Committee shall confer with the Chairman of the Administrative Council in the preparation of an agenda for each remaining meeting during the term of this Administrative Council.

Mr. Borowsky remarked that he had no objection to serving on the proposed sub-committee, but pointed out that he no "axes to grind". He was not one of those, he said, who was impatient about the selection of the Convention City; he simply found fault with the method of procedure at Administrative Council meetings, and did not wish to be included in the sub-committee in any other spirit.

The Chairman recalled that at the time of his assumption of the Chairmanship of the Administrative Council, at every meeting of the Council reports were presented on the activities of the Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayemeth and United Palestine Appeal. Such reports were originally planned for today's agenda.

But each of these bodies is an autonomous body and does not feel that it has to report to the National Administrative Council of the Z.O.A., or that it is subject to our supervision or control or review. Instead of having a report of the Keren Kayemeth, therefore, we had a message from an outstanding figure in Palestine.

The Chairman agreed that it would be a fine thing to have a Committee of Three and was willing to entertain the motion. He felt that the summaries of the Executive minutes contain a great deal of information, and he believed that some of the members of the Council do not take the trouble to read some of those reports, for if they did they would seek further information.

Addressing those present Dr. Goldman said that he is not going to take the time of this Administrative Council in the future; for twenty years this Administrative Council has not seen him and it will not see him in the next twenty years. Last year this Administration -- the very same Administration, almost the same Executive, almost the same Administrative Council -- carried on the business the whole year, practically in the same way as this year. There were other matters -- certain aspects of problems were different ^{had} so naturally we dealt with the situations as they came up. Dr. Goldman had contacts with the entire country and he attended every meeting of the Executive and whatever meetings were held of the Administrative Council, and in the course of the year he did not hear this ever-recurring criticism. Quite the contrary -- there was throughout the country, among the Zionists of America, a rather warm acceptance of the Administration and of the manner in which it was doing things. At the Convention the Administration and its achievements were received with acclaim. Former Presidents of the Zionist Organization went so far as to state that a certain level had been attained in Zionist affairs in the Z.O.A., which had rarely been reached in previous years. In moments of enthusiasm people are bound to exaggerate, Dr. Goldman believed, and he attributed these statements to exaggeration. In the course of the past year -- not having the information of the techniques of the Organization, and not knowing the frequency with which meetings were being held by this Committee or that Committee -- he said he did not know what the practice was. Whenever it was suggested that meeting of the Administrative Council be convened, a meeting took place.

Judge Fisher expressed the thought that it is a rather healthy sign that criticism does occur, but it would be better that it be always constructive and that there should not be some motives that are not always disclosed. But even so, it is better to have some criticism, he thought, than not to have it at all. However, all this will be remedied for the future, if the Reorganization Commission which is now at work will bring about that which it contemplates. We speak of our Constitution; there is a provision that the Executive and the Administrative Council may exercise concurrent powers, "that if at any time a difference shall arise between the Executive and the Administrative Council in the exercise of any power conferred by the Constitution, then and in such event the determination of the Administrative Council shall be paramount and conclusive." But the Constitution has no provision as to what is the function or the relationship between one body and the other. It is hoped that some sort of machinery will be created. It has already been recommended that a Commission similar to the Reorganization Commission remain in power after the Convention to work out these very

A.C. :- 4/14/40

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recommendations and to create order in the Organization.

It was then moved and seconded

THAT the motion to appoint a Committee of Three to confer with the Chairman of the Administrative Council in the preparation of agendas for any subsequent meetings of the Administrative Council, be tabled.

The motion to table was carried by a large majority vote.

Mr. Hershfield's previous motion to adjourn was then seconded and carried.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

April 15, 1940

My dear Abba:

Yesterday, at the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the J. O. A., Goldman received his first defeat. Goldman wanted the convention to be held at Chicago - for reasons best known to him. Judge Fisher of Chicago made a plea to the Committee to have the Convention held in Chicago in order that the J. O. A. might show its appreciation of Goldman's services to the J. O. A. and in tribute to his, Goldman's, Congregation for ~~leading~~ loaning him to the J. O. A. for the last two & years. After this eloquent plea, the Committee voted to hold the Convention in Pittsburgh.

Let me know when is your next visit to New York, as I have a lot to tell you and take up with you. Am sending you three articles that appeared in "The Day". Barney Brickner was supposed to ~~answer~~ ^{in defense of Goldman} but thus far

Bob, I do do 3/10/40

Kindest regards to Virginia in which Anna joins me.

as ever yours, Sol.

April 24, 1940

Mr. Joseph Goldberg, President
New England Zionist Region
401 Slater Building
Worcester, Mass.

My dear Mr. Goldberg:

Please pardon the long delay in acknowledging your kind letter of March 25. I have been away from the city a good deal of the time and my correspondence has lagged.

I deeply appreciate your kindness in inviting me to be the speaker at the annual New England Regional Convention to be held about the middle of June. I wish I were free to avail myself of the opportunity to come to you. Unfortunately my schedule for the next few months is so crowded that I cannot in justice to myself take on any new responsibilities. I trust that you will understand. The work of the United Palestine Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal have kept me frightfully busy these last few years.

With all good wishes for success in your splendid work, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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

PRESENT: Messrs. Robert Szold (in the Chair), Robert M. Bernstein, Charles A. Cowen, Albert K. Epstein, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Mordecai Konowitz, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah) Nat Cohen (representing Masada); Samuel Caplan, Meyer W. Weisgal.

Excuses for Absence received from Messrs. David Berenstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Murray I. Gurfiein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Ezra Shapiro, Simon Shotzer, William I. Siegel, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Mrs. Judith Epstein.

The meeting was called to order at 9:00 P. M., with Mr. Robert Szold in the Chair.

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Secretary presented the following report:

1. CONVENTION:

I will begin this report with a statement on the preparations for the forthcoming 43rd Annual Convention which is scheduled to be held at Pittsburgh, Pa., Sunday, June 30th, Monday, July 1st, and Tuesday, July 2nd. In keeping with the procedure followed in the past, the meeting of the National Administrative Council will be held on the Saturday evening preceding the Convention, June 29th.

Judge Harry M. Fisher of Chicago, Simon Shotzer of Detroit, Judge Henry Ellenbogen of Pittsburgh, Carl Sherman of New York, and William I. Siegel of Brooklyn were named by Dr. Goldman as members of the Convention Committee.

Pursuant to a resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Executive, the rules governing the election of delegates approved last year will be effective this year. Election of delegates will be held beginning with the week of June 2nd; and the election results must be reported not later than three days prior to the opening of the Convention.

I visited Pittsburgh last Monday, where final arrangements were made with the William Penn Hotel which is to serve as the headquarters of the Convention. I am glad to report that the accommodations offered by the hotel compare with the best secured in previous years. The Pittsburgh District has named a very able local Convention Committee headed by Mr. Morris Neaman. The Committee has assured me that the \$2500 pledged by Pittsburgh will be paid, as promised. This sum is certain to cover all of the expenses to be incurred in connection with the Convention.

It is planned to open the Convention on Sunday afternoon at the Syrian Mosque, which has a seating capacity of 4,000. The local Committee, after assigning seats to the delegates who should number around 1,000 will endeavor to sell the balance of the tickets on which the Committee hopes to make a profit over and above the expense of the meeting. This profit is to be applied to redeeming the \$2500 pledge.

All the other sessions, including the Sunday evening banquet, will be held at the William Penn Hotel.

2. MEMBERSHIP:

The records show that during the first seven months of the current fiscal year -- that is, from October 1st to the end of April -- 9,497 new members were enrolled. This brings up the membership total to 55,055. However, if this membership is to be in good standing by the end of the fiscal year -- September 30, 1940 -- we must, in the interim, collect dues from 21,354 members. Every effort is being made to have the Districts concentrate on collecting the outstanding dues. We have assurances from practically all of the District Chairmen that they will have no falling-off in their membership this year. Two explanations are invariably given for the delay in the collection of the dues: One is the launching of the U.J.A. campaigns which usually enlist the best and most responsible District workers, who during these drives devote all of their efforts to the campaign; secondly, the fact that many of the more than 21,000 new members enrolled last year joined the organization during the Spring season and therefore their dues have not as yet become due. I regret to report, however, that, in my opinion, a number of the Districts will not reach last year's paid-up membership -- at any rate, not before the Convention.

For the period under review, we have received in membership dues \$107,752, as against \$111,188 for the same period last year. However, last year's figure includes \$4,375 paid by Hadassah. This year, no payment has as yet been made by Hadassah. But I want to add at this point that Hadassah has finally arranged to meet with the Z.O.A. Committee on Friday, May 10th, at which the question of the Hadassah relationship to the Z.O.A. will be considered.

3. U.J.A. CAMPAIGNS IN DISTRICTS:

In connection with the U.J.A. Campaigns, I made an effort to ascertain from the Districts to what extent they have directly participated in these campaigns. It has not been possible to obtain precise figures, for the Districts have not been accustomed to keeping records of this nature. One fact is clear: The Zionists, in many instances, have played an important role in these campaigns. In a number of outstanding communities, the Chairmen of the most successful teams were Zionists. On the basis of replies that I have received from 37 cities, it would appear that the Districts in these communities were responsible for raising a much larger share than that finally allocated to the U.P.A. in the campaign; but it must be borne in mind that these 37 cities comprise primarily the smaller communities of the country. The Districts in the larger cities found it very difficult to

answer the questions put to them. In order to ascertain more fully the part actually played by the District collectively and the Zionist individually, a more comprehensive and detailed questionnaire will have to be worked out.

4. SELF-ASSESSMENT TAX:

With regard to the Self-Assessment Tax, as of May 6th we had collected a total of \$13,300. This sum was contributed by a little over 27000 members. An average of approximately \$5 per member has been maintained. The largest contribution was one of £250. The balance of the contributions ranged from \$500 to 50¢. There was one \$500 contribution; 8...\$100; 13...\$50; 57...\$25; the two largest categories were of the \$5.00 and \$1.50 contributions. We received 743 contributions of \$5.00 and 736 of \$1.50. Since the beginning of May the number of contributions has dropped considerably. Today, for example, the amount received was less than \$100.

About \$10,000 was cabled to Geneva on account of this Fund.

5. PALESTINE BUREAU:

On April 30 we received from the Jewish Agency the following cable:

"EXPECTING GOVERNMENT APPROVING ABOUT 30 CAPITALIST
CERTIFICATES USA FROM APRIL MAY ALLOTMENT STOP
GOVERNMENT PLACING CERTIFICATES DISPOSAL BRITISH
PASSPORT CONTROL OFFICE NEW YORK FOR DISTRIBUTION
STRICTLY ACCORDING TO TURN STOP. ALLOTMENT INCLUD-
ING APPLICATIONS ALREADY FORWARDED JERUSALEM"

According to Dr. S. Bernstein, Director of the Palestine Bureau, and on the basis of an arrangement made with Sir James Paget, the British Passport Control Officer, these thirty Certificates are expected to be distributed by July 15th. At present, 76 capitalist applicants in this country are prepared to sail at the first opportunity. The thirty Certificates are valid for American residents only and cannot be forwarded to relatives abroad.

A large number of the 76 capitalist applicants comprise Polish and German Jews who are in this country as tourists. When in Palestine, they will have the right to apply for Certificates for their families stranded abroad. Some of these tourists have at their disposal fairly large amounts of cash, more than the required £1,000. Through the intercession of Sir James Paget, the legal obstacles to granting Palestine visas to holders of German passports have been removed.

In view of the fact that fifty capitalist Certificates have been forwarded by the Agency to the Palestine Office in Trieste, Italy, it has been possible for the Palestine Bureau to apply for immigration Certificates in behalf of European relatives of American residents. Applications have been received here for forty immigrants residing abroad and for whom £1,000 each

has been deposited in Palestine by their American relatives. It is hoped that by the end of August at least half of this number will have been granted Certificates.

Due to the ruling by the Palestine Government rejecting applications in behalf of immigrants residing in Nazi occupied territories, a total of eighteen immigration certificates already granted were forfeited since the outbreak of the war.

Until March 31st, the end of the previous schedule, we have secured Certificates for relatives abroad in thirty-two cases, involving families and single persons. In view of the fact that the allocation of Certificates takes place in bi-monthly instalments, it is expected that an additional number of Capitalist Certificates will be received in June and July.

6. PERMANENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Since the Executive last met, Dr. Goldman named a Permanent Coordinating Committee which is to establish contacts with the Zionist organizations and institutions in this country. The Committee consists of Rabbi James G. Hollor, Chairman; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Lipsky, Robert Szold, Louis P. Rocker, A. K. Epstein, Ezra Shapiro, and Judge Morris Rotherberg. I have written to all the members of the Committee, notifying them of their appointment, and as to the scope and duties of the Committee, on the basis of the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Executive.

Discussion on Secretary's Report:

Mr. Bernstein inquired as to the cost entailed in collecting the \$13,300 for the Self-Assessment Fund. Mr. Margulies replied that the total expense to date was \$1795.

In answer to a question regarding the membership status, the Secretary stated that membership dues cover a period of twelve months, irrespective of the fiscal year. However, we always attempt to collect the dues prior to the Convention. As a matter of fact, most dues terminate at that time, for if a new member is enrolled during the three months of July, August and September following the Convention his or her dues are counted as of Oct. 1st.

He further stated that under the present system, the Z.O.A. actually has to contend with four fiscal dates: (1) the membership year from October 1st to September 30th; (2) the Finance Committee report covering June 1st to May 30th; (3) the Convention to Convention year; (4) and the calendar year - January 1st used by the business world.

It was the consensus of opinion that it would greatly facilitate the process of recording if one uniform fiscal year could be agreed upon. It was thereupon moved, and seconded,

THAT, in consultation with the Finance Committee, the Executive recommends to the forthcoming Convention the consideration of one fiscal year for all Z.O.A. purposes.

Unanimously carried.

43RD ANNUAL CONVENTION: PROGRAM:

The Secretary reported that the functions of the Convention Committee, headed by Judge Harry M. Fisher, have not been defined; it is not clear as to whether this Committee is authorized to work out the program for the Convention. Last year the President named two Committees: (1) a Convention Committee that dealt with the technical details of the Convention; and (2) a Program Committee that prepared the program.

A brief discussion followed as to the functions of the Convention Committee named.

Mr. Goldberg made a motion, which was amended by Mr. Konowitz, as follows:

THAT the President be authorized either to appoint a Convention Program Committee, or to instruct the Committee on Convention, already appointed by him, to work out a program for the Convention.

Unanimously carried.

In connection with the Convention Program, Mr. Epstein suggested, that in view of the expected presence of Dr. Weizmann and Eliezer Kaplan at this Convention, an all-day session be set aside known as "Palestine Day", when only questions related to Palestine will be discussed.

The Chairman directed the Secretary to have the Convention Committee submit a report at the next meeting of the Executive.

The Secretary reported that Judge Fisher had convened a meeting of the Convention Committee for Tuesday, May 14th.

COMMUNICATIONS:

1) From Rabbi Brickner, re date of Next Executive Meeting:

The Secretary presented a communication from Rabbi Brickner, pointing out the conflict in date between the next scheduled Executive meeting (June 19th) and the meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (June 13 to 22nd) which a number of members of the Executive will undoubtedly attend.

A brief discussion ensued regarding the advisability of changing the next Executive meeting date. It was pointed out that the preceding Wednesday, June 12th, was Shevuoth. It was thereupon moved and seconded

THAT the date of the next meeting of the Executive be advanced to June 5th; and

THAT, at the June 5th meeting, the Executive decide as to the convening of another meeting during the last week in June.

Unanimously carried.

At the suggestion of Mr. Bernstein it was agreed to convene the next meeting of the Executive at 4:00 P.M., or 4:30 P. M., in order that the Committee have ample time to complete the business before it.

2) William Green Testimonial:

The Secretary submitted a communication from the National Committee for a Leon Blum Colony in Palestine -- a Labor group working for the Jewish National Fund -- suggesting that the Z.O.A. participate in the Testimonial to be presented to William Green on the occasion of the Dinner to be tendered him by that Committee. A number of other Zionist organizations are participating in this Testimonial. Each organization is to submit a Resolution in tribute to Mr. Green, which is to be inscribed on parchment paper in a Book of Testimonials to be presented to him. Each participating organization is requested to contribute \$100 toward this presentation - it being understood that the profits that will accrue will go ^{to} the Jewish National Fund.

It was the consensus of opinion that Mr. William Green fully merits a fitting Testimonial, and it was moved, seconded and unanimously carried

THAT the Z.O.A. participate in the Testimonial to be presented to William Green on the occasion of the Dinner to be tendered him by the National Committee for a Leon Blum Colony in Palestine; and

THAT the Executive undertake to contribute the sum of \$100 towards defraying the expenses in connection with the Z.O.A.'s participation in this Testimonial.

3) Invitation from Hapoel Hamizrachi:

The Secretary further reported the receipt of a communication from the Hapoel Hamizrachi inviting the Z.O.A. to be represented at their forthcoming Convention on May 30th at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, and suggesting that Mr. Abraham Goldberg be designated as the representative of the Z.O.A.

After suggesting that Judge Ellenbogen who resides in Pittsburgh be designated, Rabbi Miller moved

THAT the President be authorized to appoint a representative of the Z.O.A. to attend the forthcoming Convention of the Hapoel Hamizrachi of America on May 30th, at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh.

Seconded and carried.

4) Invitation from Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League:

The Secretary presented an invitation to the Z.O.A. from the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, to attend the Seventh Annual National Convention of the League.

The Secretary recalled that some years ago the Z.O.A. was represented in that organization. The American Jewish Congress, with which the Z.O.A. is associated, is doing work along similar lines, he pointed out. At one time the Congress had some arrangement with the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League. Therefore, he was uncertain as to the position of the Z.O.A. vis-a-vis the League.

Mr. Ress moved

THAT the matter of the invitation to attend the Seventh Annual National Convention of the Non-Sectarian League, be referred to the Secretary, in consultation with Dr. Wise, for such action as may be decided upon.

Mr. Cowen moved

THAT the matter be laid on the table.

The motion to table was defeated.

Mr. Ress' motion was seconded and carried.

FINANCES:

Dr. Goldstein said he had expected a financial report at this meeting.

In the absence of both the Treasurer and the Chairman of the Finance Committee, the Chairman called upon the Secretary to report on the finances of the Organization.

The Secretary stated that the Finance Committee had not met in a long time. In the absence of a detailed financial report he answered specific questions put to him.

Mr. Margulies called attention to the fact that, based on the budget of \$186,790, the expenditures of the Organization for the ten month period (June 1 to March 31) totalled \$178,979.83. This is an excess expenditure over the budget for the ten-month period, of \$27,132.16. The deficit at the beginning of the fiscal year, June 1, 1939, was \$8,330.52; the deficit as of March 1, 1940 was \$35,708.79. Mr. Margulies pointed out that during the months of April, May and June the income from membership is usually \$10,000; thus, it is hoped to reduce the deficit by that amount by the time of the Convention.

Dr. Goldstein called attention to the fact that the Executive at this meeting and at a number of previous meetings has not dealt with the important questions confronting the Zionist movement at the present time. He urged that the next meeting be prepared to discuss some of these general problems which are transcendent, and which ought to percolate to this Executive.

Mr. Bernatein inquired as to whether the Emergency Committee had a report to submit since the last meeting of the Executive.

In the absence of the President who presents such reports, the Chairman called upon Dr. Israel Goldstein, a member of the Emergency Committee, to report.

Dr. Goldstein said he was not prepared to report, although he had attended the last meeting of the Emergency Committee. He suggested that the agenda of the next Executive meeting include a report of the Emergency Committee.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Samuel Caplan, Secretary of the Emergency Committee to report. Mr. Caplan read excerpts from the minutes of the last Emergency Committee meeting held on May 3rd. (1) It was decided at that meeting to publish the pamphlet on Revisionism, under the imprimatur of the Emergency Committee. (2) Reports on the Transportation Fund collections were rendered by the various organizations, indicating that the Z.O.A. had remitted, to date, \$10,000; Hadassah, \$25,000; the Poale Zion, \$10,000. (3) In connection with Dr. Weizmann's impending visit, Mr. Ross reported that the Keren Hayesod Committee had completed all legal arrangements; that an organization is being set up to handle the loan. In other words, the preliminary preparations are being completed for the loan activity.

REVISIONIST PROBLEM:

Rabbi Miller called attention to the fact that numerous parlor meetings are being arranged for and addressed by Mr. Jabotinsky. He urged that the Executive deal with the Revisionist problem as it affects the Zionist situation in America. Rabbi Miller recalled that at the last meeting of the Executive in Philadelphia, it was brought out that this problem is not solely within the scope of the Emergency Committee. Jabotinsky is now making capital out of an emergency situation and steps must be taken to counteract his activities.

Mr. Ross stated that there had been no information from any source, with respect to the Z.O.A. policy in this matter. The Executive has never discussed whether to launch a counter-propaganda, or whether to ignore the attacks.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that at the next meeting of the Executive the President be requested to report on those matters which come before the Emergency Committee and on which the Executive ought to be informed.

Mr. Goldberg doubted whether the Revisionist pamphlet (to be published by the Emergency Committee) would be effective, pointing out that the General Zionist point of view on Revisionism is necessarily at variance with that of the Poale Zion. He declared that the retrogression of General Zionism as a party began with Revisionism, and that we have since become a minority party in the Congress; whereas, the Histadruth has become a majority party. He felt, therefore, that every majority party will react similarly to the Revisionist problem; and that much will depend on the authorship of the brochure, which he believed should be entrusted to the Z.O.A. Mr. Goldberg urged that the next meeting of the Executive discuss the Revisionist matter, in order that the Z.O.A. representatives on the Emergency Committee may know our point of view.

The Chairman recalled that upon Mr. Jabotinsky's arrival in this country, the general consensus of opinion was that the best method of fighting the Revisionists was to ignore them. Subsequently, at a meeting of the Emergency Committee, the point was raised that our attitude was being misunderstood by a good many of our own people. All parties finally decided, at another meeting of the Emergency Committee, to set the lead through their Organizations to actively oppose the Revisionists. In order to make that lead more effective a motion was carried: that a brief or brochure be developed of the facts. Dr. Landauer and others were to give the facts. The pamphlet was to be published and copies distributed among the various organizations, who would then follow up the matter in their own way.

Following Mr. Szold's remarks, Mr. Röss stated that he could not recall as clear a report on the subject ever having been made before.

Dr. Goldstein inquired whether Mr. Goldberg had received any guidance in the Jabotinsky matter, as Editor of Dos Yiddish Folk. He assumed that Mr. Lipsky had had some, because of the change in tone of Mr. Lipsky's editorials.

Mr. Goldberg replied that he had received no instructions; that he simply translated the New Palestine editorial for Dos Yiddish Folk.

PALESTINE PAVILION:

Mr. Weisgal appealed for financial aid on behalf of the Palestine Pavilion which was to open on Saturday night, May 11th, at the New York World's Fair.

Mr. Goldstein said he understood that \$500 had been paid to the Pavilion on account of the \$5,000 voted on November 8, 1939.

Mr. Weisgal stated that the Finance Committee had paid \$250 a month for two months, but added that this payment was on account of a \$10,000 obligation assumed at the last Convention; that actually the Z.O.A. owes the Pavilion \$5,000 plus \$9,500.

Mr. Margulies pointed out that the Z.O.A. has additional obligations to meet, including one of \$9,500 to the World Zionist Organization on account of Shekolim; and about \$6,000 to members of the Finance Committee for personal loans advanced. Therefore, it is unfair of Mr. Weisgal to say that the Finance Committee is trying to deny the obligation, which will be paid when money is available.

Mr. Margulies called attention to the fact that no effort has yet been made to raise any part of the \$40,000 Administrative Fund voted, by resolution, at a meeting of the National Council. Out of that Fund, the Palestine Pavilion and other obligations were to have been met.

Referring to Mr. Weisgal's statement that the Z.O.A. actually owes to the Palestine Pavilion \$9,500, Mr. Röss pointed out that the Convention did not vote \$10,000 for the Pavilion; the Convention recommended the payment of

\$10,000, subject to the approval of the Executive; and when it came before that body, the Executive voted \$5,000, with the proviso that, if the finances of the Z.O.A. permitted, an additional \$2,500 will be voted to the Pavilion.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Executive, having heard the report of Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal in connection with the finances, etc. of the 1940 Palestine Pavilion at the World's Fair, requests the Finance Committee of the ZOA to work out a plan, as quickly as possible, with respect to the payment of the ZOA obligation to the Palestine Pavilion.

Meeting adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

May 16, 1940

My dear Abba: I am enclosing herewith an article which appeared in yesterday's Morning Journal, which may interest you.

Goldman had recently asked the J. O. A. office for a list of all Presidents of Districts. And this week a number of Presidents of Long Island Districts had received letters asking them to sign a Petition for a third term for Goldman as president of the J. O. A. Thus, Goldman is initiating a "Draft Goldman Movement."

More and more the movement for Lipsky is gaining momentum. I believe he is the only one - outside of Wise or yourself - who can beat him. What are your reactions? Who is your preference? I understand Goldstein is not a candidate if Lipsky runs. Let me know by return mail, so that I know how to act at Long Island pre-convention conference. As ever yours, S.C.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

May 22, 1940

SOLOMON GOLDMAN
President

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

LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
Chairman, Nat'l. Admin. Council

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Chairman, Finance Committee

MORRIS WEINBERG
Treasurer

LUDWIG LEWISOHN
Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

EXECUTIVE

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CHARLES A. COWEN
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HARRY M. FISHER
HARRY FRIEDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
I. M. GOLDEN
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MORDECAI KONOWITZ
HARRIS J. LEVINE
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MEYER LEVY
IRVING MILLER
CHARLES RESS
AARON RICHE
A. H. ROSENBERG
EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
CARL SHERMAN
SIMON SHETZER
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL
ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE

Associate Members

MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
ALFRED J. KAHN
ELEAZAR LIPSKY

TO THE ZIONIST REGIONS, DISTRICTS,
SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED
WITH THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA.

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

You are hereby given notice that on May 20, 1940 there was presented a petition signed by over 250 members in good standing of the Zionist Organization of America, proposing the following amendment to Article IX, Section 5 of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization of America, to wit:

"Section 5. No President may serve consecutively for more than three terms."

At present Article IX, Section 5 reads:

"Section 5. No President may serve consecutively for more than two terms."

The above notice of change in the Constitution is submitted to you in accordance with Article X, Section 1, providing for the methods of amending the Constitution.

Article X, Section 1 reads:

"Section 1. This Constitution may be amended upon recommendation of the Executive or the Administrative Council or upon a petition signed by at least two hundred and fifty members in good standing, by a two-third vote of the delegates voting at a regular or special session of the Convention, provided written notice of the proposed amendment is given to each Region, District, Society and Affiliated Organization at least thirty days before such Convention, and the proposed amendment is published in the official publication of the Zionist Organization of America, at least thirty days before such Convention. This Constitution may also be amended by the Convention, without prior notice, by a two-third vote of all the delegates elected to it."

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies
Morris Margulies
Secretary

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

My dear Abba:-

May 25, 1940

When you will receive this letter you will no doubt have read the "Official Notice" in the *Nur Palestine* of the submission of an amendment to the Constitution of the J. O. A. for a third term for Goldman. Of course Goldman will keep on "protesting" that he is not a candidate. But we know who will be the next president if the amendment passes.

It is of course essential that we have enough delegates present who will defeat the amendment. My district, for instance, has a right to elect eight delegates, but the maximum who will go are three or ^{because of the expense involved} ~~four~~ other districts on Long Island opposed to Goldman are situated similarly.

Can you submit to me a list of members of your Society who are anxious to go but who will not be elected by your Society. I shall see that they get delegates' credentials from my or other districts on Long Island. But of course you must be sure that these men or women will actually go.

Cleveland is not far from Pittsburgh and you should be able to have a

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
—
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

sizable list.

Time is of the essence, because in some of our districts elections will be held during the first week of June.

Will you see that I get such a list at once. The more names the merrier. Long Island is entitled to 55-57 delegates and only between 14-18 will actually attend.

If you have more names I may be able to secure credentials from other friendly districts outside of Long Island.

When you send me such a list have them submitted in the order of their assuredness to attend.

Kindest regards to Virginia. Please extend to her Ann's and my sympathy on her great loss.

As ever yours

Sol.

P. S. I realize how busy you are but you can assign the detail work to Mr. Fuldman or others.

May 28, 1940

Mr. Solomon Cohen
11 West 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Sol:

Let me thank you for your kind letter. As I expressed to you a few days ago in New York, I do not think it is advisable for me or for my Society to become involved as a principal in the forthcoming controversy. To do what you propose, is to put the Cleveland Zionist Society and of course myself out in front again as the spearpoint of the attack. That I do not wish to do. Nor is it is desirable.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

החסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
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SIMON SHETZER
WILLIAM I. SIEGEL
ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ELIHU D. STONE

Associate Members

MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
ALFRED J. KAHN
ELEAZAR LIPSKY

May 29, 1940.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Last night I happened to be with a number of Zionists who are particularly active in the U.P.A. We were discussing this year's U.J.A. Campaign and the prospects for the future. I told them as best I could of the fine courageous letter you had written to Baerwald, which letter, I pointed out, was actually one of a series. The information I gave them made them most happy.

I feel that I should convey this fact to you.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Morris Margulies

COMMITTEE ON ZIONIST CONVENTION PROBLEMS

CARL SHERMAN, Chairman

103 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK
Room 215
ASHland 4-6079

June 4, 1940

Fellow-Zionist:

In recent weeks, Zionist Districts have been flooded with misleading propaganda tending to undermine confidence in the Zionist Organization of America and to create discord and dissension in Zionist ranks.

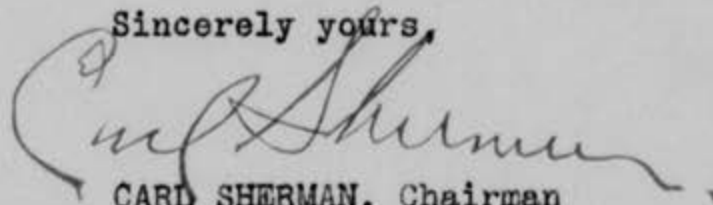
It is to be deeply deplored that at this time of great crisis the attempt should be made to stir up controversy over false issues which have no real bearing upon the tasks that confront the Zionist Movement.

A Committee on Zionist Convention Problems comprising a number of members in the National Executive and other responsible Zionist workers will place before the Zionists of America the facts relating to our organization and the issues before the Pittsburgh Convention.

From time to time communications will be sent to you which we hope will help to remove misunderstanding and make it possible for the Convention to deal with our problems in a spirit of harmony and cooperation.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,



CARD SHERMAN, Chairman
Committee On Zionist Convention Problems

החברות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



PITTSBURGH DISTRICT

901 KEYSTONE BANK BLDG. - PITTSBURGH, PA.

TELEPHONE COURT 0138

June 4, 1940

RABBI B. A. LICHTER
Honorary President

SAUL S. SPIRO
President

Vice-Presidents

HARRY BERLIN
Chairman of Membership

JOSEPH PORTER
Chairman of Finance

NATHAN SAVAGE
Chairman of Culture

ISRAEL A. ABRAMS
Chairman, Board of Direct

BERNARD KAPLAN
Recording Secretary

JACOB SEDER
Financial Secretary

EMANUEL SPECTOR
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DR. ABRAHAM LEWIN

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HARRY I. NEAMAN

BENJAMIN RAPHAEL

OSCAR ROBBINS

OSCAR ROBINS

HYMAN ROGAL

MAX ROGAL

CHAS. J. ROSENBLUM

HARRY SEINER

I. A. SWIN

ABE WEIL

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
c/o The Temple
105th at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I will be grateful to you if you will be good enough to send us a greeting to be published in the Souvenir Book which the local Convention Committee will issue on the occasion of the 43rd annual Zionist Convention, to be held in Pittsburgh.

Looking forward to the receipt of your greeting by not later than June 18, I am

Thankfully yours,

Saul S. Spiro, Editor

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING HELD ON WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5,
4 P.M., AT THE OFFICE OF THE Z.O.A., 111 FIFTH AVENUE, N.Y.C.

PRESENT:

Messrs. Louis Lipsky (in the Chair), David Berenstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Murray I. Gurfein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Mordecai Konowitz, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Röss, Louis P. Rucker, Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein (representing Hadassah), Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah),

Excuses for Absence received from Messrs. Robert M. Bernstein, A. K. Epstein, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Simon Shetzer, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Judge Fisher expressed Dr. Goldman's regret at his inability to be present. (Judge Fisher recalled that this meeting of the Executive was originally scheduled to be held on June 19th). Dr. Goldman was scheduled to be in Chicago to close the Welfare Fund drive and asked Judge Fisher to suggest that Mr. Lipsky preside at this meeting, in his absence.

The Chairman submitted the following agenda for the meeting: (1) Report of Convention Program Committee; (2) Report of Reorganization sub-Committee; (3) Report on Hadassah Negotiations; (4) Report of Meeting of Court of Honor; (5) Report on Emergency Committee; (6) Report of Finance Committee.

BUDGET FOR 1940 - 41:

The Chairman called attention to Article IX, Section 12 of the Z.O.A. Constitution, which provides that "The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention for approval a budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year." This budget is not final; it has to be passed by the Budget Committee of the Convention. But a tentative budget should be prepared and presented to the Convention, in the name of the Executive.

Rabbi Holler moved, and it was seconded and carried:

THAT the Finance Committee of the Z.O.A. be instructed to draw up a tentative budget for the ensuing year, to be presented to the forthcoming Convention in the name of the Executive of the Z.O.A. ;

THAT the tentative budget to be presented to the Convention be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive.

NEXT MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE:

Acting upon the suggestion contained in a communication from Mr. Aaron Riche, of Los Angeles, it was duly moved, seconded and carried

THAT a special meeting of the Executive be held on Friday, June 28th, at the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh; and

THAT the ruling providing for the payment of transportation expenses for out-of-town members, be suspended for that meeting.

REPORT OF CONVENTION COMMITTEE - By Judge Fisher:

1) Validity of Elections:

Judge Fisher recalled that at the meeting of the Executive held in Philadelphia, it was resolved that the same procedure which was followed pertaining to the Elections last year, be enforced this year, and the Convention Committee was authorized to set the date for Elections. The Committee decided on the week beginning June 2nd and terminating June 9th.

Judge Fisher felt that the covering letter sent by the secretary together with the regular approved instructions for the Election of Delegates, gave an erroneous impression about the closing date for holding elections, when it stated that "the reports of the elections will have to be in the office of the Z.O.A. by June 26th".

Judge Fisher thereupon wrote to Mr. Margulies suggesting that he immediately notify all the Districts that Elections held after June 9th are invalid, that they can be held only during the week beginning June 2nd and ending June 9th. Mr. Margulies replied to Judge Fisher's letter as follows:

".....were we to do that, it would throw the whole business of electing delegates into chaos. I have had checked back the delegate election reports to the last Convention, when the same rules prevailed as this year. Though this information is incomplete, as many of the election reports fail to give the dates when the actual elections took place, I do find the following: During the week of June 4th (last year June 4th was the date, instead of June 2nd) 56 election reports came in; during the week of June 11th, 83 came in; during the week of June 18th, 70 came in; and during the week of June 25th -- two days prior to the Convention -- 3 reports came in."

Judge Fisher added that he had no objection to that, provided the Executive would go on record as agreeing to the validity of elections not being questioned, so long as reports come in before the 26th of June.

He thereupon moved

THAT the Credentials Committee be instructed that it is the sense of the Executive that the validity of Elections shall not be questioned, provided the Certificates of Election reach the Zionist Office prior to the 26th day of June, 1940.

The motion was seconded.

Judge Levinthal called attention to Article VIII, Section 8 of the Constitution, which provides that "The Executive, subject to approval of the Administrative Council, shall establish rules for the election of delegates and their alternates."

Judge Fisher stated that the Rules have been properly adopted. His motion here was made on behalf of the Convention Committee.

Judge Fisher's motion was approved by the Executive, as a recommendation on behalf of his Committee, that any Election Report received before June 26th shall be regarded as valid, irrespective as to whether or not the Election was held between June 2nd and 9th.

Mr. Konowitz suggested that the Z.O.A. Districts be notified of this action.

The Secretary pointed out that, while Judge Fisher's ruling is in order, to circularize it among the Districts at this time would create confusion.

2) Members In Good Standing:

Another point made by Judge Fisher on behalf of the Convention Committee was that there is actually no fixed fiscal year for the purpose of elections, that is, there appears to be no definite ruling as to what constitutes a member in good standing at the Convention. He moved

THAT, for the purpose of the ensuing Convention, all Zionists shall be regarded as in good standing who have paid their last dues within twelve months prior to the opening of the Convention.

Mr. Margulies expressed the thought that such a motion would tend to destroy every attempt being made to make the regular payment of dues obligatory, pointing out that dues are computed from the original date of payment. Thus, if a member originally paid his dues in April, 1937; thereafter in May, 1938; and in July of 1939, he is in good standing only until April 1940.

The Chairman asked why a member should not be considered in good standing when he pays his dues twelve months before the Convention.

Mr. Ress offered the following substitute motion:

THAT no member be considered in good standing for the purposes of the election of delegates, or of serving as a delegate, who has not paid his dues prior to the annual Convention.

Judge Ellenbogen suggested that the ruling followed until now remain unchanged in connection with the forthcoming Convention; but if this question is considered involved, it should be dealt with by the Committee on Credentials. He therefore moved

THAT all discussions on the subject be tabled and referred to the Credentials Committee.

Rabbi Heller suggested that in the case of new members their membership be considered valid for a period of twelve months from the date of the original payment of dues. He felt that Judge Fisher's motion had not been understood.

The Chairman explained the motion as follows: That any new member who had paid his dues at any time within twelve months of the year, preceding the date of the Convention, is a member in good standing. Any member who has been a member before this year, who is in good standing according to our calculations of membership, must be reckoned as a member in good standing for purposes of the Convention. In other words, a member cannot become in good standing by paying twelve months dues every two years.

Judge Ellenbogen's motion to table the discussion was defeated.

Mr. Shapiro then made the following substitute motion:

THAT any member of the Z.O.A. who has paid his dues in the course of the past fiscal year is a member in good standing of the Z.O.A. and is eligible to vote for delegates or to be elected as a delegate to the Zionist Convention,

THAT any member -- old or new -- who has paid his dues in full within the twelve-month period preceding the Convention is a member in good standing.

The motion was carried by a majority vote.

3) CONVENTION PROGRAM:

Judge Fisher reported that the meeting of the Convention Committee, convened to consider the Convention program earlier in the day (2 P.M.), did not take place, as none of the members found it possible to attend. However, he said, he had the advice of Dr. Goldman and Mr. Margulies. He presented the following tentative program:

SATURDAY, JUNE 29

M'laveh Malka -- Auspices Histadruth Ivrit ---8:30 P. M. --- Wm. Penn Hotel
 Registration of Delegates 9:00 P. M. " " "
 Meeting of National Administrative Council 9:30 P. M. " " "
 (Attendance to National Council meeting limited to members)

SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 30

Registration of Delegates (continued)

" " "

FIRST SESSION

SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 2:30 P.M.

at the SYRIA MOSQUE

Convention called to order.

1. Presidential Address
2. Greetings by the Mayor of Pittsburgh
3. Greeting on behalf of local Convention Committee
4. Submission of Administration Report
5. Report of Administrative Council on Convention procedure.
6. Announcement of Committee on Committees
7. Greetings by Zionist and Affiliated Organizations
8. Address by a government official (Secretary Ickes or Gen. Jackson)
9. Resolution on method of nominating Administrative Council

SECOND SESSION

SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 7:30 P.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

Banquet

Toastmaster -- Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner

Speakers: Rabbi James G. Heller, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Report of Committee on Committees

THIRD SESSION

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 1

Wm. Penn Hotel

1. Meetings of Standing Committees
2. Session of plenum devoted to discussion of funds
- .. Speakers: Eliezer Kaplan, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Israel Goldstein, and Henry Montor.

FOURTH SESSION

MONDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 1, 2:30 P.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

Plenary Session:

Discussion of Reorganization Report and resolutions offered by Reorganization Committee.

FIFTH SESSION

MONDAY EVENING, JULY 1, 8:00 P.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

1. Report of Nominating Committee and Elections
2. Report of Resolutions Committee

SIXTH SESSION

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 10 A.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

1. Discussion of membership campaign
2. General discussion on Palestine in the present crisis.

SEVENTH SESSION

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 2, 2:30 P.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

American Jewish Youth and Zionism

Discussion on Program:

A brief discussion followed and a number of suggestions were made by the members present. Among the suggestions were

1) That a report on the Emergency Committee be included in the President's Address.

2) That the Keren Hayesod be included in the session devoted to a discussion of Palestine Funds, and that Mr. Charles Ress report on behalf of the Keren Hayesod.

Judge Fisher asked for a motion that, in principle, the Executive approves the draft of the tentative program.

The Chairman stated that the Executive is grateful to the Committee for having prepared the program.

Judge Ellenbogen called attention to the fact that the Pittsburgh Committee is opposed to the Sunday afternoon schedule as presented by Judge Fisher, as it is filled with Convention business. Originally it was the decision of the Pittsburgh Committee to hold an admission-paying public meeting on Sunday afternoon, not as part of the Convention, but under the auspices of the Pittsburgh District. This public meeting was arranged, as agreed, in order to enable the Pittsburgh Committee to meet its pledge of \$2500 to the National Organization for defraying part of the Convention expense. At the request of the Organization, the Pittsburgh District agreed to change its plans and hold this public meeting at the Syria Mosque, ~~in~~ conjunction with the opening session of the Convention, provided the program would be made suitable for a paying-public. The meeting has been widely publicized; tickets have been sold and plans are too far advanced to make any changes for holding the meeting at another time. Therefore, Judge Ellenbogen pointed out, to devote the opening session mainly to business would not be adhering to the original purpose of the Pittsburgh Committee.

Judge Ellenbogen urged that the opening session be limited to the addresses of two speakers from Washington, and to a third address, perhaps by a prominent Zionist. According to the plans of the Pittsburgh Zionists, the President's address was not intended to be delivered at the opening session. Personally, Judge Ellenbogen added, he realized it would be difficult to shift, but he was presenting this matter on behalf of the Pittsburgh Program Committee which has worked diligently almost every day and which will be deeply disturbed, unless some change is made. He reiterated that he personally did not see how

the address of the President could be shifted to any other session but the opening session. Judge Ellenbogen urged that it is the duty of the national office to adhere to the original intention of the Pittsburgh Program Committee.

Mr. Margulies stated that Judge Ellenbogen was unduly alarmed, and pointed out that actually there are only two features on the program of the opening session: (1) The President's address, and (2) General Jackson or Secretary Ickes. The greetings from the Mayor of Pittsburgh were insisted upon by the Pittsburgh Committee. The submission of the Administration Report is included in the opening session, in order that the delegates may discuss it if they so desire. Greetings by affiliated Zionist organizations are always included in the Convention Program -- sometimes those are presented at the first session and at other times at the last session.

Commenting further on the opening session, the Chairman said it is obvious that at a public meeting, in the presence of 4,000 people, a report of the Administrative Council cannot be submitted; some other place in the program will have to be found for it. Constitutional Amendments must be passed upon in order that the Nominations Committee may be able to act. The Chairman suggested that Judge Fisher's Committee take into account Judge Ellenbogen's criticism, and so reduce the program of the first session as to meet the requirements of the Pittsburgh Zionists.

It was the consensus of opinion that a controversial Constitutional report ought not be introduced at the first session.

The Chairman further suggested that the Administrative Council be given authority at its meeting on Saturday night, June 29, (in addition to reporting on the Praesidium and on the Committee on Committees,) to also report to the Convention the fact that action has been taken on a matter involving the Administrative Council, which should go direct to the Convention Committee which, in turn, will report at the appropriate time on Monday, July 1.

Rabbi Heller pointed out that, when amendments to the Constitution have been presented in proper form, they are voted upon at a stated session of the Convention and not referred to any Committee.

The Chairman stated that Rabbi Heller's point is well taken, pointing out that all Constitutional Amendments having been submitted in proper form may, in accordance with the Constitution, come directly before the Convention, without the intervention of any Convention Committee. The only question, then, is the arrangement on the program as to when it is to be submitted to the Convention.

Judge Fisher agreed with the view expressed by Rabbi Heller and read from Article X Section 1 of the Constitution, which provides as follows:

"This Constitution may be amended upon recommendation of the Executive or the Administrative Council, or upon a petition signed by at least two hundred and fifty members in good standing, by a two-thirds vote of the delegates voting at a regular or special session of the Convention, provided written notice of the proposed amendment is given to each Region, District, Society and Affiliated Organization at least thirty days before such Convention. This Constitution may also be amended by the Convention, without prior notice, by a two-third vote of all the delegates elected to it."

In connection with the discussion, Judge Fisher called attention to one of the recommendations of his sub-Committee on Reorganization, which he said, is not in the form of a Constitutional amendment, namely, that instead of the Nominations Committee at the Convention nominating all of the members of the National Administrative Council, it should nominate only twenty members at large, and the other one hundred members should be nominated directly by representatives of the Regions and Districts.

At the suggestion of Rabbi Heller it was agreed to put the discussion on this question on Monday morning's program of the Convention.

Judge Ellenbogen asked whether it would not be advisable, in view of the world situation, to invite a representative of the British Government -- perhaps the British Ambassador -- to address the opening session on Sunday.

Mr. Goldberg expressed the opinion that the program for the opening session must be altered. He said that the program must also make room for other people to speak, in addition to the address of the President. Furthermore, Mr. Goldberg suggested that the opening session include a Resolution, which should be presented by a member of the Administration, and seconded by various prominent leaders. Not only will this serve to get the opening session into the press all over the country, but such a Resolution is most essential at this time.

Mr. Stone suggested that the Chair appoint a Committee on Special Resolutions to draft a Resolution on Eretz Yisroel, etc., to be submitted to the Convention.

Rabbi Brickner believed that the President's message may deal with such a resolution as proposed by Mr. Goldberg.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that sufficient thought be given to the proper utilization of the opening session, pointing out that these are unprecedented times and therefore the arrangement of the Convention program should be unprecedented. He felt that the opening session provides a much-needed opportunity to say what we Zionists believe ought to be said, and to have these sentiments echoed not only by our own Zionists, but also by others, in order to let the country know how the Jewish people feel about the present situation in general, and about Palestine in particular. Dr. Goldstein suggested that the program include one or two of the so-called "Non-Zionists" -- men whom we know to be very understanding and sympathetic -- like Henry Monsky who represents the B'nai B'rith. A word from Mr. Monsky and from one or two other outstanding personalities whose reputation and representative character are recognized by American Jews would be equally as important as anything that might be said by us. With regard to the President's message, -- no one knows what it is going to contain. It might be a message on broad and fundamental lines which everybody might commend. It might also contain certain elements with which only a portion of the membership of the Zionist Organization might agree. That part of the President's message which deals with our own internal problems should be reserved for a subsequent occasion when we can listen to it as Zionists interested in the intimate workings of the Organization. Dr. Goldstein recommended that the Chairman of the Program Committee reorientate himself to this kind of an approach and arrange the program accordingly.

The Chairman believed that Dr. Goldstein's and Mr. Goldberg's suggestions can be made to coincide by including in the program, following the President's address, a Resolution to be submitted by Mr. Monsky and seconded by one or two other Jewish leaders. This will contribute to the creation of the desired spirit of solidarity. It would enhance the program to have a statement coming from a united Jewish community, which would represent a solidarity of opinion invaluable to the whole movement.

Rabbi Heller recommended that someone speak to Dr. Goldman personally and suggest to him that he divide his address in two parts.

Judge Fisher said he was quite certain that there need be no concern on that score. He believed that Dr. Goldman's message will deal with the big issues before the Organization and not with the question of reorganization, or with any internal affairs of the Z.O.A.

Mr. Ress felt that Judge Fisher's statement ought to satisfy everyone.

Rabbi Heller moved

THAT whatever differences of opinion may exist with regard to the internal organization or personnel of the Z.O.A. be relegated to a session of the Convention subsequent to the opening session.

Rabbi Heller's motion was seconded by Rabbi Levinthal and Mr. Sherman.

It was agreed that Judge Fisher, as Chairman of the Program Committee, should convey to the President the opinion expressed by the Executive. It was further unanimously agreed that this opinion be made applicable to all speakers either at the opening Session or the Sunday evening session.

It was the consensus of opinion that the opening/session include the suggestions offered by both Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Goldberg.

Rabbi Miller suggested that the present situation makes it mandatory to include the theme "Palestine and the World Scene" in the Convention Program, preferably at the Monday afternoon session; or else that it be made the keynote of the Banquet. He pointed out that to place this all-important subject on the agenda of any other session of the Convention later than Monday afternoon would create no effect whatsoever, for, usually, following the Monday evening session when the Elections will be held, very few people remain at the Convention.

Mr. Goldstein suggested that the Executive consider the unhappy situation created as a result of articles appearing in the Anglo-Jewish press containing villifying attacks on the Z.O.A.

Mr. Shapiro suggested that the banquet be shifted to Monday night, pointing out that if the Convention opens on Sunday afternoon and the banquet takes place Sunday night, and if the Monday sessions are mainly devoted to business,--by Tuesday, most of the delegates will have departed. Therefore, he believed that a business session on Sunday night and the banquet on Monday night would be preferable.

Rabbi Heller proposed that the Convention be concluded by Monday night.

Judge Fisher said that he had considered having the banquet on Tuesday night instead of Sunday, in order to hold the interest of the Convention.

Rabbi Heller pointed out that if the elections are held later than Monday night, most the delegates will have gone. He felt too that nothing worse could be done than to postpone the elections. He suggested that something be done about Tuesday's sessions.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that Mr. Eliezer Kaplan be invited to address the Convention, not only to enlighten the delegates but also the public at large that will undoubtedly be gathered Sunday night at the banquet.

The Chairman pointed out that Mr. Kaplan brings with him a very vivid and moving story of the position of the Yishuv, and should not be relegated to a discussion of the Funds.

Mr. Shorman moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the Convention Program submitted by Judge Fisher be referred back to his Committee, together with all the suggestions (and subsequent suggestions) made by members of the Executive; and

THAT Judge Fisher's Committee endeavor to incorporate these suggestions -- conflicting as they may seem -- into one harmonious whole, so that the Convention may be properly organized.

It was understood that members of the Executive may continue to submit to Judge Fisher and his Committee any additional suggestions they may have with regard to the Convention program.

HADASSAH - Z.O.A. RELATIONSHIP :

The Secretary reported that the Committee on Z.O.A.-Hadassah Relationship had met with a Committee of Hadassah on Friday, May 10th. Hadassah proposed that a new contract be drawn between the two organizations, allocating the \$7500 "affiliation tax" to youth work. The proposed new contract provides that Masada shall be an exclusively young men's Zionist organization and shall be recognized as "The Young Men's Zionist Organization of America." Because of the inclusion of this point, the members representing the Z.O.A. felt that they had to consult Masada. A meeting was subsequently held of representatives of the Z.O.A. and of Masada. The latter felt that they were not authorized to enter into any contract on the basis of this agreement.

Supplementing Mr. Margulies' remarks, Mrs. Epstein recalled that a contract had been in effect between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah since 1933. Under the terms of the agreement the Z.O.A. and Hadassah became parallel organizations and Hadassah was to pay to the Z.O.A. an annual affiliation fee of \$7,500. Later, through misunderstandings that have arisen on various occasions, it was stated that this money was to be given to the Z.O.A. for political work of interest to both organizations carried on by the Z.O.A. When

the American Zionist Bureau was established in Washington, the whole question came up again because Hadassah had already been giving the Z.O.A. \$7,500 a year for "political work".

Finally, at the meeting on May 10, Mrs. Epstein continued, a decision was arrived at which both the Z.O.A. and Hadassah favored, whereby a Youth Commission was to be set up of three or four persons, to assume full responsibility for promoting General Zionist youth activity. The \$7,500 would be given by Hadassah to the Z.O.A., ear-marked for the Youth Commission in addition to \$2500 which will be given to Young Judaea, and these \$10,000 will constitute the annual budget for the Youth Commission. The money is to be kept in the treasury of the Z.O.A. and the expenditures to be supervised by the Youth Commission.

Speaking further of the proposed new contract between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah, Mrs. Epstein said that both Junior and Senior Hadassah have been very much concerned over the fact that Masada is becoming a co-educational organization. This situation definitely becomes a problem for Junior Hadassah. The new contract, therefore, proposes that Masada shall be exclusively a young men's Zionist organization. This whole plan for a Zionist Youth Commission hinges on Masada's acceptance of this point.

Mrs. Epstein urged that the Z.O.A. Executive pass upon the proposed plan and recommend it to the forthcoming Convention. Hadassah is also recommending it to its Convention, for one of the questions that Hadassah members are very much interested in is the relationship of Hadassah with the Z.O.A.

The Chairman stated that if there is an agreement between the Z.O.A. Committee and the Hadassah Committee with regard to the main feature of the contract -- that is, that instead of the Hadassah paying \$7500 into the treasury of the Z.O.A. as an affiliation fee, it pay the \$7500 as a contribution to youth activities -- then, insofar as the Z.O.A. and Hadassah are concerned, such an agreement can be ratified without any question. The Chairman asked whether the only point of disagreement is the question of Masada and Junior Hadassah.

Mr. Siegel stated that at the meeting of the Z.O.A. Committee (of which he is a member) and the Hadassah Committee, he took the position, personally, that one of the questions was the consideration of the original contract and that the sum of \$7500 was not paid by Hadassah to the Z.O.A. purely as a contribution for youth work, but, in effect, as a contribution for the Z.O.A. to proselytize women membership. Mr. Siegel added that, after creating a unilateral breach of the contract a year or so later, Hadassah expressed its eagerness to recreate the contract, offering merely a restatement of the \$7500 in the light of the other conditions that it attached to its original proposal, and one of those conditions was to rescind the right of Masada to have female members. Mr. Siegel recalled that he pointed out at the May 10th meeting that the Z.O.A. could not "sell Masada down the river for \$7500" -- that Masada had to be consulted. Masada was subsequently consulted and it was found that they look upon this as a very important matter. They cited instances where the Junior Hadassah was unsuccessful in organizing chapters, whereas Masada was successful in forming a very active mixed group.

Masada will not give us any answer until they have submitted the question to a referendum. Masada feels that it is a matter of such vital importance to them that they may even forego the subsidy, in order to maintain

their independence of action. Mr. Siegel believed that Masada, as the junior organization of the Z.O.A., is certainly entitled to decide on this matter for itself and to present to the Z.O.A. a reasoned consideration of their point of view, before the Executive takes any action.

Mr. Rocker recalled that at the time when Masada was formally organized, mixed Masada groups were already in existence in the larger cities, and Hadassah had then agreed to the organization of mixed Masada groups in those cities, but in the smaller communities, only male groups were to be organized.

Rabbi Heller expressed the thought that the question of Masada had no relative importance in the discussion of Hadassah - Z.O.A. relationship. Rabbi Heller who was a member of the Z.O.A. Executive at the time the agreement was entered into between Hadassah and the Z.O.A., recalled that the original proposal was that Hadassah's affiliation fee to the Z.O.A. be paid on the basis of \$1.00 per member, for which Hadassah was to have the privilege of being the sole Women's Zionist Organization of America, and in the light of the payment of that affiliation fee, Hadassah was entitled to elect a certain number of delegates to the Z.O.A. Convention. That condition has never been abrogated by the Z.O.A., and when Hadassah contended that it would give that \$7500 to the Political Bureau in Washington, the Executive never consented to such an arrangement and was never a party to such an agreement. Should the Executive now conclude an agreement with Hadassah whereby it agrees that Hadassah give the \$7500 to youth work, the relationship between Hadassah and the Z.O.A. would then be abrogated. Rabbi Heller doubted whether this question could be settled at this meeting, but in the meantime Hadassah is withholding its payment of the \$7500 to the Z.O.A. He moved

THAT the Z.O.A. Committee on Hadassah - Z.O.A. relations continue to confer with the Hadassah Committee; and

THAT Hadassah shall have no representation at the forthcoming Convention of the Z.O.A. unless it pays its affiliation tax to the Z.O.A., as provided in the Hadassah--Z.O.A. Agreement entered into in 1933.

Rabbi Heller's motion was seconded.

Judge Ellenbogen was opposed to the turn that the negotiations had thus far taken, as well as to the spirit of the statement and the motion of Rabbi Heller. He suggested that the purpose of the future negotiations should be to bring about a closer relationship between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah and pointed out that Rabbi Heller's motion to exclude Hadassah from the Convention would only serve to widen the breach.

Rabbi Heller's motion was carried.

Mrs. Epstein suggested that the Hadassah-Z.O.A. matter be made a special order of business at the special meeting of the Executive on Friday, June 28th.

The Chairman ruled that the Executive has the power to come to any arrangement with any Zionist Organization. He referred to Article III. of the Z.O.A. Constitution which deals with Affiliated Organizations. Section 1. provides that "National Jewish Organizations which shall subscribe to the

Basle Program may be chartered by the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America as Affiliated Organizations upon such terms and conditions and with such rights, privileges, powers and obligations as the Executive, with the approval of the Administrative Council, shall prescribe."

The Chairman added that since, under the terms of the original agreement, Hadassah was to pay \$7500 to the Z.O.A. as an annual affiliation fee, that organization can be considered in good standing only upon payment of that fee.

GOOD AND WELFARE :

Calling attention to the subject broached by Mr. Goldstein earlier in the meeting, Mr. Ress urged that, while it is not a routine matter, it be given priority at this meeting, since it is a question involving the good and welfare of the whole Zionist movement in America. He thereupon moved

THAT the question of Good and Welfare, raised by Mr. Goldstein, be the next order of business.

The motion was seconded.

Judge Fisher suggested that the Executive proceed with the report of the sub-Committee on Reorganization, pointing out that, in the first instance, reports of Committees come before any Good and Welfare discussion; and secondly, if the Executive will listen to a report of the Reorganization Committee, at least a part of the situation will be met. He added that the report of the Reorganization Committee was unanimous, which, in itself, may bring a new situation. Consideration of the report may also lead to a discussion of the matter that Mr. Goldstein presented here.

The Chairman declared that there is in progress throughout the country an organized attempt to undermine the authority, prestige, and good name of the Zionist Organization of America, and if the Executive, at this meeting -- with practically every member present -- did not take steps to establish harmony and accord in the Organization, it would be guilty of criminal neglect.

Rabbi Brickner urged that the Executive first hear the report of the Reorganization Committee and then proceed to a discussion of Good and Welfare.

The question was called and Mr. Ress' motion was adopted.

A protracted discussion ensued, in which practically all of the members present participated.

Attention was called to the series of articles appearing in the Anglo-Jewish press and to the nature of those articles, as well as to the flood of material being circulated among the Zionists and Districts throughout the country.

The discussion finally formulated itself into the following motion which was passed:

THAT a Committee of Five be appointed, representing the points of view existing in the Z.O.A. Executive, to meet without delay, for the purpose of (a) composing differences; (b) agreeing as to (1) the Program for the Convention, and (2) the officers to be recommended to the Convention:

THAT the members of this Committee receive instructions from the groups they represent.

The committee consists of Carl Sherman, Charles Ross, Louis P. Rucker, Robert Szold - with Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal as the impartial member.

The Committee was to meet not later than Monday, June 10th. It was understood that the members of the Committee were to be free to consult with their respective groups before any binding agreement was reached. It was also understood that, in the event any member of the Committee named was prevented from attending meetings of the Committee, he could call upon any other member of the group he represents to take his place on the Committee.

It was further agreed that (1) No further literature was to be sent out by either group until Monday, June 10th; (2) both sides were to refrain from calling any new meetings (it being agreed that the meeting called by one group for Sunday, June 9th, was to take place); (3) all meetings scheduled during the interim (between June 5th and June 10th) shall be conducted with a view to peace and harmony; and (4) a statement could be issued by the Committee of Five, if they so decided.

REORGANIZATION REPORT :

Rabbi Heller moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the report of the sub-Committee on Reorganization be submitted to the special meeting of the Executive on Friday, June 28th, at the Wm. Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa;.

THAT, in advance of that meeting copies of the report be mailed to all members of the Executive.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION :

It was duly moved, seconded and carried

THAT the Constitutional Amendments proposed by Judge Fisher's sub-Committee be approved;

Exec. - 6/5

THAT this approval also include the proposal that Article IX, Section 19 of the Constitution be repealed; and furthermore,

THAT the unanimous action of Judge Fisher's Committee in sending out mere proposals of the amendments to the Constitution be approved.

The meeting adjourned at 12:45 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

PROPOSALS BY THE BROOKLYN ZIONIST REGION TO BE SUBMITTED
TO THE Z.O.A. CONVENTION IN PITTSBURGH, JUNE 1940.

-A-

The catastrophes which have overtaken European Jewry have impaired the Zionist movement abroad and consequently have thrown a high degree of responsibility upon the movement in this country. The Zionist Organization of America is called upon to assume leadership in the direction of Zionist affairs to a degree unparalleled in recent years. We must therefore give effective expression to our views as General Zionists regarding the problems involved in the creation of the National Home. We must endeavor to give direction to Zionist affairs in accordance with these principles and policies, as distinguished from principles and policies derived from other ideologies.

-B-

We believe that the first principle of General Zionism -- the concentration of masses of Jews in Palestine with a view to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth -- must have the right of way as against other objectives and considerations or the interests of class or party. This basic principle of General Zionism has not been asserted with sufficient vigor and has not been consistently applied -- often to the detriment of the Cause. Without intending to cover all aspects of the problem, we might point to the following, as illustrations:

1. Inadequate encouragement and assistance to private enterprises.
2. Inadequate attention to the needs of industry and industrialization of the country.
3. The existence of three school systems in Palestine, each under direct party domination, and of partisan youth movements which seek to indoctrinate the immature.
4. The growth of party funds to the point of encroachment upon the general and central funds of the movement.
5. The inadequate support extended by the central funds to the colonization of General Zionists.

We suggest to the Zionist Convention that these and other conditions have grown up, at least in part, because the Zionist Organization of America has failed to use its influence to achieve a balanced and non-partisan development. The Zionist Organization of America, conscious of the constructive role which General Zionism must play in the movement, should meet and correct these problems by the adoption of a dignified but firm policy acting in concert with other General Zionist groups.

-C-

The Brooklyn Zionist Region, therefore, invites the Convention to consider the following proposals:

1. That the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America shall direct all activities, membership work, educational policies, general propaganda, including the policies of the official organs, in accordance with the spirit and program of General Zionism.
2. That the Convention direct the Executive Committee to maintain particularly close contact with the organs, institutions and instrumentalities of the General Zionists in Palestine, and to do all in its power to strengthen them.

3. That the Executive Shall cooperate with the representatives of the General Zionists in the Executive and Administrative organs of the World Zionist Organization in order to promote the effective execution of policies in accordance with the spirit and aims of General Zionism.

4. That it shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to promote among the Zionists of this country a realistic understanding of the problems of Palestine; to stimulate the intelligent discussion of such problems with the view to the evolution of an adequate General Zionist point of view.

5. That the Zionist Organization of America foster a spirit of unity in Zionism and in the Yishuv. A unified school system in Palestine, free of partisan bias, under the supervision of the Vaad Leumi, will go far to achieve this aim.

6. That the Executive Committee shall, without neglecting the vitally essential national funds, encourage and stimulate an interest in the economic development of Palestine in the spheres of commerce and industry. To this end the Executive Committee shall elaborate plans and propose to the Zionists of America their participation in one or more projects, such as the following:

- (a) Support of the Industrial Bank Established by the Association of Jewish Manufacturers in Palestine.
- (b) Organized and systematic investment of capital through a general investment corporation, or through such other agency or agencies as will contribute to the general economic development in Palestine without partisan or class bias.
- (c) Further the sale of Palestine products in America and American products in Palestine by the establishment of an adequately financed and effective instrumentality for this purpose.
- (d) The creation of a substantial fund by the General Zionists to be used for the purpose indicated herein.

In summary, it is the purpose of the Brooklyn Zionist Region to recommend to the Convention that greater directive force be employed by the General Zionists of this country for the purpose of furthering in Palestine harmonious development, a unified and homogeneous Jewish community, an equitable distribution of public funds, and an efficient administration of affairs free from the influence of pressure groups; a policy under which the speedy development of the Jewish National Home shall take precedence over all other considerations and ideologies. That the Zionist Organization shall actively direct in America a large, well-organized group of informed Zionists who by their loyalty to the principles of General Zionism will be of material assistance in accomplishing our historic task.

החברות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



B R O O K L Y N - Z I O N I S T R E G I O N

50 C O U R T ST.
Brooklyn, N.Y.

June 11, 1940.

Dear Fellow-Zionist:

The enclosed proposals, to be presented to the forthcoming Zionist Convention at Pittsburgh, were adopted by the Brooklyn Zionist Region with the suggestion that they be brought to the attention of the Zionist Districts throughout the country. The Districts are requested to give these proposals full consideration and to adopt appropriate resolutions of endorsement.

The Directors of the Brooklyn Zionist Region have carefully considered whether these proposals should be advocated at the present time in view of the uncertainties beclouding our future work in Palestine. It was the almost unanimous opinion of the Directors that despite these conditions the principles embodied in the proposals should be brought to the attention of the delegates at the Convention.

We feel that these proposals present a programmatic approach to many of the major problems confronting the Z.O.A. While the pressure of the moment may prevent carrying out all details, the fundamental concepts as proposed remain valid. We contend that these principles, should be the basis on which the newly elected officers and executive committee shall plan the activities of the Z.O.A. for the coming year. We urge that you, your district, and your delegates likewise support these proposals as offering a basic program for the Organization.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal,
President.

encl.

June 17, 1940

Mr. Saul S. Spiro, President
Pittsburgh Zionist District
901 Keystone Bank Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Mr. Spiro:

I am enclosing herewith a brief message for the
souvenir program which you are publishing in connection
with the forthcoming Zionist Convention.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

Pittsburg, Zionist Convention
June 17, 1940

The world is at the parting of the roads of destiny.

No one knows what fate awaits heretofore mighty empires and nations. No one knows what fate awaits our own people abroad, in Palestine, or here. Politically, economically and socially, the old world faces re-organization according to new patterns. Night is settling over many parts of the earth and in the darkness one can only kindle the lamps of hope and faith...

This is clear. Our destiny is not isolated. It will remain linked ~~up~~ with the destiny of all oppressed and suffering peoples whose number is now manifold and whose day of redemption must come sooner or later. For the present and for days and years to come we must steel ourselves to endure grueling experiences. We must temper our youth to a hard and heroic way of life. We must discipline ourselves for a career of struggle in a relentless, bitter and disillusioned world.

What we have builded for national defense, we must do our utmost to conserve and strengthen. Palestine is one of our strongholds of survival. What political fate awaits us in Palestine, the next few weeks or months may reveal. But, as always, we shall continue to think and plan in terms not of weeks or months, but of generations and of historic imperatives. Our fortunes in Palestine may shift and change, as have the fortunes of so many other, and numerically stronger, peoples in recent months, but our destiny remains the same: a free and independent Jewish national life in ~~the the same: a free and independent Jewish national life in~~ the historic national home of Israel!

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: IN VIEW OF PRESENT AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL SCENE WHAT IN YOUR
OPINION IS MOST IMPORTANT AND URGENT ACTION WHICH ZIONIST
CONVENTION AT PITTSBURGH IS TO UNDERTAKE? IS IT THE TRANSFER OF
WORLD ZIONIST EXECUTIVE TO AMERICA? IS IT NEW REORGANIZATION PLAN?
IS IT FEW TYPE OF LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA?, OR IS IT FUND RAISING
ON UNPRECEDENTED SCALE OR ANY OTHER PROPOSAL? IN THE INTEREST OF
JEWISH PUBLIC EDUCATION WE ARE POLLING TEN OUTSTANDING ZIONIST
LEADERS AND WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR IMMEDIATE REPLY BY
COLLECT PRESS WIRE USE POSTALTELEGRAPH:

=MARGOSHES EDITOR THE DAY 183 EAST BWAY NYC.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

SOLOMON GOLDMAN
President

June 18, 1940.

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c/o The Temple
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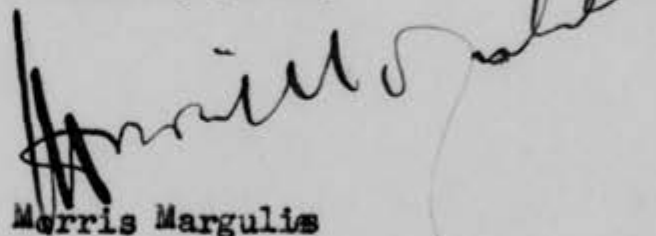
Dear Rabbi Silver:

The Committee arranging the program for the Convention has designated a session devoted to the United Palestine Appeal, the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod. The Committee is hopeful that you will be present at the Convention and, as the Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, will deliver the principal address at this session, which has been tentatively scheduled for Monday morning, July 1st.

I sincerely trust that you will be with us and that you will advise me accordingly, so that I may announce your name as one of the speakers at the Convention.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,


Morris Margulis

June 20, 1940

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

My dear Mr. Margulies:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of June 18 inviting me to address the Zionist Convention on Monday morning in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal. I regret that it will not be possible for me to attend the Convention, ~~and~~ **if** it is agreeable to the Committee, a report of the United Palestine Appeal will be given by its Executive Director, Mr. Henry Montor.

With best wishes, permit me to remain

Cordially yours,

AHS:BK

COMMITTEE ON ZIONIST CONVENTION PROBLEMS

CARL SHERMAN, Chairman

June 25th, 1940

Dear Friend and Fellow-Zionist:

Advices which we have received from different parts of the country lead us to believe that the several communications sent out by this Committee have served in a measure to clear the atmosphere and dissipate confusion which unfortunately existed in connection with the forthcoming Zionist Convention at Pittsburgh.

We are persuaded that the "issue" which has been built up around the so-called Reorganization Plan has finally been laid to rest. As you have received a copy of the statement issued by this Committee, we need not tell you how, relying entirely on support from the minutes of meetings, the writers of this statement have clearly demonstrated that insofar as there was any tangible plan, it was fully supported by the Executive and that it failed of implementation only because of lack of funds.

The unfounded charges that the Z. O. A. under the successive leaderships of men like Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Judge Rothenberg and Dr. Goldman have failed to achieve any progress, the attack on the prestige of the Z.O.A. - all intended to undermine the authority of the Z.O.A. have been completely answered by a summary of the true facts.

Those of us who have given some thought to Zionist problems in this country know that a basic plan of organization still remains to be written and that when it is finally put into definite form, it must be more than an outline of the mere mechanics of organization no matter how detailed. It must take in the Zionist scene in America as a whole and when presented take the form of a more comprehensive project, perhaps more in line with the plan for a Union of all American Zionist Organizations.

The Reorganization Plan having been exposed as a mere pretense for a controversy, a somewhat different method of breaking the harmony in Zionist strength has been adopted by a number of gentlemen who formed an opposition without knowing exactly what to oppose. The new slogan is "The leadership of the past has failed; we must have new men to take hold."

The forthcoming Zionist Convention will be held at the most critical time in Jewish history and in the history of the world. All the wisdom and ability of Zionist leadership, born of years of trial and experience, is needed in this fateful hour. The indomitable will to overcome obstacles which have characterized the men who have guided American Zionism through the long years of stress and turmoil of the last two decades are not to be discarded at this critical time but must, on the contrary, be utilized to the full.

New forces are of course needed now as always. They will at all times be welcome as they have constantly been summoned and received in the past. But it must be evident that new and old Zionist forces, Zionists of more recent acquisition and of long standing must be mobilized and led not by newcomers but by men who possess the judgment and wisdom and the practical knowledge of Zionist

[undated]

M E M O R A N D U M

on

REORGANIZATION AND DEPARTMENTALIZATION OF Z.O.A.

All of us who have given any thought to the problems of Zionism in America are convinced that radical and vital changes are needed for the proper function of all Zionist bodies and particularly of the Zionist Organization of America. This is particularly true at the present time, when Zionist propaganda and education, and political activities must again play a most significant part in the struggle that lies before us. This memorandum is intended neither as a criticism of the past nor as a panacea for all our ills. Nor is there any intention of presenting an ideological background for the recommendations that are to follow. This background is self-evident to all Zionists, and above all, to members of the Executive Committee who have lived and labored for Zionism all these years.

I have concerned myself primarily with setting down in almost telegraphic style what is actually needed for the reorganization of the Z.O.A. and for a proper coordination of the various activities -- administrative, cultural, political, etc.

Before proceeding with the main outline of the recommendations I desire to touch briefly on certain physical and administrative aspects, not by way of criticism, but to point out the difficulties under which the whole Zionist machine is laboring. Much of the disorder with which we have been charged is due in no small way to the circumstances that the present headquarters of the Z.O.A. are so awkwardly arranged that whatever is achieved is something of a miracle. It is obvious that the

Z.O.A. must immediately find new quarters, so that it will be possible to rearrange the physical background of our work. It is true from the improper physical background that disorganization has followed as a natural sequel, and this disorganization expresses itself in various ways, such as inadequate supervision, lack of coordination, lack of necessary departments while unnecessary departments do exist, overstaffing of some departments and understaffing of others, neglect of some vital functions, and the like.

Please see Summation, Page 14.

REORGANIZATION

- - - -

SUGGESTED PLAN FOR REORGANIZATION UNDER THREE MAIN HEADS:

- I. ADMINISTRATIVE
- II. CULTURAL
- III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

- - - -

I. ADMINISTRATIVE

- A. Office
- B. Information
- C. Reception
- D. Finance
- E. Membership
- F. Shekel
- G. Palestine Department

II. CULTURAL

- A. Propaganda
- B. Education
- C. Publications
- D. Youth
- E. Archives
- F. Library

III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

- A. Political Bureau
- B. Propaganda among non-Jews.
- C. Unification with Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion and other Zionist parties and organizations.
- D. Coordination with Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, United Palestine Appeal, non-Zionists, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, Order Sons of Zion, Landsmanschaften, etc.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE

D. Finance

1. prepare budget
2. outline sources of income
3. ways and means
4. accounting of all monies received and expended
5. issue checks on vouchers only
6. strict accounting from information, office and reception clerks of supplies used
7. responsibility for list of members
8. responsibility for list of subscribers to publications

E. Membership

1. Department to be in contact with all Districts
2. Stimulate membership enrollment
3. Define and obtain group membership, such as Order Sons of Zion, Synagogues, Lodges, etc., wherever feasible
4. All preparations for campaigns in the month of August
5. All necessary material in hands of Districts not later than September
6. Utilize holiday season for campaigns through special contact with Synagogues
7. Personal letters from Secretary, National Membership Chairman, to officers of Districts, enclosing propaganda literature
8. Have available from Districts names of people in the communities who might be helpful in campaigns
9. Write such people and encourage them to be of assistance
10. Devise and describe campaign techniques in fullest detail, and submit to all communities
11. Secretary to contact all Jewish organizations in communities, not absolutely anti-Zionist
12. Among techniques urge parlor meetings and personal contact
13. Regional conferences with Chairmen of membership committees and others active in membership campaigns, to discuss only membership techniques
14. Advise against soliciting of members or any other kind of solicitations at monthly meetings or general mass meetings of the Districts
15. Reach understanding with J.N.F., U.P.A., Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi, for cooperation in membership campaigns
16. Divide country into proper Regions and place field workers, in cooperation with other Zionist organizations and parties
17. Prod departments of propaganda, education, publications and youth for proper material

F. Shekel

1. A permanent Shekel Committee of Z.O.A.
2. To see that Z.O.A. pays for Shekolim
3. To conduct Shekel campaigns with cooperation of other Zionist organizations and parties

G. Palestine Department

1. Palestine Department to be established under a joint committee of Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayemeth, Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion and other interested bodies.
 - a. certificates
 - b. visas
 - c. tours
 - d. import
 - e. securities
 - f. investments
 - g. advice

II. CULTURAL

A. Propaganda

The Z.O.A. has no propaganda department. Education Department has no personnel or budget to constitute a propaganda department for Zionism in America. This department should coordinate its work and cooperate with Hadassah, Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, and as far as possible with Mizrachi and Poale Zion.

Suggestions for Propaganda Department

1. Prepare exhaustive list of available speakers in English, Yiddish and Hebrew throughout the country, with assistance of Districts.
2. Use speakers in sections where they reside.
3. Divide speakers into:
 - a. Nationally known
 - b. Speakers for larger groups
 - c. Speakers for smaller groups and parlor meetings
4. Prepare a rotating schedule for period of five years for nationally known speakers.
5. Send them each year to different part of country.
6. Ask Rabbis to devote six Sabbaths a year to discussions on phases of Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew culture.
7. Suggest publication annually volume of sermons in Hebrew, Yiddish and English on Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew culture.
8. In month of August prepare a schedule of those Sabbaths which must be uniform throughout the country.
9. Suggest subjects, approach, and prepare material and bibliography.
10. Urge Rabbis, other Zionist leaders, including Z.O.A., U.P.A., J.N.F., Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion, youth and other interested bodies to hold city, State and Regional Institutes on Zionism and Palestine.
11. Prepare material for suggested Institutes.
12. Ask Sisterhoods, Men's Clubs, B'nai Brith Lodges, Landsmanschaften, etc. to devote one or two meetings a year to the discussion of Palestine.
13. Prepare material for them.

Observance

1. Do everything possible to establish Balfour Day, Herzl Day as nationally recognized days of observance.
2. Stimulate observance of Hamisha Asar bi-Shevat, as well as of all festivals.
3. Prepare material for special days and festivals.
4. Declare Chanukah for all time PALESTINE WEEK.
5. Prepare material.
6. Revive Mishloah Manot and make large collections of gifts for J.N.F.
7. Emphasize use of J.N.F. stamps and boxes; as well as contributions on Purim and memorial days.
8. Urge every Zionist officer, member of Executive Committees throughout country -- and particularly Z.O.A., J.N.F., U.P.A., Keren Hayesod staffs -- always to use J.N.F. stamps.
9. Appeal also to Histadruth Ivrit, Hadassah, Mizrahi, Poale Zion, Order Sons of Zion, youth groups, American Jewish Congress -- and also to B'nai Brith.
10. Special American stamps might be suggested with Lincoln, Washington, Mordecai Noah, Hayim Solomon, Judah P. Benjamin, Jefferson, Louis Marshall, Solomon Schechter, Israel Friedlander, Nathan Straus, Charles W. Elliott, and Justice Cardozo.

Organizational

1. Ask all Districts to submit list of their meeting dates for the entire year.
2. Prepare in August detailed list of the meetings in outline form. Should contain not only material but suggestions for implementation.
3. Appeal to educators, Hebrew teachers, Rabbis in communities to assist Chairmen of Program Committees in the implementation of programs.
4. Suggest at least one joint meeting a year with Hadassah; one with Youth; and one with all parties including J.N.F. and U.P.A.

5. Urge dancing and singing at all meetings.
6. Prepare list of available songs as well as records.
7. Urge Districts arrange small art exhibits, display of books, music and Palestine products at all meetings.
8. Build up films on Palestine. Make available lists of these films.
9. Films to deal not only with country as a whole, but with particular colonies, towns, cities, institutions and personalities.
10. Urge display of maps, illustrations, and pictures of leading personalities.
11. Urge Districts to organize dramatic groups with assistance of youth.
12. Prepare lists of available plays.
13. Urge March of Time and skits.
14. Urge Districts to spend at least ten minutes of every meeting on reading of current Palestine and Zionist news. Refer them to New Palestine and other Zionist publications.
15. Urge building up of Zionist library and subscription to Zionist magazines, particularly PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST.
16. Urge sale of pamphlets and books.
17. Urge contact with general libraries to persuade librarians to buy books on Zionism and Palestine.
18. Supply Districts with lists of such books.
19. Arrange annual national broadcasts on Balfour and Herzl Days.

(For further utilization of radio, see memorandum of Joseph Freudenthal)
20. Persuade outstanding novelists to visit Palestine and write novel on Palestine.
21. Send men like Lewisohn and Samuel to Palestine to bring back pen pictures of the country, as well as material for public addresses.

B. Education

The function of this department differs from the department of propaganda. Much of the criticism now levelled against the department is due to the misunderstanding of its function and scope. Divided into three sub-departments:

1. Children
2. Youth
3. Adult

(Youth so important that it must constitute a department by itself. Education Department to devote itself exclusively to children and adults.)

1. Children

To approximate ideal Z.O.A. needs chain of Zionist schools for children throughout the country. That is beyond us. Much work has been done by others. We can help existing educational agencies in many ways:

- a. Contact all the Hebrew Schools, Talmud Torahs, Yeshivas, Volkshulen, Sunday Schools and kindergartens.
- b. Contact teachers, Rabbis, faculties of Seminaries and Teachers Institutes, and teachers in the Public Schools system.
- c. Make available descriptive lists of all existing educational material for children on Palestine and Zionism, published in Palestine, the United States and elsewhere.
- d. Prepare teachers' guides on Palestine and Zionism, giving fullest details for grades, listing all textbooks, maps, games, songs, dances, products, movies, albums, films, pictures of distinguished Jews.
- e. Offer prizes for best books for children.
- f. Offer prizes for best work by children.
- g. Prepare detailed scheme for observance of birth, Bar Mitzvah and confirmation ceremonies.

2. Adults

Education Department should be careful to distinguish this work from the Propaganda Department.

- a. Department to prepare brief, simple courses outlining in detail with bibliography, on Jewish history, Zionism, Yishuv, Jewish personalities from the whole of Jewish history.
- b. Influence existing educational systems to publish necessary textbooks.
- c. Offer prizes for textbooks.
- d. Prepare and publish through the Department of Publications brief, simple books of from 100 to 150 pages on
 - (1) Zionism
 - (2) Zionism in America
 - (3) 100 biographies
 - (4) 50 booklets on the Yishuv
 - (5) Booklets on various Aliyot
 - (6) Booklets on Tel Aviv, Petach Tikvah, etc.
 - (7) Geography of Palestine
 - (8) Women Pioneers in Palestine
 - (9) Arabs, Their Religion, Contributions to Civilization
 - (10) History of Arabs in Palestine
 - (11) Present-Day Arab States
 - (12) Present-Day Arab Civilization
 - (13) Jews in Palestine through the Ages
 - (14) The Keren Kayemeth -- the Keren Hayesod: How they function and what they do with funds at their disposal.
 - (15) The Jewish Agency
 - (16) The Vaad Leumi
 - (17) The Hebrew University
 - (18) Arts in Palestine
 - (19) Agriculture in Palestine
 - (20) Flora and Fauna of Palestine
 - (21) Animal Life in Palestine
 - (22) Archaeology in Palestine
 - (23) The Harbors in Palestine
 - (24) Woods in Palestine
 - (25) Rivers in Palestine
 - (26) Religion in Palestine
 - (27) Journalism in Palestine
 - (28) Literature in Palestine
- e. Urge familiarization with one or two outstanding personalities in the history of our people.
- f. Utilize material prepared in Palestine in Hebrew and English, particularly la-Naor series, and publications of joint committee of Z.O.A., Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, in the English language.

(Material prepared for youth can be utilized to considerable extent by adults)

C. Publications

Department to cooperate with Departments of Education and Propaganda.

1. New Palestine

- a. Change New Palestine to magazine
- b. Attractive front page and generous use of illustrations
- c. Publish it as a weekly, if necessary and if we can afford it; as a monthly if we cannot afford a weekly. (Today it is neither newspaper nor magazine. Its external appearance is repellent to many readers. Volumes of criticism increasing throughout the country.)
- d. Engage Cartoonist
- e. Name editor-in-chief, managing editor, several contributing editors.
- f. Reprint important articles appearing in magazines throughout Jewish world.
- g. Engage correspondents in more important Jewish centers.

2. Dos Yiddische Folk

- a. Discontinue Dos Yiddische Folk. (Its propaganda and educational value useless, as compared with existing Yiddish dailies. Were we to have English dailies doing as effective Zionist propaganda and education as the Yiddish dailies, would recommend giving up New Palestine.)
- b. Publish brochures in Yiddish
- c. Publish Yiddish Almanac

3. In cooperation with Departments of Education and Propaganda publish books and pamphlets in Yiddish and English, as well as an English Almanac.

4. Cooperate with Histadruth Ivri.

D. Youth

Youth Department most important, deserves especial serious consideration. Suggest appointing Director and establishing central bureau to coordinate all youth activities.

1. Contact all existing youth organizations not directly Zionist, particularly YPLS and Alumni Associations of Congregations.
2. Coordinate work of Avukah, Masada, Histadruth ha-Naor, ha-Ivri, ha-Shomer ha-Zair, Junior Poale Zion, Young Judaea, Junior Hadassah.
3. Stimulate frequent mass activities, such as rallies, and celebrations in which all youth groups will participate.
4. Encourage singing, dancing, hikes, outings, dramatic performances and camps.

5. Publish one monthly paper for basic Zionism of interest to all Zionist youth.
6. Prepare simple brief course in elementary Hebrew.
Short history of Jews.
Short history of Zionism.
Prepare introduction to Jewish Welanschauag.
Brief volume on Zionism and other philosophies of life, including current isms.
7. Prepare brief studies on political situation, Arabs, dictators, democracies.
8. Prepare brief studies on economic situation of Jews, and general economic situation.
9. Prepare brief studies on anti-Semitism and its relation to Communism, Fascism, Naziism, democracy and Zionism.
10. Prepare brief biographies.
11. Prepare brief studies of Yishuv.
12. Brief studies of Aliyot.
13. Pioneering.
14. Stimulate youth to write, paint, sculp, compose.
15. Suggest fund-raising projects, especially for J.N.F., Haganah, and cultural efforts in Palestine.
16. Prepare special activities, courses of study and discussion group for most intellectual youth in our midst.
17. Contact ablest young Jewish minds that come to our attention anywhere in the country, Rhodes scholarship men, etc....

(work to be done in cooperation with Departments of Education, Propaganda and Publications.)

E. Archives

1. Examine, classify and list existing archives of Z.O.A.
Collect and classify new documents.

F. Library

New quarters should make room for a reference library on Palestine and Zionism.

Engage Librarian.

III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

Bureau for this work to be located in Washington, D. C.

A. Political Work

1. Contacts in Washington
2. Organization of Christian Friends of Palestine
3. Propaganda among Christians
4. Publications for Christians
5. Contact columnists, newspaper reporters, correspondents, editors, F.P.A., Church, Rotarian, Kiwanis, Knights of Columbus, Masons, candidates for office, etc.
6. Establish news and feature service
7. Establish speakers bureau for propaganda among non-Jews
8. Organize goodwill institutes on Zionism
9. Invite distinguished visitors from abroad, including friendly Arabs, for propaganda purposes. This can be done in cooperation with nationally known speakers bureau
10. Answer newspaper letters and articles
11. Suggest to all Zionist bodies throughout country to be on alert for favorable and unfavorable expressions on Zionism and Palestine, and report to Bureau
12. Publish monthly bulletin for Christians
13. Establish local committees of all Zionist parties to maintain contact with Washington Bureau

B. Coordination of all Zionist organizations and parties

C. Coordination of all Zionist parties with Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth.

SUMMATION

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The program of work for the Zionist Organization of America, outlined above, lies within the realm of possibility, I believe, both financially and technically, and presents an actual minimum requirement if the Z.O.A. is to maintain and develop its commanding position in American Jewish life. It is because of our failure to do these things, so essential to the strengthening of the Zionist idea in this country, that other organizations have been enabled to come into this field, and by reason of greater initiative and resources, are actually displacing Zionism from its position of influence in the Jewish communities. Our Zionist bodies have never been able to keep abreast with the Zionist sentiment in this country. Indeed, the gradual retrogression of the Zionist Organization of America has proceeded in almost direct ratio to the growth of the Zionist movement. (Please note this was written in February of 1939).

The problem is becoming more urgent today by reason of the tendency in American Jewish life to centralize local communal activities within one body, such as a Welfare Fund or a Community Council. Because of its numerical and financial weakness in many communities throughout the country, Zionism plays little or no part in these "closed corporations". Furthermore, because of the pressure of Palestine needs, we have consistently given way even to Palestine propaganda as distinct from Zionist educational propaganda, whenever it was felt that by subordinating Zionism we would receive a larger share from the Community Chests. In addition, a number of propaganda bodies have grown up in

the United States outstripping Zionist bodies in the technique which they have originally devised and introduced to American Israel. But above all, the problem is becoming more urgent by reason of the political situation. Only the blind in our midst will fail to realize that we are entering into a period of a prolonged struggle for a "Zionist Charter". We shall need all the determination and enthusiasm of the early "Lovers of Zion" to win and hold American Jews to the Zionist idea. This we can achieve only through the proper administrative, cultural and political functioning of our Zionist bodies.

For this and many other reasons it is imperative that the Zionist Organization of America begin immediately through a well organized machinery to regain its hegemony of American Jewish life. In the struggle that lies ahead of us the proposals contained in this memorandum, if properly implemented and provided for, will, in the course of time, reinvest Zionism with that numerical, financial, intellectual and spiritual power which it must needs have not only to survive but to maintain its rightful position in the complex and complicated communal organization of American Jewish life.

* * * * *

SUMMARY

I. REORGANIZATION

The ZOA staff is inadequate and incompetent. It is out of date. It has not grown with its clientele -- American Jewry. Changes in the staff are a sine qua non in any program for American Zionism. In view of the fact that the officers of the organization are volunteers and invariably men preoccupied with other affairs, it is important that the Organization engage as Executive Director a man of high intellectual attainment, commanding personality and administrative ability.

II. REPRESENTATION

Little effort has been made to attract new forces. Important Zionist communities throughout the country are inadequately represented in the governing bodies. The borough of Manhattan, on the other hand, with a membership of 1200 in a total membership of close to 53,000, monopolizes one-fifth of the membership of the National Administrative Committee. It is proposed that the Administrative Committee be democratically elected by the Districts, one to every five hundred.

III. COORDINATION

- A. The Zionist Organization of America is only one among several Zionist bodies in the country. It is imperative that all of these bodies be persuaded to coordinate their efforts. The United Palestine Appeal, the Jewish National Fund, the Jewish Foundation Fund and the Zionist Organization of America are spending a staggering sum to propagate Zionism, collect funds for Palestine, and to achieve political objectives. Each organization has its own directorate and staff. Each is zealous for its own success qua organization. Each carries on its work with little or no reference to the other Zionist bodies. The result is competition, confusion, acrimony, duplication and waste. Of the funds available too much is spent at headquarters and too little in the regions. Therefore we have no regions. We cannot afford to maintain separate bureaus and staffs throughout the country. The results are disastrous for all Zionist activities. In the absence of centralized planning and coordinated leadership many fields -- youth, for example -- waiting for the Zionist plowshare, remain uncultivated. If coordination were achieved, 25% of the sums now spent could be saved and allocated to the neglected areas.
- B. Hadassah, Labor Zionism, Misrachi and the ZOA have many objectives in common. Basic propaganda and political activities can and should be coordinated. So also they can direct in common immigration, tourism, import, investments, etc.
- C. The American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith and the many other orders and hundreds of Synagogues have a deep interest in Palestine. The Jewish Welfare Funds have raised millions of dollars for the Yishuv. There is room for better understanding and coordination.

[undated]

TO THE REGIONS, DISTRICTS, SOCIETIES AND AFFILIATED
ORGANIZATIONS OF THE Z.O.A.:

GREETING:

Please take notice that at the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., beginning the 29th day of June, 1940, the following amendments to the Constitution will be proposed:

1. Amend Section 1 of Article V by striking out from line 2 thereof the figures "\$5.00" and inserting in lieu thereof the figures "\$6.00."
2. Amend Section 2 of Article IX by striking out from line 2 thereof the word "five" and inserting in lieu thereof the word "six".
3. Amend Section 7 of Article IX by striking out from line 3 the word "twenty" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "twenty-five".
4. Amend Section 8 of Article IX by inserting, after the words "one hundred" on line 4 thereof, the words "and twenty".
5. Amend Section 9 of Article IX by adding thereto: "The Council shall hold four regular meetings annually and such special meetings as may be called by the President of the Zionist Organization of America, the Executive, or twenty five members of the Administrative Council."
6. Amend Section 12 of Article IX to read as follows: "The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention a tentative budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year. If approved, the Executive shall not deviate from it except with the approval of the Administrative Council given at any regular or special meeting thereof."
7. Amend Section 13 of Article IX to read as follows: "The Executive shall have the power to engage, discharge and fix the compensation of all administrative officers and employees of the Organization."

Not as a part of our report, but as a separate suggestion we recommend that the incoming Administrative Council and the Executive enact by-laws for their respective governance. That, among other things, they provide that the notices for all meetings of the Administrative Council should be accompanied by an agenda for the meeting which should be adhered to unless deviation is authorized by a two-thirds vote, also for the creation of a permanent Court of Honor.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA:

Gentlemen:

The undersigned committee was appointed by Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Chairman, National Administrative Council, pursuant to a resolution of the Council adopted at its Baltimore meeting. Broadly stated, the function of the committee was to consider the recommendations of Rabbi Solomon Goldman, President of the Zionist Organization of America, for the reorganization and strengthening of the Z.O.A. and to report its recommendations to the Executive. This report is concurred in by all the members of the committee.

We did not deal with matters relating to coordination of work of other Zionist organizations since that part of Rabbi Goldman's report has already been separately considered by the Executive.

We recommend that Rabbi Goldman's plan for reorganization be approved in substance (we do not deem it necessary to deal with all the details thereof), and that immediate steps be taken to implement it. To that end, the Executive should recommend to the Convention:

1. The adoption of a mandatory resolution directing the incoming Executive to set in motion the machinery for reconstructing the Z.O.A. into autonomous Regions on the following basis:

(a) The entire country be divided into Regions so that every District and Society be included within and subject to the jurisdiction of a Region.

(b) That in parts of the country where the Jewish population is thickly settled, the membership of any Region shall be, as nearly as possible, 5,000, and in the less thickly settled areas, 2,000.

(c) That there shall be established in each Region a permanent office with a directing staff to be selected by the Executive in consultation with the officers of the Region.

(d) That the functions of the regional officers and directors be so defined as to correspond to the functions of the various departments of the Z.O.A., hereinafter referred to.

(e) That negotiations be set afoot to bring about such cooperation with the United Palestine Appeal and the Jewish National Fund that their work within the various Regions be coordinated with the work of the Z.O.A., so as to avoid overlapping activity.

2. In order to impose responsibility upon the Regions, the selection of the membership of the National Administrative Council should be placed largely in the control of the Regions. The membership should be increased to 120, exclusive of the members of the Executive, and regional

chairmen, twenty of whom shall be nominated by the Nominating Committee of the Convention, and the remainder by the Regions (with due regard to representation of the Districts and Societies) on the basis of membership in the Z.O.A. For the year 1940, Regional nominations should be made by the delegates to the Convention. Independent nominations for Regional candidates should be restricted to residents of the Regions to be represented.

3. That the Executive provide the machinery for conducting the affairs of the Z.O.A. through substantially the following administrative departments whose duties shall be defined by the Executive:

- (a) Membership and Organization.
- (b) Education and Culture. This department shall include publications which, however, should be in charge of an especially designated person who should be subject to the authority of the Director of Education and Culture.
- (c) Youth.
- (d) Public Relations.

Each of the foregoing departments should have a responsible director.

As to the authoritative head of all these departments the committee had some discussions, but decided that in view of the action heretofore taken by the Executive touching the matter of an executive director, no specific recommendations should be made thereon.

4. That the Executive of the Z.O.A. should consist of the elected officers now provided for in the Constitution (except that there be seven instead of five vice-presidents) and 25 instead of 20 members to be elected by the Convention. That it function primarily through the following committees:

- (a) Office Administration Committee.
- (b) Membership and Organization (including matters relating to Regions, Districts and Societies).
- (c) Finance. (The present constitutional provisions relating to the selection of the Finance Committee should be repealed).
- (d) Palestine Department (whether the same be established by the Z.O.A. or by the Inter-party Committee).
- (e) Education and Culture.
- (f) Publications.

- (g) Youth.
- (h) Public Relations.
- (i) Coordination. (This has already been provided for by the action of the Executive).

That it shall be the duty of the members designated by the Executive to serve on the United Palestine Appeal and Jewish National Fund, respectively, to report on behalf of those organizations at each meeting of the Executive, the same as if they were standing committees of the Z.O.A.

That the record of each meeting of the Executive should be written and copies thereof forwarded to each member of the Administrative Council within fifteen days after each meeting.

5. SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS:

To carry these recommendations into effect, additional funds will be required. We, therefore, recommend that we request the Convention to approve a budget for the coming year in the total sum of \$350,000 of which at least \$100,000 shall be allocated specifically for the development of the organization, the establishment of regions and regional staffs, and for the purpose of conducting membership campaigns.

The budget necessary to carry through the plan for reorganization of the Zionist Organization of America, as recommended by Dr. Goldman and as recommended herein, be raised as follows:

(a) Universal membership dues in the Z.O.A. should be increased from \$5.00 to \$6.00 a year. This should net an additional income of \$40,000 to \$50,000.

(b) Every Zionist district or society in the country should be charged with the duty to organize a campaign for sustaining members, paying dues at the rate of \$25 per year. It should be the responsibility of each district to obtain sustaining membership subscriptions from at least ten percent of the regular membership list.

(c) The Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth should be requested to underwrite such portion of the additional funds (not exceeding \$150,000, inclusive of the amounts they now pay to the Z.O.A. as service charges), as will be needed by the Z.O.A. in the ensuing year to meet its regular and special budgets.

6. CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES ARE SUGGESTED, AS INDICATED BY THE ATTACHED PROPOSALS.

Respectfully submitted,

[unlabeled]

THE TRUTH ABOUT DR. GOLDMAN'S REORGANIZATION PLAN

DIW A Statement of the Record by

David Berenstein

Meyer Levy

Charles A. Cowen

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The Truth About Dr. Goldman's Reorganization Plan

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There is being circulated throughout the United States, in a systematic manner, through letters and press releases, propaganda which can only result in undermining the prestige and efficiency of the Zionist Organization of America. A well-financed organization is engaged in an effort to spread discontent and confusion among the Zionists of America at a time when unity and concerted effort are imperative. The purpose of the propaganda is stated to be the "election of an administration to uphold and implement the policies begun by Dr. Goldman".

The Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held in Pittsburgh, will have as part of its business the election of officers, an executive and administrative council to serve for one year. It is entirely proper that men ambitious to be elected to office and believing themselves qualified should organize and permit to be organized committees to present their virtues and policies to the Zionists of America. But surely no Zionist, free from partisanship and interested only in maximum achievement for Palestine in the United States, will condone agitation which sacrifices Zionism to personal ambition, which deliberately sets up section against section, group against group, and proclaims far and wide that the Zionist Organization of America has been marked by - to quote language extensively used - "ineptness, inefficiency and stagnation." The belief is being deliberately created that there has been no progress in American Zionism; that the Zionist Organization of America has steadily declined in influence and prestige; that the sum total of years of activity has been failure.

It would indeed be tragic if these statements were true; if, taking only the period since 1932, covering the administrations of Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Solomon Goldman, American Zionist history were a record of dismal failure. Happily these statements are not true and those who circulate them are guilty of malicious misrepresentations.

A Record of Z.O.A. Progress

What are the facts? The membership of the Zionist Organization of America has increased constantly and substantially. The figures are, starting from the lowest point in 1932 at the end of Mr. Szold's term as chairman of the Administration, as follows:

Administration of Robert Szold (1930-32) -	8,484 members
Administration of Morris Rothenberg (1932-36) -	20,315 members
Administration of Dr. S. S. Wise (1936-38) -	28,999 members

The high point of achievement was reached at last year's convention in New York, at the end of Dr. Goldman's first term as President. In announcing a total membership of 45,558, Dr. Goldman said in his presidential address: "We come this year with a report of progress. We have added 21,000 new numbers to the Z.O.A." There was then no charge of "ineptness, inefficiency, stagnation, etc."

Owing to the fact that the Z.O.A. does not engage directly in fund-raising for Palestine, it is impossible to measure the results in actual figures, but it is not to be denied that the membership of our Organization played an increasingly larger role in recent years in the successful fund-raising efforts of the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth. It should not be overlooked that the leadership of the United Palestine Appeal, the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund is virtually identical with the leadership of the Z.O.A.

The burden of Zionist political leadership in America has been carried by the Z.O.A. It has initiated and carried through a number of important actions in times of political crisis. It was the Z.O.A. which was largely responsible for the protest action in October and November of 1938, concerning which Dr. Goldman said in his Presidential address: "In October and November we organized public opinion in America to an extent never before achieved by any Jewish group in this country." He then went on to say: "The achievement was repeated during the London discussions, and again shortly before and after the appearance White Paper." There was then no charge of "ineptness, inefficiency, stagnation, etc." That the results have not always been as successful as we wanted was not due to lack of effort or influence but to causes inherent in a world political situation that was beyond our control.

There has been steady progress in the extension of Zionist cultural activity and in winning American Jewry to the acceptance of the Zionist program. Many leaders of American Zionism have stated, as a result of their experiences in the many cities where they have spoken, that at no time have they encountered a greater readiness to help Palestine and further the Zionist cause among persons hitherto indifferent or even opposed.

Of course we must not be satisfied. Much more must be done in all fields and can be done, but certainly the record does not indicate failure and stagnation.

Plan Deals With Mechanics of Organization

But despite this record, Zionists and the public at large, are being told a story of failure and futility. This is inexcusable and dangerous political maneuvering. It is carried on under the pretext that to overcome the failure of Zionist Organization of America - a failure which does not exist - an administration must be chosen to implement "Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization."

What is this Plan? Despite statements to the contrary, in some instances deliberately made by men who ought to know better, but evidently innocently accepted and repeated by many who have not read the document, there are no fundamental changes in policy contained in Dr. Goldman's proposals.

The title "Plan of Reorganization" is a misnomer. No genuine reorganization is outlined in the plan. The so-called "Plan of Reorganization" is an outline in some detail of specific activities of the Organization which have always been recognized as necessary. The outline will undoubtedly be of assistance to departmental heads and members of the staff. The plan is primarily a scheme of departmentalization. It is an effort, not altogether successful, though helpful and suggestive, to divide the necessary activities into departments. The central ideas embodied in the plan are that the work of the organization must be analyzed, itemized and assigned to separate departments, and that each department must have a competent director at its head. There was nothing new or fundamental about all this, but everyone will readily agree that Dr. Goldman has helped to clarify and classify the nature of the Organization's activities. The plan also dealt with the question of finances and proposed a budget indicating that at least \$250,000 would be required. The said budget also provided for means of obtaining that sum of money. It seems now generally agreed that the estimate of income needed was too low, and of income obtainable by the means suggested, much too high.

There is emphasized in the Plan of Reorganization also the need of coordinating all Zionist organizations and funds, a need long recognized by Zionist executives and much discussed, several years ago, in connection with the Ben Gurion plan of one territorial Zionist Organization. But Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization does not present a method of coordination other than the suggestion of a joint committee. At present many are looking forward to the implementation of the proposal made by Mr. Louis Lipsky, and endorsed by the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America, that there be created a Union or Federation of all Zionist organizations, including the funds, to conduct general Zionist affairs and coordinate Zionist work in the United States.

The reasonable, unprejudiced person, will recognize that Dr. Goldman's plan deals strictly with the mechanics of organization, but not with fundamental policies. It proposes nothing new or basic. Yet the propaganda circulated by a group seeking to promote discord and dissension in the ranks of the Z.O.A., speaks with pretended indignation of an "onslaught" against the plan. A so-called editorial issued by this group to the Anglo-Jewish press declares, for example:

"It became clear that from within the organization a small but long entrenched group, with the support of staff executives was determined to obstruct the carrying out of the program. The opposition was bent on reducing the plan to a scrap of paper".

This is a deliberate falsehood. It would be somewhat more honest if the names of the "long entrenched group" were mentioned. Does the group include men who have given their lives to the Zionist cause, who have worked as leaders or in the ranks to build the Zionist Organization of America to the position of influence which reckless men now are undermining?

Again what are the facts?

Executive Supported Dr. Goldman

This exposition is based on the minutes of the meetings of the Zionist Organization of America Executive and Administrative Council. The record will show that Dr. Goldman's plan of reorganization was approved by the entire Executive. No one obstructed its implementation. All actions requested by Dr. Goldman for the carrying out of his program were taken by the Executive. Why has it not been carried out? Was it because of the machinations of a sinister group plotting against it? Dr. Goldman himself supplied the answer. In the first year it was because as he said: "Over and over again they (the questions of organization) were swept out by volcanic eruption abroad, by terrorist bombs manufactured in Germany, and political plots hatched in Downing Street. And in particular from the 7th of October on when Dr. Weizmann telephoned us ... we have known neither peace nor rest."

As for the second year, this is what Dr. Goldman said: "All of our plans and hopes that we had for the Z.O.A. in regard to reorganization, extension, etc. have been in vain because of lack of funds."

What is the record of the Executive with regard to Dr. Goldman's proposals?

Dr. Goldman first submitted the Plan of Reorganization to the Executive at its meeting on March 8, 1939. The minutes of that meeting record the following resolution:

- "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."

The record fails to show a single act by the President to implement this program or the appointment of a single committee authorized in these resolutions. Presumably it was because of the political situation referred to above.

At the first meeting of the Executive following the 1939 convention, held on July 5th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted to implement Dr. Goldman's plans:

"THAT this Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. accepts the recommendation of the President with respect to the designation of an Office Manager and Comptroller;

"THAT the recommendation of the President with regard to the Department of Education and Propaganda and its Director be adopted;

"THAT a Committee be named with the authority to engage a Director for the Department.

"THAT we elect (name omitted) as Director of the Youth Department for a term of three years, with an annual salary of \$5,000; the salary to be recommended by the Executive for approval by the Finance Committee.

Why were these resolutions never carried out? Let us examine the record.

Plan Abandoned Because of Lack of Funds

At the Executive Committee meeting of September 20th, 1939, Mr. Louis Rucker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, presented a budget providing for the expenditure of \$186,500. It was pointed out that the budget submitted does not provide for the carrying out of the President's Reorganization Plan. Mr. Rucker then stated: "The whole contemplated program will have to be suspended because of lack of funds."

At the following meeting, held on October 11th, Mr. Rucker re-submitted the budget of \$186,500, with the recommendation that expansion of activities be made dependent upon the raising of additional funds. The prevailing view of the members of the Executive was that the necessary funds must and could be raised and that activities ought to be expanded. In the course of the discussion the President stated that he was not optimistic about the possibility of obtaining funds either through increased membership or contributions. He recommended that members of the Executive and Administrative Committees be asked to raise specific sums. The following resolution was adopted:

"THAT we ask the Administrative Council for authority to raise an additional \$40,000 over and above the estimated income; that the allocation of this \$40,000 be left to the Executive."

This resolution was brought before the Administrative Council at its meeting at Philadelphia on October 15th. Resolutions presented by Mr. Lipsky were, with the express approval of the President, unanimously adopted as follows:

"THAT we approve for the time being a reduced budget of \$186,000.

"THAT the members of the National Administrative Council join with the members of the Executive Committee in pledging themselves to raise at least \$40,000, to enable the Executive to provide for the enlarged scope contemplated by the convention when it adopted the larger budget."

And from that time to the present day no action has been taken to implement these resolutions. No plan was formulated for the collection of funds. At the meeting of the Executive on November 8, 1939, Dr. Goldman stated "that all of the plans and hopes that he had for the Z.O.A. in regard to reorganization, extension, etc., have been in vain because of lack of funds."

At the meeting of the Executive held on December 13, 1939, the President referred to the resolutions adopted by the Executive at the July 5th meeting for the purpose of implementing the Reorganization Plan. The Zionist Organization of America, he stated, "is not in a position this year to have a Department of Youth, a Department of Education and a Department of Propaganda, with a director for each department." He believed, therefore, that there should be one department for all three services. At the President's suggestion it was unanimously voted: "That the President be authorized to tender to (name omitted) a three-year contract as Director of the Department of Education of the Z.O.A., which should also serve the departments of Youth and Propaganda." Thus, at his request, the authority was unanimously granted. But to this date no director was engaged.

At the same meeting, the President advised the Executive that he had had the unpleasant duty of informing two members of the staff that their services with the Organization would be terminated. A committee, of which Mr. Szold was chairman, reported that in accordance with its understanding of its function, it had discussed and was reporting only as to the amount of compensation to be paid to a staff member who had already been dismissed. The President was sustained in his somewhat technical contention, that he had acted in accordance with authority granted by the Executive in dismissing the said staff member, and the question of compensation was referred back to Mr. Szold's committee with full power to act. Many Zionists were of the opinion that the action was unnecessarily drastic, but the act having been done, the Executive supported the President.

The record clearly proves that the President's Plan of Reorganization so far as departmentalization was concerned, had been almost entirely abandoned, by Dr. Goldman himself upon the insistence of Mr. Louis P. Rocker, chairman of the Finance Committee, that no funds were available. Even the one director who was specifically authorized was not employed. Yet the director of the Education Department had been dismissed and the Committee on Education discarded so that this phase of

activity, far from being expanded, was practically eliminated. The net result to date, despite the Executive's constant support of the President, was the dismissal of two employees, one of whom had served without interruption for over twenty years. These dismissals were concurred in by the Executive.

Resolutions having the approval of the President were presented at the meetings of March 13th and March 21st, 1940, intended to accomplish nothing more than the discharge at that late date in the life of the Administration of two additional members of the staff, each of whom had served many years and admittedly had rendered valuable service. (It should be noted that the entire Executive staff consisted of six persons.) It is the prerogative of the Executive to employ and discharge the staff, but valid differences of opinion may exist as to the wisdom of retaining or retiring a particular person. Surely there is nothing sinister in the fact that some members of the Executive differed with the President's recommendation as to the change in status of these men who, it is admitted by even those who insisted that they be dismissed, have rendered excellent service. To characterize such legitimate differences of opinion concerning the dismissal of staff members as an "onslaught" on the reorganization plan by "reactionary forces" in the Zionist Organization is to lower the dignity and prestige of American Zionism. And this conduct becomes more reprehensible when it is remembered that even as to these actions, the Executive has sustained the President.

The Proposal for An Executive Director

At the meeting of the Executive on March 21st there was presented a proposal that an executive director of the Z.O.A. be appointed. Several members of the Executive opposed this proposal. It seemed to them incongruous to attempt at this late date to introduce a drastic innovation in the operations of the Z.O.A. The discussion which took place revealed many important differences of opinion as to the duties of such a director. It seemed clear to many of the members that the entire question required more mature consideration, and should be investigated by the Committee on Reorganization which had been appointed by the chairman of the Administrative Council. It is significant that Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization with its wealth of detail, its specific recommendations as to departmental heads, made no mention of an executive director. Surely it is a debatable question whether in an organization such as the Z.O.A., which must be differentiated from fraternal and strictly fund-raising bodies, there is place for a director who would have in his hands as a practical matter the control of all activities. Such functions belong to the President and the Executive elected by the convention. Commenting on the list of qualifications which advocates of the proposal declared the candidate for the new

post must have, namely, "high intellectual attainment, commanding personality and administrative ability," Dr. Wise well said, that if such a person were found "we would elect him President."

But the merits of this proposal are not pertinent in this discussion. It is intended only to point out that in this matter, as in all other questions affecting the staff, the Executive, primarily by reason of the President's urging, voted its approval. There exist therefore no issues as to the present staff. And if they did exist, surely no reasonable person will see in them issues warranting national debate. They are matters which can be settled and finally disposed of by judiciously chosen and impartial committees.

In a recent statement, issued over his own signature, Dr. Goldman permitted himself to disparage the staff of the Zionist Organization of America, members of which he had heretofore often praised in glowing terms. It is not necessary in this statement to defend the staff. The Zionists throughout the United States whom they have served will form their own opinion as to the fairness and propriety of such public statements by the President of the Zionist Organization of America. For the present, it is sufficient merely to point out what has long been recognized, that the inadequacy of the staff consists simply of its lack of members. The staff has for some time been too small to do the increased work of the Zionist Organization, to whose growth, in numbers and achievement, it has contributed its full share.

The Failure of Executive Leadership

We have come to the end of this analysis of the record intended to discover what basis, if any, exists for the charges of "sabotage" of the President's policies and the insinuations of wrong-doing and improper motives on the part of men who have for years been identified with the development of Zionism in the United States. Surely the conclusion must be that said charges and insinuations which are undermining confidence in the Z.O.A. and in its leadership are entirely unfounded. Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization, more accurately described as a plan for departmentalization, could not be carried out for lack of funds. The need for funds was recognized early in the year but no action was taken despite the adoption by the Executive and Administrative Council of enabling resolutions. Action authorized by the Executive intended to implement even an attenuated plan of expansion were not carried out. There was no lack of authority and cooperation - there was much debate and writing of plans but a complete lack of executive direction and action.

For this reason only, the so-called Plan of Reorganization has remained merely a collection of words. There is no serious dispute in the Zionist Organization of America concerning reorganization. The sessions of the Committee on Reorganization recently held at Philadelphia and New York were marked by virtual unanimity of opinion. The fact of the matter is that fictitious issues have been created to cover up a politically motivated campaign of misrepresentation and innuendo.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Goldman to whom the facts set forth in this statement are of course known, has not seen fit to call a halt to this unseemly flood of re-criminations and mis-statements allegedly carried on in defense of his policies, which is bringing confusion and dissension into the Zionist ranks and sacrificing the unified effort which is imperative to meet the emergency before us.

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AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION -- PROPOSED BY JUDGE FISHER'S SUB-COMMITTEE

AMENDMENT:

PRESENT PROVISION:

ARTICLE V, Section 1:

Membership dues of the Zionist Organization of America shall be \$6.00 per annum...

Membership dues of the Zionist Organization of America shall be \$5.00 per annum.

ARTICLE IX, Section 2:

The officers shall be: A President, not less than three nor more than six Vice-Presidents.....

The Officers shall be: A President, not less than three nor more than five Vice-Presidents.

ARTICLE IX, Section 7:

The Executive of the Zionist Organization of America shall consist of the elected officers and not less than nine nor more than twenty-five members to be elected by the Convention.

The Executive of the Zionist Organization of America shall consist of the elected officers and not less than nine nor more than twenty members

ARTICLE IX, Section 8:

The Administrative Council shall consist of the officers, members of the Executive, the Regional Chairmen, and such additional number of members, not exceeding one hundred and twenty, as the Convention shall prescribe.

The Administrative Council shall consist of the officers, members of the Executive, the Regional Chairmen, and such additional number of members, not exceeding one hundred, as the Convention.....

ARTICLE IX, Section 9: (A Clause added)

The Council shall hold four regular meetings annually and such meetings as may be called by the President of the Zionist Organization of America, the Executive or twenty-five members of the Administrative Council.

The Administrative Council shall be elected at the Convention and the members thereof shall serve for the period of one year and until their successors in office have been elected.

ARTICLE IX, Section 12:

The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention a tentative budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year. If approved, the Executive shall not deviate from it except with the approval of the Administrative Council given at any regular or special meeting thereof.

The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention for approval a budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year. The Administrative Council may reduce or increase the aggregate expenditures provided for in any budget approved by the Convention and may re-allocate the sums allotted therein to each department or activity, by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a special meeting of the Administrative Council, duly called and noticed for the consideration of the proposed action.

ARTICLE IX, Section 13:

The Executive shall have the power to engage, discharge and fix the compensation of all administrative officers and employees of the Organization.

The Executive shall have the power to fix the compensation to be paid to the Secretary and to all employees of the Organization, upon recommendation of the Finance Committee.

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Judge Ellenbogen believed that one man should be retained in New York at the office to devote his entire time to membership, until the campaign is over; that each Region should have a paid man, and that a definite period of time, beginning the middle of October and culminating with Balfour Day, should be set aside and each District advised what its quota is. The membership campaign must be laid out nationally and the local leaders will have to follow.

Rabbi Israel believed that most of us have the feeling that now is a psychological moment that calls for something above the ordinary; we do not want the District simply to have a multigraphed letter. We need a whole new type of propaganda, a new set of literature, a new type of motivation. He suggested that the Executive authorize (1) the appointment of a special committee and certain extra expenditures, and (2) the use of trained publicity experts for a while to work up something that will impress itself upon the country as a real membership campaign.

The Chairman suggested that, instead of naming a special committee, the Chairmen of the several departments make the membership campaign the immediate major objective of the Z. O. A.

Rabbi Israel added that he did not think it would be possible to bring the membership campaign to a climax by Balfour Day, and suggested that there be a series of meetings on Balfour Day as the opening of the campaign, to be culminated on Chanukah.

Mr. Röss felt that no motion was necessary to authorize the proper body to carry on an intensive membership campaign. He asked if it were necessary to pass any motion authorizing any specific expenditure for membership work, such as the employment of field men, -- not necessarily one for every Region.

The Chairman stated that the committee will have authority within the budget. He explained that the reason he asked that the membership be entrusted to the other committees is because he believed that this year the question of propaganda, youth, etc., all impinge on a membership campaign, and he preferred to have the three or four departments meet together and make membership their immediate objective.

Chairman

Rabbi Israel expressed the thought that any intelligent Membership Campaign/will consult with the Chairmen of the other committees in mapping out the membership campaign, and he felt that the membership campaign should be vested primarily in one man or in one committee.

In connection with campaign literature, etc., Dr. Lewisohn stated that at the instigation of Mr. Margulies, he and Mr. Margulies had discussed the necessity of having a series of new pamphlets.

Executive Meeting Dates:

Judge Ellenbogen recommended that beginning with 1940, the meetings of the Executive be held on the Monday preceding the Wednesday that has been selected for each month.

DR. FRIEDENWALD'S 75TH BIRTHDAY:

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

THAT by a rising vote this meeting send its affectionate greetings by telegram to our beloved comrade, Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

Project to Honor Dr. Friedenwald:

The Chairman reported that he had received two suggestions for projects to honor Dr. Friedenwald on the occasion of his 75th birthday, -- one from the Jewish National Fund, and another from the American Zion Commonwealth. The second project is for a hospital in Herzlia which is sadly in need of a clinic. About \$5,000 would be needed for this project. The Chairman felt that at this time, with the situation as unstable as it is, we ought not to take any action on any project. In this connection, the Chairman stated that a suggestion had come from Palestine, in which the Organization is interested, that some project be initiated to honor Judge Julian W. Mack, but that it was felt that it is most untimely to come out with these projects now.

Rabbi Israel reported that the Baltimore community is honoring Dr. Friedenwald.

Mr. Goldberg moved

THAT the Zionist Organization of America initiate at some future date a project honoring Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the Jewish National Fund had received communications from some of the Zionists in Baltimore, suggesting the undertaking of a Nachlath for Dr. Friedenwald; another suggestion was with reference to the planting of a forest in Dr. Friedenwald's honor. When the Jewish National Fund received these suggestions, it felt duty bound to convey them to the Zionist Organization of America, with which Dr. Friedenwald was so intimately associated.

Mr. Szold seconded Mr. Goldberg's motion. He considered Dr. Friedenwald as one of the grand figures in American Zionism. He personally had the privilege of living with Dr. Friedenwald in the same house in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, as a member of a Zionist Commission in 1919. Dr. Friedenwald comes from a line of distinguished family, all Zionists before there was any movement in this country. Mr. Szold expressed the thought that the Zionist Organization of America honors itself when it takes any step in honoring Dr. Friedenwald.

Mr. Goldberg's motion was unanimously carried.

BUDGET FOR 1939 - 40:

Mr. Rucker reported on behalf of the Finance Committee, that for the first three months the operating expenses of the Organization were about \$57,000. This included items of a non-recurring nature, such as the Convention which cost \$2,800; Public Relations \$6,042; Palestine Pavilion \$2,000; Regions \$2,500; Congress Travelling \$3,500. He estimated that the expenditure for the next nine months could be kept to about \$125,856, based on about the same membership income as last year. The budget of \$232,000 adopted at the last Convention is entirely out of proportion with our estimated income.

Rabbi Miller observed that the revised budget does not contemplate the reorganization program proposed by the President last year, and inquired whether or not there is to be (1) a Youth Department Director, and (2) an Education and Propaganda Department.

Mr. Rucker stated that the whole contemplated program will have to be suspended because of lack of funds.

The Chairman asked for a functional picture of the budget, to which Mr. Rocker replied that functionally the Organization will continue the same as it did last year, with the addition of a larger field staff.

Mr. Lipsky declared that in order to have a larger income we need a larger membership, but the Organization never spends money enough on a concentrated large membership campaign. Mr. Lipsky added that it has been his conviction for years that the Organization can double its membership by making one season a continuous, uninterrupted, nation-wide campaign for members, and spending for that purpose adequate funds, which, he believed, would not be very much.

Mr. Ress inquired whether it is intended to employ a youth director under the revised budget.

The Chairman suggested that the Propaganda Department might be restricted and be made a part of the Education Department or of the Membership Department. He hoped that the Youth Department had not been eliminated from the budget.

Judge Ellenbogen said he did not see how the proper membership efforts could be undertaken with the limited funds indicated.

Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that the new Z.O.A. Constitution contains a clause to the effect that the Executive as such recommends the budget to the Convention, and when the Convention approves the budget, the Executive cannot change it; but the Administrative Committee, by a two-thirds vote, can increase or decrease the budget. Obviously, he pointed out, the Finance Committee would be within its rights to spend all the money recommended by the Convention. This matter is, therefore, to be settled at the meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Rabbi Israel and Rabbi Goldstein suggested that the members of the Executive be furnished the following information some time before the next meeting of the Executive: (1) Last year's expenditures; (2) the budget adopted at the last Convention, for 1939 - 40; and (3) the recommendations of the Finance Committee.

The Chairman recommended that the Chairman of the Finance Committee send the above information to every member of the Executive, within a week, together with a statement of what is to be eliminated from the budget adopted by the Convention.

Mr. Ress observed that the first question to be considered is whether we want to abandon the form of reorganization as submitted by the President, or whether we want to modify it. He then moved

THAT the President appoint a sub-committee of the Executive to meet with the Finance Committee of the Z.O.A. for the purpose of considering the revised budget for 1939 - 40; that a report of this conference be submitted to the meeting of the Executive on October 11.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Allocation to Palestine Pavilion:

The Chairman recalled that the Convention had included in the budget \$10,000 for the Palestine Pavilion, as a recommendation to the Finance Committee and the Executive. Some payments had been made to the Palestine Pavilion. Inasmuch as the budget is to be recommitted to the Finance Committee and the Executive sub-committee, he suggest-

ed that the Palestine Pavilion matter be deferred until such time as the budget is reconsidered.

Mr. Weisgal stated that the allocation of \$10,000 was to have become operative immediately because it was an emergency matter. The Palestine Pavilion should have received about \$1,700 to date, he said, but has received only \$500 of this money. There was a discussion for over an hour at the Convention, Mr. Weisgal recalled, when it was unanimously decided that, subject to the approval of the Executive, the item should be included in the budget. In view of the fact that the Convention gave specific instructions that this matter be taken up at the first meeting of the Executive (and this is the second), Mr. Weisgal urged that the Palestine Pavilion question be taken up at this meeting of the Executive, so that the Finance Committee will have some knowledge of what it has to do, when revising the budget.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the erection of the Palestine Pavilion was a responsibility in which the Zionist Organization of America shared to the extent of underwriting a certain amount of money. The Keren Hayesod may, if it so chooses, call upon the Zionist Organization of America to meet this obligation. The Pavilion has been erected and is now being maintained for the purpose of serving Zionist interests. At that point, the burden should have rested directly upon the Zionist organizations, and, of course, upon the Zionist Organization of America more than any other organization.

Upon Mr. Bernstein's inquiry by what authority were the \$500 already paid to the Palestine Pavilion, Mr. Rocker stated that this payment was necessitated because the Palestine Pavilion had been threatened with being closed.

Judge Ellenbogen suggested that the Palestine Pavilion should be utilized for the membership campaign, that membership blanks should be given to those who visit the Pavilion.

Mr. Margulies stated that about 50,000 very attractive booklets had been distributed at the Palestine Pavilion, containing a membership application blank, but it is not feasible to solicit members at the Pavilion.

Mr. Ress offered the following motion:

THAT we approve the payment of \$5,000 toward the Palestine Pavilion maintenance expense, -- payment to be made in such a way as the Finance Committee find it possible.

The motion was seconded.

Judge Ellenbogen offered the substitute motion

THAT the sum of \$2,000 be approved for the Palestine Pavilion -- the matter to be determined at the next meeting of the Executive, when the whole question of budget will be presented.

Mr. Rocker moved

THAT in approving any payment to the Palestine Pavilion, the Executive also determine where the money is to come from.

The following substitute motion made by Mr. Shetzer was finally passed:

THAT the matter of making an allocation to the Palestine Pavilion be likewise referred to the Finance Committee and the sub-committee of the Executive which is to present the Executive at its next meeting with a complete, revised budget.

Meeting adjourned at 5:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

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any progress had been made in the matter of co-opting people in order to enlarge the committee, the Chairman stated that the matter is awaiting Dr. Weizmann's arrival.

Mr. Gurfein suggested that the proposed Memorandum to the British Ambassador be not publicized. The Chairman stated that it will not be publicized in any way.

TRAVEL BETWEEN U.S. AND PALESTINE:

Mr. Szold reported that he had just been informed that the American Export Line will go to Palestine, and expressed the thought that it is a matter of some importance that travel between this country and Palestine will be permitted to continue.

HADASSAH:

The Chairman stated that prior to the last Convention he had received a letter (dated June 13, 1939) from the National President of Hadassah concerning the allocation of \$7500 from Hadassah representing annual payment to the Z.O.A. in accordance with an agreement drawn up between the two Organizations at the 19th Convention of Hadassah held in Chicago, October, 1933. The letter stated that Hadassah would discontinue paying the \$7500 and would contribute this money instead to the American Zionist Bureau at Washington, D. C.; that originally Hadassah intended to contribute towards the political work of the Z. O. A., and since there is now a Bureau in Washington doing the political work, they want to make their contribution directly to the Washington Bureau. The chairman stated that a Committee will be named to meet with Hadassah to consider this matter. He pointed out that in the contract drawn up in 1933 there was no reference to any political work, and therefore refused to look upon the \$7500 as a contribution towards the political work.

Mr. Margulies observed that in the contract of 1933 Hadassah had agreed to pay annually \$7500 to the Z.O.A. for the recognition of Hadassah by the Z.O.A. as the sole Women's Zionist Organization in the United States.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that with the exception of the United States there is no country in which two separate Landes organizations are organized. Here we have a case where Hadassah has been given carte blanche to proceed as an independent Women's Zionist Organization, which is under no obligation to the Zionist Organization of America, and is not bound by any of the policies of the Zionist Organization of America, political or otherwise. Hadassah engages in political and economic work and in Palestine work of its own, because the Z.O.A. has given them the right to do it and has never objected to their doing it. They had promised to pay \$7500 a year for this privilege of being a free lance in Zionist affairs; now they say that the \$7500 is being given to the Z. O. A. specifically for the maintenance of an institution which had not been in existence at the time the contract was drawn.

Mr. Goldberg felt that the present difficulty is due to the lack of association between Hadassah and the Z.O.A. and that actually they are two separate organizations. He said he was therefore not surprised that Hadassah sent a separate memorandum to the Intergovernmental Committee; and he thought that although Hadassah had explained its action on this occasion, it will happen again. He recommended that the Committee to be named by the Chairman to consider the entire matter with a view to bringing about closer collaboration between the two organizations.

PALESTINE PAVILION:

The following letter from Dr. Stephen S. Wise, under date of November 7, 1939, relative to the continuance of the Palestine Pavilion at the World's Fair in 1940, was read:

"Dear Dr. Goldman:

"At a meeting of representative of all Zionist organizations and Palestine fund-raising institutions held at my study on Monday evening, October 23rd, 1939, it was unanimously decided, after due consideration, that the Palestine Pavilion should continue at the World's Fair in 1940.

"On the basis of the figures submitted, it was agreed that the sum of \$80,000 would be required to make possible the 1940 participation. It was likewise agreed that the major financial responsibility should be undertaken by the Zionist organizations and fund-raising institutions.

"As the Honorary President of the Palestine Pavilion and as the Chairman of the meeting at which these decisions were made, I address myself to you with the request that you bring this matter before a meeting of your Executive Committee in order to determine the extent to which the Zionist Organization of America will participate in the 1940 budget of the Palestine Pavilion. A similar request is being addressed to the other Zionist organizations and fund-raising institutions.

"As you know, Hadassah has already agreed to participate to the extent of \$5,000. An effort is now being made to secure a larger appropriation from Hadassah.

"In accordance with a previous decision of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Pavilion, the administration of the Palestine Pavilion has undertaken a campaign among Welfare Funds, Community Chests and other local bodies to supplement the funds to be appropriated by the Zionist bodies. Since the scope of this campaign is dependent in a large measure upon the amount which will be appropriated by Zionist bodies, it is essential that we know as soon as possible the amount which the Zionist Organization of America will allocate.

"It is my opinion that the Zionist Organization of America should make itself responsible for a minimum of \$10,000 toward the budget of \$80,000.

"I will appreciate it greatly if you will let me know at the earliest possible opportunity the decision of the Zionist Organization of America in this matter.

"Faithfully yours,
(Signed) STEPHEN S. WISE"

Rabbi Miller asked what is the relation of the request in Dr. Wise's letter to the Convention resolution to include the Palestine Pavilion to the extent of \$10,000.

The Chairman replied that if the Executive were to act on this recommendation the \$10,000 considered by the Convention would be absorbed.

Dr. Goldstein stated that at the time the Convention resolution was adopted there was no definite knowledge that the Palestine Pavilion would continue in 1940; so that there is still a moral obligation outstanding with reference to

the Convention resolution. He believed that Dr. Wise's recommendation might be adopted without prejudice to the Convention resolution.

The Chairman said he understood that the budget adopted by the Palestine Pavilion was for 1939-1940.

Mr. Cowen took exception to the position taken by Dr. Goldstein with regard to moral obligations. When the Convention submits a recommendation to the Executive, it must be decided on its merits. In the case of the Palestine Pavilion it is purely a matter of finance, he pointed out. Furthermore, he wondered how the obligation could be met without prejudice to the membership campaign and other work of the Z.O.A. He suggested that, if it can be done, the money should be voted to the Palestine Pavilion, to be paid out as the funds come in to the treasury of the ZOA.

Mr. Siegel was opposed to giving \$10,000 to the Palestine Pavilion, on the theory that if \$80,000 is required for American Jewry to support the Palestine Pavilion, the funds ought to be found in some reasonable proportion among all the groups in American Jewry. He felt that the Jews of America should not only come and see the Palestine Pavilion, but should have a reasonable share in raising the money for its maintenance. He favored voting some money to the Palestine Pavilion but considerably less than \$10,000.

Mr. Rucker recalled that early in the discussions on the Palestine Pavilion, he had inquired as to how the Pavilion would be financed and was informed that it would be done in two ways -- by selling booklets and by approaching civic-minded Jews to give large contributions. It now appears, he said, that the booklets have more or less petered out, the civic-minded Jews did not come forward with the cash and the Z.O.A., U.P.A., and J.N.F. have been taxed, from time to time, to maintain the Pavilion. Mr. Rucker believed that the Directors of the Palestine Pavilion ought to finance the Pavilion as they had originally intended to. The Z.O.A. is now bound to repay \$25,000 to the J.N.F. and the U.P.A.

Mr. Weisgal stated that the facts as set forth by Mr. Rucker are inaccurate and that he considered the complaining tone unfair.

The Chairman explained that the Executive is just now considering whether it can make any contribution at all to the Pavilion; whether it has the money available or will have the money available and in what amount.

Mr. Lipsky stressed the importance of making a decision. He added that the Board of Trustees of the Palestine Pavilion had a meeting and agreed that it was to the interest of the Zionist movement that the Palestine Pavilion should continue for another year.

Rabbi Brickner recommended that the only business-like procedure would be to refer the matter of financing the Palestine Pavilion to the Finance Committee. Should the Executive vote an appropriation to the Pavilion it would be no lien on the Finance Committee; the Executive would have to instruct the Finance Committee to borrow the money if it is unavailable. On the other hand, he pointed out, if the Administrative Council has already decided to continue the Palestine Pavilion at the 1940 World's Fair, the Executive should implement the action of the Administrative Council and instruct the Finance Committee to find ways and means of maintaining the Pavilion.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the Board of Directors of the Palestine Pavilion have a responsibility to the extent of deciding on the expenses which are to continue from the time the Pavilion was closed till the time the ZOA Executive will decide to take some action. The Pavilion will not reopen in 1940 unless the ZOA fulfills at least its minimum obligation; and if the ZOA does not take such action now, it will be impossible to approach

other organizations for funds. He pointed out that in establishing the Palestine Pavilion the Palestine Pavilion Administration itself was able to secure more than \$150,000 without taxing the resources of the ZOA. The booklets did not peter out; they produced an income of more than \$100,000 net to the Palestine Pavilion; some of the communities responded to the extent of \$12,000, \$15,000, or \$17,000. If the Palestine Pavilion Administration has not succeeded in raising all the money, it was because the Jewish communities did not respond in the manner expected of them. Dr. Goldstein urged that the Z.O.A. should take the lead and decide whether or not the Palestine Pavilion is to reopen in 1940; that the Z.O.A. Executive make a declaration in principle, at least, on this matter.

The Chairman expressed the thought that every member of the Executive wants to see the Palestine Pavilion continue in 1940; that the Executive would have been happy to assume the obligation of \$10,000 as recommended by the Convention, and that if that \$10,000 had already been paid, to vote an additional \$10,000 as requested in Dr. Wise's letter. In the past week the Chairman had received a letter from Mr. Charles Ress, informing the Z.O.A. of its obligation of \$25,000 to the Keren Hayesod, which sooner or later must be paid. He believed that the Finance Committee and the Executive had faltered and hesitated only because the finances of the Z.O.A. did not allow the assumption of further obligations..

Dr. Wise declared that any indecision on the part of the Executive at this time will lead to a further indecision on the part of the other organizations which consider themselves, when they so choose, subsidiary to the Zionist Organization of America.

Mr. Lipsky stated that the Board of Directors of the Palestine Pavilion cannot undertake the responsibility of continuing the Pavilion in 1940, without the endorsement and approval of the Z.O.A. If Hadassah hears that the Z.O.A. has given its approval but not its endorsement, Hadassah will not give the \$5,000. He said that he saw no difficulty in spite of what the Chairman of the Finance Committee said. All that is asked for is a backing on the part of the Zionist organizations and funds.

The Chairman reiterated that the Z.O.A. now has a deficit of \$26,000; Mr. Ress' letter asking for \$25,000 would make the deficit \$51,000. The Z.O.A. is operating at present on a deficit and on the hope -- based on experience -- that in the course of time, part of this deficit will be met.

Mr. Lipsky believed that as far as payment of the deficit is concerned, in all probability an arrangement can be made to have it done over a period of a number of years.

In answer to Rabbi Brickner's suggestion, Mr. Weisgal stated that a meeting was called of all the Zionist organizations and it was decided unanimously that the Palestine Pavilion should continue in 1940 and will cost \$80,000; but it was decided that the major financial responsibility should be undertaken by the various Zionist organizations and fund-raising institutions. He added that no one can guarantee whether \$50,000 or \$40,000 or \$60,000 will be raised in the various cities. Half of the amount, therefore, will be distributed among the Z.O.A., J.N.F., Keren Hayesod, Hadassah, and the major organizations.

The Chairman recommended that the Executive vote participation in the Palestine Pavilion to the extent of \$5,000, with the understanding that in January or February the Executive will reconsider its action and will either add \$2,500 or it may be compelled to make the contribution less than \$5,000.

He felt that this was the only action that can be taken at this time.

Mr. Lipsky moved:

THAT the Executive undertake to guarantee to the Palestine Pavilion the sum of \$10,000 and authorize the Pavilion to proceed with the budget as indicated.

The Chairman reiterated that the Z.O.A. cannot assume an obligation of \$10,000 but recommended \$5,000.

Judge Ellenbogen felt that the Executive ought to be definite now and not make any promises as to the future; the action can be reconsidered if the occasion will require it. He offered the following substitute motion:

THAT the Executive authorize a maximum expenditure of \$5,000 by the Zionist Organization of America, in connection with the participation of the Palestine Pavilion in the 1940 World's Fair.

The substitute motion was seconded.

Dr. Wise objected to the statement that the Z.O.A. has a deficit. He pointed out that the funds of the organization come in in such a way that the resources are minimal as the year begins and they rise and become larger as the year progresses; and this year, he believed, the resources can reasonably be expected to grow larger than ever before in the light of the increased membership contemplated. Dr. Wise added that he will be profoundly disappointed if the membership on the first of July does not run into 40,000 or 50,000; he thought 40,000 ought to be the minimum. Dr. Wise felt it would be a great mistake to limit the Z.O.A. to \$5,000 in connection with the Palestine Pavilion and to "wait till February".

The Chairman stated that all of the plans and hopes that he had for the Z.O.A. in regard to reorganization, extension, etc. have been in vain because of lack of funds. In view of the program for which the Zionists of America are waiting and which the Z.O.A. cannot and is not giving them, the Chairman said he also felt a moral obligation from the other side. If, under these circumstances, the Executive still thinks it can assume a \$10,000 obligation towards the Palestine Pavilion, he was completely neutral in the matter. He had watched the growth and the work of the Palestine Pavilion with the deepest satisfaction and he wished that the Organization could vote it tens of thousands of dollars. However, the Z.O.A. needs either a larger Education Department or a special Youth Department; an extra \$10,000 in those two departments or in one of those departments would be most helpful. However, instead of adding, the Organization is subtracting. Under the circumstances, the Chairman felt that to vote \$5,000 to the Palestine Pavilion at this time and to see what can be done in January or February, is about as much as the Executive can do and remain, at the same time, true to its charge.

The Chairman then called for a vote on Judge Ellenbogen's substitute motion. The motion was carried.

PALESTINE PROJECTS:

The Chairman reported that, from time to time, Palestine organizations particularly those interested in projects of a General Zionist nature, appeal to the Z.O.A. for funds. They either want a direct financial grant from the Z.O.A. treasury so that they will have no campaign; or they want to conduct

a campaign which the Z.O.A. should endorse.

Dr. Goldstein felt that the Executive is fully authorized to inform the various Palestine projects that instructions from the Agency Executive and from the Zionist Congress are opposed to such action.

A brief discussion followed, in which Rabbi Heller, Rabbi Brickner, Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Margulies, Dr. Epstein, Mr. Seigel, Mr. Berenstein and Mr. Rooker participated.

In view of the present situation and the large number of national institutions as well as private Palestinian enterprises appealing on behalf of all the Zionist parties and organizations, Mr. Lipsky moved:

THAT the matter of endorsing campaigns in this country for the various Palestine projects be referred to the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, to take such action as may be necessary.

The motion was seconded and carried.

JUSTICE BRANDEIS' 83RD BIRTHDAY:

Dr. Wise moved:

THAT by a rising vote the Executive express its deep joy and gratitude on the occasion of the approaching 83rd birthday of Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis; that a Committee consisting of the Chairman and one or two members of the Executive be named to send a message or personally to present greetings to Justice Brandeis.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried by a rising vote.

Z.O.A. COURT OF HONOR:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. proceed to organize a Court of Honor.

THAT the matter of the article published by a member of the Executive be referred to the Court of Honor.

Seconded and unanimously carried.

GREATER NEW YORK MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN:

The Executive gave its earnest attention to the membership situation in Greater New York and the necessity of undertaking a concerted effort in order to enlarge the membership in the Metropolitan area. Mr. Lipsky expressed his firm conviction that only if the entire weight of the opinion of the National Executive is thrown behind a membership campaign in Greater New York can substantial results be expected. He moved:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. authorize the formation of a Membership Campaign Committee for Greater New York, the Campaign to be conducted under its own auspices, for the purpose of enlisting a large membership effort in Greater New York.

The Chairman observed that the Z.O.A. budget for this year provides for a campaign throughout the country, and expressed the thought that if the Executive launches the membership effort in Greater New York and finances it, other

cities all over the country will feel it is their right to turn to the Executive and ask that similar action be taken in those cities. He recommended therefore that there be no motion on this matter, but that it be done rather as a routine business.

Speaking on Mr. Lipsky's motion, Mr. Margulies pointed out that it is very valid and does not involve any money; by the Executive's adoption of such a motion, the Greater New York membership campaign assumes a national scope. Mr. Margulies further called attention to the fact that New York has about 10,000 members or one-fifth of the entire ZOA membership and is therefore entitled to an allocation out of the \$9,000 voted for field work, adding that if the \$9,000 is to be spent effectively it will have to be segmented. He thought, however, that if a campaign is undertaken for the Greater City, funds can be raised outside of the budget for this purpose. The success of the campaign depends on the proper set-up, and that can be assured only if the national organization provides the money.

Mr. Konowitz offered an amendment: THAT a Committee be appointed to work out a detailed plan of campaign for Greater New York.

Mr. Ress thought the motion ought simply be: THAT the Committee on Membership of the Executive is requested to initiate and cause to be carried on under its direct supervision a campaign for membership in Greater New York.

Mr. Lipsky's motion was voted upon and unanimously carried.

WESTERN NEW YORK STATE REGION:

Mr. Ress reported that a group of Districts in Western New York State, namely Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Niagara Falls, have asked the Executive for a charter constituting them a Zionist Region. He recommended that this be done. Mr. Ress stated that at present no specific rules and regulations are in force governing the conduct of Regions. There were recommendations referred by a Committee of the Convention and then by the Convention itself to a conference which is still to be summoned. This group of Districts has over 1,500 members, and it therefore comes within the spirit of one of the recommendations that were referred to the Convention.

The Chairman suggested to Mr. Ress that if the Executive votes to establish the proposed Region, those who made the application should be informed that the action of the Executive is tentative, because of the fact that the Executive is now considering the matter of reorganization of Regions.

It was then duly moved and carried:

THAT the Executive approves the recommendation of the Committee on Regions and Districts, that it grant the Districts of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and Niagara Falls, the right to constitute the Western New York Zionist Region.

Meeting adjourned at 7:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES
Secretary

**MISSING
PAGE (S)**

Candidate

affairs, Zionists whose burning zeal and unswerving determination have hitherto enabled them to forge ahead and to advance the interests of a Jewish Palestine despite all obstacles and reverses. We want new blood by all means, but we will not get it by making bad blood to start with.

Surely no person of sincerity and good judgment, who was heretofore inactive in Zionist work, no matter how eminent in his particular field, and who in a time of emergency desires to serve the Movement, will insist that he and not a recognized and experienced leader of American Zionism should be the President of the Zionist Organization of America. Should the test of Zionist leadership, at this time, be success in business and the possession of wealth? Then, surely, many Zionists will be able to name persons having these qualifications, who in addition have served Zionism not merely by the formal payment of membership dues or by contributing to the United Jewish Appeal, but by actively participating in essential Zionist work.

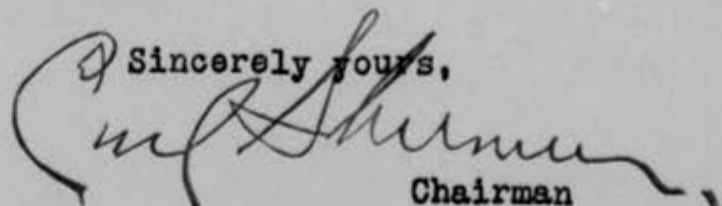
Distinction in the field of philanthropy as in other fields is surely deserving of respect, but such standing in a community has never been regarded as a proper substitute for experience, knowledge and understanding, the gift of expressing the minds of our people and of inspiring men and women to action. Yet, at this particular time, the same group which encouraged the campaign to spread confusion and disunity in American Zionism, are calling upon the Zionists of the country to elect for the President of the Zionist Organization of America, nay to draft, an estimable merchant whose name is entirely unknown to our membership. It must be noted with regret that several well-meaning persons of prominence have joined in this campaign. It is hard to believe that they have given adequate study to the questions involved.

It is significant and far from flattering, either to the sponsors or their candidate, that a biographical sketch has to be sent to each District. We have not the least intention to disparage this gentleman. We feel certain that he can render valuable service in the field wherein his training and experience can best be utilized. We know Dr. Weizmann, has, at a previous occasion, requested him to render service of a financial and a business character which he is fitted to render. We earnestly trust that though he has not yet been able to serve in this capacity, he will in the future fulfill his offer of cooperation. Zionists will not be wanting either in respect or in readiness to cooperate with him.

But these services are not related to the responsibilities and duties of the leadership of American Zionism represented by the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America.

In view of the foregoing considerations, we find it hard to believe that this candidacy is being projected with the full knowledge and consent of the candidate. We are still hoping that he will be withdrawn and that all of us, like true Zionists and devoted fellow-Jews, will unite and go forward under the Presidency of a Zionist who has earned his leadership by going through the welter of long trial, tribulation and struggle. This is no time to experiment. The true and tried leaders of American Zionism are well known to all the delegates who will attend the Convention, and they do not need to be described in biographical sketches. The delegates have but to demand and one of these leaders, who can best serve us in this fateful hour, will take his place at the helm.

Sincerely yours,


Chairman