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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. Becker 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

החברות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

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President

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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

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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 Drot, Philadelphia, Pa; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; A. E. 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 Naphtali 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 Judenfrend, New York; Harry J. Kahn, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel Kanarvogel, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel J. Keiser, Baltimore, Md.; Leon Kohn, New York; Mordchai Konowitz, Jamaica, L.I.; Abraham Krumbein, New York; Samuel Kuhl, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Dr. Harris J. Lovine, New York; Harry Lovine, Leominster, Mass.; L.I. Lovinson, Atlantic City, N.J.; Irving Lipkowitz, New York; Eleazar 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. Pino, 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. Rocker, New York; Leon H. Rose, Camden, N.J.; H. Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N.J.; Samuel J. Rothstein, New York; Moses Rubinson, Bronx, N.Y.; Jechanan I. Rudavsky, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Mrs. John M. Safer, Washington, D.C.; Leon Savage, 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 Sherman, New York; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Abe Sindell, Bronx, N.Y.; Abraham Spicchandler, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Louis E. Spiaglor, 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. Ulander, 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 Abbell, 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. Brinmer, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. Frances Burnce, Dorchester, Mass.; Josse 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. Everts, 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.; Mayer Levy, New York; I. Lewin, San Antonio, Texas; Philip Lewis, New York; Dr. M. D. 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 Uiansky, Meriden, Conn.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York; Dr. Samuel Wurzel, Bridgeport, Conn.; Marcus M. Zetkin, 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. Weismann, 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 Yiddish 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 Knesset 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 -- \$26,363 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 \$1,300. 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 Chanukha Oser 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 Shabbath, 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 Broslau 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 Hadasah 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 OF 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 these 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 Kayemeth, 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 Spicandler 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. Spicandler 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. That 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 Mizrahi 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. Isroeli 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. Isroeli 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. Isroeli's motion out of order.

In reply to an inquiry from Mr. Jehanion 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 Spicchandler 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.

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 FOKEMFNER
G. JOSEPH RECHT
M. RESNICK
NATHAN ROTTER
A. SHULMAN
SOL SILVERMAN
DR. F. W. STEINER
RABBI LEON STITSKIN
ELVIN TITTELBAUM
DR. I. H. WACHS
HON. SAMUEL WEISS
HARRY WOOLF
M. ZASS

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

LESTER BENJAMIN
PHIL KATZ
M. A. SANDERS
MILTON E. 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. B. 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. HARS
LOUIS MICHAELS
DAVID H. WEINER
MEYER YANOVITZ
ELLIOTT FINNELL

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

I. G. SIMON

February 8, 1940

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
23. 105th street
Cleveland, Ohio

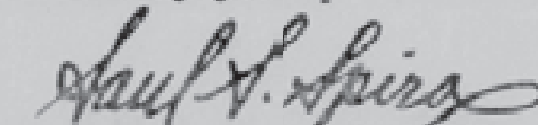
Dear Dr. Silver:

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, 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 Rees, Aaron Riche, Louis P. Rucker, 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 1938 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, Hadasah might consider earmarking their money for certain definite ZOJ 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 Hadasah 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, 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:BX

התאחדות 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 SCOLD
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

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IRVING MILLER
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EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
CARL SHERMAN
SIMON SHETZER
WILLIAM I. SEGEL
ABRAHAM HILFEL SILVER
ELIUD D. STONE

Associate Members

MRS. MORRIS F. 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. 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 Hutner (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. Rucker, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Benjamin J. Harris, Leo Wilson, Arnold K. Israeli, 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 E. 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. Levavy (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 *Der 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 Ross, 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. Shapirc, 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. Rucker 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 ~~schedule~~ schedule 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 these 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 Kayameth, 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. Rucker 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. Rucker agreed as to the advisability of the President's naming a Committee on Budget Control.

FINANCE COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS:

Mr. Rucker stated that on behalf of the Finance Committee, he desired to submit for the approval of the Executive:

1.) Palestine Department: Mr. Rucker 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 E.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. Rucker'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. Rucker'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. Rucker 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. Ress 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. Ress 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. Rucker did not present a recommendation that Dr. Bernstein be dismissed and someone else engaged in Dr. Bernstein's place; if that were Mr. Rucker's report, it would be in keeping with his (Mr. Rucker's) functions. Mr. Rucker'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, Mizrahi, 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. Rucker 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, Mizrahi 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. Rucker and his Committee regarding the Palestine Department, and it was thought 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 2½ 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. Rucker'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} 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. Swold 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 V. Bernstein, Rabbi 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. Kellner, 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, 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. Rucker to continue with that report.

Mr. Rucker 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. Ross' 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. Rucker. He felt that Mr. Rucker 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. Rucker 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. Rucker 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. Malin 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. Rucker had reference to a meeting in December which he (Mr. Margulies) did not attend, Mr. Rucker had failed to make it clear; but if Mr. Rucker 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. Rucker 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. Rucker 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. Ross asked Mr. Rucker when the meeting of the Finance Committee was held at which that recommendation was adopted.

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

Mr. Showman 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. Ross 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. Ross 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. Rucker'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. Rucker explained that these organizers and propagandists are not employed on an annual basis.

Mr. Ross amended Mr. Rucker's motion as follows:

THAT, in view of the fact that the only propagandists 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. Rucker'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. Ross 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. Ross 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 lead 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.

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.

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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. Ross 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.

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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 those 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 *Der Yiddish Folk*; Mr. Abraham Goldberg, the only paid speaker on the staff and who is also the Editor of *Der 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.C.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 torture 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. Ross, as Chairman of the Committee, the fullest measure of support in compiling the Survey and in presenting the recommendations, which he and Mr. Ross 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.C.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 Ross, Earl Shorman, and Meyer Levy asked to be recorded as voting against the motion.

(3/21)

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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. Ress 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 Garfein, 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 Ross, Louis P. Rucker, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Carl Sherman, Simon Shotzer, 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. Morris 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. Rucker 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 Ross 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. 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, 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. Rucker 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. Rucker 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. Rucker 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 6988

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. GLAZER
CECIL R. GORDON
J. S. GORDON
SAMUEL GREEN
ADOLPH HUBBARD
MAX KABATZNIK
HARRY LEVINE
DR. MOSES W. LEVINSON-LOVI
MAX NISROSH
HON. LOUIS A. NOVINS
JACOB FROMSOIM
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. Rucker, 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 these 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 subcommittee (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, Mizrahi, 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 these 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 unit of 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, Mizrahi, 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., ~~the~~ 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, Mizrahi, 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.C.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. Röss 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. Röss 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. Röss asserted.

Mr. Röss 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. Röss 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, Mizrahi, 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, Mizrahi 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; these 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 ~~we~~ 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~~ that Hadasah, B'nai Zion, and to some extent Mizrahi, 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~~ 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, these 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 no 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 McCaplan, 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 these 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. Israoeli and the articles he has written be referred to the Court of Honor for determination, and that pending final determination, Mr. Israoeli 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. Israoeli 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 Bornstein 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 Frankel, 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. Harrie, Chicago, Ill.; Isidore Hershfield, Washington, D.C.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Arnold K. Isroeli, Bronx, N.Y.; Samuel F. Jacobson, Chicago, Ill.; Sidney E. Jaffe, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel Judenfrensd, 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.; Mordocai 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.; Moyer 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.; Moyer Abrams, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. B. W. Abramson, Columbus, Ohio; Rabbi Philip R. Aletat, 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 Durnce, Dorchester, Mass.; Jesse D. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; David I. Cantor, Buffalo, N.Y.; Julius M. Cantor, New York City;

Samuel Caploe, Lorchester, 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 Everts, 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 Halpern, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Ohio; D. 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. Moses W. Levinson-Lovi, Roxbury, Mass.; Dr. I. Archer Levin, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Brooklyn, N.Y.; I. Lowin, 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 Rabinowitz, 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.; Ir. Morton Robbins, Nashua, N.H.; Dr. Joseph Roschovsky, Atlantic City, N.J.; Samuel J. Rothstein, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Paul Saffro, 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. Wise, 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. Wintzob 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, 1925, 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 \$300 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 23,978 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 those 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 Ross 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. Ross urged that Pittsburgh be chosen as the Convention City.

Mr. Jochanan 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.P. 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 Hayemeth, 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 these 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. Rudawsky 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. Rudawsky 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. Rudawsky 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 Beth); 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 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. Spicelandler 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. Spicelandler 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. Rees 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. Rees 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 agenda of the Administrative Council meetings.

The Chairman suggested that Mr. Rees' 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 Kayometh 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 Karen 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

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

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,



MORRIS MARCULIES

Secretary