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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated. Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel Box Folder 82 29 1795b

Zionist Organization of America, 1940.

SOLOMON COHEN ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR

11 WEST 42ND STREET NEW YORK CITY

PHONE LONGACHE 5-6880

My dear abba :.

april 15, 1940

Jesterday, it the meeting of the administrative Committee of the J. O. a. Tolderean received his first defeat. Toldman wanted the connention to be held ut chicago - for reasons best known to him Judge Fisher of Chicago made a perea to the Commuttee to have the Convention held in Chicago in order that the I. b. a veright show its appreciation of Saldmanis services a the 3. b. d. and in tubute to his, Congregation for funding land land the last two of years. after this elaguent to hold the Convention in Vittaborgh. risit to Hero fork as I have a last to tell you and take up with your. and take up with your appeared in The Day Darney Brickser appeared in The Day Brickser that the for Body 100 33/0 // hundred to Virginia in which auna joins me as ever jours, Sol.

April 24, 1940 Mr. Joseph Goldberg, President New England Zionist Region 401 Slater Building Wordester, Mass. My dear Mr. Goldberg: Please pardon the long delay in acknowledging your kind letter of March 25. I have been away from the city a good deal of the time and my correspondence has lagged. I deeply appreciate your kindness in inviting me to be the speaker at the annual New England Regional Convention to be held about the middle of June. I wish I were free to avail myself of the opportunity to come to you. Unfortunately my schedule for the next few months is so crowded that I cannot in justice to myself take on any new responsibilities. I trust that you will understand. The work of the United Palestine Apreal and the United Jewish Appeal have kept me frightfully busy these last few years. With all good wishes for success in your splendid work, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

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

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

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

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

SECRETARY'S REPORT:

The Secretary presented the following report:

1. CONVENTION:

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. MEMBERSHIP:

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

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

U.J.A. CAMPAIGHS IN DISTRICTS:

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

Exec. - 5/8/40

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

SELF®ASSESSMENT TAX:

With regard to the Self-Assessment Tax, as of May 6th we had collected a total of \$13,300. This sum was contributed by a little over 27000 members. An average of approximately \$5 per member has been maintained. The largest contribution was one of L250. The balance of the contributions ranged from \$500 to 50¢. There was one \$500 contribution; 8...\$100; 13...\$50; 57...\$25; the two largest categories were of the \$5.00 and \$1.50 contributions. We received 743 contributions of \$5.00 and 736 of \$1.50. Since the beginning of May the number of contributions has dropped considerably. Today, for example, the amount received was less than \$100.

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

PALESTINE BUREAU!

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

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

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

A large number of the 76 capitalist applicants comprise Polish and German Jews who are in this country as tourists. When in Palestine, they will have the right to apply for Certificates for their families stranded abroad. Some of these teurists have at their disposal fairly large amounts of cash, more than the required E1,000. Through the intercession of Sir James Paget, the legal obstacles to granting Palestine visas to holders of German passports have been removed.

In view of the fact that fifty capitalist Certificates have been forwarded by the Agency to the Palestine Office in Trieste, Italy, it has been possible for the Palestine Bureau to apply for immigration Certificates in behalf of European relatives of American residents. Applications have been received here for forty immigrants residing abroad and for whom El,000 each has been deposited in Palestine by their American relatives. It is hoped that by the end of August at least half of this number will have been granted Certificates.

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

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

PERMANENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE:

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

Discussion on Secretary's Report:

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

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

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

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

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

Unanimously carried.

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

A brief discussion followed as to the functions of the Convention Com-

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

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

Unanimously carried.

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

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

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

COMMUNICATIONS:

From Rabbi Brickner, re date of Next Executive Meeting:

The Secretary presented a communication from Rabbi Brickner, pointing out the conflict in date between the next scheduled Executive meeting (June 19th) and the mosting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (June 13 to 23nd) which a number of members of the Executive will undoubtedly attend.

A brief discussion ensued regarding the advisability of changing the next Executive meeting date. It was pointed out that the preceding Wednesday, June 13th, was Shevuoth. It was theroupon moved and seconded

> THAT the date of the next meeting of the Executive be advanced to June 5th: and.

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

Unanimously carried.

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

2) William Green Tostimonial:

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

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

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

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

3) Invitation from Happel Hamizrachi:

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

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

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

Seconded and carried.

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

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

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

Mr. Cowen moved

THAT the matter be laid on the table.

The motion to table was defeated.

Mr. Ross' motion was seconded and carried.

FINANCES:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REVISIONIST PROBLEM:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PALESTINE PAVILION:

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

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

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

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

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

Referring to Mr. Weisgal's statement that the Z.O.A. actually eves to the Palestine Pavilion \$9,500, Mr. Ress pointed out that the Convention did not vote 310,000 for the Pavilion; the Convention recommended the payment of

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

It was finally moved, seconded and carried

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

Meeting adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Scerotary

SOLOMON COHEN ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR 11 WEST 42ND STREET NEW YORK CITY PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880 May 16, 1940 My dear abbail am anchoning herewith an article which appeared in yesterday's Morning Journal, which may interest Toldman had recently rested The J. D. A. office for a lier of all presidents of Districts, and this week a number of Presidente of hong Island Districto Lad received letters asking them to sign a Retition for or third term for Jaldman I as president of the 3.0. a. Thus Joldman is initialing a "alraget Soldman Montment. More and more the movement In Lepsky is gaining momentum. believe he is the only one - outside I Wise or yourself - who can hear him. What are your rections? Who is your preference? I understand who is your preference? I understand runs, net me know by relayer mail, he can derstand that the traver how to act but by relayer mail, he conference as ever yours, toof. חחסתדרות חציונית של ארצות חברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE NEWYORK

May 22, 1940

SOLOMON GOLDMAN President

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

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

Louis P. Rocker Chairman, Finance Committee

MORRIS WEINBERG

LUDWIG LEWISOHN
HOROGAY Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES Secretary

EXECUTIVE

DAVID BUXENSTUN ROBERT M. BERNSTEIN BARNETT R. BRICKNER INNAFE B. BROOM CHARLES A. COWEN HUNGY ELLINGORIN ALBERT K. EPSTEIN HARRY M. FISHER HARRY FRIEDRING ASSAILAM GOLDSERG I. M. GOLDEN ABBAHAM GOLDSTEIN BRAIL GOLDSTEIN MURRAY I. GURFEIN JAMES G. HELLER HOWARD L. BRAFT. MORDECAL KONOWITZ HARRIS J. LEVENE ISBARL H. LEVENTHAL MEYER LEVY Invince MILLER Converse Bess. AABON RICHE A. H. ROSENBERG EZRA Z. SHAPIRO CARL SHERMAN SINGON SHIETZER WILLIAM I. SERGEL ARRA HILLEL SILVER ELBOU D. STONE

Associate Members Mas. Moses P. Epstein Alfred J. Kann Eleazar Lipiky TO THE ZIONIST REGIONS, DISTRICTS, SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA.

Dear Fellow-Zionists:

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

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

At present Article IX, Section 5 reads:

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

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

Article X. Section 1 reads:

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

7ith Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Horris Margulies

Secretary

SOLOMON COHEN ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR 11 WEST 42ND STREET NEW YORK CITY PHONE LONGACES 5-6880 11 (ay 25, 1940 My dear abba: When you will receive this letter you will no doubt have read, the officing Motice in the Mur Paseotine of the submission of an amendment to the Constitution of the 3. O. R. for a third to term for Joldman will course I of that he is not a candidate. But we know who will he the candidate. But we know who will he the next oresident of the amendment passes how enough beligates great who will defeat the amendment. My fistrict to elect eight to efect eight desegrates, but the maximum who intheses go are three or family the their finities on hong I should opposed to Solfman are situated similarly. to go but, who will not be elected by your Shirety I shall see that they get delighter credentials from my or other Districts on dong related But I course you must be sure that these men or women

will actually go. Chveland is not for from Pottshugh and you should be ble to have attachingh

ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR

11 WEST 42ND STREET NEW YORK CITY

PHONE LONGACRE 5-6860 sizable list. in some of our fistricts exections will be kell during the first week of fine. Will you see that I get such a fist at once The more names The munier. Tong deland is entitled to 55-57 delegates and only between 14-18 will actually attend.

If you have more name is I my
be able to seeme credentials from other
friendly districts outside of Long Island. When you send me such a liet have them submitted in the order of their assuredness to attend. Kindest regards to d'irginia. Please extend to her and and my sympatty on her great loss. as ever yours Tol

P. S. I realize have busy you are but you or and assign the detail work to or Faultanen

Hay 28, 1940 Mr. Solomon Cohen 11 West 42nd St. New York, N.Y. My dear Sol: Let me thank you for your kind letter. As I expressed to you a few days ago in New York, I do not think it is advisable for me or for my Society to become involved as a principal in the forthcoming controw ray. To do what you propose, is to put the Cleveland Zionast Society and of course myself out in front ugain as the spearpoint of the attack. That I do not wish to do. Nor is it is desirable. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

ההמתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE NEWYORK

SOLOMON GOLDMAN President

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

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

Louis P. Rocker Chairman, Finance Committee

MORRIS WEINBERG

LUDWIG LEWISORN
HOROCATY Secretary

MORRIS MARGULES Secretary

EXECUTIVE

Down Beauserrupe ROBERT M. BERNSTEIN BARNETT R. BRICKNER ISBACL B. BROOKE CHARLES A. COWEN HENRY ELLENBOGEN ALBERT K. EPSTEIN HARRY M. FISHER HARRY FRIEDRENG ABRAHAM GOLDBERG I. M. GOLDEN ARRAHAM GOLDSTEIN ISBAEL GOLDSTEIN MURRAY I. GURPEIN JAMES G. HILLER. FOWARD L. ISBAEL MORDECAL KONOWITZ HARRIS J. LEVINE ISBAEL H. LEVINTRAL MINUR LEVY Irving MILLER CHARLES RESS AMON RICHE A. H. ROSENBERG EZRA Z. SHAPIRO CARL SHERMAN SIMON SHETZER WILLIAM I. SHIGEL ABBA HILLEL SILVER ELDIU D. STONE

Associate Members
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
ALPRED J. KASIN
ELEAZAR LIPSKY

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

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

I feel that I should convey this fact to you.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

May 29, 1940.

Morris Margulies

COMMITTEE ON ZIONIST CONVENTION PROBLEMS
CARL SHERMAN, Chairman

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

June 4, 1940

Fellow-Zionist:

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

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

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

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

With Zion's greetings, I am

and Helist.

CARD SHERWAN, Chairman

Committee On Zionist Convention Problems

ההמתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית IZATION OF AMERICA PITTSBURGH DISTRICT 901 KEYSTONE BANK BLDG. - PITTSBURGH, PA. TELEPHONE COURT 0138 RANGE B. A. LICHTER Honorgey President June 4, 1940 SAUL S. SPIRO President Vice-Presidents HARRY Brazes Chairman of Membership JOHNS PORTER Chairman of Pinance NATHAN SAVAGE Chairman of Culture BRASE A. ANNAMS Chairman, Board of Direct Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Branan Karlan Recording Socretary c/o The Temple 105th at Ansel Road Jacon Seven. Financial Secretary Cleveland, Ohio EMANUEL SPECTOR Treasurer I. G. Stwon Executive Director Dear Rabbi Silver: EXECUTIVE I will be grateful to you if you will be good SOL BLACK E. L. BRAUSSTREE enough to send us a greeting to be published in the WALTER BURES Souvenir Book which the local Convention Committee BENJAMIN CHAPP Judge Hister Ellipsiogne will issue on the occasion of the 43rd annual Zionist HIRMAN FINISHED Convention, to be held in Pittsburgh. Da. M. H. FROUR Da. Solomon B. Farence SAMURI L. FOR Looking forward to the receipt of your greeting SAMUEL GOLDSTOCK Joures Haurence by not later than June 18, I am Јонен Намиска FRANK R. S. KAPLAN A. R. Kurrs Thankfully yours, HARRY LITTERS DR. ARLABAM LEWIN Dr. M. B. LICHTENTEIN ALIE LOWENTHAL A. L. Mou Louis Microsus MORRIS NEARAN Saul S. Spiro, Editor HARRY I. NIMMAN BENJAMEN RAPHAM OSCAR ROSSON OSCAR ROSESS HYMAN RODAL MAX ROSAL Сим. J. ROHENBLOOM HARRY SUNIA L.A. Swan Am Witt.

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when,

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

PRESENT:

Messrs. Louis Lipsky (in the Chair), David Berenstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Charles A. Cowen, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Harry Friedberg, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Murray I. Gurfein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Mordecai Konowitz, Dr. Harri; J. Levine, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Meyer Levy, Dr. Ludwig Lewischn, Morris Margulies, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Louis P. Rocker, Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Carl Sherman, William I. Siegel, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Morris Weinberg; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein (representing Hadassah), Alfred J. Kahn (representing Avukah),

Excuses for Absence received from Messrs, Robert M. Bernstein, A. K. Epstein, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Simon Shetzer, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Judge Fisher expressed Dr. Goldman's regret at his inability to be present. (Judge Fisher rocalled that this meeting of the Executive was originally scheduled to be held on June 19th). Dr. Goldman was scheduled to be in Chicago to close the Welfare Fund drive and asked Judge Fisher to suggest that Mr. Lipsky preside at this meeting, in his absence.

The Chairman submitted the following agenda for the meeting: (1) Report of Convention Program Committee; (2) Report of Reorganization sub-Committee; (3) Report on Hadassah Negotiations: (4) Report of Meeting of Court of Honor; (5) Report on Emergency Committee; (6) Report of Finance Committee.

BUDGET FOR 1940 - 41:

The Chairman call of attention to Article IX, Section 12 of the Z.O.A. Constitution, which provides that "The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention for approval a <u>budget in writing</u> for the next ensuing fiscal year." This budget is not final; it has to be passed by the Budget Committee of the Convention. But a tentative budget should be prepared and presented to the Convention, in the name of the Executive.

Rabbi Holler moved, and it was seconded and carried;

THAT the Finance Committee of the Z.O.A. be instructed to draw up a tentative budget for the ensuing year, to be presented to the forthcoming Convention in the name of the Executive of the Z.O.A. :

THAT the tentative budget to be presented to the Convention be submitted to the next meeting of the Executive.

NEXT MEETING OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE:

Acting upon the suggestion contained in a communication from Mr. Asron Riche, of Los Angeles, it was duly moved, seconded and carried

THAT a special meeting of the Executive be held on Friday, June 28th, at the William Ponn Eotel in Pittsburgh; and

THAT the ruling providing for the payment of transportation expenses for out-of-town members, be suspended for that meeting.

REPORT OF CONVENTION COMMITTEE - By Judgo Fisher:

1) Validity of Elections:

Judge Fisher recalled that at the meeting of the Executive held in Philadelphia, it was resolved that the same procedure which was followed pertaining to the Elections last year, be enforced this year, and the Convention Committee was authorized to set the date for Elections. The Committee decided on the week beginning June 2nd and terminating June 9th.

Judge Fisher felt that the covering letter sent by the secretary together with the regular approved instructions for the Election of Delegates, gave an erroneous impression about the closing date for holding elections, when it stated that "the reports of the elections will have to be in the office of the Z.O.A. by June 26th".

Judge Fisher thereupon wrote to Mr. Margulies suggesting that he immediately notify all the Districts that Elections held after June 9th are invalid, that they can be held only during the week beginning June 2nd and ending June 9th. Mr. Margulies replied to Judge Fisher's letter as follows:

business of electing delogates into chaos. I have had checked back the delegate election reports to the last Convention, when the same rules provailed as this year. Though this information is incomplete, as many of the election reports fail to give the dates when the actual elections took place, I do find the following: During the week of June 4th (last year June 4th was the date, instead of June 2nd) 56 election reports came in; during the week of June 1lth, 83 came in; during the week of June 25th — two days prior to the Convention — 3 reports came in."

Judge Fisher added that he had no objection to that, provided the Executive would go on record as agreeing to the validity of elections not being questioned, so long as reports come in before the 26th of June.

Ho thereupon moved

THAT the Credentials Committee be instructed that it is the sense of the Executive that the validity of Elections shall not be questioned, provided the Certificates of Election reach the Zionist Office prior to the 26th day of June, 1940.

The motion was seconded.

Judge Levinthal called attention to Article VIII, Section 8 of the Constitution, which provides that "The Executive, subject to approval of the Administrative Council, shall establish rules for the election of delegates and their alternates."

Judge Fisher stated that the Rules have been properly adepted. His motion here was made on behalf of the Convention Committee.

Judge Fisher's motion was approved by the Executive, as a recommendation on behalf of his Committee, that any Election Report received before June 26th shall be regarded as valid, irrespective as to whether or not the Election was held between June 2nd and 9th.

Mr. Konowitz suggested that the Z.O.A. Districts be notified of this action.

The Secretary pointed out that, while Judge Fisher's ruling is in order, to circularize it among the Districts at this time would create confusion.

2) Members In Good Standing:

Another point made by Judge Fisher on behalf of the Convention Committee was that there is actually no fixed fiscal year for the purpose of elections, that is, there appears to be no definite ruling as to what constitutes a member in good standing at the Convention. He moved

THAT, for the purpose of the ensuing Convention, all Zionists shall be regarded as in good standing who have paid their last dues within twelve months prior to the opening of the Convention.

Mr. Margulies expressed the thought that such a motion would tend to destroy every attempt being made to make the regular payment of dues obligatory, pointing out that dues are computed from the original date of payment. Thus, if a member originally paid his dues in April, 1937; thereafter in May, 1938; and in July of 1939, he is in good standing only until April 1940.

The Chairman asked why a member should not be considered in good standing when he pays his dues twolve months before the Convention.

Mr. Eess offered the following substitute motion:

THAT no member be considered in good standing for the purposes of the election of delegates, or of serving as a delegate, who has not paid his dues prior to the annual Convention.

Judge Ellenbogen suggested that the ruling followed until new remain unchanged in connection with the forthcoming Convention; but if this question is considered involved, it should be dealt with by the Committee on Credentials. He therefore moved

THAT all discussions on the subject be tabled and referred to the Credentials Committee.

Rabbi Hollor suggested that in the case of new members their membership be considered valid for a period of twelve menths from the date of the original payment of dues. He felt that Judge Fisher's motion had not been understood.

The Chairman explained the motion as follows: That any new member who had paid his dues at any time within twelve months of the year, preceding the date of the Convention, is a member in good standing. Any member who has been a member tefore this year, who is in good standing according to our calculations of membership, must be reckened as a member in good standing for purposes of the Convention. In other words, a member cannot become in good standing by paying twelve menths dues every two years.

Judge Ellenbogen's motion to table the discussion was defeated.

Mr. Shapiro then made the following substitute motion:

THAT any member of the Z.O.A. who has paid his dues in the course of the past fiscal year is a member in good standing of the Z.O.A. and is eligible to vote for delegates or to be elected as a delegate to the Zionist Convention,

THAT any member -- old or new -- who has paid his dues in full within the twelve-menth period preceding the Convention is a member in good standing.

The motion was carried by a majority vote.

3) CONVENTION PROGRAM:

Judge Fisher reported that the meeting of the Convention Committee, convened to consider the Convention program earlier in the day (2 P.M.), did not take place, as none of the members found it possible to attend. However, he said, he had the advice of Dr. Goldman and Mr. Margulies. He presented the following tentative program:

SATURDAY, JUNE 29

M'laveh Malka --- Auspices Histadruth Ivrith ---- 8:30 P. M. --- Wm. Ponn Hotel . . Registration of Delegates 9:00 P. M. Meeting of National Administrative Council 9:50 P. M. (Attendance to National Council meeting limited to members)

SUNDAT MORNING, JUNE 30

Registration of Delegates (continued)

FIRST SESSION SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 2:30 P.M.

at the SYRIA MOSQUE

Convention called to order.

1. Prosidential Address

2. Greetings by the Mayor of Pittsburgh

3. WGrasting on behalf of local Convention Committee

4. Submission of Administration Report

5. Report of Administrative Council on Convention procedure.

6. Announcement of Committee on Committees

7. Greetings by Zionist and Affiliated Organizations

8. Address by a government official (Secretary Ickes or Gen. Jackson)

9. Resolution on method of nominating Administrative Council

SECOND SESSION

SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 7:30 P.M. Wm. Ponn Hotel

Banquot

N. 414-19-Marketon

Toastmaster -- Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner

Spoakers: Rabbi James G. Heller, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Report of Committee on Committees

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 1

Wm. Ponn Eotel

1. Meetings of Standing Committees

2. Session of plenum devoted to discussion of funds

Speakers: Miezer Kaplan, Rabbi Abba Hillol Silver, Dr. Israel Coldstein, and Henry Montor.

> FOURTH SESSION MONDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 1, 2:30 P.M. Wm. Penn Eotel

Plonary Session:

Discussion of Reorganization Report and resolutions offered by Reorganization Committee.

FIFTH SESSION

MODAY EVENING, JULY 1, 8:00 P.M. Wm. Penn Eotel

1. Report of Nozinating Committee and Elections

2. Report of Remarktions Committee

TUESDAY MORNING, JULY 2, 10 A.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

1. Discussion of membership campaign

2. General discussion on Palestine in the present crisis.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 2, 2:30 P.M.

Wm. Penn Hotel

American Jewish Youth and Zionism

Discussion on Program:

A brief discussion followed and a number of suggestions were made by the members present. Among the suggestions were

- 1) That a report on the Emergency Committee be included in the President's Address.
- 2) That the Keron Hayesod be included in the session devoted to a discussion of Palestine Funds, and that Mr. Charles Ress report on behalf of the Keren Hayesod.

Judge Fisher asked for a moton that, in principle, the Executive approves the draft of the tentative program.

The Chairman stated that the Executive is grateful to the Committee for having prepared the program.

Judge Ellenbogen called attention to the fact that the Pittsburgh Committee is opposed to the Sunday afternoon schedule as presented by Judge Fisher, as it is filled with Convention business. Originally it was the decision of the Pittsburgh Committee to hold an admission-paying public meeting on Sunday afternoon, not as part of the Convention, but under the auspices of the Pittsburgh District. This public meeting was arranged, as agreed, in order to enable the Pittsburgh Committee to meet its pledge of \$2500 to the National Organization for defraying part of the Convention expense. At the request of the Organization, the Pittsburgh Distric; agreed to change its plans and hold this public meeting at the Syria Mosque, in: conjunction with the opening session of the Convention, provided the program would be made suitable for a paying-public. The mooting has been widely publicized; tickets have been sold and plans are too far advanced to make any changes for holding the meeting at another time. Therefore, Judge Ellenbogen pointed out, to devote the opening session mainly to business would not be adhering to the original purpose of the Pittsburgh Committee.

Judge Ellenbogen urged that the opening session be limited to the addresses of two speakers from Washington, and to a third address, perhaps by a prominent Zionist. According to the plans of the Pittsburgh Zionists, the Procident's address was not intended to be delivered at the opening session. Personally, Judge Ellenbogen added, he realized it would difficult to shift, but he was presenting this matter on behalf of the Pittsburgh Program Committee which has worked diligently almost every day and which will be deeply disturbed, unless some change is made. He reiterated that he personally did not see how

the address of the President could be shifted to any other session but the opening session. Judge Ellenbogen urged that it is the duty of the national office to adhere to the original intention of the Pittsburgh Program Committee.

Mr. Margulies stated that Judge Ellenbogen was unduly alarmed, and pointed out that actually there are only two features on the program of the opening session: (1) The President's address, and (2) General Jackson or Secretary Ickes. The greetings from the Mayor of Pittsburgh were insisted upon by the Pittsburgh Committee. The submission of the Administration Report is included in the opening session, in order that the delegates may discuss it if they so desire. Greetings by affiliated Zionist organizations are always included in the Convention Program — sometimes these are presented at the first session and at other times at the last session.

Commenting further on the opening session, the Chairman said it is obvious that at a public meeting, in the presence of 4,000 people, a report of the Administrative Council cannot be submitted; some other place in the program will have to be found for it. Constitutional Amendments must be passed upon in order that the Nominations Committee may be able to act. The Chairman suggested that Judge Fisher's Committee take into account Judge Ellenbogen's criticism, and so reduce the program of the first session as to meet the requirements of the Pittsburgh Zionists.

It was the consensus of opinion that a controversial Constitutional report ought not be introduced at the first session.

The Chairman further suggested that the Administrative Council be given authority at its meeting on Saturday night, June 29, (in addition to reporting on the Praesidium and on the Committee on Committees,) to also report to the Convention the fact that action has been taken on a matter involving the Administrative Council, thich should go direct to the Convention Committee which, in turn, will report at the appropriate time on Monday, July 1.

Rabbi Heller pointed out that, when amendments to the Constitution have been presented in proper form, they are voted upon at a stated session of the Convention and not referred to any Committee.

The Chairman stated that Rabbi Heller's point is well taken, pointing out that all Constitutional Amendments having been submitted in proper form may, in accordance with the Constitution, come directly before the Convention, without the intervention of any Convention Committee. The only question, then, is the arrangement on the program as to when it is to be submitted to the Convention.

Judge Fisher agreed with the view expressed by Rabbi Heller and read from Article X Section 1 of the Constitution, which provides as follows:

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

In connection with the discussion, Judge Fisher called attention to one of the recommendations of his sub-Committee on Reorganization, which he said, is not in the form of a Constitutional amendment, namely, that instead of the Nominations Committee at the Convention nominating all of the members of the National Administrative Council, it should nominate only twenty members at large, and the other one hundred members should be nominated directly by representatives of the Regions and Districts.

At the suggestion of Rabbi Heller it was agreed to put the discussion on this question on Monday morning's program of the Convention.

Judge Ellonbogon asked whether it would not be advisable, in view of the world situation, to invite a representative of the British Government --perhaps the British Ambassador --- to address the opening session on Sunday.

Mr. Goldberg expressed the opinion that the program for the opening session must be altered. He said that the program must also make room for other people to speak, in addition to the address of the President. Furthermore, Mr. Goldberg suggested that the opening session include a <u>Resolution</u>, which should be presented by a member of the Administration, and seconded by various prominent leaders. Not only will this serve to get the opening session into the press all over the country, but such a Resolution is most essential at this time.

Mr. Stone suggested that the Chair appoint a Committee on Special Resolutions to draft a Resolution on Eretz Yisroel, etc., to be submitted to the Convention.

Rabbi Brickner believed that the President's message may deal with such a resolution as proposed by Mr. Goldberg.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that sufficient thought be given to the proper utilization of the opening session, pointing out that these are unprecedented times and therefore the arrangement of the Convention program should be unprecedented. He felt that the opening session provides a much-needed opportunity to say what we Zichiets believe ought to be said, and to have these sentiments echoed not only by our own Zionists, but also by others, in order to let the country know how the Jewish people feel about the present situation in general, and about Palestine in particular. Dr. Goldstein suggested that the program include one or two of the so-called "Mon-Zionists" -- men whomowecknow to be very understanding and sympathetic -- like Henry Monsky who represents the Binai Birith. A word from Mr. Monsky and from one or two other outstanding personalities whose reputation and representative character are recognized by American Jews would be equally as important as anything that might be said by us. With regard to the President's message, -- no one knows what it is going to contain. It might be a message on broad and fundamental lines which everybody might command. It might also contain certain elements with which only a portion of the membership of the Zionist Organization might agree. That part of the President's message which deals with our own internal problems should be reserved for a subsequent occasion when we can listen to it as Ziorists interested in the intimate workings of the Organization. Dr. Goldstein recommended that the Chairman of the Program Committee recrientate himself to this kind of an approach and arrange the program accordingly.

The Chairman believed that Dr. Goldstein's and Mr. Goldberg's suggestions can be made to coincide by including in the program, following the President's address, a Resolution to be submitted by Mr. Monsky and seconded by one or two other Jewish leaders. This will contribute to the creation of the desired spirit of solidarity. It would enhance the program to have a statement coming from a united Jewish community, which would represent a solidarity of opinion invaluable to the whole movement.

Rabbi Heller recommended that someone speak to Dr. Goldman personally and suggest to him that he divide his address in two parts.

Judge Fisher said he was quite certain that there need be no concern on that score. He believed that Dr. Goldman's message will deal with the big issues before the Organization and not with the question of reorganization, or with any internal affairs of the Z.O.A.

Mr. Ross folt that Judge Fisher's statement ought to satisfy everyone.

Rabbi Heller moved

THAT whatever differences of opinion may exist with regard to the internal organization or personnel of the Z.O.A. be relegated to a session of the Convention subsequent to the opening session.

Rabbi Heller's motion was seconded by Rabbi Levinthal and Mr. Sherman.

It was agreed that Judge Fisher, as Chairman of the Program Committee, should convey to the President the opinion expressed by the Executive. It was further unanimously agreed that this opinion be made applicable to all speakers either at the opening Session or the Sunday evening session.

It was the consensus of opinion that the opening/include the suggestions offered by both Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Goldborg.

Rabbi Miller suggested that the present situation makes it mandatory to include the thome "Falostine and the World Scene" in the Convention Brogram, proforably at the Monday afternoon session; or else that it be made the keynote of the Banquet. He pointed out that to place this all-important subject on the agenda of any other session of the Convention later than Monday afternoon would create no effect whatscever, for, usually, following the Monday evening session when the Elections will be held, very few people remain at the Convention.

Mr. Goldstein suggested that the Executive consider the unhappy situation created as a result of articles appearing the Anglo-Jewish press containing villifying attacks on the Z.O.A.

Mr. Shapiro suggested that the banquet be shifted to Monday night, pointing out that if the Convention opens on Sunday afternoon and the banquet takes place Sanday night, and if the Monday sessions are mainly devoted to business, by Tuesday, most of the delegates will have departed. Therefore, he believed that a business session on Sunday night and the banquet on Monday night would be preferable.

Rabbi Heller proposed that the Convention be concluded by Monday night.

Judge Fisher said that he had considered having the banquet on Tuesday night instead of Sunday, in order to hold the interest of the Convention.

Rabbi Heller pointed out that if the elections are held later than Monday night, most the delegates will have gone. He felt too that nothing worse could be done than to postpone the elections. He suggested that something be done about Tuesday's sessions.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that Mr. Eliezer Kaplan be invited to address the Convention, not only to enlighten the delegates but also the public at large that will undoubtedly be gathered Sunday night at the banquet.

The Chairman pointed out that Mr. Kaplan brings with him a very vivid and moving story of the position of the Yishuv, and should not be relegated to a discussion of the Funds.

Mr. Shorman moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the Convention Program submitted by Judge Fisher be referred back to his Committee, together with all the suggestions (and subsequent suggestions) made by members of the Executive; and

THAT Judge Fisher's Committee endeavor to incorporate those suggestions -- conflicting as they may seem -- into one harmonious whole, so that the Convention may be properly organized.

It was understood that members of the Executive may continue to submit to Judge Fisher and his Committee any additional suggestions they may have with regard to the Convention program.

HADASSAH - 3.0.A. RELATIONSHIP :

The Secretary reported that the Committee on Z.O.A.-Hadassah Relationship had met with a Committee of Hadassah on Friday, May 10th. Hadassah proposed that a new contract be drawn between the two organizations, allocating
the \$7500 "affiliation tax" to youth work. The proposed new contract provides
that Masada shall be an exclusively young men's Zionist organization and shall
be recognized as "The Young Men's Zionist Organization of America." Because
of the inclusion of this point, the members representing the Z.O.A. felt that
they had to consult Masada. A meeting was subsequently held of representatives of the Z.O.A. and of Masada. The latter felt that they were not authorized to enter into any contract on the basis of this agreement.

Supplementing Mr. Margulios' remarks, Mrs. Epstein recalled that a contract had been in effect between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah since 1963. Under the terms of the agreement the Z.O.A. and Hadassah became parallel organizations and Hadassah was to pay to the Z.O.A. an annual affiliation fee of \$7,500. Later, through misunderstandings that have arisen on various occasions, it was stated that this money was to be given to the Z.O.A. for political work of interest to both organizations carried on by the Z.O.A. When

the American Zionist Buroau was established in Washington, the whole question came up again because Hadassah had already been giving the Z.O.A. \$7,500 a year for "political work".

Finally, at the meeting on May 10, Mrs. Epstein continued, a decision was arrived at which both the Z.O.A. and Hadassah favored, whereby a Youth Commission was to be set up of three or four persons, to assume full responsibility for promoting General Zionist youth activity. The \$7,500 would be given by Eadassah to the Z.O.A., ear-marked for the Youth Commission in addition to \$2500 which will be given to Young Judaea, and these \$10,000 will constitute the annual budget for the Youth Commission. The money is to be kept in the treasury of the Z.O.A. and the expenditures to be supervised by the Youth Commission.

Speaking further of the proposed new contract between the E.O.A. and Hadassah, Mrs. Epstein said that both Junior and Senior Hadassah have been very much concerned over the fact that Masada is becoming a co-educational organization. This situation definitely becomes a problem for Junior Hadassah. The new contract, therefore, proposes that Masada shall be exclusively a young men's Zionist organization. This whole plan for a Zionist Youth Commission hinges on Masada's acceptance of this point.

Mrs. Epstein urged that the Z.O.A. Executive pass upon the proposed plan and recommend it to the forthcoming Convention. Hadassah is also recommending it to its Convention, for one of the questions that Hadassah members are very much interested in is the relationship of Hadassah with the Z.O.A.

The Chairman stated that if there is an agreement between the Z.O.A. Committee and the Hadassah Committee with regard to the main feature of the contract -- that is, that instead of the Hadassah paying \$7500 into the treasury of the Z.O.A. as an affiliation fee, it pay the \$7500 as a contribution to youth activities -- then, insofar as the Z.O.A. and Hadassah are concerned, such an agreement can be ratified without any question. The Chairman asked whether the only point of disagreement is the question of Masada and Junior Hadassah.

Mr. Siegel stated that at the meeting of the Z.O.A. Committee (of which he is a member) and the Hadassah Committee, he took the position, personally, that one of the questions was the consideration of the original contract and that the sum of \$7500 was not paid by Hadassah to the Z.O.A. purely as a contribution for youth work, but, in effect, as a contribution for the Z.O.A. to prosolytize women membership. Mr. Siegel added that, after creating a unilateral breach of the contract a year or so later, Hadassah expressed its eagorness to recreate the contract, offering morely a restatement of the \$7500 in the light of the other conditions that it attacked to its original proposal, and one of those conditions was to rescind the right of Masada to have female mombers. Mr. Siegel recalled that he pointed out at the May 10th meeting that the Z.O.A. could not "sell Masada down the river for \$7500" -- that Wasada had to be comsulted. Masada was subsequently consulted and it was found that they look upon this as a very important matter. They cited instances where the Junior Hadassah was unsuccessful in organizing chapters, whereas Masada was successful in forming a very active mixed group.

Masada will not give us any answer until they have submitted the question to a referendum. Masada feels that it is a matter of such vital importance to them that they may even forego the subsidy, in order to maintain

their independence of action. Mr. Siegel believed that Masada, as the junior organization of the Z.O.A., is certainly entitled to decide on this matter for itself and to present to the Z.O.A. a reasoned consideration of their point of view, before the Executive takes any action.

Mr. Hocker recalled that at the time when Masada was formally organized, mixed Masada groups were already in existence in the larger cities, and Hadassah had then agreed to the organization of mixed Masada groups in those cities, but in the smaller communities, only male groups were to be organized.

Rabbi Hellor expressed the thought that the question of Masada had no relative importance in the discussion of Hadassah - Z.O.A. relationship. Ratti Heller who was a member of the Z.O.A. Executive at the time the agreement was entered into between Hadassah and the Z.O.A., recalled that the original proposal was that Hadassah's affiliation foe to the Z.O.A. be paid on the basis of \$1.00 per member, for which Hadassah was to have the privilege of being the scle Women's Zionist Organization of America, and in the light of the payment of that affiliation foo, Hadassah was entitled to elect a certain number of delegates to the Z.O.A. Convention. That condition has never been abrogated by the Z.O.A., and when Hadassah contended that it would give that \$7500 to the Political Bureau in Washington, the Executive never consented to such an arrangement and was never a party to such an agreement. Should the Executive now conclude an agreement with Hadassah whereby it agrees that Hadassah give the \$7500 to youth work, the relationship between Hadassah and the Z.O.A. would then be abrogated. Rabbi Heller doubted whether this question could be settled at this meeting, but in the meantime Hadassah is withholding its payment of the \$7500 to the Z.O.A. He moved

THAT the Z.O.A. Committee on Madassah - Z.O.A. relations continue to confer with the Hadassah Committee; and

THAT Hadassah shall have no representation at the forth-coming Convention of the Z.O.A. unless it pays its affiliation tax to the Z.O.A., as provided in the Hadassah-Z.O.A. Agreement entered into in 1933.

Rabbi Hellor's motion was seconded.

Judge Ellenbogen was opposed to the turn that the negotiations had thus far taken, as well as to the spirit of the statement and the motion of Rabbi Holler. He suggested that the purpose of the future negotiations should be to bring about a closer relationship between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah and pointed out that Rabbi Heller's motion to exclude Hadassah from the Convention would only serve to widen the breach.

Rabbi Hellor's motion was carried,

Mrs. Epstoin suggested that the Hadassah-Z.C.A. matter be made a special order of business at the special meeting of the Executive on Friday, June 28th.

The Chairman ruled that the Executive has the power to come to any arrangement with any Zionist Organization. He referred to Article III. of the Z.O.A. Constitution which deals with Affiliated Organizations, Section 1. provides that "National Jewish Organizations which shall subscribe to the

Basle Program may be chartered by the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America as Affiliated Organizations upon such terms and conditions and with such rights, privileges, powers and obligations as the Executive, with the approval of the Administrative Council, shall prescribe.

The Chairman added that since, under the terms of the original agreement, Hadassah was to pay \$7500 to the Z.O.A. as an annual affiliation fee, that organization can be considered in good standing only upon payment of that fee.

GOOD AND WELFARE :

calling attention to the subject broached by Mr. Goldstein carlier in the meeting, Mrs. Ress urged that, while it is not a routine matter, it be given priority at this meeting, since it is a question involving the good and welfare of the whole Zionist movement in America. He thereupon moved

THAT the question of Good and Welfare, raised by Mr. Goldstein, be the next order of business.

The motion was seconded.

Judge Fisher suggested that the Executive proceed with the report of the sub-Committee on Reorganization, pointing out that, in the first instance, reports of Committees come before any Good and Welfare discussion; and secondly, if the Executive will listen to a report of the Reorganization Committee, at least a part of the situation will be met. He added that the report of the Reorganization Committee was unanimous, which, in itself, may bring a new situation. Consideration of the report may also lead to a discussion of the matter that Mr. Goldstein presented here.

The Chairman declared that there is in progress throughout the country an organized attempt to underwine the authority, prestige, and good name of the Zienist Organization of America, and if the Executive, at this meeting -- with practically every member present -- did not take steps to establish harmony and accord in the Organization, it would be guilty of criminal neglect.

Rabbi Brickner urged that the Executive first hear the report of the Reorganization Committee and then proceed to a discussion of Good and Velfare.

The cuestion was called and Mr. Ross' motion was adopted.

A protracted discussion ensued, in which practically all of the members present participated.

Attention was called to the series of articles appearing in the Anglo-Jewish press and to the nature of those articles, as well as to the flood of material being circulated among the Zionists and Districts throughout the country.

The discussion finally formulated itself into the following motion which was passed:

THAT a Committee of Five be appointed, representing the points of view existing in the Z.O.A. Executive, to meet without delay, for the purpose of (a) composing differences; (b) agreeing as to (1) the Program for the Convention, and (2) the officers to be recommended to the Convention:

THAT the members of this Committee receive instructions from the groups they represent.

The committee consists of Carl Sherman, Charles Ress, Louis P. Eocker, Robert Szold - with Rabbi Israel M. Levinthal as the impartial member.

The Committee was to meet not later than Monday, June 10th. It was understood that the members of the Committee were to be free to consult with their respective groups before any binding agreement was reached. It was also understood that, in the event any member of the Committee named was prevented from attending meetings of the Committee, he could call upon any other member of the group he represents to take his place on the Committee.

It was further agreed that (1) No further literature was to be sent out by either group until Wonday, June 10th; (2) both sides were to refrain from calling any new meetings (it being agreed that the meeting called by one group for Sunday, June 9th, was to take place); (3) all meetings scheduled during the interim (between June 5th and June 10th) shall be conducted with a view to peace and harmony; and (4) a statement could be issued by the Committee of Five, if they so decided.

REORGANIZATION REPORT :

Rabbi Hellor moved, and it was seconded and carried

THAT the report of the sub-Committee on Reorganization be submitted to the special meeting of the Executive on Friday, June 28th, at the We. Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa;,

THAT, in advance of that meeting copies of the report be mailed to all members of the Executive.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION :

It was duly moved, seconded and carried

TAT the Constitutional Amendments proposed by Judge Fisher's sub-Committee be approved;

Exec. - 6/5

THAT this approval also include the proposal that Article IX, Section 19 of the Constitution be repealed; and furthermore,

THAT the unanimous action of Judge Fisher's Committee in sending out mere proposals of the amendments to the Constitution be approved.

The meeting adjourned at 12:45 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIZS

Secretary

WRHS 6,920 0,650

PROPOSALS BY THE BROOKLYN ZIONIST REGION TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE Z.O.A. CONVENTION IN PITTABURGH. JUNE 1940. The catastrophies which have overtaken European Jewry have impaired the Zionist movement abroad and consequently have thrown a high degree of responsibility upon the movement in this country. The Zionist Organization of America is called upon to assume leadership in the direction of Zionist affairs to a degree unparalleled in recent years. We must therefore give effective expression to our views as General Zionists regarding the problems involved in the creation of the National Home. We must endeavor to give direction to Zionist affairs in accordance with these principles and policies, as distinguished from principles and policies derived from other ideologies. —B— We believe that the first principle of General Zionism — the concentration of masses of Jews in Polestine with a view to the establishment

We believe that the first principle of General Zionism — the concentration of masses of Jews in Palestine with a view to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth — must have the right of way as against other objectives and considerations or the interests of class or party. This basic principle of General Zionism has not been asserted with sufficient vigor and has not been consistently applied — often to the detriment of the Cause. Without intending to cover all aspects of the problem, we might

point to the following, as illustrations:

1. Inadequate encouragement and assistance to private enterprises.

2. Inadequate attention to the needs of industry and industrializa-

tion of the country.

3. The existence of three school systems in Palestine, each under direct party domination, and of partison youth movements which seek to indoctrinate the immature.

4. The growth of party funds to the point of encroachment upon

the general and central funds of the movement.

5. The inadequate support extended by the central funds to the colonization of General Zionists.

We suggest to the Zionist Convention that these and other conditions have grown up, at least in part, because the Zionist Organization of America has failed to use its influence to achieve a balanced and non-partisan development. The Zionist Organization of America, conscious of the constructive role which Ganeral Zionism must play in the movement, should meet and correct these problems by the adoption of a dignified but firm policy acting in concert with other General Zionist groups.

-0-

The Brooklyn Zionist Region, therefore, invites the Convention to consider the following proposals:

 That the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America shall direct all activities, membership work, educational policies, general propoganda, including the policies of the official organs, in accordance with the spirit and program of General Zionism.

2. That the Convention direct the Executive Committee to maintain particularly close contact with the organs, institutions and instrumentalities of the General Zionists in Palestine, and to do all in its power to strangthen them.

- 3. That the Executive Shall cooperate with therepresentatives of the General Zionists in the Executive and Adminstrative organs of the World Zionist Organization in order to promote the effective execution of policies in accordance with the spirit and aims of General Zionism.
- 4. That it shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to promote among the Zionists of this country a realistic understanding of the problems of Palestine; to stimulate the intelligent discussion of such problems with the view to the evolution of an adequate General Zionist point of view.
- 5. That the Zionist Organization of American foster a spirit of unity in Zionism and in the Yishuv. A unified school system in Palestine, free of partisan bias, under the supervision of the Vaad Leumi, will go far to achieve this aim.
- 6. That the Executive Committee shall, without neglecting the vitally essential national funds, encourage and stimulate an interest in the economic development of Palestine in the spheres of commerce and industry. To this end the Executive Committee shall elaborate plans and propose to the Zionists of America their participation in one or more projects, such as the following:
 - (a) Support of the Industrial Bank Established by the Association of Jewish Manufacturers in Palestine.
 - (b) Organized and systematic investment of capital through a general investment corporation, or through such other agency or agencies as will contribute to the general economic development in Palestine without partisan or class bias.
 - (c) Further the sale of Palestine products in America and American products in Palestine by the establishment of an adequately financed and effective instrumentality for this purpose.
 - (d) The creation of a substantial fund by the General Zionists to be used for the purpose indicated herein.

In summary, it is the purpose of the Brooklyn Zionist Region to recommend to the Convention that greater directive force be employed by the General Zionists of this country for the purpose of furthering in Palestine harmonious development, a unified and homogeneous Jewish community, an equitable distribution of public funds, and an officient administration of affairs free from the influence of pressure groups; a policy under which the speedy development of the Jewish National Home shall take precedence over all other considerations and ideologies. That the Zionist Organization shall actively direct in America a large, well-organized group of informed Zionists who by their byalty to the principles of General Zionism will be of material assistance in accomplishing our historic task.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

REQUELLE ZIONIST REGION

50 C O U R T ST.

Brooklyn, N.Y.

June 11, 1940.

Dear Fellow-Zionist:

The enclosed proposals, to be presented to the forthcoming Zionist Convention at Pittsburgh, were adopted by the Brooklyn Zionist Region with the suggestion that they be brought to the attention of the Zionist Districts throughout the country. The Districts are requested to give these proposals full consideration and to adopt appropriate resolutions of endorsement.

The Directors of the Brooklyn Zionist Region have carefully considered whether these proposals should be advocated at the present time in view of the uncertainties beclouding our future work in Palestine. It was the almost unanimous opinion of the Directors that despite these conditions the principles embodied in the proposals should be brought to the attention of the delegates at the Convention.

We feel that these proposals present a programatic approach to many of the major problems confronting the Z.O.A. While the pressure of the moment may prevent carrying out all details, the fundamental concepts as proposed remain valid. We contend that these principles, should be the basis on which the newly elected officers and executive committee shall plan the activities of the Z.O.A. for the coming year. We urge that you, your district, and your delegates likewise support these proposals as offering a basic program for the Organization.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, President.

encl.

June 17, 1940 Mr. Saul S. Spiro, President Pittsburgh Zionist District 901 Keystone Bank Bldg. Pittsburgh, Pa. My dear Mr. Spiros I am enclosing herewith a brief message for the souvenir program which you are publishing in connection with the forthcoming Zionist Convention. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordully yours, AHS: BK Ehc.

Pittstay, 3. met mention

The world is at the parting of the roads of destiny.

No one knows what fate awaits heretofore mighty empires and nations.

No one knows what fate awaits our own people abroad, in Palestine,
or here. Politically, economically and socially, the old world
faces re-organization according to new patterns. Night is settling
over many parts of the earth and in the darkness one can only
kindle the lamps of hope and faith...

This is clear. Our destiny is not isolated. It will remain linked we with the destiny of all oppressed and suffering peoples whose number is now manifold and whose day of redemption must come sooner or later. For the present and for days and years to come we must steel ourselves to endure grueling experiences. We must temper our youth to a hard and neroic way of life. We must discipline ourselves for a career of struggle in a relentless, bitter and disillusioned world.

What we have builded for national defense, we must do our utmost to conserve and strengthen. Palestime is one of our strongholds of survival. What political fate awaits us in Palestine, the next few weeks or months may reveal. But, as always, we shall continue to thirk and plan in terms not of weeks or months, but of generations and of historic imperatives. Our fortunes in Palestine may shift and change, as have the fortunes of so many other, and numerically stronger, peoples in recentmonths, but our destiny remains the same: a free and independent Jewish national life in the the same: a free and independent Jewish national life in the the same: a free and independent Jewish national life in

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= MARGOSHES EDITOR THE DAY 183 EAST BWAY NYC.

ההסתדרות חציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

SOLOMON GOLDMAN President

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

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

LOUIS P. ROCKER. Chairman, Finance Committee

MORRIS WEINBERG Treasurer

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Honorary Secretary

MORRIS MARGULIES Secretary

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Associate Members Mas. Moses P. Epstein Alfred J. Kahn Eleazar Lipsky June 18, 1940.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver c/o The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The Committee arranging the program for the Convention has designated a session devoted to the United Palestine Appeal, the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod. The Committee is hopeful that you will be present at the Convention and, as the Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, will deliver the principal address at this session, which has been tentatively scheduled for Monday morning, July 1st.

I sincerely trust that you will be with us and that you will advise me accordingly, so that I may mnounce your name as one of the speakers at the Convention.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

is Margulia

June 20, 1940 Mr. Morris Margulies, Secretary Zionist Organization of America 111 Fifth Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Mr. Margulies: Permit me to thank you for your letter of June 18 inviting me to address the Zionist Convention on Monday morning in behalf of the United Palestine Appeal. I regrot that it will not be possible for me to attend the Convention, and If it is agreeable to the Committee, a report of the United Palestine Appeal will be given by its Executive Director, Mr. Henry Montor. With best wiches, permit me to remain Cordially yours, AHS: BK

COMMITTEE ON ZIONIST CONVENTION PROBLEMS

CARL SHERMAN, Chairman

June 25th, 1940

Dear Friend and Fellow-Zionist:

Advices which we have received from different parts of the country lead us to believe that the several communications sent out by this Committee have served in a measure to clear the atmosphere and dissipate confusion which unfortunately existed in connection with the forthcoming Zionist Convention at Pittsburgh.

We are pursuaded that the "issue" which has been built up around the so-called Reorganization Plan has finally been laid to rest. As you have received a copy of the statement issued by this Committee, we need not tell you how, relying entirely on support from the minutes of meetings, the writers of this statement have clearly demonstrated that insofar as there was any tangible plan, it was fully supported by the Executive and that it failed of implementation only because of lack of funds.

The unfounded charges that the Z. O. A. under the successive leaderships of men like Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Judge Rothenberg and Dr. Goldman have failed to achieve any progress, the attack on the prestige of the Z.O.A. - all intended to undermine the authority of the Z.O.A. have been completely answered by a summary of the true facts.

Those of us who have given some thought to Zionist problem; in this country know that a basic plan of organization still remains to be written and that when it is finally put into definite form, it must be more than an outline of the mere mechanics of organization no matter how detailed. It must take in the Zionist scene in America as a whole and when presented take the form of a more comprehensive project, perhaps more in line with the plan for a Union of all American Zionist Organizations.

The Reorganization Plan having been exposed as a mere pretense for a controversy, a semewhat different method of breaking the harmony in Zionist strength has been adopted by a number of gentlemen who formed an opposition without knowing exactly what to oppose. The new slogan is "The leadership of the past has failed; we must have new men to take hold."

The forthcoming Zionist Convention will be held at the most critical time in Jewish history and in the history of the world. All the wisdom and ability of Zionist leadership, born of years of trial and experience, is needed in this fateful hour. The indomitable will to overcome obstacles which have characterized the men who have guided American Zionism through the long years of stress and turmoil of the last two decades are not to be discarded at this critical time but must, on the contrary, be utilized to the full.

Now forces are of course needed now as always. They will at all times be welcome as they have constantly been summoned and received in the past. But it must be evident that new and old Zionist forces, Zionists of more recent acquisition and of long standing must be mobilized and led not by newcomers but by men who possess the judgment and wisdom and the practical knowledge of Zionist

MEMORANDUM

on

REORGANIZATION AND DEPARTMENTALIZATION OF Z.O.A.

All of us who have given any thought to the problems of Zionism in America are convinced that radical and vital changes are needed for the proper function of all Zionist bodies and particularly of the Zionist Organization of America. This is particularly true at the present time, when Zionist propaganda and education, and political activities must again play a most significant part in the struggle that lies before us. This memorandum is intended neither as a criticism of the past nor as a panacea for all our ills. Nor is there any intention of presenting an ideological background for the recommendations that are to follow. This background is self-evident to all Zionists, and above all, to members of the Executive Committee who have lived and labored for Zionism all these years.

I have concerned myself primarily with setting down in almost telegraphic style what is actually needed for the reorganization of the Z.O.A. and for a proper coordination of the various activities administrative, cultural, political, etc.

Before proceeding with the main outline of the recommendations

I desire to touch briefly on certain physical and administrative aspects,
not by way of criticism, but to point out the difficulties under which
the whole Zionist machine is laboring. Much of the disorder with which
we have been charged is due in no small way to the circumstances that
the present headquarters of the Z.O.A. are so awkwardly arranged that
whatever is achieved is something of a miracle. It is obvious that the

a di fasi in territoria

Z.O.A. must immediately find new quarters, so that it will be possible to rearrange the physical background of our work. It is true from the improper physical background that disorganization has followed as a natural sequel, and this disorganization expresses itself in various ways, such as inadequate supervision, lack of coordination, lack of necessary departments while unnecessary departments do exist, overstaffing of some departments and understaffing of others, neglect of some vital functions, and the like.

Please see Summation, Page 14.



REORGANIZATION

SUGGESTED PLAN FOR REORGANIZATION UNDER THREE MAIN HEADS:

ADMINISTRATIVE

II. CULTURAL

III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

ADMINISTRATIVE

- A. Office
- B. Information
- C. Reception
- D. Finance
- E. Membership
- F. Shekel
- G. Palestine Department

II. CULTURAL

- A. Propaganda
- B. Education
- C. Publications
- D. Youth
- E. Archives
- F. Library

III. PUBLIC RELATIONS

- A. Political Bureau
- B. Propaganda among non-Jews.
- C. Unification with Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion and other Zionist parties and organizations.
- D. Coordination with Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, United Palestine Appeal, non-Zionists, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, Order Sons of Zion, Landsmanschaften, etc.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE

D. Finance

1. prepare budget

2. outline sources of income

3. ways and means

4. accounting of all monies received and expended

5. issue checks on vouchers only

 strict accounting from information, office and reception clerks of supplies used

7. responsibility for list of members

8. responsibility for list of subscribers to publications

E. Membership

1. Department to be in contact with all Districts

2. Stimulate membership enrollment

- Define and obtain group membership, such as Order Sons of Zion, Synagogues, Lodges, etc., wherever feasible
- 4. All preparations for campaigns in the month of August
- 5. All necessary material in hands of Districts not later than September
- Utilize holiday season for campaigns through special contact with Synagogues
- Personal letters from Secretary, National Membership Chairman, to officers of Districts, enclosing propaganda literature
- 8. Have available from Districts names of people in the communities who might be helpful in campaigns
- 9. Write such people and encourage them to be of assistance
- Devise and describe campaign techniques in fullest detail, and submit to all communities
- Secretary to contact all Jewish organizations in communities, not absolutely anti-Zionist
- Among techniques urge parlor meetings and personal contact
- Regional conferences with Chairmen of membership committees and others active in membership campaigns, to discuss only membership techniques
- 14. Advise against soliciting of members or any other kind of solicitations at monthly meetings or general mass meetings of the Districts
- Reach understanding with J.N.F., U.P.A., Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi, for cooperation in membership campaigns
- 16. Divide country into proper Regions and place field workers, in cooperation with other Zionist organizations and parties
- Prod departments of propaganda, education, publications and youth for proper material

F. Shekel

- 1. A permanent Shekel Committee of Z.O.A.
- 2. To see that Z.O.A. pays for Shekolim
- 3. To conduct Shekel campaigns with cooperation of other Zionist organizations and parties

G. Palestine Department

- Palestine Department to be established under a joint committee of Keren Hayesod, Keren Kayemeth, Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion and other interested bodies.
 - a. certificates
 - b. visas
 - c. tours
 - d. import
 - e. securities
 - f. investments
 - g. advice



-6-II. CULTURAL A. Propaganda The Z.O.A. has no propaganda department. Education Department has no personnel or budget to constitute a propaganda department for Zionism in America. This department should coordinate its work and cooperate with Hadassah, Jewish National Fund, Keren Hayesod, and as far as possible with Mizrachi and Poale Zior. Suggestions for Propaganda Department 1. Prepare exhaustive list of available speakers in English, Yiddish and Hebrew throughout the country, with assistance of Districts. 2. Use speakers in sections where they reside. 3. Divide speakers into: a. Nationally known b. Speakers for larger groups c. Speakers for smaller groups and parlor meetings 4. Prepare a rotating schedule for period of five years for nationally known speakers. 5. Send them each year to different part of country. 6. Ask Rabbis to devote six Sabbaths a year to discussions on phases of Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew culture. 7. Suggest publication annually volume of sarmons in Hebrew, Yiddish and English on Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew culture. 8. In month of August prepare a schedule of those Sabbaths which must be uniform throughout the country. Suggest subjects, approach, and prepare material and bibliography. Urge Rabbis, other Zionist leaders, including Z.O.A., U.P.A., J.N.F., Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poals Zion, youth and other interested bodies to hold city, State and Regional Institutes on Zionism and Palestine. 11. Prepare material for suggested Institutes. 12. Ask Sisterhoods, Men's Clubs, B'nai Brith Lodges, Landsmanschaften, etc. to devote one or two meetings a year to the discussion of Palestine. Prepare material for them.

Observance

- Do everything possible to establish Balfour Day, Herzl Day as nationally recognized days of observance.
- Stimulate observance of Hamisha Asar bi-Shevat, as well as of all festivals.
- 3. Prepare material for special days and festivals.
- A. Declare Chanukah for all time PALESTINE WEEK.
- 5. Prepare material.
- Revive Mishloah Manot and make large collections of gifts for J.N.F.
- Emphasize use of J.N.F. stamps and boxes; as well as contributions on Purim and memorial days.
- Urge every Zionist officer, member of Executive Committees throughout country and particularly Z.O.A., J.N.F., U.P.A., Keren Hayesod staffs always to use J.N.F. stamps.
- Appeal also to Histadruth Ivrith, Hadassah, Mizrachi, Poale Zion, Order Sons of Zion, youth groups, American Jewish Congress -- and also to B'nai Brith.
- 10. Special American stamps might be suggested with Lincoln, Washington, Mordecai Noah, Hayim Solomon, Judah P. Benjamin, Jefferson, Louis Marshall, Solomon Schechter, Israel Friedlander, Nathan Straus, Charles W. Elliott, and Justice Cardozo.

Organizational

- Ask all Districts to submit list of their meeting dates for the entire year.
- Prepare in August detailed list of the meetings in outline form. Should contain not only material but suggestions for implementation.
- Appeal to educators, Hebrew teachers, Rabbis in communities to assist Chairmen of Program Committees in the implementation of programs.
- Suggest at least one joint meeting a year with Hadassah; one with Youth; and one with all parties including J.N.F. and U.P.A.

- 5. Urge dancing and singing at all meetings.
- 6. Prepare list of available songs as well as records.
- Urge Districts arrange small art exhibits, display of books, music and Palestine products at all meetings.
- Build up films on Palestine. Make available lists of these films.
- Films to deal not only with country as a whole, but with particular colonies, towns, cities, institutions and personalities.
- Urge display of maps, illustrations, and pictures of leading personalities.
- Urge Districts to organize dramatic groups with assistance of youth.
- 12. Prepare lists of available plays.
- 13. Urge March of Time and skits.
- 14. Urge Districts to spend at least ten minutes of every meeting on reading of current Palestine and Zionist news. Refer them to New Palestine and other Zionist publications.
- 15. Urge building up of Zionist library and subscription to Zionist magazines, particularly PALESTINE AND MIDDLE EAST.
- 16. Urge sale of pamphlets and books.
- 17. Urge contact with general libraries to persuade librarians to bay books on Zionism and Palestins.
- 18. Supply Districts with lists of such books.
- 19. Arrange annual national broadcasts on Balfour and Hersl Days.
 - (For further utilization of radio, see memorandum of Joseph Freudenthal)
- Persuade outstanding novelists to visit Palestine and write novel on Palestine.
- Send men like Lewisohn and Samuel to Palestine to brimg back pen pictures of the country, as well as material for public addresses.

-9-B. Education The function of this department differs from the department of propaganda. Much of the criticism now levelled against the department is due to the misunderstanding of its function and scope. Divided into three sub-departments: 1. Children 2. Youth 3. Adult (Youth so important that it must constitute a department by itself. Education Department to devote itself exclusively to children and adults.) 1. Children To approximate ideal Z.O.A. needs chain of Zionist schools for children throughout the country. That is beyond us. Much work has been done by others. We can help existing educational agencies in many ways: a. Contact all the Hebrew Schools, Talmud Torahs, Yeshivas, Volkshulen, Sunday Schools and kinderb. Contact teachers, Rabbis, faculties of Seminaries and Teachers Institutes, and teachers in the Public Schools system. c. Make available descriptive lists of all existing educational material for children on Palestine and Zionism, published in Palestine, the United States and elsewhere. 1. Prepare teachers' guides on Palestine and Zionism, giving fullest details for grades, listing all textbooks, maps, games, songs, darces, products, movies, albums, films, pictures of distinguished Jews. Offer prizes for best books for children. f. Offer prizes for best work by children. g. Prepare detailed scheme for observance of birth, Bar Mitzvah and confirmation ceremonies. 2. Adults Education Department should be careful to distinguish this work from the Propaganda Department.

-10a. Department to prepare brief, simple courses outlining in detail with bibliography, on Jewish history, Zionism, Yishuv, Jewish personalities from the whole of Jewish history. b. Influence existing educational systems to publish necessary textbooks. Offer prizes for textbooks. d. Prepare and publish through the Department of Publications brief, simple books of from 100 to 150 pages on (1) Zionism (2) Zionism in America (3) 100 biographies (4) 50 booklets on the Yishuv (5) Booklets on various Aliyot (6) Booklets on Tel Aviv, Petach Tikvah, etc. (7) Geography of Palestine (8) Women Pioneers in Palestine (9) Arabs, Their Religion, Contributions to Civilization (10) History of Arabs in Palestine (11) Present-Day Arab States (12) Present-Day Arab Civilization (13) Jews in Palestine through the Ages (14) The Keren Kayemeth -- the Keren Hayesod: How they function and what they do with funds at their disposal. (15) The Jewish Agency (16) The Vaad Leumi (17) The Hebrew University (18) Arts in Palestine (19) Agriculture in Palestine (20) Flora and Fauna of Palestine (21) Animal Life in Palestine (22) Archaeology in Palestine (23) The Harbors in Palestine (24) Woods in Palestine (25) Rivers in Palestine (26) Religion in Palestine (27) Journalism in Palestine (28) Literature in Palestine Urge familiarization with one or two outstanding personalities in the history of our people. f. Utilize material prepared in Palestine in Hebrew and English, particularly la-Naor series, and publications of joint committee of Z.O.A., Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, in the English language. (Material prepared for youth can be utilized to considerable extent by adults)

-11-C. Publications Depertment to cooperate with Departments of Education and Propaganda. 1. New Palestine a. Change New Palestine to magazine b. Attractive front page and generous use of illustrations c. Publish it as a weekly, if necessary and if we can afford it; as a monthly if we cannot afford a weekly. (Today it is neither newspaper nor magazine. Its external appearance is repellent to many readers. Volumes of criticism increasing throughout the country.) d. Engage Cartoonist e. Name editor-in-chief, managing editor, several contributing editors. f. Reprint important articles appearing in magazines throughout Jewish world. g. Engage correspondents in more important Jewish centers. S. Sher of the Court 2. Los Yiddische Folk a. Discontinue Dos Yiddische Folk. (Its propaganda and educational value useless, as compared with existing Yiddish dailies. Were we to have English dailies doing as effective Zionist propaganda and education as the Yiddish dailies. would recommend giving up New Palestine.) b. Publish brochures in Yiddish c. Publish Yiddish Almanac 3. In cooperation with Departments of Education and Propaganda publish books and pamphlets in Yiddish and English, as well as an English Almanac. 4. Cooperate with Histadruth Ivrith. D. Youth Youth Department most important, deserves especial serious consideration. Suggest appointing Director and establishing central bureau to coordinate all youth activities. 1. Contact all existing youth organizations not directly Ziomist, particularly YPLS and Alumni Associations of Congregations. 2. Coordinate work of Avukah, Masada, Histadruth ha-Naor, ha-Ivri, ha-Shomer ha-Zair, Junior Poale Zion, Young Judaea, Junior Hadassah. 3. Stimulate frequent mass activities, such as rallies, and celebrations in which all youth groups will participate. 4. Encourage singing, dancing, hikes, outings, dramatic performances and camps.

- Publish one monthly paper for basic Zionism of interest to all Zionist youth.
- Prepare simple brief course in elementary Hebrew. Short history of Jews. Short history of Zionism. Prepare introduction to Jewish Welanschauag. Brief volume on Zionism and other philosophies of life, including current isms.
- Prepare brief studies on political situation, Arabs, dictators, democracies.
- Prepare brief studies on economic situation of Jews, and general economic situation.
- Prepare brief studies on arti-Semitism and its relation to Communism, Fascism, Naziism, democracy and Zionism.
- 10. Prepare brief biographies.
- 11. Prepare brief studies of Yishuv.
- 12. Brief studies of Aliyot.
- 13. Pioneering.

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- 14. Stimulate youth to write, paint, sculp, compose.
- Suggest fund-raising projects, especially for J.N.F., Haganah, and cultural efforts in Palestine.
- 16. Prepare special activities, courses of study and discussion group for most intellectual youth in our midst.
- 17. Contact ablest young Jewish minds that come to our attention anywhere in the country, Rhodes schalarship men, etc....

(work to be done in cooperation with Departments of Education, Propaganda and Publications.)

E. Archives

 Examine, classify and list existing archives of Z.O.A. Collect and classify new documents.

F. Library

New quarters should make room for a reference library on Palestine and Zionism.

Engage Librarian.

-13-III. PUBLIC RELATIONS Bureau for this work to be located in Washington, D. C. A. Political Work 1. Contacts in Washington 2. Organization of Christian Friends of Palestine 3. Propaganda among Christians 4. Publications for Christians Contact columnists, newspaper reporters, correspondents, editors, F.P.A., Church, Rotarian, Kiwanis, Knights of Columbus, Masons, candidates for office, etc. Establish news and feature service 7. Establish speakers bureau for propaganda among non-Jews 8. Organize goodwill institutes on Sionism 9. Invite distinguished visitors from abroad, including friendly Arabs, for propaganda purposes. This can be done in cooperation with nationally known speakers bureau 10. Answer newspaper letters and articles 11. Suggest to all Zionist bodies throughout country to be on alert for favorable and unfavorable expressions on Zionism and Palestine, and report to Bureau 12. Publish monthly bulletin for Christians 13. Establish local committees of all Zionist parties to maintain contact with Washington Bureau B. Coordination of all Zionist organizations and parties Coordination of all Zionist parties with Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth.

SUMMATION

The program of work for the Zionist Organization of America, outlined above, lies within the realm of possibility, I believe, both financially and technically, and presents an actual minimum requirement if the Z.O.A. is to maintain and develop its commanding position in American Jewish life. It is because of our failure to do these things, so essential to the strengthening of the Zionist idea in this country, that other organizations have been enabled to come into this field, and by reason of greater initiative and resources, are actually displacing Zionism from its position of influence in the Jewish communities. Our Zionist bodies have never been able to keep abreast with the Zionist sentiment in this country. Indeed, the gradual retrogression of the Zionist Organization of America has proceeded in almost direct ratio to the growth of the Zionist movement. (Please note this was written in February of 1939).

The problem is becoming more urgent today by reason of the tendency in American Jewish life to centralize local communal activities
within one body, such as a Welfare Fund or a Community Council. Because
of its numerical and financial weakness in many communities throughout
the country, Zionism plays little or no part in these "closed corporations". Furthermore, because of the pressure of Palestine needs, we
have consistently given way even to Palestine propaganda as distinct
from Zionist educational propaganda, whenever it was felt that by subordinating Zionism we would receive a larger share from the Community
Chests. In addition, a number of propaganda Bodies was grown up in

the United States outstripping Zionist bodies in the technique which they have originally devised and introduced to American Israel. But above all, the problem is becoming more urgent by reason of the political situation. Only the blind in our midst will fail to realize that we are entering into a period of a prolonged struggle for a "Zionist Charter". We shall need all the determination and enthusiasm of the early "Lovers of Zion" to win and hold American Jews to the Zionist idea. This we can achieve only through the proper administrative, cultural and political functioning of our Zionist bodies.

For this and many other reasons it is imperative that the Lionist Organization of America begin immediately through a well organized machinery to regain its hegemony of American Jewish life. In the struggle that lies ahead of us the proposals contained in this memorandum, if properly implemented and provided for, will, in the course of time, reinvest Zionism with that numerical, financial, intellectual and spiritual power which it must needs have not only to survive but to maintain its rightful position in the complex and complicated communal organization of American Jewish life.

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SUMMARY

I. REORGANIZATION

The ZOA staff is inadequate and incompetent. It is out of date. It has not grown with its clientele -- American Jewry. Changes in the staff are a sine qua non in any program for American Zionism. In view of the fact that the officers of the organization are volunteers and invariably men preoccupied with other affairs, it is important that the Organization engage as Executive Director a man of high intellectual attainment, commanding personality and administrative ability.

II. REPRESENTATION

Little effort has been made to attract new forces. Important Zionist communities throughout the country are inadequately represented in the governing bodies. The borough of Manhattan, on the other hand, with a membership of 1200 in a total membership of close to 53,000, monopolizes one-fifth of the membership of the National Administrative Committee. It is proposed that the Administrative Committee be democratically elected by the Districts, one to every five hundred.

III. COORDINATION

- A. The Zionist Organization of America is only one among several Zionist bodies in the country. It is imperative that all of these bodies be persuaded to coordinate their efforts. The United Palestine Appeal, the Jewish National Fund, the Jewish Foundation Fund and the Zionist Organization of America are spending a staggering sum to propagate Zionism, callect funds for Palestine, and to achieve political objectives. Each organization has its own directorate and staff. Each is zealous for its own success qua organization. Each carries on its work with little or no reference to the other Zienist bodies. The result is competition, confusion, acrimony, duplication and waste. Of the funds available too much is spent at headquarters and too little in the regions. Therefore we have no regions. We cannot afford to maintain separate bureaus and staffs throughout the country. The results are disastrous for all Zionist activities. In the absence of centralized planning and coordinated leadership many fields -- youth, for example -- waiting for the Zionist plowshare, remain uncultivated. If coordination were achieved, 25% of the sums now spent could be saved and allocated to the neglected areas.
- B. Hadassah, Labor Zionism, Misrachi and the ZOA have many objectives in common. Basic propaganda and political activiti⇒s can and should be coordinated. So also they can direct in common immigration, tourism, import, inwestments, etc.
- C. The American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith and the many other orders and hundreds of Synagogues have a leep interest in Palestine. The Jewish Welfare Funds have raised millions of dollars for the Yishuv. There is room for better understanding and coordination.

TO THE REGIONS, DISTRICTS, SOCIETIES AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS OF THE Z.O.A.;

GREETING:

Please take notice that at the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., beginning the 29th day of June, 1940, the following amendments to the Constitution will be proposed:

- Amend Section 1 of Article V by striking out from line 2 thereof the figures \$5.00" and inserting in lium thereof the figures \$6.00."
- Amend Section 2 of Article IX by striking out from line 2 thereof the word "five" and inserting in line thereof the word "six".
- Amend Section 7 of Article IX by striking out from line 3 the word "twenty" and inserting in lieu thereof the words "twenty-five".
- 4. Amend Section 8 of Article IX by inserting, after the words "one hundred" on line 4 thereof, the words "and twenty".
- 5. Amend Section 9 of Article IX by adding thereto: "The Council shall hold four regular meetings annually and such special meetings as may be called by the President of the Zionist Organization of America, the Executive, or twenty five members of the Administrative Council."
- Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention a tentative budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year. If approved, the Executive shall not deviate from it except with the approval of the Administrative Council given at any regular or special meeting thereof."
- T. Amend Section 13 of Article IX to read as follows: "The Executive shall have the power to engage, discharge and fix the compensation of all administrative officers and employees of the Organization."

Not as a part of our report, but as a separate suggestion we recommend that the incoming Administrative Council and the Executive enact by-laws for their respective governance. That, among other things, they provide that the notices for all meetings of the Administrative Council should be accompanied by an agenda for the meeting which should be adhered to unless deviation is authorized by a two-thirds vote, also for the creation of a permanent Court of Honor.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA:

Gentlemen:

The undersigned committee was appointed by Judge Louis E.
Levinthal, Chairman, National Administrative Council, pursuant to a
resolution of the Council adopted at its Baltimore meeting. Broadly
stated, the function of the committee was to consider the recommendations of Rabbi Solomon Goldman, President of the Zionist Organization
of America, for the reorganization and strengthening of the Z.O.A. and
to report its recommendations to the Executive. This report is concurred in by all the members of the committee.

We did not deal with matters relating to coordination of work of other Zionist organizations since that part of Rabbi Goldman's report has already been separately considered by the Executive.

We recommend that Rabbi Goldman's plan for reorganization be approved in substance (we do not deem it necessary to deal with all the details thereof), and that immediate steps be taken to implement it. To that end, the Executive should recommend to the Convention:

- 1. The adoption of a mandatory resolution directing the incoming Executive to set in motion the machinery for reconstructing the Z.O.A. into autonomous Regions on the following basis:
- (a) The entire country be divided into Regions so that every District and Society be included within and subject to the jurisdiction of a Region.
- (b) That in parts of the country where the Jewish population is thickly settled, the membership of any Region-shall be, as nearly as possible, 5,000, and in the less thickly settled areas, 2,000.
- (c) That there shall be established in each Region a permanent office with a directing staff to be selected by the Executive in consultation with the officers of the Region.
- (1) That the functions of the regional officers and directors be so defined as to correspond to the functions of the various departments of the Z.O.A., hereinafter referred to.
- (e) That negotiations be set afoot to bring about such cooperation with the United Palestine Appeal and the Jewish National Fund that their work within the various Regions be coordinated with the work of the Z.O.A., so as to avoid overlapping activity.
- 2. In order to impose responsibility upon the Regions, the selection of the membership of the National Administrative Council should be placed largely in the control of the Regions. The membership should be increased to 120, exclusive of the members of the Executive, and regional

- (g) Youth.
- (h) Public Relations.
- (i) Coordination. (This has already been provided for by the action of the Executive).

That it shall be the duty of the members designated by the Executive to serve on the United Palestine Appeal and Jewish National Fund, respectively, to report on behalf of those organizations at each meeting of the Executive, the same as if they were standing committees of the Z.O.A.

That the record of each mosting of the Executive should by written and copies thereof forwarded to each member of the Administrative Council within fifteen days after each meeting.

5. SPECIAL SUGGESTIONS:

To carry those recommendations into effect, additional funds will be required. We, therefore, recommend that we request the Convention to approve a budget for the coming year in the total sum of \$350,000 of which at least \$100,000 shall be allocated specifically for the level-opment of the organization, the establishment of regions and regional staffs, and for the purpose of conducting membership campaigns.

The budget necessary to carry through the plan for reorganization of the Zionist Organization of America, as recommended by Dr. Goldman and as recommended herein, be raised as follows:

- (a) Universal membership dues in the Z.O.A. should be increased from \$5.00 to \$6.00 a year. This should not an additional income of \$40.000 to \$50,000.
- (b) Every Zionist district or society in the country should be charged with the luty to organize a campaign for sustaining members, paying dues at the rate of \$25 per year. It should be the responsibility of each district to obtain sustaining membership subscriptions from at least ten percent of the regular membership list.
- (c) The Keron Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth should be requested to underwrite such portion of the additional funds (not exceeding \$150,000, inclusive of the amounts they now pay to the Z.O.A. as service charges), as will be needed by the Z.O.A. in the ensuing year to meet its regular and special budgets.
- CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES ARE SUGGESTED, AS INDICATED BY THE ATTACHED PROPOSALS.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DR. GOLDMAN'S REORGANIZATION PLAN

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A Statement of the Record by

David Berenstein

Charles A. Cowen

Harry Frieberg

Abraham Goldberg

Abraham Goldstein

Dr. Harris J. Levine

Meyer Levy

Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn

Rabbi Irving Miller

Charles Ress

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William I. Siegel

Members of the National Executive

of the

Zionist Organization of America

Distributed by

Committee on Zionist Convention Problems Room 215 103 Park Avenue, New York manner, through letters and press releases, propaganda which can only result in undermining the prestige and efficiency of the Zionist Organization of America. A well-financed organization is engaged in an effort to spread discontent and confusion among the Zionists of America at a time when unity and concerted effort are imperative. The purpose of the propaganda is stated to be the "election of an administration to uphold and implement the policies begun by Dr. Coldman".

The Convention of the Zionist Organization of America to be held in Pittsburgh, will have as part of its business the election of officers, an executive and administrative council to serve for one year. It is entirely proper that men ambitious to be elected to office and believing themselves qualified should organize and permit to be organized committees to present their virtues and policies to the Zionists of America. But surely no Zionist, free from partisanship and interested only in maximum achievement for Palestine in the United States, will condone agitation which sacrifices Zionism to personal ambition, which deliberately sets up section against section, group against group, and proclaims far and wide that the Zionist Organization of America has been marked by — to quote language extensively used — "ineptness, inefficiency and stagnation." The belief is being deliberately created that there has been no progress in American Zionism; that the Zionist Organization of America has steadily declined in influence and prestige; that the sum total of years of activity has been failure.

It would indeed be tragic if these statements were true; if, taking only the period since 1932, covering the administrations of Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Solomon Goldman, American Zionist history were a record of dismal failure. Happily these statements are not true and those who circulate them are guilty of malicious misrepresentations.

A Record of Z.O.A. Progress

What are the facts? The membership of the Zionist Organization of America has increased constantly and substantially. The figures are, starting from the lowest point in 1932 at the end of Mr. Szold's term as chairman of the Administration, as follows:

Administration of Robert Szold (1930-32) - 8,484 members Administration of Morris Rothenberg (1932-36) - 20,315 members Administration of Dr. S. S. Wise (1936-38) - 28,999 members

-3-The high point of achievement was reached at last year's convention in New York, at the end of Dr. Goldman's first term as President. In announcing a total membership of 45,558. Dr. Goldman said in his presidential address: "We come this year with a report of progress. We have added 21,000 new numbers to the Z.O.A." There was then no charge of "ineptness, inefficiency, stagnation, etc.". Owing to the fact that the Z.O.A. does not engage directly in fund-raising for Palestine, it is impossible to measure the results in actual figures, but it is not to be denied that the membership of our Organization played an increasingly larger role in recent years in the successful fund-raising efforts of the Keren Hayeso(and the Keren Kayemeth. It should not be overlooked that the leadership of the United Palestine Appeal, the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund is virtually identical with the leadership of the Z.O.A. The burden of Zionist political leadership in America has been carried by the Z.O.A. It has initiated and carried through a number of important actions in times of political crisis. It was the Z.O.A. which was largely responsible for the protest action in October and November of 1938, concerning which Dr. Goldman said in his Presidential address: "In October and November we organized public opinion in America to an extent never before achieved by any Jewish group in this country." He then went on to say: "The achievement was repeated during the London discussions,

and again shortly before and after the appearance White Paper." There was then no charge of "ineptzess, inefficiency, stagnation, etc." That the results have not always been as successful as we wanted was not due to lack of effort or influence but to causes inherent in a world political situation that was beyond our control.

There has been steady progress in the extension of Zionist cultural activity and in winning American Jewry to the acceptance of the Zionist program. Many leaders of american Zionism have stated, as a result of their experiences in the many cities where they have spoken, that at no time have they encountered a greater readiness to help Palestine and further the Zionist cause among persons hitherto indifferent or even opposed.

Of course we must not be satisfied. Much more must be done in all fields and can be done, but certainly the record does not indicate failure and stagnation. Plan Deals With Mechanics of Organization

But despite this record, Zionists and the public at large, are being told a story of failure and futility. This is inexcusable and dangerous political maneuvering. It is carried on under the pretext that to overcome the failure of Zionist Organization of America - a failure which does not exist - an administration must be chosen to implement "Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization."

That is this Plan? Despite statements to the contrary, in some instances deliberately made by men who ought to know better, but evidently innocently accepted and repeated by many who have not read the document, there are no fundamental changes in policy contained in Dr. Goldman's proposals.

The title "Plan of Reorganization" is a misnomer. No genuine reorganization is outlined in the plan. The so-called "Plan of Reorganization" is an outline in some detail of specific activities of the Organization which have always been recornized as necessary. The outline will undoubtedly be of assistance to departmental heads and members of the staff. The plan is primarily a scheme of departmentalization. It is an effort, not altogether successful, though helpful and suggestive, to divide the necessary activities into departments. The central ideas embodied in the plan are that the work of the organization must be analyzed, itemized and assigned to separate departments, and that each department must have a competent director at its head. There was nothing new or fundamental about all this, but everyone will readily agree that Dr. Goldman has helped to clarify and classify the nature of the Organization's activities. The plan also dealt with the question of finances and proposed a budget indicating that at least \$250,000 would be required. The said budget also provided for means of obtaining that sum of money. It seems now generally agreed that the estimate of income needed was too low, and of income obtainable by the means suggested, much too high.

There is emphasized in the Plan of Reorganization also the need of coordinating all Zionist organizations and funds, a need long recognized by Zionist
executives and much discussed, several years ago, in connection with the Ben Gurion
plan of one territorial Zionist Organization. But Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization does not present a method of coordination other than the suggestion of a
joint committee. At present many are looking forward to the implementation of the
proposal made by Mr. Louis Lipsky, and endorsed by the Executive of the Zionist
Organization of America, that there be created a Union or Federation of all Zionist
organizations, including the funds, to conduct general Zionist affairs and coordinate
Zionist work in the United States.

The reasonable, unprejudiced person, will recognize that Dr. Goldman's plan deals strictly with the mechanics of organization but not with fundamental policies. It proposes nothing new or basic. Yet the propaganda circulated by a group seeking to promote discord and dissension in the ranks of the Z.O.A., speaks with pretended indignation of an "onslaught" against the plan. A so-called editorial issued by this group to the Anglo-Jewish press declares, for example:

-4-"It became clear that from within the organization a small but long entrenched group, with the support of staff executives was determined to obstruct the carrying out of the program. The opposition was bent on reducing the plan to a scrap of paper". This is a deliberate falsehood. It would be somewhat more hones; if the names of the "long entrenched group" were mentioned. Does the group include men who have given their lives to the Zionist cause, who have worked as leaders or in the ranks to build the Zionist Organization of America to the position of influence which reckless men now are undermining? Again what are the facts? Executive Supported Dr. Goldman This exposition is based on the minutes of the meeting; of the Zionist Organization of America Executive and Administrative Council. The record will show that Dr. Goldman's plan of reorganization was approved by the entire Executive. No one obstructed its implementation. All actions requested by Dr. Goldman for the carrying out of his program were taken by the Executive. Why has it not been carried out? Was it because of the machinations of a sinister group plotting against it? Dr. Goldman himself supplied the answer. In the first year it was because as he said: "Over and over again they (the questions of organization) were swept out by volcanic eruption abroad, by terrorist bombs manufactured in Germany, and political plots hatched in Downing Street. And in particular from the 7th of October on when Dr. Weizmann telephoned us ... we have known neither peace nor mest." As for the second year, this is what Dr. Goldman said: "All of our plans and hopes that we had for the Z.O.A. in regard to reorganization, extension, etc. have been in vain because of lack of funds." That is the record of the Executive with regard to Dr. Goldman's proposals? Dr. Goliman first submitted the Plan of Reorganization to the Executive at its meeting on Merch 9, 1959. The minutes of that meeting record the following resolution: PHAT the Memorandum on the Reorganization and Departmentalization "L. of the Z.O.A. be adopted in principle: THAT the suggested budget be made elastic and the proposals set forth in the Memorandum be implemented as the funds come in; #3. FHAT the President be empowered to name such Committees as may be necessary in connection with the carrying out of the Memcrandum, as the program develops; THAT, as a first step, an attempt be made, in consultation with the several youth bodies, and in consultation with the Finance Committee, to implement a coordinated youth department and engage a Director for the department;

--5--"5. THAT the Finance Committee and the Office Committee study the question of moving the National Offices of the Z.O.A. as quickly as possible." The record fails to show a single act by the President to implement this program or the appointment of a single committee authorized in these resolutions. Presumably it was because of the political situation referred to above. At the first meeting of the Executive following the 1939 convention, held on July 5th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted to implement Dr. Goldman's plans: "THAT this Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. accepts the recommendation of the President with respect to the designation of an Office Manager and Comptroller; "THAT the recommendation of the President with regard to the Department of Education and Propaganda and its Director be adopted; "THAT a Committee be named with the authority to engage a Director for the Department. "THAT we elect (name omitted) as Director of the Youth Department for a term of three years, with an annual salary of \$5,000; the salary to be recommended by the Executive for approval by the Finance Committee. Why were these resolutions never carried out? Let us examine the record. Plan Abandoned Because of Lack of Funds At the Executive Committee meeting of September 20th, 1939, Mr. Louis Rocker, Chairman of the Finance Committee, presented a budget providing for the expenditure of \$186,500. It was pointed cut that the budget submitted does not provide for the carrying out of the President's Reorganization Plan. Mr. Rocker then stated: "The whole contemplated program will have to be suspended because of lack of funds." At the following meeting, held on October 11th, Mr. Rocker re-submitted the budget of \$186,500, with the recommendation that expansion of activities be made dependent upon the raising of additional funds. The prevailing view of the members of the Executive was that the necessary funds must and could be raised and that activities ought to be expanded. In the course of the discussion the President stated that he was not optimistic about the possibility of obtaining funds either through increased membership or contributions. He recommended that members of the Executive and Administrative Committees be asked to raise specific sums. The following resolution was adopted: "THAT we ask the Administrative Council for authority to raise an aiditional \$40,000 over and above the estimated income: that the allocation of this \$40,000 be left to the Executive. " This resolution was brought before the Administrative Council at its meeting at Philadelphia on October 15th. Resolutions presented by Mr. Lipsky were, with the express approval of the President, unanimously adopted as follows:

-6-"THAT we approve for the time being a reduced budget of \$186,000. "THAT the members of the National Administrative Council join with the members of the Executive Committee in pledging themselves to raise at least \$40,000, to enable the Executive to provide for the enlarged scope contemplated by the convention when it adopted the larger budget." And from that time to the present day no action has been taken to implement these resolutions. No plan was formulated for the collection of funds. At the meeting of the Executive on November 8, 1939, Dr. Foldman stated "that all of the plans and hopes that he had for the Z.O.A. in regard to reorganization, extension, etc., have been in vain because of lack of funds. " At the meeting of the Executive held on December 13, 1939, the President referred to the resolutions adopted by the Executive at the July 5th meeting for the purpose of implementing the Reorganization Plan. The Zionist Organization of America, he stated, "is not in a position this year to have a Department of Youth, a Department of Education and a Department of Propaganda, witha director for each department." He believed, therefore, that there should be one department for all three services. At the President's suggestion it was unanimously voted: "That the President be authorized to tender to (name omitted) a three-year contract as Director of the Department of Education of the Z.O.A., which should also serve the departments of Youth and Propaganda." Thus, at his request, the authority was unanimously granted. But to this date no director was engaged. At the same meeting, the President advised the Executive that he had had the unpleasant duty of informing two members of the staff that their services with the Organization would be terminated. A committee, of which Mr. Szold was chairman, reported that in accordance with its understanding of its function, it had discussed and was reporting only as to the amount of compensation to be paid to a staff member who had already been dismissed. The President was sustained in his somewhat technical contention, that he had acted in accordance with authority granted by the Executive in dismissing the said staff member, and the question of compensation was referred back to Mr. Szold's committee with full power to act. Many Zionists were of the opinion that the action was unnecessarily drastic, but the act having been done, the Executive supported the President. The record clearly proves that the President's Plan of Reorganization so far as departmentalization was concerned, had been almost entirely abandoned, by Dr. Goldman himself upon the insistence of Mr. Louis P. Rocker, chairman of the Finance Committee, that no funds were available. Even the one director who was specifically authorized was not employed. Yet the director of the Education Department had been dismissed and the Committee on Education discarded so that this phase of

activity, far from being expanded, was practically eliminated. The net result to date, despite the Executive's constant support of the President, was the dismissal of two employees, one of whom had served without interruption for over twenty years. These dismissals were concurred in by the Executive.

Resolutions having the approval of the President were presented at the meetings of March 13th and March 21st, 1940, intended to accomplish nothing more than the discharge at that late date in the life of the Administration of two additional members of the staff, each of whom had served many years and admittedly had rendered valuable service. (It should be noted that the entire Executive staff consisted of six persons.) It is the prerogative of the Executive to employ and discharge the staff, but valid differences of opinion may exist as to the wisdom of retaining or retiring a particular person. Surely there is nothing sinister in the fact that some members of the Executive differed with the President's recommendation as to the change in status of these men who, it is admitted by even those who insisted that they be dismissed, have rendered excellent service. To characterize such legitimate differences of opinion concerning the dismissal of staff members as an "onslaught" on the reorganization plan by "reactionary forces" in the Zionist Organization is to lower the dignity and prestige of American Zionism. And this conduct becomes more reprehensible when it is remembered that even as to these actions, the Executive has sustained the President.

The Proposal for An Executive Director

At the meeting of the Executive on March 21st there was presented a proposal that an executive director of the Z.O.A. be appointed. Seweral members of the Executive opposed this proposal. It seemed to them incongruous to attempt at this late date to introduce a drastic innovation in the operations of the Z.O.A. The discussion which took place revealed many important differences of opinion as to the duties of such a director. It seemed clear to many of the members that the entire question required more mature consideration, and should be investigated by the Committee on Reorganization which had been appointed by the chairman of the Administrative Council. It is significant that Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization with its wealth of detail, its specific recommendations as to departmental heads, made no mention of an executive director. Surely it is a debatable question whether in an organization such as the Z.O.A., which must be differentiated from fraternal and strictly fund-raising bodies, there is place for a director who would have in his hands as a practical matter the control of all activities. Such functions belong to the President and the Executive elected by the convention. Commenting on the list of qualifications which advocates of the proposal declared the candidate for the new

post must have, namely, "high intellectual attainment, commanding personality and administrative ability," Dr. Wise well said, that if such a person were found "we would elect him President."

But the merits of this proposal are not pertinent in this discussion. It is intended only to point out that in this matter, as in all other questions affecting the staff, the Executive, primarily by reason of the President's urging, voted its approval. There exist therefore no issues as to the present staff. And if they did exist, surely no reasonable person will see in them issues warranting national debate. They are matters which can be settled and finally disposed of by judiciously chosen and impartial committees.

In a recent statement, issued over his own signature, Dr. Goldman permitted himself to disparage the staff of the Zionist Organization of America, members of which he had heretefore often praised in glowing terms. It is not necessary in this statement to defend the staff. The Zionists throughout the United States whom they have served will form their own opinion as to the fairness and propriety of such public statements by the President of the Zionist Organization of America. For the present, it is sufficient merely to point out what has long been recognized, that the inadequacy of the staff consists simply of its lack of members. The staff has for some time been too small to do the increased work of the Zionist Organization, to whose growth, in numbers and achievement, it has contributed its full share. The Failure of Executive Leadership

We have come to the end of this analysis of the record intended to discover what basis, if any, exists for the charges of "sabotage" of the President's policies and the insimuations of wrong-doing and improper motives on the part of men who have for years been identified with the development of Zionism in the United States.

Surely the conclusion must be that said charges and insimuations which are undermining confidence in the Z.O.A. and in its leadership are entirely unfounded. Dr. Goldman's Plan of Reorganization, more accurately described as a plan for departmentalization, could not be carried out for lack of funds. The need for funds was recognized early in the year but no action was taken despite the adoption by the Executive and Administrative Council of enabling resolutions. Action authorized by the Executive intended to implement even an attenuated plan of expansion were not carried out.

There was no lack of authority and cooperation - there was much debate and writing of plans but a complete lack of executive direction and action.

For this reason only, the so-called Plan of Reorganization has remained merely a collection of words. There is no serious dispute in the Zionist Organization of America concerning reorganization. The sessions of the Committee on Reorganization recently held at Philadelphia and New York were marked by virtual unanimity of opinion. The fact of the matter is that fictitious issues have been created to cover up a politically motivated campaign of misrepresentation and innuendo.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Goldman to whom the facts set forth in this statement are of course known, has not seen fit to call a halt to this unseemly flood of recriminations and mis-statements allegedly carried on in defense of his policies, which is bringing confusion and dissension into the Zionist ranks and sacrificing the unified effort which is imperative to meet the emergency before us.

AMENUMENTS TO CONSTITUTION -- PROPOSED BY JUDGE FISHER'S SUB-COMMITTEE

AMENDMENT:

PRESENT PROVISION:

ARTICLE V. Section 1:

Membership dues of the Zionist Organiza-Membership dues of the Zionist Organization of America shall be \$6.00 per annum ... tion of America shall be \$5.00 per annum.

ARTICLE IX. Section 2:

The officers shall be: A President, not less than three nor more than six Vice-Presidents

The Officers shall be: A President, not less than three nor more than five Vice-Presidents.

ARTICLE IX. Section 7:

The Executive of the Zionist Organization of America shall consist of the elected officers and not less than hime nor more than twenty-five mombers to be elected by the Convention.

The Executive of the Zionist Organization of America shall consist of the elected officers and not loss than nine nor more than twenty members

ARTICLE IX. Section 8:

The Administrative Council shall consist of the officers, members of the Executive, the Regional Chairmen, and such additional number of members, not exceeding one hundred and twenty, as the Convention shall prescribe.

The Administrative Council shall consist of the officers, members of the Executive, the Regional Chairmon, and such additional number of members, not exceeding one hundred, as the Convention

ARTICLE IX. Section 9: (A Clause added)

The Council shall hold four regular moetings annually and such meetings as may be called by the President of the Zionist Organization of America, the Executive or twenty-five members of the Administrative Council.

The Administrative Council shall be elected at the Convention and the members thereof shall serve for the period of one year and until their successors in office have been elected.

ARTICLE IX. Section 12:

The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention a tentative budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year. If approved, the Executive shall not deviate from it except with the approval of the Administrative Council given at any regular or special meeting thereof.

The Executive shall submit to the Annual Convention for approval a budget in writing for the next ensuing fiscal year. The Administrative Council may reduce or increase the aggregate expenditures provided for in any budget approved by the Convention and may re-allocate the sums allotted therein to each department or activity, by a two-thirds vote of the mombors prosent at a special meeting of the Administrative Council, duly called and noticed for the consideration of the proposed action.

ARTICLE IX. Section 13:

The Executive shall have the power to engage, The Executive shall have the power to discharge and fix the compensation of all administrative officers and employees of the Organization.

fix the compensation to be paid to the Secretary and to all employees of the Organization, upon recommendation of the Finance Committee.

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Judge Ellenbagen believed that one man should be retained in New York at the office to devote his entire time to membership, until the campaign is over; that each Region should have a paid man, and that a definite period of time, beginning the middle of October and culminating with Balfour Day, should be set aside and each District advised what its quota is. The membership campaign must be laid out nationally and the local leaders will have to follow.

Rabbi Israel believed that most of us have the feeling that now is a psychological moment that calls for something above the ordinary; we do not want the District simply to have a multigraphed letter. We need a whole new type of propaganda, a new set of literature, a new type of motivation. He suggested that the Executive authorize (1) the appointment of a special committee and certain extra expenditures, and (2) the use of trained publicity experts for a while to work up something that will impress itself upon the country as a real membership campaign.

The Chairman suggested that, instead of naming a special committee, the Chairman of the several departments make the membership campaign the immediate major objective of the Z. O. A.

Rabbi Israel added that he did not think it would be possible to bring the membership campaign to a climax by Balfour Day, and suggested that there be a series of meetings on Balfour Day as the opening of the campaign, to be culminated on Chanukah.

Mr. Ress felt that no motion was necessary to authorize the proper body to carry on an intensive membership campaign. He asked if it were necessary to pass any motion authorizing any specific expenditure for membership work, such as the employment of field men, -- not necessarily one for every Region.

The Chairman stated that the committee will have authority within the budget. He explained that the reason he asked that the membership be entrusted to the other committees is because he believed that this year the question of propaganda, youth, etc., all impinge on a membership campaign, and he preferred to have the three or four departments meet together and make membership their immediate objective.

Rabbi Israel expressed the thought that any intelligent Membership Campaign/will consult with the Chairmen of the other committees in mapping out the membership campaign, and he felt that the membership campaign should be vested primarily in one man or in one committee.

In connection with campaign literature, etc., Dr. Lewischn stated that at the instigation of Mr. Margulies, he and Mr. Margulies had discussed the necessity of having a series of new pamphlets.

Executive Meeting Dates:

Judge Ellenbogen recommended that beginning with 1940, the meetings of the Executive be held on the Monday preceding the Wednesday that has been selected for each month.

DR. FRIEDENWALD'S 75TH BIRTHDAY:

Dr. Wise moved, and it was seconded and unanimously carried

THAT by a rising vote this meeting send its affectionate greetings by telegram to our beloved comrade, Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

Project to Honor Dr. Friedenwald:

The Chairman reported that he had received two suggestions for projects to honor Dr. Friedenwald on the occasion of his 75th birthday, -- one from the Jewish National Fund, and another from the American Zion Commonwealth. The second project is for a hospital in Herslia which is sadly in need of a clinic. About \$5,000 would be needed for this project. The Chairman felt that at this time, with the situation as unstable as it is, we ought not to take any action on any project. In this connection, the Chairman stated that a suggestion had come from Palestine, in which the Organization is interested, that some project be initiated to honor Judge Julian W. Mack, but that it was felt that it is most untimely to come out with these projects now.

Rabbi Israel reported that the Baltimore community is honoring Dr. Friedenseld.

Mr. Goldberg moved

THAT the Zionist Organization of America initiate at some future date a project honoring Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the Jewish National Fund had received communications from some of the Zionists in Baltimore, suggesting the undertaking of a Nachlatz for Dr. Friedenwald; another suggestion was with reference to the planting of a forest in Dr. Friedenwald's honor. When the Jewish National Fund received these suggestions, it felt duty bound to convey them to the Zionist Organization of America, with which Dr. Friedenwald was so intimately associated.

Mr. Szold seconded Mr. Goldberg's motion. He considered Dr. Friedenwald as one of the grand figures in American Zionism. He personally had the privilege of living with Dr. Friedenwald in the same house in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, as a member of a Zionist Commission in 1919. Dr. Friedenwald comes from a line of distinguished family, all Zionists before there was any movement in this country. Mr. Szold expressed the thought that the Zionist Organization of A merica honors itself when it takes any step in honoring Dr. Friedenwald.

Mr. Goldberg's motion was unanimously carried.

BUDGET FOR 1939 - 40:

Mr. Rocker reported on behalf of the Finance Committee, that for the first three months the operating expenses of the Organization were about \$57,000. This included items of a non-recurring nature, such as the Convention which cost \$2,800; Public Relations \$6,042; Palestine Pavilion \$2,000; Regions \$2,500; Congress Travelling \$3,500. He estimated that the expenditure for the next nine months could be kept to about \$125,856, based on about the same membership income as last year. The budget of \$232,000 adopted at the last Convention is entirely out of proportion with our estimated income.

Rabbi Miller observed that the revised budget does not contemplate the recrganization program proposed by the President last year, and inquired whether or not there is to be (1) a Youth Department Director, and (2) an Education and Propaganda Department.

Mr. Rocker stated that the whole contemplated program will have to be suspended because of lack of funds.

The Chairman asked for a functional picture of the budget, to which Mr. Hocker replied that functionally the Organization will continue the same as it did last year, with the addition of a larger field staff.

Mr. Lipsky declared that in order to have a larger income we need a larger membership, but the Organization never spends money enough on a concentrated large membership campaign. WMr. Lipsky added that it has been his conviction for years that the Organization can double its membership by making one season a continuous, uninterrupted, nation-wide campaign for members, and spending for that purpose adequate funds, which, he believed, would not be very much.

Mr. Ress inquired whether it is intended to employ a youth director under the revised budget.

The Chairman suggested that the Propaganda Department might be restricted and be made a part of the Education Department or of the Membership Department. He hoped that the Youth Department had not been eliminated from the budget.

Judge Ellenbogen said he did not see how the proper membership efforts could be undertaken with the limited funds indicated.

Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that the new Z.O.A. Constitution contains a clause to the effect that the Executive as such recommends the budget to the Convention, and when the Convention approves the budget, the Executive cannot change it; but the Administrative Committee, by a two-thirds vote, can increase or decrease the budget. Obviously, he pointed out, the Finance Committee would be within its rights to spend all the money recommended by the Convention. This matter is, therefore, to be settled at the meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Rabbi Israel and Fabbi Goldstein suggested that the members of the Executive be furnished the following information some time before the next meeting of the Executive:
(1) Last year's expenditures; (2) the budget adopted at the last Convention, for 1939 - 40; and (3) the recommendations of the Finance Committee.

The Chairman recommended that the Chairman of the Finance Committee send the above information to every member of the Executive, within a week, together with a statement of what is to be eliminated from the budget adopted by the Convention.

Mr. Ress observed that the first question to be considered is whether we want to abandon the form of reorganization as submitted by the Fresident, or whether we want to modify it. He then moved

THAT the President appoint a sub-committee of the Executive to meet with the Finance Committee of the Z.O.A. for the purpose of considering the revised budget for 1939 - 40; that a report of this conference be submitted to the meeting of the Executive on October 11.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Allocation to Palestine Pavilion:

The Chairman recalled that the Convention had included in the budget v10,000 for the Palestine Pavilion, as a recommendation to the Finance Committee and the Executive. Some payments had been made to the Palestine Pavilion. Inasmuch as the budget is to be recommitted to the Finance Committee and the Executive sub-committee, he suggest-

will have some knowledge of what it has to do, when revising the budget.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the erection of the Palestine Pavilion was a responsibility in which the Zionist Organization of America shared to the extent of underwriting a certain amount of money. The Keren Hayesod may, if it so chooses, call upon the Zionist Organization of America to meet this obligation. The Pavilion has been erected and is now being maintained for the purpose of serving Zionist interests. At that point, the burden should have rested directly upon the Zionist organizations, and, of course, upon the Zionist Organization of A merica more than any other organization.

Upon Mr. Bernstein's inquiry by what authority were the U500 already paid to the Palestine Pavilion, Mr.Rocker stated that this payment was necessitated because the Palestine Pavilion had been threatened with being closed.

Judge Ellenbogen suggested that the Palestine Pavilion should be utilized for the membership campaign, that membership blanks should be given to those who visit the Pavilion.

mr. Margulies stated that about 50,000 very attractive booklets had been distributed at the Palestine Pavilion, containing a membership application blank, but it is not feasible to solicit members at the Pavilion.

Mr. Ress offered the following motion:

THAT we approve the payment of \$5,000 toward the Palestine Pavilion maintenance expense, -- payment to be made in such a way as the Finance Committee find it possible.

The motion was seconded.

Judge Ellenbogen offered the substitute motion

THAT the sum of \$2,000 be approved for the Palestine Pavilion -- the matter to be determined at the next meeting of the Executive, when the whole question of budget will be presented.

Mr. Rocker moved

THAT in approving any payment to the Palestine Pavilion, the Executive also determine where the money is to come from.

The following substitute motion made by Mr. Shetzer was finally passed:

THAT the matter of making an allocation to the Palestine Pavilion be likewise referred to the Finance Committee and the sub-committee of the Executive which is to present the Executive at its next meeting with a complete, revised budget.

Meeting adjourned at 5:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES

Secretary

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any progress had been made in the matter of co-opting people in order to enlarge the committee, the Chairman stated that the matter is awaiting Dr. Weizmann's , arrival.

Mr. Gurfein suggested that the proposed Memorandum to the British Ambassador be not publicized. The Chairman stated that it will not be publicized in any way.

TRAVEL BETWEEN U.S. AND PALESTINE:

Mr. Szoli reported that he had just been informed that the American Export Line will go to Palestine, and expressed the thought that it is a matter of some importance that travel between this country and Palestine will be permitted to continue.

HADASSAH:

The Chairman stated that prior to the last Convention he had received a letter (dated June 13, 1939) from the National President of Hadassah concerning the allocation of \$7500 from Hadassah representing annual payment to the Z.C.A. in accordance with an agreement drawn up between the two Organizations at the 19th Convention of Hadassah held in Chicago, October, 1933. The letter stated that Hadassah would discontinue paying the \$7500 and would contribute this money instead to the American Zionist Bureau at Washington, D. C.; that originally Hadassah intended to contribute towards the political work of the Z. O. A., and since there is now a Bureau in Washington doing the political work, they want to make their contribution directly to the Washington Bureau. The chairman stated that a Committee will be named to meet with Hadassah to consider this matter. He pointed out that in the contract drawn up in 1933 there was no reference to any political work, and therefore refused to look upon the \$7500 as a contribution towards the political work.

Mr. Margulies observed that in the contract of 1933 Hadassah had agreed to pay annually \$7500 to the Z.O.A. for the recognition of Hadassah by the Z.O.A. as the sole Women's Zionist Organization in the United States.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that with the exception of the United States there is no country in which two separate Landes organizations are organized. Here we have a case where Hadassah has been given carte blanche to proceed as an independent Wemen's Zionist Organization, which is under no obligation to the Zione ist Organization of America, and is not bound by any of the policies of the Zionist Organization of America, political or otherwise. Hadassah engages in political and economic work and in Palestine work of its own, because the Z.O.A. has given them the right to do it and has never objected to their doing it. They had promised to pay \$7500 a year for this privilege of being a free lance in Zionist affairs; now they say that the \$7500 is being given to the Z.O.A. specifically for the maintainance of an institution which had not been in existence at the time the contract was drawn.

Mr. Goldberg folt that the present difficulty is due to the lack of association between Hadassah and the Z.O.A. and that actually they are two separate organizations. He said he was therefore not surprised that Hadassah sent a sepearate memorandum to the Intergovernmental Committee; and he thought that although Hadassah had explained its action on this occasion, it will happen again. He recommended that the Committee to be named by the Chairman to consider the entire matter with a view to bringing about closer collaboration between the two organizations.

PALESTINE PAVILION:

The following letter from Dr. Stephen S. Wise, under date of November 7, 1939, relative to the continuance of the Palestine Pavilion at the World's Fair in 1940, was read:

"Dear Dr. Goldman:

"At a meeting of representative of all Zionist organizations and Palestine fund-raising institutions held at my study on Monday evening, October 23rd, 1939, it was unanimously decided, after due consideration, that the Palestine Pavilion should continue at the World's Fair in 1940.

*On the basis of the figures submitted, it was agreed that the sum of \$80,000 would be required to make possible the 1940 participation. It was like-wise agreed that the major financial responsibility should be undertaken by the Zionist organizations and fund-raising institutions.

"As the Honorary President of the Palestine Pavilion and as the Chairman of the meeting at which these decisions were made, I address myself to you with the request that you bring this matter before a meeting of your Executive Committee in order to determine the extent to which the Zionist Organization of America will participate in the 1940 budget of the Palestine Pavilion. A similar request is being addressed to the other Zionist organizations and fund-raising institutions.

"As you know, Hadassah has already agreed to participate to the extent of \$5,000. An effort is now being made to secure a larger appropriation from Hadassah.

"In accordance with a previous decision of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Pavilion, the administration of the Palestine Pavilion has undertaken a campaign among Welfare Funds, Community Chests and other local bodies to supplement the funds to be appropriated by the Zionist bodies. Since the scope of this campaign is dependent in a large measure upon the amount which will be appropriated by Zionist bodies, it is essential that we know as soon as possible the amount which the Zionist Organization of America will allocate.

"It is my opinion that the Zionist Organization of America should make itself responsible for a minimum of \$10,000 toward the budget of \$80,000.

"I will appreciate it greatly if you will let me know at the earliest possible opportunity the decision of the Zionist Organization of America in this matter.

> "Faithfully yours, (Signed) STEPHEN S. WISE"

Rabbi Miller asked what is the relation of the request in Dr. Fise's letter to the Convention resolution to include the Palestine Pavilion to the extent of \$10,000.

The Chairman replied that if the Executive were to act on this recommendation the \$10,000 considered by the Convention would be absorbed.

Dr. Goldstein stated that at the time the Convention resolution was adopted there was no lefinite knowledge that the Palestin- Pavilion would continue in 1940; so that there is still a moral obligation outstanding with reference to

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the Convention resolution. He believed that Dr. Wise's recommendation might be adopted without prejudice to the Convention resolution.

The Chairman said he understood that the budget adopted by the Palestine Pa-

Mr. Cowen took exception to the position taken by Dr. Goldstein with regard to moral obligations. When the Convention submits a recommendation to the Executive, it must be decided on its merits. In the case of the Palestine Pavilion it is purely a matter of finance, he pointed out. Furthermore, he wendered how the obligation could be met without prejudice to the membership campaign and other work of the Z.O.A. He suggested that, if it can be done, the meney should be voted to the Palestine Pavilion, to be paid out as the funds come in to the treasury of the ZOA.

Mr. Siegel was opposed to giving \$10,000 to the Palestine Pavilion, on the theory that if \$80,000 is required for American Jewry to support the Palestine Pavilion, the funds ought to be found in some reasonable proportion among all the groups in American Jewry. He felt that the Jews of America should not only come and see the Palestine Pavilion, but should have a reasonable share in raising the money for its maintenance. He favored voting some money to the Palestine Pavilion but considerably less than \$10,000.

Mr. Rocker recalled that early in the discussions on the Palestine Pavilion, he had inquired as to how the Pavilion would be financed and was informed that it would be done in two ways — by selling booklets and by approaching civic-minded Jews to give large contributions. It now appears, he said, that the booklets have more or less petered out, the civic-minded Jews did not cone forward with the cash and the Z.O.A., U.P.A., and J.N.F. have been taxed, from time to time, to maintain the Pavilion. Mr. Rocker believed that the Birectors of the Palestine Pavilion ought to finance the Pavilion as they had originally intended to. The Z.O.A. is now bound to repay \$25,000 to the J.N.F. and the U.P.A.

Mr. Woisgal stated that the facts as set forth by Mr. Rocker are inaccurate and that he considered the complaining tone unfair.

The Chairman explained that the Executive is just now considering whether it can make any contribution at all to the Pavilion; whether it has the money available or will have the money available and in what amount.

Mr. Lipsky stressed the importance of making a decision. He added that the Board of Trustees of the Palestine Pavilion had a meeting and agreed that it was to the interest of the Zionist movement that the Palestine Pavilion should continue for another year.

Rabbi Brickmer recommended that the only business-like procedure would be to refer the matter of financing the Palestine Pavilion to the Finance Committee. Should the Executive vote an appropriation to the Pavilion it would be no lien on the Finance Committee; the Executive would have to instruct the Finance Committee to borrow the mency if it is unavailable. On the other hand, he pointed out, if the Administrative Council has already decided to centime the Palestine Pavilion at the 1940 World's Fair, the Executive should implement the action of the Administrative Council and instruct the Finance Committee to find ways and means of maintaining the Pavilion.

Dr. Goldstein stated that the Board of Directors of the Palestino Pavilion have a responsibility to the extent of deciding on the expenses which are to continue from the time the Pavilion was closed till the time the ZOA Executive will decide to take some action. The Pavilion will not reopen in 1940 unless the ZOA fulfills at least its minimum obligation; and if the ZOA does not take such action now, it will be impossible to approach

other organizations for funds. He pointed out that in establishing the Palestine Pavilien the Falestine Pavilion Administration itself was able to secure more than \$150,000 without taxing the resources of the ZOA. The book-lets did not peter out; they produced an income of more than \$100,000 net to the Palestine Pavilion; some of the communities responded to the extent of \$12,000, \$15,000, or \$17,000. If the Palestine Pavilion Administration has not succeeded in raising all the money, it was because the Jewish communities did not respond in the manner expected of them. Dr. Goldstein urged that the Z.O.A. should take the lead and decide whether or not the Palestine Pavilion is to reopen in 1940; that the Z.O.A. Executive make a declaration in principle, at least, on this matter.

The Chairman expressed the thought that every member of the Executive wants to see the Palestine Pavilion continue in 1940; that the Executive would have been happy to assume the obligation of \$10,000 as recommended by the Convention and that if that \$10,000 had already been paid, to yete an additional

The Chairman expressed the thought that every member of the Executive wants to see the Palestine Pavilion continue in 1940; that the Executive would have been happy to assume the obligation of \$10,000 as recommended by the Convention, and that if that \$10,000 had already been paid, to vote an additional \$10,000 as requested in Dr. Wise's letter. In the past week the Chairman had received a letter from Mr. Charles Ress, informing the Z.C.A. of its obligation of \$25,000 to the Keren Hayesod, which sooner or later must be paid. He believed that the Finance Committee and the Executive had faltered and hesitated only because the finances of the Z.C.A. did not allow the assumption of further obligations.

Dr. Wise declared that any indecision on the part of the Executive at this time will lead to a further indecision on the part of the other organizations which consider themselves, when they so choose, subsidiary to the Zionist Organization of America.

Mr. Lipsky stated that the Board of Directors of the Palestine Pavilion cannot undertake the responsibility of continuing the Pavilion in 1940, without the endersement and approval of the Z.O.A. If Hadassah hears that the Z.O.A. has given its approval but not its endersement, Hadassah will not give the \$5,000. He said that he saw no difficulty in spite of what the Chairman of the Finance Committee said. All that is asked for is a backing on the part of the Zionist organizations and funds.

The Chairman reiterated that the Z.O.A. now has a deficit of \$26,000; Mr. Ress' letter asking for \$25,000 would make the deficit \$51,000. The Z.O.A. is operating at present on a deficit and on the hope — based on experience that in the source of time, part of this deficit will be met.

Mr. Lipsky believed that as far as payment of the deficit is concerned, in all probability an arrangement can be made to have it done over a period of a number of years.

In amswer to Habbi Brickner's suggestion, Mr. Weisgal stated that a meeting was called of all the Zionist organizations and it was decided unanimously that the Palestine Pavilion should continue in 1940 and will cost \$80,000; but it was decided that the major financial responsibility should be undertaken by the various Zionist organizations and fund-raising institutions. He added that no one can guarantee whether \$50,000 or \$40,000 or \$60,000 will be raised in the various cities. Half of the amount, therefore, will be distributed among the Z.O.A., J.H.F., Keren Hayesod, Hadassah, and the major organizations.

The Chairman recommended that the Executive vote participation in the Palestine Pavilion to the extent of \$5,000, with the understanding that in January or February the Executive will reconsider its action and will either add \$2,500 or it may be compelled to make the contribution less than \$5,000.

Ho foit that this was the only action that can be taken at this time.

Mr. Lipsky moved:

THAT the Executive undertake to guarantee to the Palestine Pavilion the sum of \$10,000 and authorize the Pavilion to proceed with the budget as indicated.

The Chairman reiterated that the Z.C.A. cannot assume an obligation of \$10,000 but recommended \$5,000.

Judge Ellenbogen felt that the Executive ought to be definite now and not make any promises as to the future; the action can be reconsidered if the occasion will require it. He offered the following substitute motion:

THAT the Executive authorize a maximum expenditure of \$5,000 by the Zionist Organization of America, in connection with the participation of the Palestine Pavilion in the 1940 World's Fair.

The substitute motion was seconded.

Dr. Wise objected to the statement that the Z.O.A. has a deficit. He pointed out that the funds of the organization come in in such a way that the resources are minimal as the year begins and they rise and become larger as the year progresses; and this year, he believed, the resources can reasonably be expected to grow larger than ever before in the light of the increased memmership contemplated. Dr. Wise added that he will be profoundly disappointed if the membership on the first of July does not run into 40,000 or 50,000; he thought 40,000 ought to be the minimum. Dr. Wise felt it would be a great mistake to limit the Z.O.A. to \$5,000 in connection with the Palestine Pavilion and to "wait till February".

The Chairman stated that all of the plans and hopes that he had for the Z.O.A. in regard to reorganization, extension, etc. have been in vain because of lack of funds. In view of the program for which the Zionists of America are waiting and which the Z.O.A. cannot and is not giving them, the Chairman said he also felt a moral obligation from the other side. If, under those circumstances, the Executive still thinks it can assume a \$10,000 obligation towards the Palestine Pavilion, he was completely neutral in the matter. He had watched the growth and the work of the Palestine Pavilion with the deepest satisfaction and he wished that the Organization could vote it tens of thousands of dollars. However, the Z.O.A. needs either a larger Education Department or a special Youth Department; an extra \$10,000 in those two departments or in one of those departments would be most helpful. However, instead of adding, the Crganization is subtracting. Under the circumstances, the Chairman felt that to vote \$5,000 to the Palestine Pavilion at this time and to see what can be done in January or February, is about as much as the Executive can do and remain, at the same time, true to its charge.

The Chairman then called for a vote on Judge Ellenbogen's substitute motion. The metion was carried.

PALESTINE PROJECTS:

The Chairman reported that, from time to time, Palestine organizations particularly those interested in projects of a General Zionist nature, appeal to the Z.O.A. For funds. They either want a direct financial grant from the Z.O.A. treasury so that they will have no campaign; or they want to conduct

a campaign which the Z.O.A. should endorse.

. ..

Dr. Goldstein felt that the Executive is fully authorized to inform the various Palestine projects that instructions from the Agency Executive and from the Zionist Congress are opposed to such action.

A brief discussion followed, in which Rabbi Heller, Rabbi Brickmer, Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Margulies, Dr. Epstein, Mr. Seigel, ... Mr. Beremstein and Mr. Rooker participated.

In view of the present situation and the large number of national institutions as well as private Palestinian enterprises appealing on behalf of all the Zionist parties and organizations, Mr. Lipsky moved:

THAT the matter of endorsing campaigns in this country for the various Palestine projects be referred to the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, to take such action as may be necessary.

The motion was seconded and carried.

JUSTICE BRANDEIS! 83RD BIRTHDAY:

Dr. Wise moved:

THAT by a rising vote the Executive express its deep joy and gratitude on the oscasion of the approaching 83rd birthday of Mr. Justice Louis D. Brandeis; that a Committee consisting of the Chairman and one or two members of the Executive be named to send a message or personally to present greetings to Justice Brandeis.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried by a rising vote.

Z.O.A. COURT OF HONOR:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. proceed to organize a Court of Honor,

THAT the matter of the article published by a membersof the Executive

Seconded and unanimously carried.

GREATER NEW YORK MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN:

The Executive gave its earnest attention to the membership situation in Greater New York and the necessity of undertaking a concerted effort in order to enlarge the membership in the Metropolitan area. Mr. Lipsky expressed his firm conviction that only if the entire weight of the opinion of the Mational Executive is thrown behind a membership campaign in Greater New York can substantial results be expected. He moved:

THAT the Executive of the Z.O.A. authorize the formation of a Membership Campaign Committee for Greater New York, the Campaign to be conducted under its own auspices, for the purpose of enlisting a large membership effort in Greater New York.

The Chairman observed that the Z.O.A. budget for this year provides for a campaign throughout the country, and expressed the thought that if the Executive launches the membership effort in Greater New York and finances it, other

Speaking on Mr. Lipsky's motion, Mr. Margulies pointed out that it is very valid and does not involve any money; by the Executive's adoption of such a motion, the Greater New York membership campaign assumes a national scope. Mr. Margulies further called attention to the fact that New York has about 10,000 members or one-fifth of the entire ZOA membership and is therefore entitled to an allocation out of the \$9,000 voted for field work, adding that if the \$9,000 is to be spent effectively it will have to be segmented. He thought, however, that if a campaign is undertaken for the Greater City, funds can be raised outside of the budget for this purpose. The success of the campaign depends on the proper set-up, and that can be assured only if the national organization provides the money.

Mr. Konowitz offered an amendment: THAT a Committee be appointed to work out a detailed plan of campaign for Greater Now York.

Mr. Ress thought the motion ought simply be: THAT the Committee on Membership of the Executive is requested to initiate and cause to be carried on under its direct supervision a campaign for membership in Greater New York.

Mr. Lipsky's motion was woted upon and unanimously carried.

WESTERN NEW YORK STATE REGION:

Mr. Ress reported that a group of Districts in Western New York State, namely Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Niagara Falls, have asked the Executive for a charter constituting them a Zionist Region. He recommended that this be done. Mr. Ress stated that at present no specific rules and regulations are in force governing the conduct of Regions. There were recommendations referred by a Committee of the Convention and than by the Convention itself to a conference which is still to be summoned. This group of Districts has over 1,500 members, and it therefore comes within the spirit of one of the recommendations that were referred to the Convention.

The Chairman suggested to Mr. Ross that if the Executive votes to establish the proposed Region, those who made the application should be informed that the action of the Executive is tentative, because of the fact that the Executive is now considering the matter of reorganization of Regions.

It was then duly moved and carried:

THAT the Executive approves the recommendation of the Committee on Regions and Districts, that it grant the Districts of Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and Niagara Falls, the right to constitute the Western New York Zionist Region.

Meeting adjourned at 7:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS MARGULIES Secretary

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affairs, Zionists whose burning zeal and unswerving determination have hitherto enabled them to forge ahead and to advance the interests of a Jewish Palestine despite all obstacles and reverses. We want new blood by all means, but we will not get it by making bad blood to start with.

Surely no person of sincerity and good judgment, who was heretofore inactive in Zionist work, no matter how eminert in his particular field, and who in a time of emergency desires to serve the Mcvement, will insist that he and not a recognized and experienced leader of American Zionism should be the President of the Zionist Organization of America. Should the test of Zionist leadership, at this time, be success in business and the possession of wealth? Then, surely, many Zionists will be able to name persons having these qualifications, who in addition have served Zionism not merely by the formal payment of membership dues or by contributing to the United Jewish Appeal, but by actively participating in essential Zionist work.

Distinction in the field of philanthropy as in other fields is surely deserving of respect, but such standing in a community has never been regarded as a proper substitute for experience, knowledge and understanding, the gift of expressing the minds of our people and of inspiring men and women to action. Yet, at this particular time, the same group which encouraged the campaign to spread confusion and disunity in American Zionism, are calling upon the Zionists of the country to elect for the President of the Zionist Organization of America, may to draft, an estimable merchant whose name is entirely unknown to our membership. It must be noted with regret that several well-meaning persons of prominence have joined in this campaign. It is hard to believe that they have given adequate study to the questions involved.

It is significant and far from flattering, either to the sponsors or their candidate, that a biographical sketch has to be sent to each District. We have not the least intention to disparage this gentleman. We feel certain that he can render valuable service in the field wherein his training and experience can best be utilized. We know Dr. Weizmann, has, at a previous occasion, requested him to render service of a financial and a business character which he is fitted to render. We earnestly trust that though he has not yet been able to serve in this capacity, he will in the future fulfill his offer of cooperation. Zionists will not be wanting either in respect or in readiness to cooperate with him.

But these services are not related to the mesponsibilities and duties of the leadership of American Zionism represented by the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America.

In view of the foregoing considerations, we find it hard to believe that this candidacy is being projected with the full knowledge and consent of the candidate. We are still hoping that he will be withdrawn and that all of us, like true Zionists and devoted fellow-Jews, will unite and go forward under the Presidency of a Zionist who has earned his leadership by going through the welter of long trial, tribulation and struggle. This is no time to experiment. The true and tried leaders of American Zionism are well known to all the delegates who will attend the Convention, and they do not need to be described in bioraphical sketches. The delegates have but to demand and one of those leaders, who can best serve us in this fateful hour, will take his place at the helm.

Sincerely fours,
Chairman