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Zionist Organization of America, 1943.

המועצה הציונית-המאוחדת דקנדה

United Zionist Council of Canada

527 SHERBROOKE STREET WEST

MONTREAL

January 6th, 1943.

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Executive Secretary

RABBI JESSE SCHWARTZ

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

My dear Rabbi Silver:

The United Zionist Council of Canada, representing all Zionist groups, is honouring our beloved friend and veteran Zionist, Rev. J. K. Goldbloom, with a dinner on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. A most cordial invitation is extended to you to be present at this affair which will take place on Tuesday, January 26th, in the Assembly Hall of the Adath Israel Synagogue, 1540 Ducharme Avenue, Montreal.

I know that you will agree with us that Rev. Goldbloom well merits this tribute. To a record already notable for forty years of outstanding services to the Zionist cause in Great Britain, Rev. Goldbloom has added another chapter of eminent achievement in the past two years as executive director of the Jewish National Fund of Canada.

We hope we may have the pleasure of your presence at the dinner.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jesse Schwartz
Jesse Schwartz
Executive Secretary

JS:B

January 14, 1943.

Rabbi Jesse Schwartz,
Montreal, Canada.

My dear Jesse:

I deeply appreciate your thoughtfulness in inviting me to attend the dinner which the Zionists of Canada are tendering to the veteran Zionist leader, Rev. J. K. Goldbloom on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. I wish I were free to attend this celebration as I should like to extend my tribute to those and many others who extol their life service to the faithful service of Israel.

I know of Rev. Goldbloom's work both in Canada and in the British Isles. There have been few men who have been so devoted and tireless in the service of a great historic cause, as Rev. Goldbloom. Jewry is profoundly grateful to him and wishes him many more years of great and gallant service, as well as personal well being and happiness.

Please convey to Dr. Goldbloom my warmest greetings.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:bw

1942-43

As I re-read these telegrams I cannot but come to the conclusion that they fully explain themselves. Nothing communicable has happened in the meantime. We still do not know the exact date of the arrival of the Teheran children.* Meanwhile our preparations for them are proceeding. According to government regulations they will all, together with 395 grown-ups in the same transport, be detained at the Athlit Detention Camp for quarantine, disinfection, and similar matters. As soon as may be, probably after two or three days from their arrival, they will be transported to the temporary camps which are in readiness for them. The interval at Athlit is very welcome to us because it will enable us to arrange the children in age groups. At the temporary camps we shall conduct the various examinations required before we assign them to their permanent homes - health, both physical and psychological, educational status, religious family tradition, and attachment to relatives resident in Palestine. Our camps are situated:

1. On Mount Carmel, where we have at our disposal the Immigrants' Home of the Hitachdut Olei Germania, well appointed in every respect, with a restaurant attached. We have the benefit of the regular staff, including the manager of the Kosher kitchen and dining-room. Here we hope to house for a month or less 100 children of the lowest age stratum. No, not the lowest, for the Wizo Baby Home in Jerusalem volunteered to take care of the 30 to 40 children below the age of five. These we hope to be able to transfer from Athlit to Jerusalem immediately on their arrival.
2. Next to the Agricultural School at Magdiel the Jewish Agency has three houses, in each of which 30 children can be put up. These houses will have to be furnished by us with beds and linens, kitchen utensils will have to be supplemented, but the new arrivals will have their meals in the Institution.
3. At Kfar Near Dati several of the houses have been vacated and room has been made for 75 boys and girls. They will, of course, enjoy all the accommodations of the Children's Village.
4. The Bet Chalutzot in Jerusalem, opposite the Youth Aliyah office, which is just being completed, has accommodations for 85. Like the houses in Magdiel, we shall have to equip it with beds, linens, and kitchen and dining-room utensils.
5. The Bet Zeirot Mizrachi in Jerusalem is offering us a house for 50 girls between the ages of twelve and thirteen.
6. and 7. The Moazot HaPoalot is putting at our disposal Ayanot for 50 and the Farm Institute at the north end of Tel-Aviv.
8. Mrs. Bea Zvi's Farm School at Talpiot, Jerusalem, will have room for 50 more.

A number of other places, such as Mikveh Yisrael, are ready to receive groups in case the arrangements made hitherto do not suffice. We have made every effort to secure places equipped and furnished in order to save expenses. We shall, however, in most of the places have to add not only a staff of Madrichim but also of Household workers. Every effort will be made to expedite at Athlit the examination of the boys and girls over the age of fourteen and to send them direct from there to their permanent homes, because the examination necessary in their case can proceed with greater speed and with the promise of greater accuracy, especially from the point of view of traditional attachments and ties with their relatives. In connection therewith, however, there will arise the very difficult question of adoption. We have a number of applications from non-relatives, and it may be that action, be it negative or positive, in this respect will require time. Also, at Athlit we shall have a staff of our own for the purpose of supplementing the Government's domestic arrangements, of classifying the children according to age and otherwise, and of the set-up of records of various kinds.

What I am writing about the camps, please regard as preliminary information. I hope to be able to send you a full account when they are in progress.

3. Certificates: In your cable of January 7, received on January 15 (No. 5 on attached list), you say:

"Confirm Palcor release grant 6000 additional certificates."

On January 17 I replied (No. 9 on attached list):

"Additional certificates for children 4000 whole number 5500 countries except Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, France undetermined."

It may be well for me to put cable language regarding certificates into clearer form. The Government granted for the schedule period October 1, 1942, to December 31, 1942, a total schedule of 3000 certificates in all categories, out of which 1000 were ear-marked by Government for orphans in France. The Jewish Agency requested that a further 500 certificates out of the 1800 remaining (200 are held by the Government as a reserve) be assigned to children, and, so far as we have heard, Government has no objection to this. In addition, in December a special grant of 4500 certificates for children in Bulgaria was made, plus 500 for adults in Bulgaria. Since then, the Government has agreed that the 4500 last mentioned may be used also for children in Hungary and Rumania. Negotiations are proceeding to find methods whereby these certificates may be used also in other countries of Europe.

4. Balkan Groups: On January 12 we received your cable addressed to Dr. Magnes and myself, reading (No. 6 on attached list):

"What is holding up arrival 270 Balkan group.
Hadassah Organization."

We replied on January 14 (No. 7 on attached list):

"Yours on Balkan group arrived simultaneously with Chaim Barlas Istanbul announcement that first Hungarian detachment arrived Istanbul details unknown and fact not for publication."

On January 17 we cabled you (No. 9 on attached list):

"Hungarians 51 arriving 19th."

The arrival of this group we announced to you in our cable of January 21 (No. 10 on attached list) reading:

"Arrived 50 first detachment Hungarians among 270 and departure announced second group 72."

The children arrived at Ras-El-Nakura, but Mr. Beyth and myself met them at the Bet Olim of the Jewish Agency in Haifa, and there interviewed and transported them to their future homes. 21 of them were assigned to the Kfar Noar Dati, seven to Maabarot, a Shomer Hazair settlement in Emek Hefer, and the remainder distributed in twos and threes to various places to which they seem adapted. Several had to be sent to relatives because the latter together with the children made definite demands upon us for placement which we did not consider acceptable, partly because religious candidates wanted to enter places in which the ceremonial law is not observed. We shall have to take up the subject with the relatives and come to some agreement. Under yesterday's date I wrote you a letter which has not yet been mailed because I am impelled to add a postscript to it from which you will learn, although I am sure inadequately, some of the controversies which have arisen around the religious question. Those controversies have been raging for months with reference to the camps being prepared for the Teheran children.

I hasten to say that not for a moment did it occur to me not to provide for Kashrut, observance of the Sabbath, arrangements for prayers for those who wished to join in them, the recital of the grace before and after meals, etc., in the reception camps. The demands made, however, are far beyond the attitude, let us call it in the American jargon, "conservative." The telegrams that reached us from England, the hot discussions carried on in the office by delegations and others, the correspondence addressed to us, the meetings with our Religious Committee, the demands of the Chief Rabbinate and the Agudat Yisrael were for a religious ritual denoted "orthodox." I had succeeded in securing from the radical elements acceptance almost to be called gracious, and as it were a matter of course, of my program. I did not succeed in getting them to accept an attitude which would, for instance, have required all the Madrichim to keep their heads covered all day long. It is well for you to know of this because I am persuaded that there has also been, or there will surely be, vehement intervention from America.

Doubtless the fact that five months have elapsed since the first announcement of the coming of Polish Jewish children by way of Soviet Russia and Persia has given rise to a great deal of the excitement which I have attempted to describe to you. Meanwhile, all sorts of rumors have come as to the anti-religious demands made upon the children themselves, and the unwillingness to comply with the request for Kashrut on the part of the children, etc. My inquiries addressed to Teheran have elicited replies which in no way justify the complaint, but the replies may not be accurate or complete.

Perhaps you will get a more vivid impression of the atmosphere in which

I am living if I describe to you what met us on our entrance into the rooms of the Bet Olim in Haifa. On one side stood a representative of the Agudat Yisrael, on the other side a representative of the Mizrachi, within the room the Principal of the Household School of the Mizrachi Women awaited me, and while we were sitting there allocating the children to their places, there came a message over the telephone from the wife of the Chief Rabbi, who desired to know whether, if she left Jerusalem at that time, she could reach Haifa in time to be present at the examination of the children regarding their religious attachment. Meantime, I assure you, quite uninfluenced by all that had happened in the course of the last few months, the discussions, the recriminations, the demands, and also, as though oblivious of the religious representatives, I conducted the examinations of our candidates as I have always conducted them. I may add, not in order to demonstrate honesty and allegiance to truth, but simply to complete the picture, that after I finished the examination in pedagogic fashion, the representatives of the various religious groups expressed great satisfaction.

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

"If we will it, it is no dream."--HERZL

February 17, 1943

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

My dear Dr. Silver:

We have just learned that the community of Greater Miami will have the honor of having you as the principal speaker at their Federation function on or about March 7th.

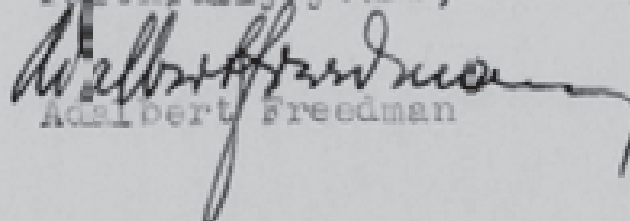
It is our understanding that you are to address the Federation at noon. This being the case, the Miami Beach Zionist District would feel it a privilege to present you at a mass meeting of that community on the evening of the same day.

Organized Zionism, in Miami, has always been lagging, with correspondingly poor results in all branches of Zionist activity. A few months ago the Beach District was organized and it is promising to become a fine nucleus for a belated awakening in the community. An address by you would have a great stimulating effect on this young and ambitious unit.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to see your way clear to do this for them. They will be glad to adjust their schedule to your convenience and in line with your itinerary and the duration of your stay.

Thanking you for your co-operation in this matter, I am with Zion's Greetings,

Faithfully yours,


Adalbert Freedman

AF:f

"LET'S SHOW THE WAY WITH MORTIMER MAY"
4000 Members in 1943

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE ZOA NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL HELD AT
THE HOTEL PENNSYLVANIA, NEW YORK CITY, FEBRUARY 21, 1943, AT 10:00 AM.

PRESENT: Rabbi James G. Heller, presiding; Messrs: Oscar Altschuler, Youngstown, Ohio; Herman W. Bernstein, New York City; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; Samuel Berson, New York City; Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, Kingston, N.Y.; Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom, Newburgh, N. Y.; Maurice M. Boukstein, New York City; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D.C.; Benjamin G. Browdy, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Frank Brown, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.; Samuel Caploe, Jamaica Plains, Mass.; Abraham H. Cohen, Forest Hills, L. I.; Harry Cchen, Wilmington, Del.; Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill, L. I.; Dr. Samuel Dinin, New York City; Benjamin J. Doft, Hewlett, L. I.; Dr. David Feldman, Atlantic City, N. J.; Jacob Fishman, New York City; Hyman Fliegel, Bklyn, N. Y.; Joseph L. Foster, Leominster, Mass.; Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis, Ind.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Reuben Goldman, Rochester, N. Y.; Abraham Goodman, Jersey City, N. J.; Israel Goodman, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseph Goodman, Troy, N. Y.; Louis Gordon, Harrisburg, Pa.; Harry Grayer, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Judge Emanuel Greenberg, Bklyn, N. Y.; Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi Wm. Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; Leo Guzik, Woodmere, L. I.; Joseph Halbert, Atlantic City, N. J.; Jacob Ish-Kishor, New York City; Samuel Judenfreund, Bronx, N. Y.; Samuel Kanarvogel, Bronx, N. Y.; Dr. Aharon Kessler, New York City; Mordecai Konowitz, Jamaica, L. I.; Hyman Lebowitz, Bayonne, N. J.; Harry Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Dr. Harry J. Levine, New York City; Louis Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Seymour R. Levine, Peekskill, N. Y.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jacob Lukashok, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Lester Lyons, Bklyn, N. Y.; Morris Mallove, New London, Conn.; Boris Margolin, New York City; Max Meltzer, Philadelphia, Pa.; Emanuel Neumann, New York City; Samuel J. Perry, Laurelton, L. I.; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. D. de Sola Pool, New York City; Morris Prince, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Joachim Prinz, Newark, N. J.; Herman Quittman, New York City; Benjamin Rabalsky, Boston, Mass.; Abraham A. Redelheim, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Sol Reiter, Newburgh, N. Y.; Louis Rinsky, New York City; Dr. Jacob N. Rose, Philadelphia, Pa.; Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, New York City; Harry Rosenthal, St. Paul, Minn.; Samuel Rothstein, New York City; Moses Robinson, Bronx, N. Y.; Jochanon I. Rudavsky, Bklyn, N. Y.; Leon Savage, New York City; Hon. Albert D. Schanzer, Bklyn, N. Y.; Joseph J. Schickler, Long Beach, N. Y.; Albert Schiff, Columbus, Ohio; Miss Lillian Schoolman, New York City; Judge Jacob Schwolsky, Hartford, Conn.; Hon. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio; Herman Shulman, Esq., New York City; Jacob Sincoff, New York City; I. D. Sinderbrand, Atlantic City, N. J.; Joseph W. Spector, Baltimore, Md.; Louis E. Spiegler, Washington, D. C.; Dewey D. Stone, Brockton, Mass.; Wm. H. Sylk, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. David Tannenbaum, Bklyn, N. Y.; Benjamin Ulin, Boston, Mass.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; A. I. Uslander, Elizabeth, N. J.; Herman L. Weisman, New York City; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York City; and Samuel Wolberg, Wilmette, Ill.

INVITED GUESTS: Rabbi Meier Berlin, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Mr. Moshe Shertok

MEMBERS OF STAFF: Simon Shetsler, Carl Alpert, Ernest Barbarasch, Dr. Simon Bernstein, Zvi Levavy and Saul Spiro.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE WERE RECEIVED FROM: Messrs. Rabbi Morris Adler, Detroit, Mich.; Ralph R. Bass, Boston, Mass.; Rabbi Morton Berman, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio; Walter Burke, Pittsburgh, Pa.; J. B. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; Morris Catchman, Houston, Texas; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, Charleston, W. Va.; Lawrence W. Crohn, Detroit, Mich.; Rabbi William Drazin, Savannah, Ga.; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.; Sam Gellerman, Rock Island, Ill.; Rabbi Israel Gerstein, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Rabbi Morton C. Goldberg, Toledo, Ohio; Rabbi E. R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.; Dr. I. M. Goldman, Providence, R. I.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, New York City; Rabbi Emanuel Green, Worcester, Mass.; Benjamin R. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; Alex Hammelman, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Larry Horowitz, Philadelphia, Pa.; Marvin A. Kane, Cleveland, Ohio; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Bklyn, N. Y.; Irving D. Lipkowitz, N. Y. C.; Louis Lipsky, New York City; Judge Julian W. Mack, New York City; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; David L. Mockler, New York City; Max Nigrosh, Mattapan, Mass.; J. Novy, Austin, Texas; Samuel Raucher, Norwich, Conn.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Oscar Robins, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Louis P. Rucker, New York City; Chas. J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. John Safer, Washington, D. C.; H. M. Seidelman, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Calif.; Morris Weinberg, New York City; Aaron Weiss, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Joe Wolens, Corsicana, Texas; Dr. Alex S. Wolf, St. Louis, Mo.; and Rabbi Harry Z. Zwelling, New Britain, Conn.

WRHS - - - - -

RABBI HELLER: Your Chairman had thought of beginning the meeting today with a few words about the situation that has obtained particularly since the last Convention held here in New York in October. This is the first meeting of the Administrative Council since that time. I think everyone who attended it. will agree it was one of the most successful gatherings that the Zionists in this country have ever had. A great many things have happened since that Convention in relation to Palestine. The situation has changed in many ways since October. The position of the country in the military sense has been improved immeasurably since then. The fear under which many of us were laboring at that time as to what might happen has largely been allayed. There are a great many other things which have arisen about which we have had to think furiously during these months.

The position of Zionism in the diplomatic sense, the extent to which it has secured affirmative opinions on the part of statesmen, particularly of Great Britain and of the United States, has been far from encouraging. In addition to that, the Zionist movement itself in the United States has had to confront a number of very important decisions. As we approach what I hope will be the end of the war, or at least as the nations, our Allies and ourselves consider what types of settlement shall follow the war, various actions become urgent and imperative and several types of preparation have been in progress during these months, looking toward these events.

In addition to these things of which I have spoken, we have had the misfortune of having the first organized anti-Zionist opposition in the history of the movement. That may sound like a somewhat extreme statement, but nonetheless if you will go back over the history of Zionism, you will see that it is quite literally true. We have had many opponents and enemies, many Jews willing to go even to those outside of our own ranks and to try to sabotage Zionism as a movement, but they have either been isolated individuals or small groups that have come together for some specific purpose, or organizations already in existence which took an anti-Zionist stand. For the first time in the history of the movement anywhere, but especially in this country, we have a group of men who have come together avowedly for the purpose of combatting Zionism as a movement.

I think that it is important that the Administrative Council should do several things at this meeting today. First of all they should be informed as fully as possible by those who have been acting on behalf of the movement, as to what has transpired during these five months, particularly in relation to two things which you have noticed on the agenda - the American Council for Judaism, and the American Jewish Assembly. I am sure that all of you know that the national Administrative Council in respect to most fundamental decisions acts in place of the Convention. The Convention is the final arbiter in the Zionist movement, as it should of course be, but it is impossible to wait for the summoning of the Convention and to call an extraordinary Convention in regard to all issues. And therefore this particular meeting of the Administrative Council will have to make some very important decisions.

It will have to decide, first of all, as to its intentions with regard to affiliation with the American Jewish Assembly, and what types of action shall be initiated in regard to the American Council for Judaism. Therefore this meeting of the Administrative Council, in the opinion of your Chairman, ought to be devoted largely to discussion and to action, to the attempt to formulate programs of action and to the taking of some important decisions.

We shall now proceed to the report of the Executive Director. May I inform Mr. Shetzer before he starts, that all of the encomiums that were heaped upon him at the last Convention ought to be added to very materially since that time, and I am sure that you will agree completely with that judgment when you hear his report.

MR. SHETZER: I had really intended to give a very lengthy and comprehensive report this morning, but in view of the extraordinary privileges that are ours by reason of the presence of Rabbi Berlin and Mr. Shertok, I am going to make my report rather brief. In a very real sense the presence of Rabbi Berlin and Mr. Shertok in our midst today will make our gathering partake of the nature of a little congress which is an unusual privilege, you will agree, for an Administrative Council meeting of the Zionist Organization of America.

I should like first to report upon the status of our membership efforts. Our total membership at this time is 27,611 which compares with 21,886 a year ago at the same time. This represents an increase of 5,725 members for less than a four-month period, and is indicative of splendid progress. On this basis we certainly should have no less than 65,000 members, and perhaps 75,000. The 5,725 increase in membership is approximately the number of new members, which means that our re-enrollments are practically one hundred percent of the membership which we had a year ago at this time. Now that is something unpre-

cedented in Zionist history. My examination of the records of previous years indicates that if we get a re-enrollment of 75% to 80% at any time during the course of the year, we have done very well. You will recall that last year on many occasions I alluded to the tremendous loss incurred by the Z.O.A. by reason of the membership turnover. I think some of the work we did last year is beginning to bear fruit in these figures.

In order to achieve this increase and this tremendous renewal rate, every one of the districts and regions has had to participate, and I am glad to report that every one of the regions as of this time shows some increase over last year. There are no laggards, no situation in which some regions are carrying the burden for other regions, although many districts have not yet begun to do their job. They haven't begun to enroll new members nor have they done anything about re-enrollment. Some districts which last year got a very early start, are only now beginning to organize their campaigns. I am hopeful, therefore, that before the next time we meet, we shall have reason to be proud again of the progress of our membership activities.

Now I said that something new has been happening. We have been talking for years about group membership - congregational membership. We have always said that we ought to have a greater representation of synagogue members in the enrolled Zionist ranks, that we have a first claim upon synagogue affiliated Jews for membership in the Zionist Organization. You remember that last year one of our field men, Mr. Sidney Marks, broke the ice by enrolling a congregation of 175 members in Pottsville. Subsequently the same plan was followed in Frackville and in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania. Prior to that, a number of years ago, the Laurelton, Long Island Jewish Center and Temple-on-the-Heights Synagogue in Cleveland had adopted this sort of formula.

Last month for the first time, we had an opportunity to break into a large metropolitan area when Congregation Kehillath Israel, Brookline, Mass., with a membership of some 500, of which Rabbi Louis M. Epstein is the spiritual leader, voted unanimously for the membership to affiliate with the Z.O.A., as members of our Brookline District. The following week Congregation Mishkan Tefillah, where Rabbi H. H. Rubenovitz occupies the pulpit and of which our good friend Elihu Stone is President, followed suit with approximately 700 members. A substantial number of the members of both congregations are already affiliated with one or another of our Zionist Districts, but in these 1,200 members we should pick up at least 500 or 700 new members for the Z.O.A. More recently, earlier this week, the East Midwood Jewish Center of Brooklyn, New York, with a membership of 1,000, where Samuel Rothstein, a member of our Administrative Council, is President, and Rabbi Halpern occupies the pulpit, voted similarly to affiliate its entire congregation. Not for publication at this moment is the work that is being done at the Ocean Parkway Jewish Center also in Brooklyn, whose board of directors unanimously approved similar group affiliation and is recommending such action for congregational membership to a Congregational meeting scheduled for Wednesday night of this week.

I think you will agree with me that this marks a splendid departure in our membership activity. In the words of one of the gentlemen from Boston, "we are now getting out of the piece work business in membership work and getting on a wholesale basis where we should have been a long time ago". We are being helped tremendously by the action which was taken by the Rabbinical Assembly of America. At a recent meeting of the Executive Council of the Rabbinical Assembly, of which Dr. Louis L. Levitsky of Newark is President, and

of which Rabbi Eugene Kohn is Chairman of its Palestine Committee, a resolution was adopted in connection with the formation of the American Council for Judaism, in which resolution the Rabbinical Assembly called upon its 355 rabbis, who represent the entire Conservative rabbinate of America, to do a number of things with reference to Zionism and Palestine. One of them was to set aside the weekend, Friday, March 5th, and Saturday, March 6th as Palestine Sabbath for which the Rabbinical Assembly has provided a special ritual. At these services, the congregations will be asked to approve formally the action taken by the Rabbinical Assembly. One of the other things they are called upon to do is to urge upon their members affiliation with the Zionist Organizations, either the Z.O.A. or the Mizrahi. Judge Levinthal has addressed a letter this week to all the Conservative rabbis, following up the letter of the Rabbinical Assembly, and on Monday a letter will go to all the Districts, a memorandum from me containing copies of Judge Levinthal's letter, communications of the Rabbinical Assembly and a collection of news and editorial comments from the Boston Jewish Advocate on the action taken by the two Boston congregations, asking our Districts to appoint committees to meet with the presidents and the rabbis of their conservative congregations to follow through and make a band-wagon process out of the synagogue group affiliation plan.

I have been referring only to conservative congregations because the Rabbinical Assembly has given us the lead, but there is nothing exclusive about this. There is no reason why reform congregations whose pulpits are occupied by Zionist rabbis should not pursue the same approach, and as soon as we get one group of congregations and rabbis moving in the right direction, we hope to start with the reform congregations too. There are here Messrs. Ulin and Markson representing the Brookline-Brighton-Newton District of Greater Boston, and I hope that in the discussion following my report, either or both of these gentlemen will take the opportunity to explain to us the mechanics of the group affiliation plan adopted by Congregation Kehillath Israel, which I think is the best pattern for metropolitan congregations. It differs to a considerable degree from the plan as adopted and pursued in small communities like Pottsville where the synagogue and the community are practically identical.

Now I should like to refer for a moment to some of the educational and publicity activities of our organization in the last several months. I think you will be glad to know that on the basis of estimates made by Mr. Barabash, the Director of that department, who has been with the Z.O.A. for some 18 years and has a long association with the organization, against which he can check current performances, we have had since the Convention, something like 1,300 newspaper columns of publicity based upon releases that have come out of our Publicity Department. We are certain the number is probably two or three times as great. We don't subscribe to a clipping service and don't get all of the items that appear in the press, but this, I am told, is the largest volume of publicity which the Z.O.A. has ever had in any comparable period, at least, in the last 13 years. We have increased, as you know, the volume of literature which has been coming out of our office for educational and propaganda purposes. Immediately after the Convention we reprinted and distributed Mr. Robert Szold's and Mr. Louis Lipsky's Convention addresses. The President's Convention address is going to appear shortly as "The Credo of an American Zionist." Mr. A. K. Epstein of Chicago has prepared a comprehensive pamphlet on the Yishuv's contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. We have just recently

printed this little pamphlet that you found on your seats this morning - "Facts You Should Know about Zionism". Our first printing of 50,000 was taken up in less than thirty days and we are now ordering another 50,000. We have been told by Zionists throughout the country that it is the best piece of Zionist educational and Propaganda material yet put out. You also found a little pamphlet, a personal message on Zionism by Dr. Weizmann, which stresses the primacy of the Z.O.A. in the whole Zionist structure in this country. We have had an extraordinarily fine reception of both the Brandeis volume and the Songs of Zion published under the aegis of the Z.O.A.

In this connection, I should like to report that I have just concluded arrangements with the Jewish Welfare Board by which we have, at our expense, placed in their hands 325 copies of the Brandeis book and of the Songs of Zion, which they are going to send to every one of the Jewish Chaplains and every one of the J.W.B.-U.S.O. Clubhouses throughout the country. We are also sending to the Jewish Welfare Board for redistribution to the same 325 places, copies of The New Palestine and of Inside Palestine, as each is printed. We consider this a worthwhile expenditure, although it is extra-budgetary, because it gives us an opportunity to reach thousands of Jewish young men in the armed forces, with many of whom we have never had contact in civilian life.

We have this year already issued several festival programs. We have been doing this kind of thing for many years. We have no idea to what extent the Districts use this specific program material. It involves a tremendous amount of time and expenditure on the part of the organization. It goes to the Chairmen, to the Secretaries, to the Chairman of the Program Committees in our various Districts. The Chairmen of the cultural and educational committees get it, and I think I have the right to charge you as members of the Administrative Council, all of whom are active leaders in your respective communities, districts and regions, to follow through to see that this educational material which comes into your districts is used. I tell you that I got sick and tired hearing district people say "we don't got material for programs", and I dare say that 99% of the members of any district do not know that their committee chairmen, their presidents, their secretaries have received this literature which is probably lying somewhere in a desk drawer. It is no use preparing this material if it is not going to be used. It contains tremendously valuable educational and propaganda material. We are sending out within the next week a little volume containing statements on the importance of Zionist manpower at this particular hour in Zionist history. It contains statements by Dr. Weizmann, Judge Levinthal, Rabbi Heller, Dr. Wise, and others of our leaders. Many of them have already appeared in the Anglo-Jewish press. Others will be released from time to time. It represents fine source material for membership committees and for public relations committees. It can be used for radio programs, for articles in the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press, in your own local communities. It can be used for district and regional bulletins. It can be used in membership letters that go out to prospects and old members for renewals.

Now we prepare this material. We can't go beyond the Postoffice with it and we are hoping you will use it. I hope, for one thing, it won't be said that we are sending out too much material, because I don't think we can send out too much material. We feel that it is our business in the national office

to keep feeding the districts constantly with new items for public relations, educational and propaganda purposes.

I think you will all agree with me that the New Palestine has shown a tremendously marked improvement. It is now being issued regularly every two weeks, whereas last year we had to confine ourselves to only one issue a month. The paper is now running 20 pages to an issue as against 16 pages last year, and if financial conditions continue to improve on the basis of present progress, we ought to be able to add another four pages. The New Palestine can be what you want it to be, providing it is utilized. We can't have an informed Zionist membership unless every member reads the New Palestine. All we can do is send it to you and expose you to it. Now I assume every member of the Administrative Council reads the New Palestine, but I think you have an obligation to stress at your District meetings the things I have been speaking about in the field of public relations and educational work, and one of the things you should stress is the value of our New Palestine. You will be helping the organization if instead of running it down constantly, you help to build it up by making a greater public for us. If our people will read it themselves and tell us what it lacks to make it more acceptable to them, which is what we want to do, it will be a help.

I should like to report now on our financial condition, and it is my privilege and it is a great pleasure to be able to come before the Administrative Council and to say that for the first time in the recorded history of the Z.O.A. - Mr. Levavy our Comptroller has said he checked the records back to 1921, - for the first time the Z.O.A. is out of the red. We have no deficit. We have a little surplus at this moment. And that, I think, is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that we are pursuing a more intensified and expanded program in all directions. Our expenditures are within the budgetary estimates provided by the Budget Committee at the beginning of the year. Included in the figures which made possible the elimination of a deficit which stood at \$85,000 on December 1st a year ago, are economies in operation. I mean, a better utilization of the moneys at our disposal, the increased income resulting from increased membership, and the splendid cooperation which we have had from many individuals, districts and regions who have raised or contributed funds to our Zionist Extension Fund. Since the Convention we have received \$11,000 in contributions to the Extension Fund, but I should like to tell you that most of the \$17,000 pledged to the Extension Fund at the breakfast honoring Judge Levinthal on Friday morning during the Convention, is still outstanding. I again charge you - you see, I can only speak to the members of the Administrative Council, not to let the word get around that we are so rich that we don't need the money, because it isn't true. We haven't any idea what the months ahead of us, as the war progresses, may mean to us in terms of membership or in terms of income, and the things that need to be done can only be done if we get this money. I should like all district representatives and all individuals who pledged funds at the Convention to see to it that we get this money as soon as possible. The quicker we get it the more literature we distribute. There are many classic items of Zionist literature which can be printed if we get the money. The program of expansion for the New Palestine of which Mr. Alpert is the editor, depends upon the availability of funds. There is very obviously need for the Z.O.A. to engage in an expanded program of public relations in the political field, in Washington, and in our districts. This is the kind of work that requires large sums of money. We've got to have at least \$150,000 to \$200,000 to begin to plan a program.

I should like to tell you further that the building which we have been occupying for two years in Washington is now ours. We have bought it and have title to it. The building and land has cost us \$29,000, and \$10,000 was borrowed for improvements - \$39,000. The purchase was made possible by a gift from Mr. E. I. Kaufmann, our former President, of \$5,000 to the Extension Fund, which we are immediately paying upon the purchase price and for the balance of \$25,000 we have assumed a ten-year mortgage at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, paying \$2,500 per annum upon the principal, \$625 each quarter. The first payment was made January 1st. We have paid the bank \$5,000 on the \$10,000 for improvements. We think we should be able to pay the bank the other \$5,000 the end of this month or within the next thirty days at the latest. We will then have the building paid down \$24,000.

There is one other item to which I will only make passing reference. As you know, we have been engaged in the past several weeks in a Zionist War Bond project under the Chairmanship of Judge Morris Rothenberg. Judge Rothenberg will report shortly in detail on the progress of that campaign. I would only like to say that I have been amazed by the response of our districts. It has electrified the Zionists of the country. It is doing something to activate districts which have been dormant for years, and I am hopeful that with the cooperation of the members of our Administrative Council throughout the country, we will capitalize upon this interest, this action, and this momentum, to have it carry over into our membership campaign, which we are planning as the major item on our program for the months of April and May.

I hope that the members of the Administrative Council and the officers of our districts and regions, will continue as they have been operating for the first months of the current year so that when we meet again in three months, or sooner, we shall not have reason to report that there has been any retrogression from what seems to be a tremendous surge forward of Zionist activity on all Zionist fronts.

RABBI HELLER: Now that the members of the Administrative Council have heard the details of Mr. Shetzer's report, they will agree wholeheartedly with my introductory words, and without going into details I should like to reiterate or rather add a word. If you listened very carefully to Mr. Shetzer's report, you will see that while pursuing a policy of careful retrenchment, so as to pay back the deficit which the organization had on its books for a long time and which increased rather drastically during the last few years, the office has been able to increase the activity of the organization and to increase the membership of the organization. To do both those things simultaneously is certainly a sign of efficient and splendid work. It is the opinion of the Chairman, and I hope that the Administrative Council will consider this in its discussion, that now that we have arrived at this point, the time has come for the formulation of a somewhat different policy, and I feel certain that Mr. Shetzer himself is in agreement with this - that we ought now to embark on a program of the expansion of certain activities, the New Palestine, educational material, the conduct of meetings, public relations work, and the multitude of things which are essential to do to bind our members more closely to us, to intensify the pace of our activity and to make a much greater impression in this country in regard to the Zionist ideal. The Chair will assume that a motion has been made to accept the report of the Secretary with thanks, and it is now before you for discussion.

RABBI EUGENE KOEN: To supplement the statement in regard to the activities of the Rabbinical Assembly very briefly: The plans for utilizing the synagogues in a campaign for Zionism have been somewhat delayed in operation. We will have to postpone the date as intended, because we wanted to draw in the cooperation of the United Synagogue of America, the congregational body, and I am very happy

to report that we have been successful in that effort. Certain difficulties have been ironed out and we are going to proceed now with this campaign, not merely as a campaign of rabbis but as a campaign of congregations. I think that this should be on the record. There is also one other slight correction I should like to make.

We did not specify the Z.O.A. and the Mizrahi because we did not want to snub the Poale Zion. We want our members to join a Zionist organization.

RABBI HELLER: I think that the Administrative Council and the Zionist Organization ought to express their gratitude to the Rabbinical Assembly and to the United Synagogue for their splendid evidence of cooperation. I wish the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations would do the same thing. The floor is open for further discussion.

MR. HALBERT, Atlantic City: I want to ask Mr. Shetzer a question. Is this enrollment at the regular \$5.00 fee?

MR. SHETZER: Yes, indeed. That is one of the great advantages - that we didn't have to lower this rate. I would like to call upon Mr. Ben Ulin, President of the Brookline-Brighton-Newton District, to tell us how they did it in Boston.

MR. ULIN: We had a meeting of our District board some weeks ago, and at that meeting some of the boys felt rather upset at the opposition to Zionism, and felt we should go into it wholesale rather than retail. We felt the first congregation we wanted to tackle was one sympathetic to the cause. We chose the Congregation Kehillath Israel - part of our own district. We had, prior to this little drive, about half of them already part of our membership. The first job was to meet with the board of trustees. They were good enough to invite my associate, Mr. Markson, and myself to their trustees' meeting.

At that meeting we suggested, as strongly as we could, the urgent necessity of enrolling the entire congregation. And not by passing a resolution, but by actually billing its own congregational membership and collecting the dues for the Zionist Organization through the congregation. We weren't interested in resolutions or votes. We were interested that there be a contractual job on the part of that congregation, the job that involved the congregation recording itself in favor of the project and actually going after its own membership and collecting the dues for us. Now by "us" I mean not only the Z.O.A. group, in our district, but also the Mizrahi, because they were the only ones other than ourselves involved in that congregation. They had a district of their own in Brookline and they had one or two members on the board of trustees, and it was necessary, as a practical matter, to give the congregation every option it chose to have. We finally succeeded in convincing the trustees to pass that vote, and to record itself not only in favor of the project, but in billing its own congregation and collecting the dues.

We have an understanding with them on delinquencies. We have no right to expect them to push Zionist dues harder than their own membership dues, and if they have 90% collection of their own dues, then presumably we can only expect 90% collection of our Zionist dues. Now that is the way things were carried out. They have passed that vote, billed their members. They have had to bill them separately because their own membership bills were mailed a month prior to that, but in all future statements of uncollected membership dues, they will carry the Zionist dues as well.

From that point on, the procedure was this: the action of this board of trustees was ratified at an annual membership meeting which followed shortly, so the whole thing was legalized. Secondly, they followed that up with a letter to the members, advising them of the vote of the trustees and confirming the vote of the membership, told them the bills would follow shortly, and gave them the reasons why the trustees had passed this vote. Within a period of two weeks subsequent to that time, the bills were sent by the congregation to its membership and those dues are now in the process of collection. We have every reason to believe that they will collect at least the same ratio for the Zionist dues as they do for their own.

The only other comment on it is this: that all through this thing we felt we had to have a friendly relationship with the congregation. We didn't want to do them any harm. We didn't want to have them pass a vote for which they would be sorry. There have only been two members that have written in or have spoken to the board as being opposed to joining one of the constituent Zionist groups. On that basis we feel that there will be no further objections. If so, there will be a Zionist committee in the Temple that will work on those individuals who feel they don't want to come in. From that point we are expecting to go on to other organizations.

One other commentary: these things work out rather peculiarly sometimes. We are thinking in terms of getting Zionist members, but as a matter of fact, I can tell you in the case of Kehillath Israel, they have already gotten several new members from our own group at the schul. That doesn't occur to very many of the trustees. They feel it is a one-way street. But the fact remains that the schul has a chance to get some membership too.

RABBI HELLER: I hope a great many others will go and do likewise. Are there any further comments or discussions or suggestions?

MR. SCHANZER, Brooklyn: I want to say that over in East Midwood we used this method. We had Samuel Rothstein, the president of the congregation, make a statement about it and we had the rabbi make another plea. I then forgot that I was president of the Brooklyn region, and as a member of East Midwood I made the motion that we follow and join along on this plan. In addition to East Midwood, we are very hopeful within the next week or two of getting the leading congregation of Manhattan Beach, the Ocean Parkway Jewish Center, which Mr. Shetzer reported about, and East Flatbush Jewish Center is on the road to it. And we are laying very strong lines in the Brooklyn Jewish Center.

MR. GOODMAN, St. Louis: The modus operandi we initiated in St. Louis is this: last week we had a meeting of all of the conservative and orthodox rabbis of the city. They have a Council of Rabbis, and they have passed a resolution concerning the Protest rabbis. We are going to meet next weekend. Thursday evening following, there is going to be a meeting of the Vaad Ha'ir. That is a body constituted of delegates of all the conservative and orthodox synagogues. They are going to confirm the resolution passed at the urging of the rabbis and then our procedure will be for each synagogue to have their own committee and to go after the membership and follow them up.

MR. HALBERT: Zionist membership is just one percent of the Jewish population of this country. It seems to me that something should be done to raise this figure up to almost ten percent, which we have done in our district. If it is a question of enrollment, we might consider reducing the membership dues. I

think the time has come, if necessary, to subsidize the expenditures some other way, but to really enroll the 500,000 Zionists we are looking for. It has been recommended here before to take action for enrollment that would bring in hundreds of thousands - I mean it literally. I am skeptical as to the final results you will have under this procedure when the next enrollment is taken.

RABBI HELLER: I understand that is a suggestion which you make because, as you and the members of the Administrative know, the one subject on which we always have very heated and lengthy discussion is dues. Whether we talk about Palestine or not, or about Zionist policies or not, we can always get up a good discussion on dues. That was discussed at the last Convention. I don't think it is within the power of the Administrative Council to change that, but we are happy to have the suggestion. That is within the power of the Convention.

MR. HALBERT: If American Zionism has assumed the great responsibility and importance that it has today, I think we should go out for an enrollment of 500,000, but we cannot get it with the methods used today. I would recommend that the dues be reduced to a \$2.00 basis and also the suggestion I made some time ago, that any other member of that family enroll for an additional dollar. It is just as dignified to be a Zionist for \$2.00 as for \$5.00. I say that this is supposedly the supreme body of the Zionist Organization. We have muddled along from year to year and stand in no better position today than we did five years ago. You increase it by 2,000, but you have the possibilities for hundreds of thousands more. I would like to make a suggestion that the dues be reduced to \$2.00 for the purpose of enrolling a tremendous number of Zionists.

RABBI HELLER: May the Chair suggest that since this Administrative Council has not the right to change the constitution, that the suggestion of Mr. Halbert be deferred until the meeting of the Administrative Council before the next Convention: it be considered then to perhaps recommend it to the next Convention for its consideration.

MR. SAMUEL BERSON: I feel that this movement enrolling synagogues is the one great step you have taken in many many years, and once it starts, it will go on with greater acceleration, but I believe the rabbis do not help us to the greatest extent that we have a right to expect from them. I think it would be effective if the President of the Z.O.A. and the three heads of the rabbinical associations should send a letter to all the rabbis of America, asking them to take the initiative in this particular piece of work. The laymen will help them. I think it will be far more effective then, because when a lay committee comes to a board and the rabbis are ignored, the rabbis will passively help us, but you've got to have their active support. Perhaps with the initial work on their part, we can go much faster than before.

RABBI HELLER: I think Mr. Berson ought to be reminded that the Rabbinical Assembly took this action originally. It was an action of rabbis and then they proceeded to the United Synagogue and their individual congregations.

MR. SIETZER: There is one item I left out of my report which I should like to add. I should have told you that we were also able, during this process of reducing the deficit, to eliminate our major obligation. We owed something like \$40,000 to the World Zionist Organization on the shekel account, which we all paid in full, and we were enabled to pay it all at one time by reason of \$15,000 which was loaned to the Z.O.A. by a number of our very good friends on

the Finance Committee. That \$15,000 has also already been repaid. In addition to the \$40,000, we have paid the shekel account up to January 1st, of the current year.

One further matter. A number of the members of our Administrative Council are not with us today. They are in the armed services of our country. It has been suggested, and I am prepared to offer this recommendation, that we elect them as members of the Administrative Council on leave for the duration. That is for the following men, and such others of our A. C. members who may hereafter join the armed services. I don't have the ranks of all of them, but the rabbis are chaplains: Rabbi Abraham Dubin of Flushing, L. I.; Alfred Fleishman of St. Louis, Mo.; Harry H. Frankel of Cincinnati, Ohio; Rabbi Joshua L. Goldberg of Astoria, L. I.; Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow of Woodmere, L.I. Dr. Harry Wechsler of New York City and Lewis Weinstein of Boston. These men are now in the armed services, and I hope, Mr. President, that they be continued as members on leave for the duration. This may not be a complete list.

RABBI HELLER: It is moved and seconded that all members of the Administrative Council who are serving in the armed forces of the United States shall be regarded as on leave, but are still continued as members of the Administrative Council for the duration of their service, and thus entitled to receive minutes of meetings.

RABBI GREENFIELD: Is it permissible for us to do any such thing? Can we pass any such motion, or isn't it rather up to us to recommend it to the next Convention? Is it possible for the Administrative Council to elect people to the Council for the duration?

RABBI HELLER: It strikes the Chairman that Dr. Greenfield's point is well taken. So until the next Convention we may continue these people as members, and with the consent of Mr. Shetzer we will recommend that therefore it shall be recommended to the next Convention and it shall take that action.

MR. SINEBRAND, Atlantic City: I'd like to ask Mr. Shetzer a question in connection with the \$40,000 he spoke of. Is that in addition to the \$85,000 deficit?

MR. SHETZER: Part of it.

RABBI HELLER: Those in favor of the motion with the amendment to it --

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED

Rabbi Heller then introduced Moshe Shertok, Political Chief of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem.

Mr. Shertok spoke in part as follows:

Shanbok

"During the past several years the Yishuv has been subjected to a series of strains and stresses which were not easy to endure, and which tested to the utmost all the strength and courage and endurance of our people. Happily the storms blew over, and the danger, which at times seemed very real and close, was averted. However, great as was the tension during these periods, it never reached the stage of panic. There was a grave determination to sell our lives as dearly as we could, to prevent the occupation of the country, but that if fate so decreed, we should fall as fighting men, and not be slaughtered like helpless sheep.

The extent of an effective defense, of course, did not depend on us alone, and it was a source of acute distress and very great anxiety and indignation that we have not been permitted fuller participation, although certain improvements have since been made.

At the beginning of the war we thought that we would be able to leave certain political differences in abeyance and concentrate, in full collaboration with the authorities, military and civil, on the main task before us, that of winning the war. But this was not to be, and we found ourselves engaged, at every step, in a long series of bitter political struggles. I cannot here report fully on the entire trend, but some highlights should be of interest.

Our difficulties and heartaches were many: the severe restrictions on immigration, the Patria disaster, the forcible removal of some 1,700 people from Palestine to Mauritius with a view to their never returning to Palestine after the war, the Struma disaster, the arrests of members of the Haganah, and last, but not least, the reports about the massacres in Europe, which plunged the Yishuv into a state of helpless rage at not being able to strike an effective blow to avenge the fate of those brothers and sisters and fathers and children of ours, and not being able to open the gates of Palestine to receive such fugitives as may be able to escape.

On the other hand, the feeling prevails in the Yishuv that we have succeeded in asserting our position fully in the present war emergency as a strong community, as a nationally conscious community, as a community with great economic and military capacity.

It might be appropriate at this time to review some of the progress which we have made in this direction. Today in Palestine, Jewish industry and the industry of Palestine are practically synonymous. We recently held an exhibition of Palestine's war industries in Egypt. Hebrew was proscribed in that exhibition, and the governmental logic was as follows: of the three official languages of Palestine, English was selected as the language of the exhibition, on the basis of complete impartiality excluding both Hebrew and Arabic. But as the exhibition took place on the soil of Egypt, and as Arabic is the official language of Egypt, naturally the state language for Egypt had to be used in connection with the exhibition. As a result there were two languages used -- English and Arabic -- and Hebrew was excluded. Nonetheless, every visitor, from His Majesty, King Farouk, down to the last Egyptian caretaker, knew that what they were seeing was a Jewish exhibition. It came out through the names of the exhibitors. It came out through the Hebrew advertisements. It came out through the names of the products. It was something entirely new, something entirely unprecedented in that part of the world. And everybody knew that the exhibition was the result of Jewish immigration into Palestine.

The part Palestine today plays in the war effort is something of which every administrator, every visiting statesman, every military commander and every local Arab minister must take full note. The carrying through of this war effort was fraught with its own political difficulties. There has never been a time when collaboration between the Jewish Agency, Jewish authorities in general and the Palestine government was more vitally necessary than it is today, but there has never been a time when this collaboration was more difficult, because that minimum basis of mutual trust which existed between us and the Palestine administration, on the basis of the Mandate, was destroyed by the White Paper of May, 1939. And when we found ourselves driven by imperative necessity to collaboration with the Palestine administration, just as the Palestine administration found itself constrained to collaborate with us in the war effort, the absence of that mutual basis, a minimum measure of mutual trust, was deadly to the success of our joint war effort.

One or two examples should indicate what I mean. At the beginning of the war, before Palestine became directly affected, we approached the Palestine government and suggested a series of measures to put the country on a war footing in terms of supplies, industrial organization, and organization of manpower. All our proposals were turned down on the grounds that we had put them forward with some ulterior motive in mind; that what we were after was not really to help win the war but just to make a good showing and consolidate our position in Palestine.

When we said, "lay in stocks of raw materials and do it quickly while the getting is good", we were accused of trying to bolster up Jewish industries. As a result, raw materials have since had to be brought over under terribly dangerous conditions, at a cost of thousands of lives and a great volume of tonnage, and with prices two or three times as high as at the beginning of the war.

We said at the beginning of the war, "bring Jews into Palestine -- as many as you can today; we do not raise the question of the White Paper, for even under that document tens of thousands of certificates are due us. There are still countries from which you can save Jews." The Balkan countries were not yet involved. One could travel over land. One could travel over the sea. Civilians could travel by air to Palestine. We said, "Here are the Jews of Bulgaria, the Jews of Roumania. There is excellent human material among them. They are young people who would make fine soldiers, technicians, skilled artisans to stand you in good stead on the day of emergency." Again this was turned down on the plea that that it had nothing whatever to do with the war, and that we were anxious only to get in Jewish immigrants. Of course we were anxious to bring in Jewish immigrants, but we thought that the interest in Jewish development, the interest of the Jewish National Home fully coincided with the vital war interests of the democratic front. But the vital interests of the democratic front were sacrificed for the sake of the anti-Zionist policy of the British Government and at times it seemed, and still seems, that the Public Enemy Number One against which the Palestine administration is waging its war is not Hitler, but Zionism.

Times changed. Palestine became directly involved, and what was not done in good time had to be done hastily, under the stress of emergency. Even in this there was extreme reluctance to resort to Jewish help. The Palestine administration seems to feel that by every piece of cooperation with us they sign a bill which somebody will present to them for payment at the end of the war.

Who constitutes this administration? They are people who have been commissioned to carry through a policy. They have been given an imperative mandate to act in a certain manner and no other. Naturally, when you set somebody on a course he is liable to gain momentum in the course of his action and to go a little beyond the limits which were originally set. Nor should we forget that there is a complete identification of the agents with the policy. To them it becomes a point of honor, a matter of something to carry through and to show that this is the right policy, not to admit failure. If they report that the policy is unworkable, it means to them a personal failure as officials. Naturally they desire to make good, and make the White Paper policy a success.

The Jewish Agency is the body which is pledged to defeat that policy which to them is the very essence of their existence in Palestine today. If the question comes up of organizing the economic and manpower resources of the Yishuv, the Palestine government must think of how to do it without resorting to the help of the Jewish Agency. Because if they do resort to the assistance of the Jewish Agency, it will be acknowledgment of its existence as a major political factor. Moreover, they will, despite themselves give new strength to it.

But even the Palestine government has to give in under the pressure of dire military needs. Take the question of recruiting into the Army. We have so far given the army as volunteer recruits 21,000 men and women. In addition, we have recruited a force of over 7,000 guards who are soldiers to all intents and purposes. That makes 28,500. In addition there are about 1,500 or 2,000 Palestinian Jews who, for one reason or another -- it is not something which we liked but it is a fact which one has to face -- have joined the Allied armies, the Polish army, Greek, Czech, French, American, etc. That makes a total of over 30,000 people, in itself not a small figure for Palestine. Moreover we are recruited for combatant service only and not for office work, headquarters work, and all sorts of services which require people in sedentary occupations. There is a reason for it. But the result is that a large number of people who would be eligible for service in England or in America or any other country are rejected as unfit in Palestine.

Then, we get two-thirds of the British pay. We don't worry much about the pay the soldiers get because if a young man gets his clothes and his food and shelter, and in addition has a few coins to jingle in his pocket, he is content, even if he doesn't get as much as the British soldier. But think of the families back home. The prices in Palestine are more than twice as high as in the United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom the government is spending hundreds of millions of pounds to maintain low price levels. The Government of Palestine does nothing of the sort, so that the real income of a family of the Jewish soldier in Palestine is only one-third of the real income of a family of a British soldier.

In England there is a system of old-age pensions. No man or woman over the age of 65 is in danger of starvation or any real trouble. In addition, parents of soldiers get special allowances. In Palestine we have neither old-age pensions nor any allowances at all for any dependant, except wife and children. But almost every young man of ours has got some dependant, his father or mother or both parents or younger brother or sister whom he had brought over from Europe before the war. Faced with these handicaps, if we have so far put into the field 30,000 people, and we are still putting them in, for recruiting goes on, it is something of which we need not be ashamed.

These are material things. There are also psychological difficulties. Every race and nation is fighting under its own banner. See how the dispatches go out of their way to mention every instance in which the Poles, the Czechs, the Greeks are fighting, not to speak of such giants as the United Kingdom, Russia, America. Even within the British army, every opportunity is taken to single out for special reference the New Zealanders, the South Africans, the Australians. The Jew is nameless. The Jew is condemned to complete obliteration. There is no Jewish army. The word "Jew", is taboo.

We persisted in our claim for a Jewish fighting force, but the question for us was, and it was a difficult question to answer, shall we make it an absolute condition? That is to say, so long as there is no Jewish fighting force shall we withhold our support? We could not take that step. Perhaps in some committee room in America or in England or South Africa, a different answer was possible. But any other decision was impossible in Palestine. Consider our situation. From all parts of the world troops flocked to Palestine to fight in Egypt, to fight in Syria, to fight in Palestine if necessary. They came from all parts of the Empire, from England, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand. Then Poles, Czechs, Greeks, Americans started coming, and they saw this Yishuv. They were all in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. They saw the tens of thousands of young men and women walking the streets, sitting in the cafes, doing their job, of course, working on the land -- not all of them going by just idly. But none of them were in uniform, none of them risking their lives. You couldn't very well explain to every single British Tommy, to every Australian, what it was all about. They were all writing letters home all talking about it. Their reaction had an impact on the Yishuv.

We compromised and said that if we would get Jewish units, if the Jews will not be treated as human dust, to be scattered and dispersed, if the Jews will not be treated as Palestinians of the Jewish race, as people who just happened to be in Palestine, as Jews happen to be in America, or in England, but if they would be treated as Jews, as forming a separate national entity, then we would enlist. And this was granted.

It was a hard struggle, in which the political authorities tried their best to defeat us, but we managed to come to terms with the military authorities in the test of political opposition. And what has been achieved, although not as far-reaching as a Jewish army, is unprecedented; that is, the existence within the British army, in all its branches, of Palestine Jewish units, of nuclei of Jewish military authority.

We now have well over 50 units of men and women in the army. They are charged with Jewish national spirit, Jewish enthusiasm, the consciousness of Jewish national responsibility, and have already acquitted themselves admirably.

What has the other side done? As against 21,000 Jews, about 8,000 Arabs have been recruited. The proportion in the population is one Jew to two Arabs, but the proportion in recruiting is less than one Arab to two Jews. Moreover, the 8,000 Arabs came not only from Palestine. They came also from Transjordan and from Syria, and about half of the 8,000 Arabs came and went. Either they went of their own volition or they were told to go because they were found to be no good.

I take it you know about the economic war efforts, of the way industry has been harnessed, the way the cultural work has been extended, the way our scientific and technical institutions are harnessed. But all this was achieved in the teeth of constant opposition from the Palestine government. Eventually they discovered the possibilities of Jewish industry and agriculture. We were also discovered by other countries and by various factors operating in the wider framework. Let me give you a few examples.

A wide network of roads in Syria, necessary for military reasons, was built by Jewish contractors, Jewish engineers and Jewish foremen. The availability of the personnel, technical equipment, and financial organization made the task possible.

A bridge had to be thrown across the Euphrates, and the project was very nearly given up, because the military people thought that they would not be able to find among them engineers sufficiently qualified to erect such a complicated structure. It was only by accident that certain military men learned that in Haifa, at the Technical Institute, one of the professors was a man who had been Number One in bridge-building in Czechoslovakia. From a Jewish source 500 pounds was appropriated for a trial scheme, which was accepted. A Jewish contractor bid for and got the job and it was a Jewish firm that built that bridge over the Euphrates.

Take another example. When Rostov first fell into Nazi hands and the oil refineries were taken, the Russians had to fall back on somebody else for their supply. The refiners in Persia had to expand production quickly and required in a very short time hundreds of additional skilled artisans. They looked about and discovered Palestine. They came to us and said, "you must help us. It is frightfully urgent." They got the people, and today hundreds of Jews, mechanics, welders, electricians, carpenters are working in those refineries. You will find Jewish technicians and specialists in Egypt. You will find them in Syria and even in Abyssinia.

What does all this mean? It means that they need the Jew. We have gotten to the stage where we are needed in the war, not as financiers but as workers and technicians. It is not by chance that these people found themselves in Palestine. It is not by accident that here we suddenly found this accumulation of skill, talent, knowledge, capacity for organization and self-sacrifice.

There has been a conspiracy of silence about all these things because it is difficult to base reports on newspapers unless they get it from a responsible source. The representative on the spot can send only such items as are palatable to local censorship, and local censorship gets political instructions as to what should be let through and what should not be let through.

Before coming to this country I spent two months in London. I found there a most uneasy conscience with regard to Palestine and the White Paper policy. In certain official circles a process of heart-searching is going on, and there is a tendency toward revision of policy. All this is in a state of flux, far from being crystallized, but there is a growing appreciation on the one hand of the Jewish question as it looms today in all its tragic magnitude. People are beginning to understand that there is only one solution and that is Palestine. There

are many who still fumble, trying to find some other method, and they are constantly being thrown back upon Palestine. It is up to us to foster, to accelerate that process of heart-searching, and not to let consciences calm down.

If public opinion is sufficiently stirred it may yet move governments to action. We shall certainly fail in our historic responsibility if we do not do whatever is possible. It is not for us to fail. A mortal can do only his best -- but he should do his best. We have immediate tasks and we have long-range tasks. With confidence, faith and zeal we must buckle down, neglecting no opportunity and rising over all obstacles, and assure the permanent solution of the Jewish problem in Palestine.

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RABBI HELLER: On behalf of the Administrative Council, I should like to thank Mr. Shertok for his remarkably lucid, informative and deeply moving statement in regard to conditions in Palestine. I feel sure that all of the members of the Administrative Council felt as I did, in listening to Mr. Shertok we had an infinitely clearer picture of the present state of affairs told without fear or favor in regard to Palestine, and that is something that all of us have very ardently wished to have.

The Council recessed at this point and reconvened after lunch.

AFTERNOON SESSION

RABBI HELLER: The first order of business will be a report by Judge Rothenberg in regard to the Zionist War Effort Committee.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: I must say that of all the Zionist tasks I have had during the years, I never was assigned a sweeter task than the one given to me by Judge Levinthal when he appointed me the Chairman of the War Bond Sales Committee. I don't have to argue with anybody, and there is no opposition - everybody is in favor of War Bonds, and above all, we are doing pretty well. When we went into this thing, we really were blind about the whole thing. We didn't know how much we could raise, or what was considered good for our organization or what was considered bad - there were no standards.

Besides that, I think it ought to be known that we were given about the worst possible month in which to do this work because not only was it the shortest month, and in December the Government had put on an intensive campaign as you know where billions of dollars were raised, but now in the month of February people are getting money ready to pay the income tax, and in addition to all of which they didn't change the number of days in the month. We still have 28 days. There are any number of people who have rendered excellent service in the various cities, some of them here and some are not here.

This report represents only about 90 to 100 communities out of a total of 400 communities where we have been having the campaign, and we have to report at the moment, \$6,270,000.* I wouldn't know whether this was good or bad except that by certain tests I made - I asked a number of people at random what they would think was a good result for the Z.O.A. which has about 50,000 members, and I got figures anywhere between \$500,000 and the top was \$3,000,000. No one said that they expected more than \$3,000,000.

In addition to that, Mr. Shetzer tells me that the Treasury Department is exceedingly pleased with the progress of the campaign. They were in touch with almost every city. They have been flooding our cities with literature directly from the Treasury Department in addition to the work done by the national office. It looks as if we will have a very substantial amount by the end, and I think that is very important, not only as a patriotic duty to raise as much money as we can as a contribution to the war effort, but I think all of us must realize that in selling these bonds we also helped Palestine, which is part of the war front.

I have tried to impress upon our people in the national office, in the Jewish Centers, that bound up with the success or failure of the campaign is the honor and prestige of the Zionist movement. If we had made a poor showing we would be taken very lightly in Washington. If they see that we can raise millions of dollars among Zionists in the short space of thirty days, well, it adds up to something, and I think the political implications of such an action are not to be underestimated.

All I want to say in conclusion is this: the national office has really done an excellent job. I listened to Mr. Shetzer's report this morning, and I must say, in my years and years of experience in the Zionist movement, who served four times as President and knows all the details of the problems in the Zionist Organizations - the report this morning was most gratifying. The Administration, at the head of which are Judge Levinthal, Rabbi Heller, Mr. Shetzer and others, are to be congratulated for the work that the Z.O.A. has done. I know what a load, for instance, must have been lifted from their shoulders, and in that respect the Finance Committee deserves a great deal of recognition, especially its Chairman, Mr. Berson, by their taking off this load. I know how difficult it is to work under a deficit. When I came into office it was something like \$169,000 and finally, when I left office, it had been reduced to \$37,000, and I thought the world looked altogether different, but we have now wiped it out completely, so that the Zionist movement is free to engage in new work, and it is a splendid thing.

And you heard, too, about the increase in membership. The New Palestine certainly has improved. Despite all this work, Mr. Shetzer, Mr. Barbarash, in the office in Washington, and others there have done a fine piece

* In the weeks following this meeting the total amount of U.S. War Bond Sales by Z.O.A. members and Districts, reached a grand total of more than \$17,500,000.

of work in connection with the War Bond sales. They followed up every community, kept in touch with each one, with every district, and of course in New York City we had the same cooperation from Miss Jeannette Steinberg who works on Z.O.A. matters in the New York office, Dr. Bornstein who has been handling the Yiddish publicity - all have been giving very excellent cooperation, and that shows the results. Of course, the credit is essentially due to you and all your associates throughout the country who have gone into this thing with enthusiastic understanding of all of its implications.

RABBI HELLER: I am sure the organization is extremely grateful to Judge Rothenberg for undertaking this task, and happy that it has been so successful. We all express the hope that that success will continue and grow within the near future.

The next item on our agenda is the American Council for Judaism. I think it is exceedingly important that the Administrative Council should hear the facts concerning the American Council for Judaism and should discuss what kind of action it wishes to take. I want to tell you frankly that this is a rather embarrassing position for me to take in relation to the cause. I am acting more or less in a double capacity, and despite protestations which all of us make that we can distinguish between our various capacities in office, these are rather unreal divisions. I happen to be the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in this controversy. If you read the New Palestine this week, you will see the letter I sent out over a week ago to the members of that body, which relates rather fully to the sequence of events. I'd like it to be clearly understood that in explaining the situation to you, I am not speaking as the President of the Conference, because I have no right to act for them. The Conference itself, outside of a resolution that was enacted by its Executive Board in October of last year, has not yet met, and has not been able to take any corporate action in regard to the American Council for Judaism. I have no doubt that it will take action when it convenes this coming June.

In brief, this is the history of events that led up to the organization of the American Council for Judaism, and its present status. The primary cause for the organization of this group was, according to them, the enactment of a resolution by the Central Conference of American Rabbis at its convention last February in Cincinnati on the Jewish Army. The gentlemen who objected to this contended that in the capacity of this resolution, the Central Conference of American Rabbis had gone back on its own proclaimed neutrality and that it was in bad faith; that it had driven them into the necessity of taking separate action. I am not going to discuss the merits or demerits of those contentions, as I proceed. We can do that among ourselves later on.

At any rate, very shortly after that time, a group of men assembled and decided to convene a conference of like-minded rabbis in Atlantic City. The news of this went out quite rapidly. An attempt was made to prevent it, but an unsuccessful attempt. That meeting was held in Atlantic City early in the month of June, and it listened to a number of men, some of whose remarks were published, as you know, in the daily press, and some of which were exceedingly unfortunate in their content, at least in regard to the loyalty of American Zionists, and in the rather intemperate character of the attacks contained in them. That meeting also resolved to continue its attempt to expand

into a lay-rabbinical group and to seek agencies for the dissemination of its point of view. It discussed various matters such as the establishment of a periodical, the publication of pamphlets, the dispatch of lecturers, the organization of communities on a nationwide basis.

The first overt act that it took was the formulation of the statement of principles, which is itself an open secret in the form in which it was published, and was the third of a series of formulations, increasing in moderateness as compared with the original version. This statement of principles, which was published in various Jewish papers, and in brief in some of the press of the country, was purported to do three things: primarily, first of all, to state its reasons for opposition to Zionism or nationalism, which is the term used in Jewish life; secondly, to propound a religious point of view which purports to derive chiefly from the prophets, and to be an interpretation of reform Judaism as such; and thirdly, to suggest that there was a necessity for action against Zionism.

That statement of principles was replied to, as you know, rather promptly, by a statement that was drawn up by a group of Zionist rabbis, and circulated among all the rabbinical groups of the country. During the time that these things were happening, and since then, too, some of the members of this group of non-Zionist reform rabbis - also took upon themselves to make propaganda against Zionism in Washington. Several of them visited the State Department and have attempted to induce the State Department to turn a deaf ear to Zionist claims, and at the very least to sow dissension or doubt within the minds of some of the men who act for this Government.

And finally it was announced in the New York Times that this group was preparing to incorporate under the laws of the State of New York an organization to be known as the American Council for Judaism, which was an organization in favor of a religious interpretation of the character of the Jewish aims, in opposition to a Jewish flag, a Jewish army and a Jewish State. So as far as I know, the American Council for Judaism has not yet been chartered. It also is true that the effort to incorporate it was undertaken without the consent of the constituent members of the body itself, and by a comparatively small group.

I think the Administrative Council ought to remember the sharpening controversy on both sides, a great deal of bitterness, a lot of vituperation. I think you ought to know that many of the men who compose this group feel that they are being attacked without pity, without brotherhood, without mercy, that they are entitled to their own point of view and that epithets have been flung at them, and have accomplished no purpose other than to illustrate the lack of decency on the part of the Zionist groups and the Yiddish press. An attempt was made at the suggestion of one of the members of this group who are within the American Council for Judaism, to cause its dissolution. The history of that attempt is in the New Palestine. It was not done at my own personal initiative, but at the invitation of this group itself.

A meeting was held in Baltimore on January 5th of this year. It was attended by 14 rabbis representing the Zionists, anti-Zionists and so-called neutrals, and at the time it appeared that there was a genuine possibility of arriving at an agreement and at an understanding for the abandonment of the entire attempt to form an organized anti-Zionist rabbinical front in the United

States. Precisely for what reasons that did not succeed, I really don't know. Some of the gentlemen who have been affiliated with this group have withdrawn from it, some of the younger men and some of the older men. There is no particular secret about who they were, because of the letters they have written and published. Some of the laymen who had affiliated themselves with it and given money to it have also informed them they will not support it, but they are themselves convinced that they will find a considerable measure of support, despite these things among both rabbis and laymen, that there is a considerable number of people in the United States who are eager to join them and help them, and they still propose to embark upon various publications and various public activities.

I was informed by this group just a little more than two weeks ago that they had decided to reject the proposal made to them. I think I ought to tell the Administrative Council too that as part of these discussions, it was agreed that all controversy between the two groups should at least temporarily be put a halt to. That was agreed to by the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee and by this group. I am very happy to say that in my opinion the truce was observed by the Zionists without any exception. I regret to say it was not observed by the rabbis. On three occasions, members of this group violated the agreement which that group had entered. Some of you probably know the occasions yourselves. The American Israelite published a violent attack on Zionism by Rabbi Lazaron of Baltimore, shortly after this agreement had been entered into. It contained certain phrases which were so unbounded in their foolishness that it is very difficult to credit them. For example, you probably saw the phrase, "Zionism is at variance with the Atlantic Charter", and various things like that. I shan't go into the details of the other infractions of this agreement, but they are on record and we possess the evidence of the infractions themselves.

The situation at the moment, of which I think the Administrative Council is compelled to take cognizance, is that this group intends to go on and it intends by its own declaration to continue to the extent of its ability to fight against Zionism. Now these gentlemen make a careful distinction both in writing and in their public proclamations between Palestine and Zionism. They contend that they are in favor of immigration into Palestine, of the physical, cultural and religious rehabilitation of Eretz Israel; but that they are opposed to the political character of Zionism, to its nationalism, to what they call postwar nationalism, which they contend is one of the tenets of Zionism, and they intend to try to pursue this distinction and this type of propaganda throughout the country.

The Zionists themselves, I find, are divided in their opinion as to the right course of action to take. There are some Zionists who believe that this group will disintegrate. It may interest you to know that some of the men who have belonged to this group, who have left it are of the opinion that if we merely let it alone it will fall to pieces. There are some evidences of that already. There are other Zionists who believe that by fighting against them, with as much intensity as we have, we tend to dignify them and give them a great deal more public attention than they would otherwise secure. There are other Zionists who are of the opinion that this is a particularly difficult time, that there are people in Washington, particularly, who are only too eager to point to this type of diversion among ourselves, and will use it to completely wash their hands of the whole affair.

I think it is the duty of the Administrative Council to consider what types of action it wishes to propose before the next Convention of the Zionist Organization in relation to the American Council for Judaism. I have certain suggestions myself to make, which I'd like to make in the course of the discussion as it proceeds.

MR. UMANSKY: The only way we can combat this group and make them feel like nothing is to have a referendum. We must once and for all register the entire American Jewry, and I am ready, for myself, to do anything in my power and with my time, and I know all of the others would do that everywhere.

A referendum must be established. We must receive a vote. I don't care whether we have decided to have a free vote or with a ten-cent registration fee, or whatever you decide upon, but we must once and for all come to the American public and say, "here, there are five million Jews in the United States. We have here a million or two million or three million voting in favor of a national home for the Jewish people," and that is the only solution.

MR. BERSON: I can readily see where this can take up six hours of discussion. We all have definite opinions. I would seek, for the sake of economy of time, that you and Judge Levinthal, who know the problems of Zionist sentiment, present your opinions as you gather them from the sentiments of our Zionist forces throughout the land. Then we can know. You represent our sentiments, and we can economize on time and avoid a long discussion, but if you listen to two dozen speakers, they will only repeat what you were probably going to say, and I think it would help us if you two gentlemen would present the case to us now.

MR. HELLER: I don't like to take issue with Mr. Berson, but I believe that it is important that the Administrative Council which has not yet had any chance whatsoever to come together and discuss this, even though we haven't much time - this is one of the two most important subjects with which we have to deal this afternoon, and I believe that this is a democratic gathering which should represent not merely the opinion of the President of the Z.O.Z. and of myself, but of the members who are present here. I am eager to learn what is the opinion of the men and women gathered here, as to what this means and as to what we should do about it.

MR. GOODMAN, St. Louis: Mr. Chairman, I know that you have sent out a questionnaire throughout the country to all of the districts, and asked them certain definite questions. I think it would be setting us on the right path in a hurry if we could get a report on the results of these questionnaires.

RABBI BRESLAW: Do you wish to turn now to the consideration of that report? For some time now, ever since the beginning of the war, there has been discussion among Zionists throughout the country with regard to the necessity or the desirability of having a mass registration expressing American Jewish opinion with regard to Palestine. Particularly since December 7th these discussions have come to the fore. They were discussed and no definitive action was taken. Recently, upon the organization of the American Council for Judaism, the office has received many inquiries with regard to it, and Mr. Shetzer on his own initiative, and the initiative of the administration, sent a questionnaire to all districts and to members of this body, inquiring as to what your reaction would be with regard to such a questionnaire. Such a registration

should take what form? How widespread should it be? Who should join? Should it be simply an activity of the Z.O.A. or should we try to make it an activity of all Zionist bodies?

Mr. Shetzer has prepared, and the office has prepared a digest of the replies that have come in. It is too early to make a conclusive judgment on all the answers that have come in, but for the purpose of this meeting, a tentative report has been prepared and I'd like to read that report, following which I shall give you other suggestions:

"A questionnaire was addressed on January 5th to 540 persons which includes 430 District chairmen and 110 members of the Administrative Council (60 members of the Administrative Council are District chairmen). 231 replies were received. Considering the fact that not more than 315 districts can be considered as actually functioning, this represents probably the largest return to any inquiry addressed to our Districts.

"Of the 231 replies, 209 approve proposals for a mass registration. Only 22 definitely opposed such registration.

"Of those in favor of the mass registration, 109 indicated that we should seek only individual signatures. 26 thought we should proceed to obtain organizational endorsements and 68 thought that we should pursue both individual and organization endorsements.

"Of those who expressed any opinion upon the question of fees, 146 or 65% are opposed to any fee in connection with the registration. Of the 67 who favor a fee, 33 prefer that it be 10¢ or less; 17 indicated a preference for a 25¢ fee; 10 for 50¢, and 9 for various amounts over 50¢ but mostly \$1.00. Some of those who suggest a 50¢ fee, specifically provided that it be a Shokol payment.

"In reply to the question 'approximately how many Jews in your community do you think that you can enroll as signatories on a mass petition?', those who replied indicate that we might expect to obtain approximately 1,112,000 signatures. Those favoring a mass registration seem to believe that we could marshall all of the necessary manpower to perform the task. Many said that we could get the cooperation of the Hadassah, Mizrahi, Poale Zion, various synagogues, sisterhoods and men's clubs, B'nai B'rith Lodges and other local groups, to join with them in the work.

"While the replies in many instances represent the personal views of the individual, in most cases the replies to the questionnaire were submitted after consultation with others within the District and in most cases after a meeting of the District Executive Committee.

"Most of the replies were received prior to the meeting which was convened in Pittsburgh by the B'nai B'rith. Even those which were received subsequently, made no reference to the proposal to convene an American Jewish Assembly. Nevertheless, this is a factor which has to be taken into consideration. Can the Z.O.A. undertake a program seeking to enroll a million or more individuals at the same time that it will have to be actively engaged in electioneering?

"In support of the mass registration, it is urged that it would constitute a tremendously effective instrument for marshalling American Zionist sentiment in advance of the peace conference as well as a smashing reply to the challenge of the anti-Zionists who contend that the Z.O.A. does not represent the majority of American Jewry. It is believed, too, that the million signatures would provide a splendid prospect list for Zionist membership and in that respect would serve to stimulate our membership enrollment. Against the registration it is urged that the time is not propitious; that a registration should be related to a great political act and that if the peace conference is not held within a year after the registration, we will have, so to speak, 'shot our bolt' and wasted our efforts. Those who urge this point of view believe that the registration should take place only upon the eve of the peace conference which shall follow this war.

"In any event, to insure the success of an effort designed to obtain a million or more signatures would require setting up a wholly new piece of machinery, apart from the present staff of the Z.O.A., and would require a budget of no less than \$100,000 and perhaps as much as \$200,000. At least three to four months of preparation would be required.

"A number of those who oppose a registration believe that the same effort which would be required could more usefully be directed towards enrollment in our regular Zionist membership activities and in aggressively promoting synagogue membership."

Now, this is the digest by the Z.O.A. office of the replies that have come in. I may say this further: that in connection with this proposal there are several things suggested. One, that it be in the form of a petition to the State Department, to the President of our own country, asking for support in behalf of Palestine. Another is that it might be a simple statement of endorsement of the full Zionist position as stated in the Biltmore resolution. Another proposal is that put forth by Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, who is very much interested in mass registration, and he believed it would be sufficient to secure an endorsement of the Balfour Declaration. We have never changed our position on that.

It may be worthwhile this afternoon to try to resolve action, as to whether it should be a free or paid registration, and if paid, what the sum should be. But all of this will have to wait until decisions can really come forth. They cannot be made this afternoon. We have to wait for a chance for further study. Personally, my own contact with the problem has convinced me, having heard from my own District and region, and others I have come in contact with, that this would serve as a unanimous indication, as an immediate and positive answer to the organization of the American Council for Judaism.

RABBI HELLER: The Chairman would like to suggest that it would be wise for this meeting not to take any definite action until the discussion is completed and until you have also heard the relationship between the proposal for a mass registration and the American Jewish Assembly, because obviously those are also related.

Mr. Rothstein, Mr. Judenfreund and Mr. Rabalsky then participated in the discussion, roundly condemning the American Council for Judaism and urging a mass registration as an effective way of recording the sentiment of American Jewry on the subject of Zionism.

RABBI HELLER: Is it the opinion of the Administrative Council that it would be wise to pause at this point and to have the American Jewish Assembly item presented to you? All of these matters are intimately related. May I say before I ask Judge Levinthal to do this, the Administrative Council will be called upon to adopt a resolution prepared last night by the Executive Committee for recommendation to it, because it is necessary for the organizations which were represented at the Pittsburgh meeting to ratify what was done by their representatives, and formally to affiliate with the American Jewish Assembly in the issuance of a Call for such an Assembly. Judge Levinthal, would you be kind enough to present this matter?

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: I would like to report first that on January 23rd and 24th, when the conference called by Henry Monsky of the B'nai B'rith was held in Pittsburgh, the Zionist Organization of America was represented by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Morris Rothenberg and myself. Each organization was permitted to be represented by a maximum of three persons attending that meeting. As you know, 32 organizations of the 35 invited were represented. I had this letter dated February 5th by Mr. Monsky addressed to me as President of the Z.O.A.

(Judge Levinthal read the letter, attached hereto as Appendix A)

Now, I will read the call which we are invited to sign along with the other organizations. I think the call itself incorporates the important features of the summary of the proceedings, and I am sure most of you read the accounts of the proceedings in Pittsburgh, but if you want the full report, I am glad to read it.

(Judge Levinthal read the call and attached proposals)

The following is the resolution recommended to the Administrative Council: The Z.O.A. views with approval the decision taken at the recent preliminary conference called in Pittsburgh by the B'nai B'rith, to convoke an American Jewish Assembly at which American Jewry may consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world, and upon all matters looking toward implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine. The Executive Committee recommends, of course, that the Administrative Council instruct the officers of the Z.O.A. to join in signing the call which I have read to you.

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: We are trying to register Jewish public opinion in America, and the question is, how can you best do it? Can you do it through a mass registration? Would you do it through an individual vote? I think most of those who have given consideration to the subject, taking all the circumstances into consideration as they exist today, agree that it is not a desirable thing that we should go through an individual vote. We shall have a vote in all the communities of the United States, a conference for the sole purpose

of electing representatives to the Assembly, and that conference will consist of delegates from every Jewish local organization. In that way we can get a registry of public opinion approximately as good as you can from an individual vote.

Now what do you do if you go through this mass registration, and the individual vote, to select representatives to this Assembly, which in effect is the same thing, because the thing you want to get is a mass registration of opinion with respect to Palestine? What will you get? Supposing after the expenditure of \$100,000 - it may require more than that - that after the expenditure of an enormous amount of effort, what if you are told the best opinion is you will get about a million votes? Well, what will the anti-Zionists say? "There you are. After all your efforts you have a million votes. That doesn't represent the majority of the Jews in the United States." They will make the same argument to you. You can't go and explain to everybody the answer, that a million votes will represent the majority of the adult opinion in the United States. You may know it. I may know it, but you can't go and explain that to all the people.

You will have a million votes, and they will say, "there you are, you haven't the majority of opinion in the United States - out of five and a half million." It is much better that we have an Assembly which is constituted on the basis of representatives from every local organization in the United States. Now we are expecting that in addition to the 32 organizations which are already in this Assembly, that we will get the American Jewish Committee and we will get the Jewish Labor Committee. They will waver a little, but I am positive that in the end, it will just happen as it happened last time, that the force of Jewish public opinion will make them come in. They may want a word changed here or there for the purpose of saving their faces, and we should be very reluctant to change anything that involves a question of principle, but they will come in and then they won't be so quick to step out as they threaten.

I can assure you what is being done now is a lot of strategy, a lot of manoeuvring. The Committee will only deny itself if it doesn't go into the Assembly, because after all, it will then give a picture to the Jewish and non-Jewish community of the proportion of the influence of the American Jewish Committee against the other organizations. We will have 32 of the national organizations as against two bodies which do not constitute a representation of large numbers. And even if they don't come in, I am not worried about it at all. I have pointed that out again and again. Why is it that when in the American Jewish Congress a vote is taken and you have a majority there on any important question, the opinion then is that the Jewish people of the United States are for a certain proposition because you have a majority vote? We have nowhere to register that majority opinion excepting in an Assembly of this kind, and if a few people are in the minority, well, they are in the minority. The majority of the Jews have voted with respect to this question.

Now as to the American Council for Judaism. If in addition to this you can put a couple of needles into them, I have no objections at all. I think, as a matter of fact, that wherever they can be slapped down, it should be done. They should not be let alone. I don't believe they will last, because I don't know of a single organization that ever remained alive on a

negative program; simply opposing something doesn't give life to somebody. They will live for a while and then shrivel up just as all of our enemies did, but that doesn't mean to say we have to be quiet about it. On the contrary, wherever we can oppose them and show they are a traitor to the Jewish cause, there our vote should be registered. I would oppose men like that in every community, in their synagogues, wherever they try to get office, because they don't represent the Jewish people. They misrepresent them. Their children will be ashamed of them one day, that they were the men who voted against the hopes and aspirations of our people in the most critical period of our history.

MR. EZRA SHAPIRO: I think it would be a worthwhile thing for you to hear just a half minute's report about our experience in Cleveland. It relates to action taken with regard to the American Council for Judaism. I think it would have been well if, very early after their pronouncement, Zionist Districts throughout the country would have come out with resolutions of bitter denunciation. Now it is a bit late for its effect. You see, it is months since this business came up, but it is interesting to know the temper of the community. I am sure that Cleveland, although it is a rather strong Zionist community, isn't the only strong Zionist community, and we had this experience.

Some of us are rather active in our Community Council. Our leaders countenance a rather soft sort of policy because of the negotiations that were going on within the Central Conference of American Rabbis, but when the delegates themselves heard that, we wanted - I should really exclude myself because I was for strong action - the administration of the Council wanted to take a rather soft policy on the thing, but definitely criticizing it. And there was such an upsurge of resentment against the administration that it really was revealing. The Community Council in Cleveland consists of every single organization in the town. There are over 150.

Right at the meeting a resolution was passed, and it would be worthwhile to read the terms of that resolution. That was as strong as anything that could possibly be passed. It was passed unanimously with the exception of one person who said, "well, it was a bit hasty", but she rather concurred in it, and men like Silver and Brickner and a few others of us hesitated as to whether we should go along with this sort of resolution.

(Mr. Shapiro read the resolution, a copy of which is hereto attached as Appendix B)

I just want to take one more minute on the other question. I was for a mass registration before the Assembly program came up. When the Assembly program was passed, we knew what was happening, and my own mind was changed in that respect, because obviously that is the more constructive form of action. However, I should like to pass on this one suggestion. A mass registration without a fee might serve this purpose: we will never appease our anti-Zionist enemies. We will never satisfy them. But there is one group of persons who are impressed not by 32 or 35 organizations convoked together in an assembly, but by petitions, signatures. Politicians, using that word in the best sense, know a petition with signatures. They always have known the value of that sort of document. I think if we proceeded along this line of the Assembly, which is a splendid thing, and give it all the support, and at the same time run this mass registration through, we could achieve a petition of 1,000,000 signatures.

At this point Rabbi Heller interrupted the proceedings to introduce Rabbi Meyer Berlin, member of the world presidium of the Jewish National Fund and world president of Mizrahi. Rabbi Berlin, who spoke in Yiddish, discussed the present situation in Palestine in some detail and called upon American Zionists to press for full implementation of all pledges made to the Jewish people.

Following his address the discussion on the mass registration continued. Rabbi Greenfield of Waterbury and Rabbi Greenberg of Philadelphia urged immediate action on the registration. Mr. Rudofsky moved that the entire matter of registration be referred at this time to the Executive Committee.

SECONDED BY MR. BERSON

MR. RUDOFSKY: My intention is that we approve if the Executive Committee will find it proper to do so.

MR. SOL REITER: In behalf of the Empire State Zionist Region, we favor a referendum and I move that this body authorize the President of the Z.O.A. to appoint a committee to draw up an all-inclusive statement in the form of a petition to be presented to the Congress and the President of the United States.

Now all of you gentlemen know what a nominating petition is, a national nominating petition or statement, - when you nominate someone for Congress or whatever office it may be. Now I understand the city of New York needs 40,000 signatures to nominate a person for Congress. We figured out that it is a very simple plan, if you have petitions with 50 lines on it, room for 50 names and signatures, every Zionist, if he really wants to do something for Palestine, can go back home and organize a committee to go to the meetings of every congregation, every union, every synagogue, every club and place this petition on the desk and ask people to sign it, put your name and address on it. Now that shouldn't cost \$100,000.

My amendment also includes a charge of ten cents, and that is a very simple thing to get. You ask a man to sign his name and give you a dime. You can't image any person refusing to give you ten cents. That ten cents will go to defraying the cost of these petitions, and personally I think we can get a million and a half or two million signatures if we want to do it. And I think we can do it. In our region there are about 40,000 Jews. I feel we can get a minimum of 15,000 signatures, and I think everyone else, if you really make up your mind to do it, can go out and get it. The Jewish Assembly is alright, but these petitions will make our position in the Jewish Assembly even stronger and will put the final nail into the coffin of the Council against Judaism.

RABBI HELLER: It seems to me it would be wise when we get to the point of presenting the motion, to present Mr. Reiter's motion as the original motion, and then to put Mr. Rudofsky's motion as a motion to refer, which should come subsequently to the original suggestion.

MR. SEYMOUR LEVINE: I rise to speak against the registration. I know I am in the minority and I wrote to Mr. Shetzer even long before the Jewish Assembly appeared as a possibility. Now I would like to reiterate my objections. I think that we lose sight of the political reality of a mass registration. It is glib to say we can get a million signatures. I don't doubt that we can get a million signatures, but then I come to the next question, and that is, after having obtained the goal of 1,000,000 signatures, what have we accomplished? I think we are becoming emotional rather than realistic in our policies. And I use that in the best sense of the word, because Zionism to me is political rather than emotional. I say, having gotten the signatures, and I think it will cost about \$200,000, we will present it to the State Department with somewhat of a flourish, and I say to you, and I am somewhat of a student of political history, it will then rest there and nothing more will come out of it.

We have presented petitions before to the State Department with very little effect. Then there is also the danger we may not reach a million, or having attained a million, as someone said before, who says that the others will not say that a million is the least number of Jews in the United States, and that we can't go about explaining or apologizing. Once we dare to do that, we have lost the cause. We've got a job to do to register public opinion; I think we are all in agreement as to that. But as to the modus operandi, I think the Jewish Assembly is the best chance. We have stated many many times we have millions of Jews in favor of Palestine and the Balfour Declaration, remember that. If that has been our position, why count Jews now? Why name them when we have stated that they are in the millions? Why delimit them?

Secondly, we are frittering away our energy. Our political job is to elect every man a Zionist on the 32 national organizations that go before the Jewish Assembly. That should be our job, so that when we rise in May, 1943, in Pittsburgh, or at the first convention of the national Jewish Assembly, we shall have Zionists there who then can bring proclamations saying we speak in the name of American Jewry.

As for Senators or Congressmen or Mayors or anyone else, I say, when the American Jewish Assembly speak in the name of 32 or 34 national Jewish organizations, that they will take cognizance of it as much as if it were a million signatures bound in a document and presented to the President of the United States, or Cordell Hull.

Furthermore, we have an Emergency Committee that should be, if it is to be used as such, an effective political instrumentality, as a channelizing agent for propaganda. Why then are we frittering away our energies in raising a million signatures when we have an agency that can with \$200,000 use it to far greater advantage if we are trying to reach the non-Jews? Mr. Meltzer of Philadelphia urged that it be made known what a small percentage of American Jewry the Protest Rabbis represented.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN: I asked for the floor in order to warn you very strongly against the referendum at this time. And I will state the reason for the political point of view why it would be a serious mistake now. It is a very serious business politically. It is one of the strongest weapons at our command. It is nothing new in Zionist history, and for years the Revisionists and others suggested such a referendum in critical moments in Zionist history and on most of the occasions we were against it. It is a weapon which you

must use at a supreme moment with the maximum probability of success. I don't think that this is a supreme moment, nor do I think we have a maximum of success. I am sure that before the war will end, or at the latest immediately after it will end, we will have to have such a referendum, but it will be in quite a different atmosphere when the peace will loom on the horizon, or a peace conference will be convoked. We will probably have to have a referendum not only of American Jews, but of the totality of free Jewish communities addressed to the Peace Conference as the strongest political weapon in order to impress them with our demand for Palestine.

This atmosphere of a Peace Conference is not yet here. A referendum today would be a routine act presented only to the United States Government without any connection with the Peace Conference, without all the excitement and the dramatic attention of the Peace Conference, and of a solution of the Jewish problem. It will be a unilateral act of American Jewry without the cooperation of other Jewish communities, and it would be without a very great effect, as some speakers have said. I would like to say, even if you get a million signatures, and a million signatures imply a tremendous amount of work, it doesn't mean very much. Because they will always tell you, four million are against it. It wouldn't impress as far as I know, the State Department in the least. The State Department, even our opponents, will be ready to grant you right away that you have at least a million American Jews who are in favor of Zionism. They will never doubt it. They wouldn't say those are just the 50,000 members of the Z.O.A. There are a million. They will also grant you that.

Therefore I say, unless you hope to obtain a majority of American Jews, which none of the speakers even suggested as a likely probability, I think it wouldn't have a very strong effect, and when the moment will come when you will have to have it, then you can't use it again. You can't get Jews twice a year or twice in two years for such a referendum.

There is another argument and then I come to the connection of this referendum with the Assembly. What would be the content of such a referendum? Will you present the Biltmore resolution? I am afraid you won't do it. Because in order to obtain a maximum of signatures, you will put in all kinds of reservations and other phrases and other formulations which will reduce the very clear and strict content of the Biltmore resolution. It won't be just a short formula, "I am in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine." The moment you submit for a referendum something less than the Biltmore resolution, you have endangered your position in the Assembly and otherwise. You cannot go out and fight for the Biltmore resolution when we Zionists are represented in the referendum as wanting less than the Biltmore resolution.

Then I say, and this is for me the main argument, it would be most harmful for the American Jewish Assembly, which I regard as of the utmost importance from a political point of view. We should concentrate our efforts on the elections to the American Jewish Assembly, and it won't be such an easy job. The Assembly easily represents the majority of American Jews because I believe that with the American Jewish Committee or without it, we will have a majority of American Jews represented through the community elections, every congregation, every lodge, every group which will send a

delegation to the conference will register how many Jews they represent, and I am sure, if we concentrate on it, we will have a majority of American Jews represented in the Assembly, and we may have a majority of delegates committed to the Biltmore Hotel resolution. At least let us try. Maybe we will have to make some compromise to get a majority, but we must go into the elections in order to bring about delegates committed to the Biltmore formula for Palestine.

I go further and I say, it would endanger our relations with our allies within the Assembly to come out today with this registration. I don't know how they will look on it. It may be regarded as a breach of faith. It may certainly have a detrimental influence on our relations with them, and these are not official Zionist groups and may easily be swayed away from us.

And therefore I say that the Zionist movement is not strong enough to do two things efficiently at the same time. We have three months for the National Assembly, or at the utmost, four months, and in order to carry through the organization of the community elections, to carry through a majority of pro-Zionist delegates will require a tremendous effort of all the united Zionists in this country, and you cannot at the same time organize the whole movement of American Zionists in this way.

Therefore I think the idea, brilliant and useful as it is, should not be implemented now. Concentrate on the elections, on a clear-cut Zionist program for the Assembly, on the election of a majority of delegates committed to this program, and keep the idea of the referendum in reserve for the more important moment when the time will come for it.

MR. SCHANZER: All that can be said on this subject has already been said, and I think the last speaker particularly put the thing very well. I rise only to say to you that as a member of legislative bodies for ten years, my experience has been that as between petitions and the considered word of duly elected representatives of large and substantial organizations, the word of the representatives of the organizations will be taken far and above petitions. Members of the legislature, men in public office, are presented with petitions many a time. We know that petitions are signed very lightly, for the asking, by the general public, and it is a question of high pressure when you get them. But when you have an Assembly, duly elected, duly constituted, meeting, and where there are representatives joined in that discussion, the word of that Assembly will go far and above any petition, and I believe, as Dr. Goldmann said, if you are going to use petitions, use them as the final reserve and at the supreme moment, and the supreme moment is not now.

FABBI BRESLAU: Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to watch the reaction of this group in the discussion as it developed. The very same gentlemen who a half hour ago applauded the affirmation for a registration, were the ones who applauded the negation of the petition. I rise to support an immediate referendum as proposed. By immediately, I don't mean tomorrow or next week. As has been indicated, it will require a good deal of preparation. We may not have it for three or four months before we are ready. You can't expect that on the morrow of the peace, we don't know how soon it will come, we will immediately be able to mobilize our resources throughout the country for a position. I therefore support the idea of an immediate petition. If

I was not persuaded by the argument of Judge Rothenberg or Dr. Goldmann, I was certainly persuaded by the argument of Seymour Levine when he suggested referring it to the Emergency Committee. That is a story in itself.

At the last elections, when the President of the United States was elected, by a vote of 23,000,000 votes out of a population of 130,000,000 odd, he was elected by an overwhelming majority. We speak of a million signatures on a petition too lightly. We will get more than a million. I don't see why we must limit it to a million. But I know a million votes could be represented as a substantial majority of the Jews of America, and the statement wins when any election reveals a majority. We are speaking of the American Jewish Assembly as though it were already a fact. We are still negotiating about it and talking about it. It is a fact, but I don't know when it will have its first meeting. I heard last night discussion on the matter in which it was said it is hoped that at the meeting of the American Jewish Assembly we will be able to get some compromise that will satisfy the different elements of the Assembly, and it was implicit, admitted in our own Executive, that we wouldn't get from the Assembly a complete acceptance of the Biltmore resolution. Quite the contrary.

In a petition we want to state our position absolutely and we can state it in defense of the Balfour Declaration, or a restatement of the language of the Biltmore resolution. We can get the signatures equally as easily, because I am fearful of what will be the result of the resolutions of the Assembly. I think this kind of approach can be much more effective. Here we can guarantee at the outset that the statement will be unequivocal and I am not so fearful as Dr. Goldmann is about the strength of the Zionist movement in America, despite the 50,000 members of the Z.O.A.

I believe we can get the Zionists of America, Hadassah included, in back of a petition of this nature. Furthermore, the petition is necessary for our own reasons. Rabbi Berlin said in a facetious manner that he was convinced we wouldn't persuade the opposition, but feared lest the opposition might persuade us. Now those of you coming from your own districts and areas know to what extent even a minority group of this kind can begin to persuade our members and persuade our Jewish communities. They speak in soft terms. They introduce very special arguments, and people listen to them and are persuaded by them. This is the time when the Zionists of America are asking for an expression of opinion not only on the part of the national administration, but on the part of all national Zionists throughout the country. They want to be given a chance to declare themselves positively, at this critical moment in support of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

And the activity itself in securing this petition will not in any sense disturb our work for the election of delegates. The agitation and propaganda which we will spread throughout the country for the petition will help us in electing the very delegates one elects to the Assembly. I don't see where it is a disturbing factor in any sense. Those of you who are engaged in the little things in the Zionist movement, in making decisions, know that in your districts and with your individual members you've got to engage them in an activity which reflects their feelings and emotions at the moment. And today, for various reasons, all of us sense that Zionists and Jews in our communities are ready for such a proceeding. We ought to capi-

talize on it. It doesn't mean we are going out tomorrow to get the petitions.

In presenting the report earlier in the afternoon, I said we will have to study the reports that have come in further. A committee will have to consider them, and I suggested that final proposals be sent back to the members of the Administrative Council for their consideration and decision. And that has come back. Then the staff at Washington will begin making preparations if the districts are in favor of the motion. I warn you against this further action that has been proposed to refer it back to the Executive. We have got plenty of things to debate there without this. This is the function of the Administrative Council. This is the most representative body we have today of the rank and file Zionists, and you can't delegate every decision to the Executive Committee.

I therefore urge that we take positive action in the approval of a referendum, with the understanding that further study will be made and that the matter will be referred back to you for your further approval and consideration.

Mr. Goldberg of Worcester and Mr. Umansky of Meriden, urged that emphasis be placed on the American Jewish Assembly and that the mass registration be deferred.

RABBI HELLER: Gentlemen, I think we have discussed these matters at the suggestion of the Chairman with a great deal of latitude, and by taking in a tremendous lot of territory. Now I'd like to get action on these things which would be as representative as possible. Therefore I'd like to suggest that we proceed in this fashion. I think there is first of all one area about which there will be universal agreement. That is the motion which was presented by Judge Levinthal by which we shall make formal affiliation with the American Jewish Assembly, and I'd like to suggest we take a vote on that first.

MR. ROTHSTEIN: I so move.

RABBI HELLER: The second is on the vote of a mass registration and thirdly, we have a proposed resolution here in regard to the American Council for Judaism. It ought to be understood, but nevertheless I think it should be said, of course only members of the Administrative Council will vote on these questions.

MR. ROTHSTEIN: I move the adoption of the resolution read.

SECONDED

RABBI HELLER: This resolution means we will affix the name of the Z.O.A. to the call for an American Jewish Assembly - the motion to be adopted. Those in favor --

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED

RABBI HELLER: We now have two motions on the floor in regard to mass registration. The one which was given second, but which logically comes first, was that this Administrative Council declare itself in favor of such a mass registration. The second was that it should be referred for consideration and action to the national Executive Committee. And by Parliamentary law, a motion to refer takes precedence. Therefore we shall first vote on the motion to refer.

MR. SCHICKLER: The amendment as I make it is that this registration for which we are about to vote would not take place until after the Assembly for which we have just now voted approval.

SECONDED

RABBI HELLER: That could be succeeded as an amendment to the original motion, providing the motion to refer is defeated. The first motion on the floor is the motion to refer to the Executive Committee both the advisability of a registration, and if it believes it advisable, action in regard to it. Let's not delay action any longer than necessary. The motion was put to a vote and was defeated.

RABBI HELLER: An amendment has been proposed, that is, that such a registration shall not be held until after the American Jewish Assembly is held. I think it would be wise, in order to register our opinion, to put this amendment separately from the original motion, because it really is a distinct proposal.

MR. NEUMANN: Question. I'd like to understand Rabbi Breslau's motion. At least his suggestion. I don't know the full form. I understand Rabbi Breslau to have said that a committee ought to be appointed, preferably by this body and not by the Executive, which would come back with an actual plan for registration or referendum. Until now, we have heard here general talk about it but no actual plan. If I understood Rabbi Breslau correctly, I am very much in sympathy with his point of view, that a committee be appointed to come back with a more definite proposal on which this Council might intelligently express itself.

RABBI HELLER: In the opinion of the Chairman there is no incompatibility between the two. If this body wishes such a registration, it can then consider by what methods it wishes to have it.

RABBI BRESLAU: My suggestion was that this body approve the idea of a referendum, refer it to a committee for a plan, to be referred back.

RABBI HELLER: The motion on the floor now is an amendment which was made by Mr. Schickler, that no registration be held until after the American Jewish Assembly.

RABBI BRESLAU: I would ask Mr. Schickler to withdraw the amendment because that is the province of the committee that is going to consider the issue.

MR. SCHICKLER: Mr. Chairman, I recognize that the committee is taking note of the fact that we are a part of this Assembly that is to be gathered and will take due cognizance of it. I will withdraw the amendment.

RABBI HELLER: The amendment is withdrawn by its author and the motion at present is as follows: (thereafter may I say that you can introduce any additional motion as to the method by which you wish to do this if the motion is adopted) that the Administrative Council go on record as favoring a mass registration, the machinery for which and the decision as to methods, etc., to be determined later. Those in favor -- 16 for the motion
23 opposed

The motion was defeated.

Therefore the present status of the matter is that neither does this committee favor a mass registration nor does it wish to refer it to the Executive Committee.

Next is the American Council for Judaism, and here is a proposed resolution to be submitted to the Administrative Council.

(Rabbi Heller read the resolution, a copy of which is hereto attached as Appendix C)

Is there a motion to adopt this resolution?

MOVED, SECONDED AND UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED

RABBI HELLER: May the Chairman make a suggestion? It seems to me, gentlemen, and I want you to consider this, that although we can't tell definitely what the course of events during the next few weeks or months may be, we may be confronted with the situation that the American Council for Judaism may get very much further than some of us believe, that it may be able to win support from groups in this country and embark upon a rather wide campaign against Zionism. I believe that we ought to be prepared for this contingency by every possible method, and I'd like to suggest that the Administrative Council authorize the appointment of a committee, by the Chairman, if you so wish, which shall be vested with the duty of acting on its behalf by the creation of plans, by the drawing in of its members and districts and regions throughout the country to cope with such a situation as the American Council for Judaism.

MOVED AND SECONDED

RABBI HELLER: It has been moved and seconded that the Chairman be authorized to appoint such a committee, if it becomes necessary, to take what action may be necessary also. Those in favor --

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED

RABBI HELLER: There is one more resolution which we would like to present to you. No Zionist gathering ought to be possible, even though we have adopted resolutions before, without the reiteration of our feelings of horror in regard to the situation of Jews under the heel of Nazi domination in Europe. I want to tell you that although I have no idea who drew up this resolution, and therefore I am not casting aspersions on any individual. I should wish that this resolution were recast, and therefore I should like to consider it not in its present form, but as I think it ought to be rephrased before its final adoption and publication, but it represents in the best sense the sentiments which I know all of us share.

(Rabbi Heller read the resolution, copy of which is hereto attached as Appendix D)

RABBI KOHN: I'd like to have that resolution carefully edited and certainly made much shorter - otherwise it has no effect - and I would suggest therefore that the Executive be authorized on our behalf to formulate a much briefer and shorter resolution, incorporating the sentiments expressed in the statement which is really a speech.

RABBI HELLER: It is moved and seconded that this gathering adopt the resolution, but ask the Executive to reformulate it.

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED

RABBI HELLER: I'd like to ask this gathering first to pause for a few moments. I should have mentioned it this morning. Since the Convention and since this Administrative Council last met, the Zionist movement has suffered four very serious losses, four men who have given devoted service to the cause of our people have passed away. Rehabiah Lewin-Epstein, a man who was a great expert in regard to the industry of Palestine and in regard to its economic possibilities; Dr. Ben Zion Mossinson, one of the pioneers of the Zionist movement who stood by the side of Dr. Herzl, the head of the Herzlia Gymnasium, a personal friend of mine whom I knew very intimately in the days when he took refuge in the United States during the last war and lived in Philadelphia; Dr. Arthur Ruppin, a man with a very remarkable life history, one of the scientists of our movement who contributed of his rich gifts toward it for many years; and Zvi Hirsch Masliansky, a tribune of the people who brought to its service a mind and a voice steeped in the lore of his people, a voice of the utmost persuasiveness and of the most touching quality. We have sustained a great loss in the departure of these men and I should like the national Administrative Council to pay tribute to them by a few moments of silence.

Before Judge Levinthal retired to attend another Zionist gathering, he asked me to bring this to your attention. Mr. Bernard G. Rudolph of Syracuse, a member of our Executive Committee, has resigned, and Judge Levinthal has recommended that you name in his stead Mr. Herman Shulman as a member of the Executive. He is Chairman of the Department of Public Relations of the Emergency Committee, and as such Judge Levinthal feels he ought to be intimately associated with the Executive Committee in order that we have an integrated public relations program.

SO MOVED AND SECONDED

It has been moved and seconded that the Administrative Council elect Mr. Shulman to the vacant place on the Executive. Those in favor--

UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED

The meeting was adjourned at 5:40 P.M.



AMERICAN JEWISH ASSEMBLY
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

APPENDIX A

February 5, 1943

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Pres.
Zionist Organization of America
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Judge Levinthal:

We are enclosing herewith a summary prepared by the Secretariat, of the proceedings at the Conference held in Pittsburgh, on January 23-24, at which your organization was represented.

You will note the proposals attached to the enclosed summary, which deal with the calling of an American Jewish Assembly to be composed of 500 delegates as follows: 25% selected by national membership organizations and 75% elected by democratically convened local and regional conferences comprising delegates of organizations in communities or regions. You will also note that a time limit of thirty days from the time when notice is sent to the organizations, is fixed for securing approval of such organizations.

The Conference, before adjourning, elected an Executive Committee consisting of one representative from each of the participating organizations. Additional members of the Executive Committee will be selected in accordance with the proposals.

We enclose also a tentative draft of the Call, which according to the proposals will be signed by the participating organizations.

We hope that the spirit of unanimity which prevailed at the Pittsburgh Conference will be followed by the prompt approval of these proposals.

We would appreciate receiving a report of the action of your organization.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Henry Minsky
Temporary Chairman
Executive Committee

RESOLUTION ON AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM
ADOPTED BY JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
OF CLEVELAND, JANUARY 7, 1943

APPENDIX B

The Jewish Community Council of Cleveland, representing 150 organizations and all elements of one of America's largest Jewish communities, is deeply shocked at the recent statement of the newly created and self-styled Council of American Judaism.

Within the last few weeks, this Council, consisting of a small segment of Jewish opinion, has proclaimed its opposition to the creation of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine and other objectives which have long been accepted by the Jewish world and written into international law.

This shocking statement comes at a time when all our strength is urgently needed to aid the cause of the United Nations and to help in securing the kind of peace which will do justice to all peoples and to the sorely tried and suffering Jewish people.

We condemn this pronouncement:

1. It is repugnant to the ideals, hopes and aspirations of the mass of world Jewry who have looked to the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine as the one source of hope for surcease from centuries of oppression and forced wandering.
2. It is dangerous to the safety of some 600,000 Jews now making their home in Palestine and now contributing unstintingly to the United Nations war effort.
3. It is subversive of a long-established policy of our own government pronounced by the Congress of the United States more than 20 years ago and affirmed by every American President from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt.
4. It is in conflict with the Balfour Declaration issued in 1917 and the Mandate for Palestine affirmed by 52 nations of the world.
5. It clearly violates the spirit which cemented the Jewish Agency for Palestine and which brought Zionists and non-Zionists together on a common platform for the upbuilding of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.
6. It seeks to destroy the unity necessary for the presentation of a post-war program for the solution of the Jewish problem in the peace councils of the world.
7. While claiming to base their action upon the principles of American democracy, the members of this group numbering less than 100, are in fact rejecting democratic procedure since they were a dissident minority who were defeated by a substantial majority of their colleagues in the Central Conference of American Rabbis on the issue of the Jewish-Palestine army; and on the present issue were repudiated by a joint pronouncement of 733* rabbis including the heads of all Rabbinical associations and drawn from all wings of religious Jewry in America; and their present action is a refusal to abide by the will of the majority.

In the light of all this we assert that the Council of American Judaism cannot be presumed to speak for American Jewry, the Reform rabbinate, or even the non-Zionists of the United States.

We call upon this unrepresentative group to desist from its announced course of action, so inimical and dangerous to Jewish interests all over the world, and to a sound post-war reconstruction.

Be it resolved that this expression, adopted by the representatives of the Jewish Community Council of Cleveland, be transmitted to the Council of American Judaism, the Emergency Council on Zionist Affairs, the Jewish Community Councils of other cities throughout the United States and to the press of the nation.

*The pronouncement has now been signed by 820 rabbis.

Statement adopted by the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, February 21, 1943 on the American Council for Judaism

Engaged in a program of intensive activity, designed to aid the war effort by the conduct of a United States War Bond campaign, with the cooperation of the United States Treasury, which has proclaimed February Zionist month for this purpose:

Occupied with the responsible task of carrying on a widespread educational program designed to awaken public interest in and support for the opening of the doors of Palestine to a maximum Jewish immigration from Europe and the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish Commonwealth, in accordance with the dictates of justice, and commensurate with the crying needs of our unfortunate brethren:

The Zionist Organization of America must needs pause momentarily in its task at this time to take cognizance of the activities of a small band of wilful and intransigent Jews who, in defiance of all Jewish tradition, and blind to the pressing needs of our people, have formed an organization with the impressive but misleading title of American Council for Judaism, for the purpose of campaigning, in the press, on the pulpit and platform and in political circles against the holy cause of Zionism.

To advocate, as the American Council for Judaism does, that Palestine must never be re-established as a Jewish Commonwealth is to condemn the homeless Jews of Europe and elsewhere to lives of continued misery and woe and to rob them of the last hope for redemption which sustains their spirits in their moments of agony.

The Zionist Organization of America expresses its firm and determined condemnation of this body, confident that the overwhelming majority of the Jews of this country and of enlightened and liberal Christians as well, join in this rebuke.

APPENDIX D

Statement adopted by the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, February 21, 1943.

To the statesmen and leaders of the justice-loving nations now engaged in the task of crushing the foes of civilization on every front, we direct an earnest appeal, speaking on behalf of the crushed masses of European Jewry in their desperate need for salvation. The words of sorrow and sympathy so recently uttered by twelve great governments are assurance that the dreadful plight of the Jewish civilian population of Europe, who have been singled out for the most bitter and fiendish horrors perpetrated by the enemy, has not been overlooked. But sympathy alone is not enough. In common with all other peoples engaged to the utmost in the prosecution of the war, the Jews look forward to a new and better world in which justice and righteousness shall prevail for all. Yet there have been lacking, in international councils, the reassurances that Palestine will be constituted a Jewish Commonwealth, and as such integrated into the structure of the post-war world. Will the first of Hitler's victims be forgotten, when justice comes to be done?

We appeal to the conscience of mankind, to its sense of fairness and equity, to fundamental human decency, to speak out now and to utter the words which will bring hope and confidence to the hearts and souls of Jews who have been beaten and battered, but who cling still to faith in a just future.

Speak out now and proclaim unequivocally that Jewish rights in Palestine will be sustained, and that the pledges of international co-operation in the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland made two decades ago will be honored. Open wide the doors of Palestine, and permit the homeless, wandering sons of Israel to return to their mother Zion. A

thriving Jewish community of more than half a million souls in Palestine, battling by the side of the United Nations, stands ready to welcome the countless thousands who today linger in the hell-holes of a living death.

Delay not the hour of justice! Jewish victims of Nazi horror can still be rescued, and given a permanent security in Palestine, where, as free men at last, they can take up the cudgels and add their strength to the might of the democracies.

Open wide the doors of Palestine! Grant permission to establish a Jewish Fighting Force, based upon Palestine, under United Nations Command! And declare the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth to be one of the just and long denied aims of the peoples of the world!

Countless victimized Jews in Europe echo this appeal, which should ring in the ears of every man who has a home and a hearth and a country. The answer and the assurances must be heard!

The proposals follow:

PREAMBLE

This conference of delegates of 32 national Jewish organizations, representing the largest segment of organized American Jews, meeting in a time of war and of danger to our country, pledges all its resources without reserve to the support of the war effort and the victory for the United Nations.

We are living through the most tragic days in all of Jewish history. The world is engulfed in a global war which has threatened the destruction of our civilization. The annals of history contain no record as black as that inscribed on its pages by the barbarians of the Axis Powers. Many peoples have suffered the profanation of their sacred altars, the destruction of their hopes, the devastation of their way of life, the loss of liberty, but it was against the Jewish people, that the Hitler war of extermination was first declared. It was pursued with relentless inhumanity, in every land the aggressor was able to occupy. Whole Jewish communities were devastated; men, women and children were driven like cattle into alien fields and there humiliated, tortured and done to death.

Elaborate plans were developed for the complete extermination of the Jews. Perhaps one-third of the Jews in Nazi-occupied territory have found their peace in a welcome death. Those who survive, even though stripped of their rights, denuded of all they possess, await the coming of the day when it will once again be possible to speak of freedom, justice and reparation. We affirm our purpose to do everything humanly possible to alleviate their sufferings and to restore their rights. The free democratic nations have been roused to resist the aggressors and would-be destroyers of our civilization. They are locked in a four continent struggle, determined to defeat and to destroy the enemy and all the evil for which he stands.

As Americans and as Jews, the cause of the United Nations is doubly ours. All that we possess must be dedicated without reserve to that cause. Every sacrifice which the needs of the war effort may demand of us must be made. When victory comes - the day is not now far off - it will, we hope, also see the dawn of a new day for the Jewish people.

We have a vital stake in the peace that is to come. Not only have we suffered appalling destruction of Jewish life, but much of that which was achieved after the first World War, in respect to the position of the Jew in the afflicted lands, has been lost. There has been a progressive deterioration of that position and of our rights as free men; there has been in many lands, complete extinction of those rights, as a consequence of the Nazi-Germany stimulated world-wide anti-Semitic propaganda and the evil consequences that have resulted therefrom. There is crucial need for the restoration of that lost position and for its fortification upon enduring foundations of equality and justice.

There is imperative need also to unite on a program relating to the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

Since the primary purpose of this conference is to provide a method of procedure for unified expression of the point of view of the American Jewish community, we submit the following proposals:

CALL

Having approved the proposals of the preliminary conference of national Jewish membership organizations held in Pittsburgh on January 23 and 24, 1943, as contained in the official report of its proceedings; and believing that there is urgent need for American Jews to establish a program of common action to deal with the post-war problems of Jews the world over;

The undersigned join in a call to the Jewish communities of the United States to cooperate in the organization of an American Jewish Assembly for the following purposes:

- I. (a) To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world.

(b) To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

(c) To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Assembly in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.
- II. The Assembly will consist of not more than 500 delegates; the cooperating national organizations will be entitled to 125 delegates selected according to their own rule; and the local communities to 375 delegates elected through local or regional conferences.
- III. The date and place of the holding of said Assembly shall be determined by the Executive Committee named by the preliminary conference, but the said Assembly shall be held not later than five (5) months from January 24, 1943.
- IV. The Executive Committee shall be authorized to formulate rules for communal or regional elections, to set up the formula for the distribution and allotment of delegates to communities, regions and national organizations; and shall have full power to do all things necessary to carry out the purpose of organizing the said Assembly, prior to its convening.
- V. The Executive Committee shall act, in general, as the organizing committee of said Assembly, and it shall issue under its own name all further communications and instructions bearing upon the organization of the Assembly.

Submitted with this call is a copy of the proposals adopted by the preliminary conference. Instructions as to procedure will be issued as and when formulated by the Executive Committee.

(To be signed when in final form by the organizations)

PROPOSALS

In view of the desirability of creating a basis of agreement on a program of common action to deal with post-war Jewish problems:

This conference resolves to take the initiative in the summoning of an American Jewish Assembly, organized on democratic lines, to establish a common program of action in connection with post-war problems and to elect a delegation to carry out said program, in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

The American Jewish Assembly shall be convened within five months from the date of this conference.

This conference shall establish an executive committee of 38 of whom 32 members shall be elected at this conference. Six places shall be reserved for other national Jewish membership organizations not now represented. The executive committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members, not exceeding 12, making a total of 50.

The executive committee shall act under the following directions:

1. It shall formulate a call for the convening of an American Jewish Assembly. This call shall be submitted to all organizations invited to this conference and such others as may be designated by the executive committee. When approved by a majority of the organizations present at this conference, the Executive committee shall issue such call. A time limit of 30 days from the time when notice is sent to the organizations is fixed for securing such approval. The executive committee may, however, within its discretion extend this time limit.

2. a. The American Jewish Assembly shall consist of not more than 500 delegates. The cooperating national organizations shall name 125 delegates. The Jewish Communities, through local or regional conferences called for such purpose, shall elect 375 delegates. The distribution of delegates shall be on the basis of Jewish population. The national organizations shall elect their delegates in accordance with their own rules. Representation in the local or regional conferences shall be based on organization membership.

b. It is recommended to the executive committee that the representation of the national organizations in the American Jewish Assembly shall be on the basis of parity, insofar as possible.

c. The principle of proportional representation shall be observed in the local or regional conferences in order to assure minority representation.

3. The executive committee shall have the authority

- a. To fix the date of the election of delegates.
- b. To appoint a national board of elections.
- c. To fix the date and place of the American Jewish Assembly.
- d. To raise such funds as may be required for the organization and holding of the American Jewish Assembly.

It shall render its final report to the American Jewish Assembly when it is convened.

4. The call for the American Jewish Assembly shall contain a statement of program as follows:

- a. To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world.
- b. To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.
- c. To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Assembly in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

Full freedom of discussion and action by the Assembly shall not be impaired.

5. The Executive Committee shall have full power and authority to do any and all things necessary and proper to carry out the purpose and intent of the above program prior to the convening of the Assembly.

It shall have power to organize itself and to provide for representation by alternates under such conditions as the Executive Committee may deem proper.



Felt

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OF



THE

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

SAMUEL S. KERSHBAUM
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
500 15TH STREET
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA
PHONE 5-9872

February 22nd, 1943.

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

DIRECTORS

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HARRY SIKKIN

DR. LOUIS WILAND

Dear Dr. Silver:

Our district is a recent formation and needs bolstering and shoring up.

It comes to our attention that you are to be in our community the early part of March. It would be most opportune for us to have your aid at that time. It would do so much to assure our continued development to have you address an audience of our citizenry then on any subject you desire.

We can assure you of a warm and responsive meeting and your contribution would be of major importance. This community should do great good for the cause of Zion.

It will be our aim to facilitate your visit here so that there should be the least strain and burden on you. In this connection, we should like to meet your train and serve you in whatever capacity needed regarding hotel accommodations, engagements, newspaper contacts, etc.

Your favorable reply is awaited as well as an indication of ways in which we can do for you whatever suggests itself for the saving of your time and energies while here.

With Zion's greetings,

Cordially yours,

Jake Felt

JP:b

Congregation Beth David

"MIAMI'S PIONEER CONGREGATION"



135 N. W. 3RD AVENUE
MIAMI, FLORIDA

HARRY MARKOWITZ
PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF CONGREGATION
PHONE 2-1473

MAX SHAPIRO, RABBI
OFFICE PHONE 2-1473

RESIDENCE
498 S. W. 18TH ROAD
PHONE 2-2176

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ROBERT KRENTZMAN
SOL SCHWARTZ
HYMAN SOOTIN
NAT ZALKA

February 22, 1943

Rabbi Aba Hillel Silver
Cleveland Heights Congregation,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I was advised by our Federation that you have graciously consented to open our drive in Miami. The Zionist District of Miami is anxious to climax its membership drive with you as speaker immediately after your Federation address.

We know that if we can use your name, it will bolster up the membership drive since the group that will come in will be designated as the "Silver Class" of the Zionist Miami District. I trust that you will favor us with an affirmative reply as soon as possible.

With personal greetings, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Max Shapiro
Rabbi Max Shapiro

MS/gnm

February 24, 1943

Mr. Adalbert Freedman, Executive Director
Southeastern Region
Zionist Organisation of America
1507 N. Morningside Drive, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Freedman:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 17. I had intended to visit Miami this Spring, but unfortunately conditions arose which make it impossible. I will therefore not be able to avail myself of your invitation to address the Miami Beach Zionist District. Please convey my warmest greetings to the members of the Miami Beach Zionist District.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

February 24, 1943

Rabbi Max Shapiro
Congregation Beth David
135 W. 3rd Ave.
Miami, Florida

My dear Rabbi Shapiro:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 22. I had intended to visit Miami this Spring, but unfortunately conditions arose which make it impossible. I will therefore not be able to avail myself of your invitation to address the Zionist District of Miami. Please convey my warmest greetings to the Zionists of Miami.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BX

TEMPLE BETH EL

ISRAEL HARBURG, Rabbi

TEL. LYNN 5-2182

12 BREED STREET

LYNN, MASS.

TELEPHONES

LYNN } 2-6558
5-9717

February 24, 1943

Rabbi Abba Fillel Silver
105th St. and Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

It was with great difficulty that I managed to be present at the luncheon of the Advertising Club in Boston, but I assure you that it was worth all the effort. I personally needed that inspiration and many people felt as I did.

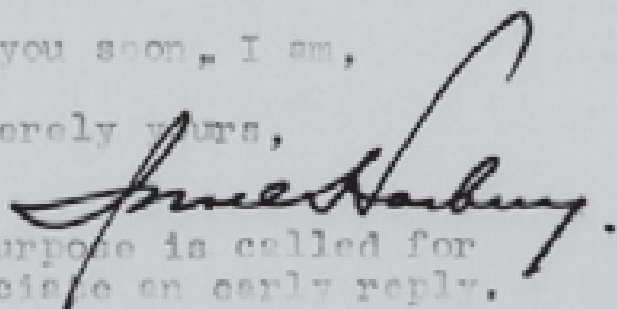
I meant to see you after the luncheon because of a problem that is perplexing me, but you were apparently snatched by someone before I got around to seeing you.

The problem is, what should our attitude be toward "The Committee for a Jewish Army". On the one hand I am a firm believer in the cause but on the other hand as a leader of the local Zionist District I am quite apprehensive as to the effect that this Committee will have upon the interest of the Zionist organization as well as the United Palestine Appeal.

If you could spare a few minutes to inform me as to your attitude on this question, and if you are at liberty to do so, I shall appreciate it very much. For my sentiments are shared by many members of the District. They are anxious to support the Committee but have similar apprehensions.

Looking forward to seeing you soon, I am,

Sincerely yours,



IH:eg

P.S. A meeting for this purpose is called for next week and I will appreciate an early reply.

March 3, 1943

Rabbi Israel Harburg
Temple Beth El
12 Broad Street
Lynn, Mass.

My dear Rabbi Harburg:

The "Committee for a Jewish Army" is in no way identified with the Zionist Organization of America. In fact the ZOA has publicly dissociated itself from the activities of this Committee. The leaders of the Committee and its prime movers are, as you know, Revisionists who are carrying on their activities without reference not alone to the ZOA but to the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency in Palestine as well.

The ZOA as well as the World Zionist Organization have frequently made representations to the Mandatory Government and to Great Britain on the need and the desirability of an independent Jewish fighting force in Palestine. While obtaining some concessions they have not been successful on the main idea. They are still carrying on their representations. There is no need for a special "Committee for a Jewish Army".

The recent appeal of this Committee in the public press for Fifty Dollar contributions to rescue 70,000 Roumanian Jews is another evidence of the unfortunate and irresponsible activity of this Committee.

Those who wish to help along in persuading Great Britain to permit a Jewish Army in Palestine can do no better than to work through the established channels of the Zionist Emergency Committee (made up of representatives of all the Zionist groups in America) and the Jewish Agency.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:HK

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1WA283 48 NL=WASHINGTON DC 22

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE CLEVELAND

043 APR 22 PM 6 20

PRECEDING THE REGULARLY SCHEDULED MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 29 YOU ARE URGED TO ATTEND A SPECIAL MEETING AT 3 PM SAME DAY AT COMMODORE HOTEL TO BE HELD JOINTLY WITH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF OTHER ZIONIST PARTIES EXCLUSIVELY DEVOTED TO PREPARATIONS FOR FORTHCOMING AMERICAN JEWISH ASSEMBLY=

SIMON SHETZER.

Ga 0150

4-23

RABBI H S

29 3 PM.

JM

1104A

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



1720 - 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

May 5, 1943

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Would you be good enough to favor me with an article or statement for publication in the press, on the importance of assuring the nomination and election of Zionist delegates to the forthcoming American Jewish Conference (Assembly) pledged to the Biltmore Platform.

In view of the very short time remaining until the elections, our efforts to mobilize all our forces for maximum participation in the Assembly must be accelerated. An article or statement by you received in time would undoubtedly help impress American Zionists with the need of spurring their efforts in the respective communities.

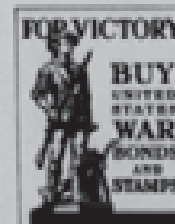
May I hear from you within the next few days.

With Zion's greetings,

Cordially yours,

E. Barbarash
Publicity Director

EB:dh



Jackson
Booklet sent
7-28-43

152 Ochterloney St.,
Dartmouth, N. S.,
May 25th, 1943.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
c/o the Reformed Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi:

I noticed in the Jewish Advocate of May 14th about the speech you delivered at the National Conference in Philadelphia, I hasten to congratulate you upon speaking plainly. Courageous words have long been needed in the Zionist Movement. I would very much appreciate receiving a copy of your address if it is possible.

While recently reading the Basle Program, I noticed that the far-sighted founders of Zionism in declaring that "Zionism aims to establish for the Jewish People a publicly secured, legally assured homeland in Palestine" felt the importance of public opinion. In this statement, they mention public security first, and legal assurance secondary. They feel that security for the Jewish people in Palestine would only exist if their right to the homeland were publicly accepted. The Zionist Movement, particularly in the New World, seems to have forgotten the importance of public opinion. The results are more than tragic. At this crucial moment, when American Jewry should have been united in Zionism, we find confusion and indifference, with barely 1% of the Jews of America as members of the Zionist Organization. Along with that, the general non-Jewish masses have been kept in complete ignorance of Zionist Idealism. These conditions have made it more than convenient for short-sighted Imperial officials to sabotage the commitments of the British Government.

I believe, however, that it is not yet too late to remedy the situation. A well directed effort to arouse the sympathy and active support of the masses as well as the informed Liberal forces in America can still save the situation, or at least improve it considerably. I do not believe that a campaign of announcements in the press alone would do it. I do not believe that a direct assault on any one of the United Nations could do it, but I do believe that an intelligent diversified subtle campaign would influence public opinion.

Why have there not been any books dramatizing the Jewish Tragedy and the Zionist solution? - No movies, no songs, no cartoons? Where is the major political campaign which Mr. Shertok mentioned in his recent address? Millions of liberal minded Americans would be anxious to lend their voice to the genuinely democratic Zionist Movement, if they were but called upon.

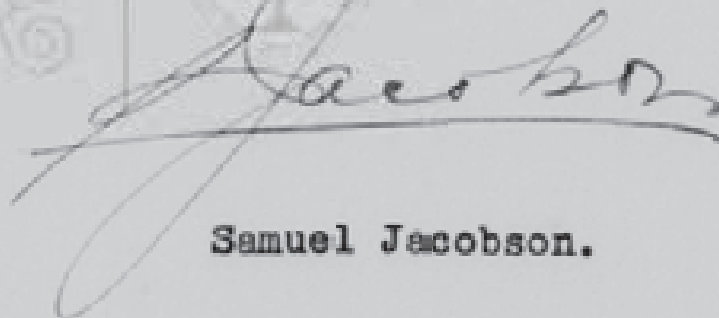
I believe we have done too good a job in the economic development of Palestine, and have completely ignored the first condition of the Jewish Homeland. Philanthropic endeavour, even under the guise of a national movement, cannot solve a political situation. Abraham Lincoln did not buy the freedom of each individual slave, nor did George Washington provide the housewives of Boston with tea at a reduced rate. We must use every ounce of effort and every penny of our resources to publicly secure the future of a Jewish Palestine. We must appeal to the sub-conscious mind of the masses as well as to the intellect of the classes; and the first is even more important than the second. If the ground work were properly laid, it would not be long before we would have a mass movement among the non-Jews to support Zionism morally, politically, and even financially.

We have only one goal and one problem, and that is to open the gates of Palestine and unite all public opinion under that banner.

I have given this problem every conscious moment for years, and feel that now is the time to start or it may be too late.

Hoping to hear from you, I remain

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Jacobson', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the left.

Samuel Jacobson.

SJ/N

Zionist Organization of America
1720 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D.C.

MEMORANDUM

June 14th, 1943

To: ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
From: SIMON SHETZER
Subject: TEHERAN CHILDREN

I am enclosing herewith for your information
copies of an exchange of correspondence between Hadassah
and Miss Henrietta Szold, together with an exchange of
cables between the Z.O.A. and the Executive of the Jewish
Agency.

SS:bg
bh
encls.,

C
O
P
Y

BOA CABLEGRAM

May 3rd, 1943

MISS HENRIETTA SZOLD
c/o JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM

and

EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM

CABLEGRAM FROM RABBI HERZOG DESCRIBES TEHRAN CHILDREN AS HAVING
BEEN PLACED IN TRANSITION CAMPS UNDER INFLUENCE OF BOTH ANTI-RELIGIOUS
AND RELIGIOUS LEADERS THEN HAVING BEEN PERMITTED TO MAKE OWN CHOICE AS
TO SETTLEMENT AND EDUCATION IN ERETZ ISRAEL. THIS REPORT DEEPLY ALARMS
AND CONCERNS EXECUTIVE OF Z.O.A. WILL DO IMMENSE HARM HERE IF LITERALLY
SO. GENERAL OPINION THAT THESE CHILDREN SHOULD BE EDUCATED RELIGIOUSLY.
ALL THIS TOUCHES ON DELICATE PROBLEMS HERE. EXECUTIVE UNWILLING TO
EXPRESS ITSELF OR TO MAKE REQUESTS OF AGENCY EXECUTIVE WITHOUT YOUR
REPORT ON SITUATION. PLEASE COMMUNICATE THIS TO US AS FULLY AND
PROMPTLY AS YOU CAN.

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, CHAIRMAN EMERGENCY
COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS
LOUIS B. LEVINTHAL, PRESIDENT ZOA
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, PRESIDENT JNF
BERNARD ROSENBLATT, CHAIRMAN Keren Hayesod

COPY OF CABLE

JERUSALEM, MAY 9, 1943

STEPHEN WISE
40 WEST 68TH STREET
NEW YORK

RE YOURS 5/3 PLEASE INFORM OTHER SIGNATORIES THAT CHILDREN FROM TEHRAN PLACED IN TEMPORARY CAMPS FOR EXAMINATION PHYSICAL PSYCHIC, ATTACHMENT TO RELATIVE, DETERMINATION EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS REQUIREMENTS AND GENERAL CLASSIFICATION IMPERATIVE ANTECEDENT TO PERMANENT PLACEMENT. CAMPS CONDUCTED BY LEADERS ACTIVE IN PAST IN YOUTH ALIYAH MOVEMENT MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION PALESTINE PARTLY AGUDAH ORGANIZATION PALESTINE AND GENERAL. FOR PRINCIPLES ESTABLISHED BY JEWISH AGENCY PALESTINE AFTER DISCUSSION WITH REPRESENTATIVES MIZRACHI AGUDAH ORGANIZATIONS PALESTINE IN PRESENCE CHIEF RABBI AND FOR PROCEDURE AND STATISTICS SEE MY CABLE TO HADASSAH ORGANIZATION NEW YORK OF 4/28 WHICH SHOWS 52 PERCENT IN RELIGIOUS PLACES WITH PROBABLY SOME INCREASE ON COMPLETION REVISION PLACEMENTS NOW PROCEEDING. NOTE THAT CHILDREN ABOVE FOURTEEN OF WHOM 336 GRANTED RIGHT SELFDETERMINATION AS ACCEPTED BY MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION PALESTINE THOSE TEN YEARS IN YOUTH ALIYAH AND ENDORSED BY EXPERIENCE. DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON PLACEMENTS ARISE REGARDING YOUNGER MEMBERS OF THE 160 FAMILY GROUPS OLDEST MEMBERS OF WHICH REFUSE CATEGORICALLY SEPARATION FROM YOUNGER MEMBERS AND AS CATEGORICALLY RELINQUISHMENT OF PERSONAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS ORTHODOX MODE OF LIFE. I OPPOSE RESORT TO COMPULSION. NOTE ALSO THAT WHOLE NUMBER NOT THOUSAND BUT 716 WITH 124 FULL ORPHANS AMONG THEM. DIFFICULTIES WITH THOSE ABOVE FOURTEEN DUE IN MANY INSTANCES TO PROPAGANDA EXERCISED BY ALL SECTIONS COMMUNITY WITHIN AND OUTSIDE CAMPS. SEE COPIES EXPLANATORY LETTERS TO BIRL LOCKER LONDON WITH OR ON WAY TO HADASSAH ORGANIZATION NEW YORK. LETTER FOLLOWS.

HENRIETTA SZOLD

C
O
P
Y

RCA CABLEGRAM

JUNE 4TH, 1943

EXECUTIVE JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM

APPROPRIATE INFORMATION FISHMAN SZOLD RE TEHERAN CHILDREN
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION STOP CONFIDENT PALESTINE EXECUTIVE
CAPABLE HANDLE SITUATION FULL REGARD INTERESTS CHILDREN
AND MOVEMENT.

LOUIS B. LEVINTHAL



ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

NEW ENGLAND ZIONIST REGION

600 WASHINGTON STREET Room 710 BOSTON, MASS.

President

MAX KABATZNICK

Life Honorary President

ELIHU D. STONE

Honorary Presidents

RALPH F. BASS

JOSEPH GOLDBERG

Vice Presidents

MORTON J. ROBBINS M.D.
First Vice-President

JUDGE SAMUEL BARNET

SAMUEL L. ELKINS

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DR. AARON H. STONE

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Finance Committee

JACOB RABINOVITZ
Chairman

SAMUEL CAPLOE

ISAAC GLASER

HARRY LEVINE

JACOB FROMBOIM

July 2, 1943

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

Dear Dr. Silver:-

The New England Zionist Region will hold its
Convention this year in Boston on Sunday, September 19th.

Our Conventions have always been fine affairs
that have done credit to the movement in New England, and, while
this year we are going to gear this Convention to meet the
war situation, it will still be carried through on a scale that
will be in keeping with our past traditions.

The special feature and function of the
Convention will be the Convention Luncheon. On behalf of
the New England Zionist Region we should like to invite you
to be the speaker at this Luncheon. We feel that by your
presence you will greatly aid the cause in New England.

Trusting that you will be able to be
with us, we are

Sincerely yours,

Max Kabatznick, President
New England Zionist Region

Dr. Arthur I. Shain
Chairman, Convention Committee

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Max L. Alpert	Samuel Nemzoff
Jacob S. Aronson	Max Nigrosh
Emanuel Borenstein	Benjamin Rabalsky
Dr. Harry Broudy	M. I. Rabinovitz
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Dr. Frances Burnce	Charles A. Rome
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Benjamin Cooperstein	Bernard D. Rosenberg
Maurice Eluto	George Rossyn
Philip Feir	Louis Rudnick
Leonard I. Feingold	Dr. Arthur I. Shain
Joseph Foster	Rabbi Samuel N. Shemman
Dr. Arthur Gladstone	Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow
Judge Lewis Goldberg	Benjamin M. Siegel
Isadore Goodman	Coleman Silbert
Moses Hirsh	Bennett Silverblatt
Moses Hochberg	Robert Silverman
Adolph Hubbard	Samuel Steinfield
Reuben Klainer	Julius Stone
Dr. George Kramer	Joseph Talamo
Louis Levine	Benjamin A. Teber
Dr. Moses W. Levinson-Lovi	Benjamin Ulin
Jacob Lewinton	Irving User
Leo Liberson	Rabbi Solomon Waldenberg
Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman	Lewis H. Weinstein
George B. Lourie	Albert H. Woolison
Howard P. Miller	

July 6, 1943

Mr. Max Kabatsnick, President
New England Zionist Region
600 Washington Street
Boston, Mass.

My dear Mr. Kabatsnick:

Thank you so much for your kind letter
and for your invitation to attend the convention
of the New England Zionist Region on September 19.
It would give me great pleasure indeed if I could
leave Cleveland at that time to attend your convention.
Unfortunately that period is just prior to the High
Holy Days when numerous congregational duties necessitate
my remaining in Cleveland.

I wish your convention every success. I hope
that I may be able at some future time to be of service
to you. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENTNEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARDJ. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

Received at

PD34 26=NEWYORK NY AUG 2 438P

DR A H SILVER=

PHONE HAUNESLANDING BALDMOUNTAIN CAMPS ME=

WILL TELEPHONE YOU TONIGHT AT EIGHT. ANTICIPATING POSSIBILITY
DIFFICULTY TELEPHONE CONNECTION WOULD SUGGEST THAT IF YOU DONT

RECEIVE CALL BY 830 YOU TELEPHONE ME SCHUYLER 44433=

Telephone No.

Telephoned To

Time Delivered

By

 Attempts
to
Deliver

122-2

adsh

725P

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

830 44433

Lovell, Maine
Aug. 5th '43

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

My dear Dr. Silver,


Your letter has been relayed to me here. I realize how very busy you are but in view of what you mean to the American Jewish community and the desire of our temple to present to the Washington scene the Rabbis who are the authentic voices of American Jewry at this time it would be indispensable to have you as one of our preachers.

We are in the heart of the east where you will have other speaking engagements for week-ends in the coming year. Would it not be possible for you to find some date that will fit into your visiting schedule so that you can be with us one Sunday morning between October and April?

Will you please do me the great favor and reconsider your last letter. There must be one Sunday you can let us have. May I add that it may provide the kind of audience-nonJewish as well as Jewish- whose sympathetic appreciation of your stand will be most useful in your service to Jewry. These men have had no opportunity to listen to you and all they hear of you -too often- is in a partisan Zionist setting. I am also eager after your talk to have you meet at a dinner in my home some of the important figures in the national Washington community who ought to know you better.

I would greatly appreciate a favorable reply from you. With warm personal greetings and my regrets for the poor typing,

Cordially,


Norman Gerstenfeld

PS Will you please reply to Maine.

arrived
Aug. 19.
Delivered

Arrived
Aug. 9



DR. J. A. NEUMANN
PRESIDENT

August 6, 1943

Rev. Rabbi A. H. Silver,
Bold Mountain Camp,
Bold Mountain, Maine.

Dear Rabbi Silver,

I want to apologize for inconveniencing you during your vacation, but I received a cable which reads as follows:

IN JEWISH NATIONAL INTEREST IMPLORE RABI SILVERS
URGENT HELP. DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY OUTSTANDING
BOOK ERNST FRANKENSTEIN JUSTICE FOR MY PEOPLE.
FIRST REVIEWS AND REACTION OVERWHELMING IMPERATIVE
GETTING AMERICAN EDITION IN TIME FOR JEWISH CON-
GRESS DELEGATES. GET COPY FROM SHERIDAN HOUSE
287 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK TRY FIND PUBLISHER
CABLE RESULT. ALSO AUTHORISED PRESENT CABLE.
LEO NEUMANN.

Yesterday afternoon I received the above book, and it really makes an overwhelming impression. It will, without a doubt, help our future.

I interpret the cable to mean that I should see that the 500 delegates which meet on the 28th of this month should each get a copy. Also, each of the 90 Congressmen in this country should get one. Now I do not know in which way I could make certain that every delegate and congressman who will get a copy of the book, will really read it, and here I need your help and idea.

The publishers told me that they need about two weeks for the printing of the book, but they cannot guarantee this date, since their printing shop is overloaded with work.

I would appreciate it very much if you will return the book as early as possible together with your comments.

Hoping you have a pleasant vacation, and
with best regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

J. A. Neumann

Temple Israel

BRYDEN ROAD AND 19TH ST.

COLUMBUS, OHIO

TELEPHONE FAIRFAX 7839

Received
Aug. 19

Aug. 15, 43.

Dear Mr.:

I am anxious to tell you how very happy I am to know that the Jewish Convention will be held in Col. during the week-end beginning Fri. Sept. 10. The officers and members of my Congregation look forward to the occasion with real joy.

I would like to arrange a special Service on Fri. evening Sept. 10 to mark the occasion appropriately. My thought primarily is to have the local community, particularly my congregation, attend the Service and hear an eminent Jewish speaker. I know of no one preferable to yourself. Will you favor us by accepting this invitation? Personally, I hope you will do your presence on the pulpit and an address by yourself, however brief, will well serve the cause. Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I am

Cordially,

Sam

HARRY A. RACHLIN
ATTORNEY AT LAW

609 ERIE COUNTY BANK BUILDING
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 2

August 28, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Doctor Silver:

Buffalo Zionist District is sponsoring a
Forum this coming season.

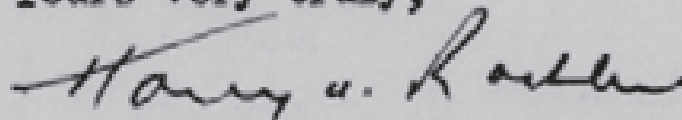
We would be more than delighted if you
would address our District.

I appreciate that you have a very heavy
schedule but wonder if you would consider addressing
our group in the evening of the afternoon that you
appear at the Presbyterian Church in this city.

Should you find that you can honor us on
this occasion, would you please advise as to your fee?

With Zionist greetings, I remain,

Yours very truly,



HAR:B

HARRY A. RACHLIN

September 9, 1943

Mr. Harry A. Rachlin
609 Erie County Bank Bldg.
Buffalo, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Rachlin:

Thank you for your kind letter of August 28 and for your invitation to address the Buffalo Zionist District Forum. I do not have an engagement with the Presbyterian Church of Buffalo this season and I must therefore decline your invitation. My schedule for the next season is very crowded and I am devoting all my spare time to war activities and overseas relief work. Perhaps some other year I may be able to be of service to you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AMS:BX

[1945]

Joint statement 1943

1- Origin

aEden wanted it, thought it would have approval of moderate US Jews. Before War Cabinet could take it up, Winant proposed it, original proposal was to stop discussion of subject for duration, would be helpful if both sides could get together. GB didn't want UN or 4 four proposal, wanted joint, added that they wouldn't recognize changes brought about by force. Then a long period of postponement, Halifax wired that US Zionists had heard about it. Aug. 9, Winant told them US was now against it, War dept. thought it unnecessary

b-Halifax blamed Zionist pressure on FDR (Morgenthau, Baruch, Welles, Stimson)

2- kept coming up in different forms even after Quebec, '43, but never issued (Stevens says it was not issued on advice of Stimson and Bloom who feared it might be regarded as anti-Zionist)

3 - Murray to Hull July 14, 1942, 1942
after FDR's decision of July 7th, to do nothing, not to put either side on a par
may have to bolster GB in ME, can't afford hostile Arabs. Have to turn tide by getting Arab support
need statement now

4 Feb 14, 1944. ED presented FDR with another
Joint statement - 1) full consultation
2) welcomed bi-lateral agreement before
end of war 3) promised justice to both
sides at end 4) warning by GB that
force would not be allowed to
disturb status quo.
(Stevens notes that FDR had
previously sanctioned 1st 3 points)

JOINT STATEMENT

State- formalization of taboo policy

1-FDR and WSC at one time were ready to make an official request that subject be dropped for duration, but Drew Pearson revealed it in summer of '43 and it was dropped despite strong statement of Hull to FDR

a- Eden was behind it, also Hurley who had just returned Murray, Berle, Hoskins

b- AZEC-got wind of it July 27'43- Wise wrote Hull a strong letter, asked for consultation before issued. Wise told AZEC Aug. 9th that it had been postponed, Zionist leaders asked to come to Wash. with proviso that they might declare themselves for no statement at all.

c- Schechtman- never issued, but was this due to Zionist opposition? Hull says in MEMOIRS that FDR approved announcement suggested by Hoskins (about final decision), but according to FOR REL. Stimson killed it by saying mil. situation didn't warrant it

2-Joint statement revived early in '44 when Ed. prepared another draft, Ed gave it to FDR Feb. 14, 1944 (no decision before end, would welcome Arab-Jew. agreement, after war will reach a decision with a "just and definitive solution equitable to all parties concerned". It was also to include (new) warning by GB that it would not allow force to change status quo. (Ed thought this would "clarify" situation, suggestion of a FDR-Hoskins talk on point). Really not different from FDR's position, but for some reason he refused to issue it and relegated it to the files.

3- Sept 4'43 Hull said in recent interview that they were planning joint statement to calm extremists. Said proposal came from W.A. - a good source says Herbert Magara Swope blocked action in War Dept

JOINT STATEMENT 1943

1-throughout 1943, in addition to Philby plan, State and FO discussed suggestion by Hoskins that Allies announce no settlement until after war and only then after full consultation. Both FDR and FOffice agreed to ~~stump~~ text of statement but never issued. Hull says reason is War Dept. objected that it might worsen Arab relations With no settlement in sight at Quebec in Aug. '43 FDR-WSC agreed to review situation each month

2- Hoskins told FDR, Sept. 27'43 that the statement he recommended freezing ^{at} ~~stus~~ quo, originally approved by both FDR and GB
"was shelved for the ~~flm~~ flimsiest of reasons"

2- Hoskins suggested joint statement in report to USecy 1/23/43-at this time wanted to rule out military aid for either side. Murray sent draft to Hull and Welles, but no action taken

3- word leaked through Drew Pearson (Wash. Post Aug 9 '43) that Hoskins wanted joint statement-no decision until after war and then only after consultation. Celler threatened cong. inquiry if it were issued. Celler asked FDR at forthcoming '43 Quebec conf. to intercede with WSC for a Pal. homeland.

a-Stevens said text prepared by FDR-WSC not issued, instead they decided to review Pal. situation each month. (Hull states they were about to make public their promises to Ibn Saud which had been made at urging of War Dept.)

4- While sending up Hoskins' report of April 20'43, Hull wanted joint Statement of UN dec. to be discussed first with G.B. & then with other UN nations

Hoskins wanted brief dec. by UN, (or at least 4 major powers)

1/ no final decisions in Pal. until after war & then only after full consultation.

2/ he will relieve tension & be mil equivalent of several other decisions.

(State took up Hoskins' proposal week 5. 13.)

Joint statement again pressed by Hoskins in Dec 1943

1- Arthur Lourie to AHS Oct. 11'43

War, State, Br. FO wanted it. Matter progressed where everything had been done except to get FDR's signature and FDR leaned toward it.

Public outcry would have done no good, but it was stopped because of behind-the-scenes pressure accompanied by threat of strong public reaction.

"The force of pub. op. was vital, but our strength lay in the potential and not the actual use of that weapon"

2- Hull proposed it via Winant June 4, 43
deeply disturbed, hear both sides our
armies, Zionist agitation causing alarm
& Pal. reactions in Arab lands "which in
turn produce a still higher pitch of
Zionist activity"

Pal. taking so much time & attention
that it is distracting war effort
Roosevelt question: would UN? 4 major powers?
Leaves that up to Br.

Aug 18 '43 Allen Threatened Cong.

in query - denances State,
at objections of War Dept, set aside
joint dec. & made Quebec '43
agreement to discuss it monthly

Decisions on Pal. ✓

0

1-held in abeyance till end of 1942; as long as there was threat of
invasion

- 2- By June 1944 we were not framing a
comp. policy on Pal; but we had
accepted limited liability in trying to
find a solution for Arab-Brit. Jewish disputes.
- 3- It was only says when FDR promised
King (May, 1943) no decision without
consultation, he made a US
commitment to participate in the
final solution

May, 1943 - no decision
without consultation