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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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Zionist Organization of America, convention, 1949.

MEETING HELD IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, APRIL 18, 1949
IN THE HOME OF DR. SILVER

Present: Dr. A. H. Silver, Benjamin Doft, Daniel Frisch, A. Goldstein, A. Goodman, Joseph W. Greenleaf, Rabbi Irving Miller, Charles Ress, Jacques Torczyner

1. Except as mentioned below, it was the consensus of opinion that a meeting be held on Sunday night, April 24th, of all the members of the Executive Committee who belong to the administration forces. At this meeting a secret ballot should determine the official candidate of this administration for the presidency of the Z.O.A.

Rabbi Miller agreed to abide by the decision of this committee meeting. Mr. Frisch reserved his answer subject to the advice of his committee.

2. Dr. Silver suggested that Rabbi Miller and Mr. Frisch enter in personal negotiations and felt that until the end of the meeting a personal agreement of these two gentlemen would ease the entire situation.

Dr. Silver felt that Daniel Frisch was entitled at this time to the presidency of the Z.O.A. Rabbi Miller should assume the chairmanship of the Emergency Council for very important political work will have to be done in the coming year. It was his thought that Rabbi Miller might well succeed to the presidency at the expiration of Mr. Frisch's term.

3. It was agreed by everyone that Mortimer May should occupy a leading position in the next administration if he is not to be the presidential candidate. If in negotiations with the opposition it is felt desirable to offer them the post of Chairman of the Administrative Council, then a post of Chairman of the Executive should be created which should be offered to Mr. May.
4. The following committee of seven was suggested to the President to negotiate with the committee of 15 of the opposition. This committee has no power to make any commitment without a decision of the committee mentioned in #1 of this memorandum. The seven members are: Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Daniel Frisch, Mortimer May, Irving Miller, Dr. M. Robbins, Abraham Goodman, and Jacques Torczyner.

It was also agreed that no formal negotiations should be started before Monday, April 25th. It was also unanimously agreed that no individual will negotiate with the opposition. This includes all candidates.

5. With respect to the inner committee, it was suggested that membership of the inner committee be 11 of which 3 should eventually belong to the opposition, 3 to be appointed by the new president, and 5 to be selected by the administration group.
6. It was suggested that the maximum concession to the opposition would be 2 to 3 vice-presidents and about 20% of the membership of the Executive Committee.
7. No member of the Z.O.A. will go to the Actions Committee meeting if it is held before the Z.O.A. Convention.
8. In view of the uncertain financial conditions during the coming year, it was felt that the budget, with the approval of the Convention, be subject to ~~the~~ review from time to time during the year by the Executive Committee, including also subventions such as that of the Histadruth Ivrit, Youth Council, etc.

9. All matters pertaining to the reorganization of the staff of the Z.O.A. which may be found necessary will first be reviewed by the inner committee before action is taken.
10. The relationship of the Z.O.A. to Hadassah and to the World Confederation will be determined after the conclusion of the negotiations with the opposition.



1/ Editorial

2/ Evald. Feyman

3/ Am. Israel

4/ Joseph -
Brenner -

~~PL 3-9637~~

~~PL 5-9888~~



May 5, 1949

Dr. Sidney Marks
Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Marks:

Dr. and Mrs. Silver will arrive in New York on Saturday morning, May 28th, in connection with the Z.O.A. Convention. Will you please arrange for their hotel accommodations at the Statler? They will remain until Monday night, May 30th.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

er

Keep
Fellow Zionist

Never before in the history of the Brandeis District has the matter of election of delegates to a national Zionist Convention assumed such grave importance.

American Zionism stands at the crossroads. What we and other districts do in the matter of selection of Convention Delegates may very well determine the future of the Zionist Organization of America, and perhaps the whole Zionist movement.

What is at issue is whether the opposition to the great and successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Emanuel Neumann -- an opposition twice repudiated by previous conventions -- will now succeed in its last-ditch effort to paralyze the general Zionist policies and program of our organization, and liquidate its influence for the good and welfare of our people.

We cannot believe that the majority of the members of the Brandeis District are ready and willing to abandon the farsighted and forthright policies of these time-tested leaders, policies which have culminated in the recognition of Israel by our government, and enhanced the prestige of Jews everywhere.

Nor can we believe that the majority of our members would prefer to entrust the solution of the many vital and basic current problems that have arisen as a result of the establishment of the State, to other minds than those of the proved sagacity and foresight of this same leadership.

Unfortunately, however, some of the leaders of our Brandeis District have openly aligned themselves with the opposition group. They plan to help them achieve their major objective by the simple device of electing a slate of Convention Delegates of whom a preponderant majority are already on record as committed to this policy of nullifying the influence of Silver and Neumann in the Zionist movement.

We believe that the unbalanced representation in the slate presented by the Nominating Committee is not a true reflection of Zionist sentiment in our District and should not go unchallenged.

If, therefore, you share our conviction that the Zionist job for Israel has still a hazardous -if not a long -- road to travel....

If you share our conviction that now is not yet the time to chart the liquidation of so powerful an instrument for good as our beloved ZOA....

If you share our conviction that, on the contrary, now is the time to continue unswervingly the policies of Neumann and Silver in our national leadership until the State is politically secure and its economy is on a sound foundation...

Then, by all means and without fail -- respond to this call to attend the election meeting Monday night, May 9, 1949, and vote for the slate to be presented from the floor by the supporters of the national ZOA administration and the Silver-Neumann policies of victory.


Joseph Andelman
Joseph Andelman

Aaron L. Shalowitz
Aaron Shalowitz

Isador S. Turover
Isador S. Turover

5/5/49

For the Supporters of the Neumann-Silver Policies of the
National ZOA Administration

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 6, 1949

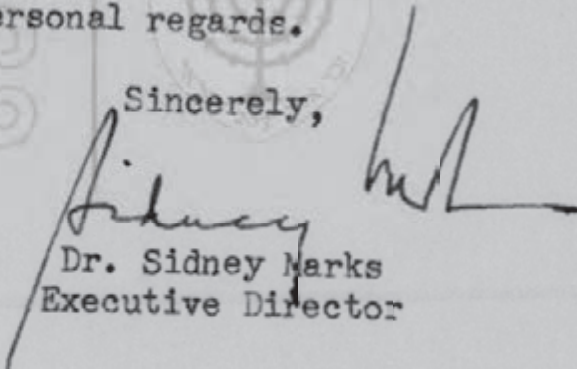
Miss Elizabeth Rice
Secy. to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Miss Rice:

Many thanks for your letter dated May 5th
with reference to the accommodations for Dr. and Mrs.
Silver. They are being taken care of immediately.

My kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,


Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/M

President

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN, New York, N. Y.



Honorary Vice-President

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD, Baltimore, Md.



Past Presidents

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN, Chicago, Ill.
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, New York, N. Y.
EDMUND I. KAUFMANN, Washington, D. C.
JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINthal, Philadelphia, Pa.
LOUIS LIPSKY, New York, N. Y.
JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG, New York, N. Y.
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Cleveland, Ohio
ROBERT SZOLD, New York, N. Y.
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, New York, N. Y.

Chairman, National Administrative Council

RABBI IRVING MILLER, Woodmere, N. Y.

Vice-Chairman, National Administrative Council

JACQUES TORCZYNER, New York, N. Y.

Secretary, National Administrative Council

JACOB S. RICHMAN, Philadelphia, Pa.



Treasurer

MARK SUGARMAN, Coatesville, Pa.

Associate Treasurer

JOSEPH W. GREENLEAF, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

WILLIAM H. SYLK, Philadelphia, Pa.

Chairman, Finance Committee

MILTON POLLACK, Brooklyn, N. Y.



National Secretary

DR. SIDNEY MARKS, New York, N. Y.



National Executive Committee

MARCUS ABRAMSON, Bronx, N. Y.
ABE BERKOWITZ, Birmingham, Ala.
ABE R. COHEN, Pittsburgh, Pa.
HARRY COHEN, Bronx, N. Y.
SOL COHEN, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
RABBI SAMUEL COOPER, Charleston, W. Va.
BENJAMIN J. DOBT, Lawrence, N. Y.
MICHAEL H. EGNAL, Philadelphia, Pa.
LOUIS A. FALK, Jersey City, N. J.
JOHN J. FOX, New Haven, Conn.
IRVING GALT, New York, N. Y.
BEN ZION GINSBURG, Chicago, Ill.
JOSEPH GOLDBERG, Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL GOLDSTOCK, Pittsburgh, Pa.
I. R. GOODMAN, Miami Beach, Fla.
JACOB GOODMAN, Brooklyn, N. Y.
RABBI ROBERT GORDIS, Rockaway Park, N. Y.
BENJAMIN E. GORDON, Teaneck, N. J.
RABBI SIMON GREENBERG, New York, N. Y.
MORRIS M. JACOBI, Detroit, Mich.

JUDGE HARRY E. KALODNER, Philadelphia, Pa.
PAUL KAMINSKY, New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM KAPILMAN, Bronx, N. Y.
EDMUND A. KOBLER, Albany, N. Y.
LEON KOHN, New York, N. Y.
DR. HARRIS J. LEVINE, Bronx, N. Y.
JULIUS LIVINGSTON, Tulsa, Okla.
JACOB G. LUKASHOK, New Rochelle, N. Y.
A. M. LUNTZ, Cleveland, Ohio
DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES, New York, N. Y.
DAVID MOSKOWITZ, Bronx, N. Y.
DR. MORTON J. ROBBINS, Nashua, N. H.
DR. DAVID REISS, St. Louis, Mo.
B. G. RUDOLPH, Syracuse, N. Y.
JOCHANON I. RUDAVSKY, Brooklyn, N. Y.
ALBERT SCHIFF, Columbus, Ohio
MILTON J. SILBERMAN, Chicago, Ill.
DAVID SPIEGEL, Brooklyn, N. Y.
THEODORE STRIMLING, Los Angeles, Calif.
I. S. TUROVER, Washington, D. C.

MORRIS WEINBERG, New York, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents

BENJAMIN G. BROWDY, Brooklyn, N. Y.
RABBI LEON FEUER, Toledo, Ohio
DANIEL FRISCH, New York, N. Y.
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN, Hartford, Conn.
ABRAHAM GOODMAN, Miami Beach, Fla.
MORTIMER MAY, Nashville, Tenn.
HARRY A. PINE, Newark, N. J.
CHARLES RESS, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
DEWEY D. STONE, Brockton, Mass.
ELIHU D. STONE, Boston, Mass.
HERMAN L. WEISMAN, Scarsdale, N. Y.

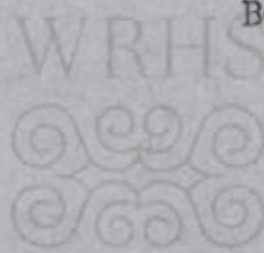
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MAY 17 1949

NLT NEUMAN COMPAL SURV NEWYORK (NEUMANN C/O COMMISSION ON PALESTINE
SURVEYS 521 FIFTH AV RM 1903)

CONSIDERING LATEST DEVELOPMENTS FEEL ABSOLUTE NECESSITY CONSULT
YOU STOP PREPARED TO SEND DELEGATION PLEASE CABLE IF ARRIVAL
DESIRABLE BEFORE CONVENTION



Bernstein



COPY

MACKAY RADIO

LC

MAY 18, 1949

BERNSTEIN
KALISHER 28
TELAVIV

YOU WOULD CERTAINLY BE WELCOME AT ALL TIMES STOP REGARDING
PROPOSED DELEGATION PLEASE ADVISE COMPOSITION ALSO WHETHER
INTEND PUBLIC DISCUSSION AT CONVENTION OR MORE RESTRICTED
DISCUSSIONS



Neumann



Zionist Organization of America, 41 E. 42 St., NY 17

Ernest E. Barbarash, Director, Public Relations
Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-3205

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, MAY 20, AND THEREAFTER

ZOA CONVENTION TO ACT ON FUTURE AMERICAN ZIONIST PROGRAM

- - - - -

RELATIONSHIP TO ISRAEL AND TO WORLD JEWISH COMMUNITY TO BE CONSIDERED

- - - - -

New York. - The entire range of Zionist activities in the past year, the events in relation to Israel and the future program of the ZOA, will be the subjects of comprehensive discussions and action at the 52nd annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America which will be held in New York from May 27th to May 30th at the Hotel Statler in New York, according to an announcement from ZOA headquarters. Prior to the formal opening of the convention on Saturday night at Carnegie Hall, registration of delegates will begin on Friday morning, May 27th, at the same time the last meeting of the outgoing National Executive Committee will be held, to be followed on Friday evening by a Sabbath celebration devoted to youth.

Mortimer May of Nashville, Tenn., ZOA vice-president, will be chairman at the Saturday night, May 28th opening session which will be marked by a memorial for the late Dr. Stephen S. Wise, a founder and former president of the organization. A eulogy will be rendered by Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester. The delegates will be greeted by the Mayor of New York City following the opening remarks by Jacques Torczyner, chairman of the Convention Committee. The opening session will be highlighted by the presidential address of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, ZOA president.

Two general sessions will be held on Sunday at Manhattan Center, 34th Street at 8th Avenue. The afternoon session, which will be presided over by Dr. Neumann, will feature addresses by Israeli Ambassador Eliahu Elath and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. In his address Dr. Silver will present a review of the political situation on the American and international scene in relation to Israel.

At this session, Federal Judge Simon H. Rifkind of New York will submit for consideration of the convention his report on the future program and constitution of the World Zionist Organization, including a study of the relationship of Zionism to the world Jewish community as a whole and to the Government and people of Israel.

The election of national officers for the ensuing year is scheduled to be held on Sunday evening. This session will be presided over by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. Following the election, the session will be given over to reports of Funds at which the principal address will be delivered by Dr. Israel Goldstein, treasurer of the Jewish Agency for Palestine who is scheduled to arrive from Israel on the eve of the convention. This Fund session will be presided over by Dr. Harris J. Levine of New York. Speakers will include Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund and Charles Ress, president of the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund).

Daniel Frisch will be chairman at the Monday session at which resolutions will be presented for adoption by the convention.

A special Memorial Day program will be held on Monday morning.

The convention will conclude Monday evening with a dinner in honor of the outgoing president, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, at which Dr. Silver will preside. One of the principal speakers at the dinner will be Aubrey Eban, permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations.

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May 23, 1949

Dr. Sidney Marks
Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Marks:

In connection with the forthcoming ZOA Convention, Dr. and Mrs. Silver will be arriving in New York on Friday, May 27th. Will you, therefore, be good enough to change their reservation at the Hotel Statler accordingly? Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

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ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 24, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

This is a reminder that you are to participate in the proceedings of the 52nd Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America.

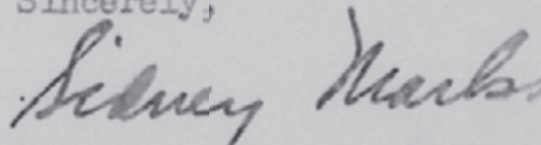
You are scheduled for:

Sunday, May 29, 1949 - 2:00 P. M.
Third Session - Promenade, Manhattan Center
Sunday, May 29, 1949 - 7:30 P. M.
Fourth Session - Promenade, Manhattan Center
Monday, May 30, 1949 - 7:30 P. M.
Closing Session - Grand Ballroom

I look forward to the pleasure of greeting you.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,



Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/fs

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 26, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

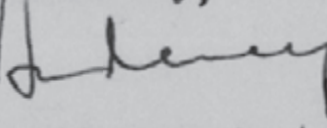
I checked carefully on the question of your suite and it will be ready for you and Mrs. Silver for Saturday arrival, which is the last instruction given to us by Miss Rice.

With reference to the book, I want to inform you that there is a special display with special signs printed for the occasion. There is already an ad in the New Palestine, a copy of which ad I am enclosing. You may be sure that we will do a first rate job in pushing the book.

I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Silver at the convention.

Accept my affectionate regards.

Sincerely,



Dr. Sidney Marks
Executive Director

SM/M

NATIONAL OFFICERS ELECTED AT
52nd ANNUAL CONVENTION, ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
Hotel Statler, New York--May 29, 1949

PRESIDENT

Daniel Frisch, New York City

HONORARY VICE PRESIDENTS:

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.
Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.
Charles Ress, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.

PAST PRESIDENTS:

Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York City
Edmund I. Kaufman, Washington, D. C.
Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.
Louis Lipsky, New York City
Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York City
Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York City
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio
Robert Szold, New Rochelle, New York

VICE PRESIDENTS:

Benjamin G. Browdy, Brooklyn, New York ✓
Judge Harry Ellenbogen, Pittsburgh, Pa. ✓
Rabbi Leon Feuer, Toledo, Ohio ✓
Abraham Goodman, Miami Beach, Fla. ✓
✗ Harold Goldenberg, Minneapolis, Minn.
✗ Benjamin E. Harris, Chicago, Ill.
Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass. ✓
Julius Livingston, Tulsa, Okla. ✓
Rabbi Irving Miller, Woodmere, New York ✓
David Moskowitz, Bronx, New York ✓
✗ Harry A. Pine, Newark, N. J.
✗ Charles Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.
✗ Ezra Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio
✗ Dewey D. Stone, Brockton, Mass.
Milton J. Silberman, Chicago, Ill. ✓
Herman L. Weisman, Scarsdale, New York ✓

CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL:

Rudolf Sonneborn, New York City

VICE-CHAIRMAN NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Dr. Morton J. Robbins, Nashua, N. H.
Joseph W. Greenleaf, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Jacques Torczynor, New York City

SECRETARY, NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL:

Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D. C.

CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.

TREASURERS:

Fred Monosson, Boston, Mass.
William Sylk, Philadelphia, Pa.

ASSOCIATE TREASURERS:

Louis Falk, Jersey City, N. J.
Adolph Hamburger, Baltimore, Md.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Elected at 52nd Annual Convention, May 29, 1949
Zionist Organization of America

Marcus Abramson
Rev. Martin Adolf
Sol Benamy
Samuel Braunstein
Joseph Cherner
Harry Cohen
Lester Cohen
Sol Cohen
Samuel Daroff
Ben Doff
Michael Egnal
Abraham Feinberg
Samuel Frankel
Irving Galt
Paul J. Geiser
Jacob Goodman
Benjamin E. Gordon
Judge Emanuel Greenberg
William Greenfield
Morris Jacobs
Paul Kaminsky
Bernard Kaplan
Leon Kay
Judge Joseph Klau

Murray Langbaum
Dr. Marcus Levinson
Dr. Harris J. Levine
Dr. Michael Lucacer
Jacob Lukashok
Dr. Samuel Margoshes
Morris Margulies
Sol Reiter
Philip Resnikoff
Samuel Rothberg
Jochanon Rudavsky
B. G. Rudolph
Albert Schiff
Bernard Shulman
Dr. Hyman D. Silver
Archibald Silverman
Milton I. Silverstein
Moses Speert
Michael Stavisky
Theodore Strimling
I. S. Turover
Sidney Weiss
Ben Winick
Charles Wolf

The president was authorized to appoint twelve additional
members to the National Executive with the approval of the National
Administrative Council.

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

[May, 1949]

HOTEL *Statler* NEW YORK
(Formerly Hotel Pennsylvania)

יום חמישי 10/5/49

היום חמישי 10/5/49
בבוקר הלכנו לסיור.

ביום חמישי 10/5/49
היום חמישי 10/5/49
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היום חמישי 10/5/49
היום חמישי 10/5/49

June 1, 1949

Mr. Samuel Fishman
Jewish Morning Journal
77 Broadway
New York, New York

My dear Mr. Fishman:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of your article on the Z.O.A. Convention which appeared in the Morning Journal. I read it with great interest. You certainly defined the issues of the Convention accurately and with fine understanding.

I thought the Convention was a very good one.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

June 1, 1949

Mr. Ernest E. Barbarash
Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Friend:

I would appreciate if your office would send me a dozen or so mimeographed copies of the address which I delivered at the Z.O.A. Convention and the original manuscript which I gave to one of your secretaries.

I would also suggest that you send air mail to Israel copies of the address, especially to the editors of the Haboker, the Hayom, and the Haaretz, with the suggestion that they may be interested in publishing it in whole or in part; also to the office of the Confederation of General Zionists. I would like them to have a complete statement of the address. Would you also please send me a copy of the Convention issue of the "New Palestine".

I knew of your many gifts right along, but at the staff meeting of the Z.O.A. the other night, I discovered rare and unsuspected talents in you.....

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Via Air Mail Special

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42ND STREET • MURRAY Hill 2-3205 • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPT.
ERNEST E. BARBARASH, Director

June 2, 1949

AIR MAIL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

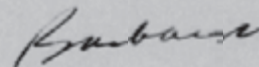
As this letter reaches you, you must have already received the mimeographed copies of your address. I am enclosing herewith the original manuscript.

Copies of your full address were also airmailed to all the papers in Israel as well as to the Confederation of General Zionists.

I am also enclosing copy of the pre-convention issue of The New Palestine.

I am grateful for your kind comments upon the additional talents which you discovered in me. These talents are discernable on rare occasions only after I am stimulated in "spirit"...

Cordially yours,



Ernest E. Barbarash

encl.
eeb:rk

For Release Sunday, May 29

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN, IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION OF ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, DECLARES THAT "JERUSALEM SHALL BE IN THE FUTURE AS IN THE ANCIENT PAST THE POLITICAL CAPITAL OF ISRAEL"

Attributes the Controversy Within Zionist Ranks to Resentment of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's Militant, Revolutionary Policy as former ZOA Head

Recommends that the ZOA Undertake Its Own Program of Special Activities and Projects in Israel... Criticizes Jewish Agency for Yielding to External Pressures

New York, N.Y.-Dr. Emanuel Neumann, outgoing president of the Zionist Organization of America, opening the business session of the organization's 52nd annual convention at Carnegie Hall before 2,000 delegates, Saturday night, May 28, asserted that "Jerusalem shall be in the future, as in the ancient past, the political capital of Israel as well as the spiritual center of Judaism throughout the world."

The Zionist leader emphasized that "no one will quarrel with any reasonable plan for placing the holy sites and monuments of Jerusalem under international protection and control." He maintained that "we can never reconcile ourselves to a severance of the New Jerusalem from Israel or a denial of its status as a national center."

In a review of the recent controversy which led to his resignation as well as Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's from the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Dr. Neumann denounced as "gross and malicious falsehoods those accusations made against the Zionist Organization of America that it wished to seize control of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency." He deeply regretted the fact that "internal struggles," no novelty in our democratic movement, had this time dragged into the political arena the national funds which are the very life-blood of our movement, and made them the object of bitter controversy and ruthless bombardment."

"I cannot recall a single controversy in this country or abroad, in which a political attack was launched in such utter disregard of fact and

complete contempt for historic trust", he asserted.

Accusations Completely Unfounded, Dr. Neumann says

Replying to the accusation that the ZOA had sought to control financial and economic policies in Israel, the organization's head said:

"For more than a year since this notion began to be propagated, I have requested and demanded that we be confronted with something more than phrases and cliches. But not a single fact or specific allegation of fact has been forthcoming. Undoubtedly efforts were made to dig them up, but the diggers were singularly unsuccessful in their search and for good reason.

"The simple truth is that regardless of the views which any among us may entertain on social and economic policies of the Jewish Agency, we have been in recent years much too preoccupied with the overshadowing political problem, to take a substantial interest in the others.

"I do not make this assertion with any sense of pride. On the contrary, I make it with regret, for I believe it was part of our Zionist duty to concern ourselves more seriously than we have ever done, with the social and economic problems of the Yishuv. It was our responsibility quite as much as the responsibility of Zionists of other countries and other parties to help shape the policies of the Movement in the fields of immigration, colonization, education and all other fields.

"Because we represent American Zionists, we are not therefore Zionists of second-class status who should help raise funds but have no opinion on how they should be spent. If there is ground for criticism, we should be criticized for exercising not too much but far too little influence on the financial and economic policies of the Movement and the Jewish Agency."

Declares Attacks were caused by Objections to Militancy of ZOA

Saying that these accusations and others "equally odious" have since been retracted and condemned by the whole executive of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Neumann pointed out that "these canards have meanwhile served to spread confusion and to undermine public confidence in the integrity of the Zionist funds."

Dr. Neumann attributed the attacks to the resentment engendered in some circles by the "fearlessly militant policy" carried out under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver during the past years.

Reviewing the main lines of action in this policy, Dr. Neumann said:

"To begin with, we raised the standard of revolt against the ambiguous attitude of our own government in Washington on the Palestinian question. This alarmed many Zionist leaders to such a point that they felt called upon to check Dr. Silver's 'irresponsible' conduct and save the Movement for a certain and disastrous defeat."

"We committed the crime of writing off the British government when others still pinned their hopes upon it. We insisted that it was the attitude of America rather than Britain that would be ultimately decisive. We opposed further attempts to conciliate Mr. Bevin, placing no faith in further diplomatic negotiation, and supported instead the policy of political and physical resistance to the Mandatory regime."

"At the Zionist Congress held in Basle in 1946 we committed the crime of leading the Movement to abandon that "British orientation" which had been the cornerstone of Zionist policy for a generation. We opposed further attempts to conciliate Mr. Bevin, placing no faith in further diplomatic negotiations, and supported instead the policy of political and physical resistance to the Mandatory regime."

"In America we dared to oppose the British loan and urged its postponement and were duly denounced for our 'illiberal' stand by prominent personalities within and without the Movement."

"When the Democratic Administration then in power, continued to pursue an essentially anti-Zionist policy, Dr. Silver sought the political support of the Republicans and was roundly denounced for this as a 'reactionary'. Paradoxically, this 'reactionary' who was so 'unpredictable' also urged that we seek support in Moscow — which brought down upon his head the fury of conservatives on the right and Social Democrats on the left. This you will remember was fully two years before Adlai Gromyko startled the world with his pro-Zionist address in the General Assembly of the United Nations".

"We", Dr. Neumann continued, "committed the multiple crime of destroying many cherished illusions, of breaking with many traditions, challenging and changing old policies and practices, opposing the British Government, opposing our own Government, fighting a formidable and terrifying array of anti-Zionist forces, fighting with equal vigor on the internal front against fellow-Jews, against fellow-Zionists, against all trends and tendencies stemming from weakness, defeatism, infirmity of purpose and ingrained habits of appeasement.

"To this end, we mobilized the forces of American Zionism and American Jewry — all the resources at their command — and we extended every possible assistance, moral, political and financial to the embattled Yishuv in its fight against an oppressive and tyrannical regime".

Bringing his outline of ZOA policy up to date, Dr. Neumann emphasized that on the eve of the proclamation of the Jewish State, it was "we who insisted on rejecting the proposals for postponing the declaration of Israel's independence, emanating from high quarters in Washington, and resisted heavy pressure. We refused to be intimidated by threats of sanctions and repression, not there in Palestine, but in the United States."

"If our hand had faltered, the outcome might well have been different, and the great historic opportunity might have been lost. Perhaps the greatest of our crimes has been that our judgment proved sounder than the judgment of others, and that our policies were repeatedly and strikingly vindicated by subsequent events."

Wants Zionist Funds to Remain Under Zionist Control

Turning to the much debated issue of Zionist funds, the head of the foremost American Zionist body stated that "it would, in my judgment be a great disservice to the movement and to Israel for the Zionist forces to relinquish the administration and management of American Zionist funds. I would recommend that in the period which lies immediately ahead, the Zionist movement shall retain ultimate control of the Zionist funds, and that the representation of the Zionist Organization of America, the parent organization, shall not be substantially reduced".

These Zionist funds are the Keron Kayesod and the Keron Kayemeth which comprise the United Palestine Appeal.

Recommendations to the Convention

In a series of recommendations to the Convention, Dr. Neumann called for the development of "our own special activities and projects in Israel, under our own management and control, with the full approval of the Israeli authorities". He said that this program would be similar to those conducted with success by the Labor Zionist movement and by Hadassah.

"It would be folly for the ZOA to deny itself the life-giving benefit of such direct contact with the life and people of Israel through a practical and constructive program of its own. If we fail to adopt this cause, we may soon find ourselves in the absurd position that ours is the only important organization kept behind an iron curtain, and making no specific contributions of its own in Israel. What an inglorious epilogue to half-a-century of pioneering and struggle on behalf of Israel".

On this subject, Dr. Neumann recommended that "the convention authorize and instruct the incoming administration to develop a Z.O.A. program of activities in Israel with due regard to the paramount responsibility which we share in common with the whole of American Jewry for the general fund-raising efforts of the United Jewish Appeal. I hope that a beginning will be made at once, possibly at this convention."

On the suggestion organizing Zionists and non-Zionists in this country on behalf of Israel under "one over-all umbrella", Dr. Neumann recommended to the convention that the Z.O.A. in company with other Zionist organizations "take the initiative to establish a consultative body representing the largest possible Jewish groups and organizations to explore all possibilities for mutual cooperation on behalf of Israel, and to promote maximum coordination of effort".

Warns Against Concentration of Power in One Small Group

Basing his opinion on his long service and experience as a Zionist, Dr. Neumann warned "against a tendency for over-centralization of authority and the overwhelming concentration of power in one small body of men, however composed". He added: "It would be the height of un-wisdom to kill the initiative, spontaneity and joyful acceptance of responsibility by local Zionist groups here and throughout the world."

He said that it was perplexing to find that there are Zionists here and in Israel "so short-sighted as to think that the strength of the Movement in the Diaspora is no longer of any moment", especially when "the burdens are becoming heavier rather than lighter". "The less reason then for dismissing the burden-bearer, whose shoulders are accustomed to the load".

Dr. Neumann took this occasion to criticize the Jewish Agency Executive, which, he said, "had chosen to accept dictation from without and to thrust American Zionism into a position of abject subserviency". "The Executive went further", he added, "and did what it could to coerce American Zionists into accepting that dictation thereby abandoning every pretense of respecting the well established administrative autonomy of American Zionist bodies."

"We have never challenged the authority of the Jewish Agency and do not intend to do so, when exercised by competent bodies within the limits of their competence and jurisdiction", he explained. He took exception to the opinion that the Jewish Agency Executive is the supreme body of the movement, saying "that is inaccurate; it is an executive and not a legislative body; its authority is a delegated and limited authority; it cannot change at will existing rules and regulations and well-established procedures".

Here, Dr. Neumann referred to the Agency's decision which led to his and Dr. Silver's resignation from the Agency's Executive. "Never before has the World Executive issued peremptory instructions to a duly constituted, competent autonomous local Zionist body like the UPA or attempted to coerce it into signing on the dotted line an agreement with another non-Zionist organization on terms prescribed by the Executive." We were fully within our rights to ask: quo warrant?

"By what warrant did the Executive step out of its role and competence to sweep aside competent local authorities and impose its own judgment? The answer was given to me by one of my former colleagues. The Executive counted upon our ultimate acquiescence because an indefinite prolongation of the controversy might have endangered the campaign. They speculated on our Zionist loyalty and they were right. We yielded to avoid further injury to the Cause but we have not yielded our convictions. The basic problem of relationship will have to be threshed out to a conclusion, but the beginning should be made here."

Then the Z.O.A. president recommended the adoption of unequivocal resolutions "expressing the sense of the Convention that the self-direction and administrative autonomy enjoyed by duly constituted Zionist bodies in the past shall be fully preserved and vigorously safe-guarded in the future."

Fear Grab Resurgence
In conclusion, Dr. Neumann stated:

"The revolutionary career of Zionism is by no means over. If we could transpose ourselves to some peak in the future and look back, we would see that it has only begun. Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that its ultimate goals will be achieved in any spore -- in Israel, in the Near East, in the international arena or in our own lives smoothly and peacefully, without conflict or controversy.

"Arab leaders in Palestine and throughout the Near East are engaged in exhorting their people and raising their drooping confidence by holding up the historic precedent of the Crusades. These words, these signs, should not be taken too lightly. The Jews of all peoples should not dismiss historical precedents and the lessons of the past. Between Jew and Arab, the issue of peace or war may tremble in the balance for many years to come.

"On the international scene, Israel has already challenged British imperial interests in North Africa. For the Jewish State cannot shrink from the implications of its sovereign status, its international position, the demands of its national interest and the dictate of its spiritual heritage. Whatever the risks, Israel must move forward on its road, there is no going back."

"I am strong in my faith that Zionism will march on to new tasks, new battles, and ever broadening horizons. Its revolutionary rhythm is in our blood. We cannot lose it and be at peace with ourselves."

OTHER ADDRESSES AT CARNEGIE HALL

OPENING SESSION MARKED BY MEMORIAL TO WISE

Following the presentation of colors led by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States and by veterans from Israel, Flight Lt. Paltiel Makleff, and Pilot Officer Sarah Makleff of the Israel Air Force, the business sessions were formally opened at Carnegie Hall, Saturday night, by Jacques Torczyner of New York, chairman of the Convention Program Committee. The chairman of the session was Mortimer May of Nashville, Tenn., a vice-president of the ZOA. The convention was greeted in behalf of the city of New York by Hon. Vincent R. Impolletteri, Acting Mayor of the City of New York.

TORCZYNER ATTACKS ANTI-ZIONISTS

In his opening remarks, Mr. Torczyner declared that the convention "will have to face with dignity and conviction the arguments advanced by those near-sighted people who seek to liquidate the Zionist movement." He urged that the convention "give grave study to the plans suggested by the realists who advocate the continuation of the organized Zionist movement in the Diaspora. The speaker charged that "organizations which were never interested in the fate of the Jewish people, groups or individuals who joined us quite late in the hour of our destiny, seek to assume the mantle of our movement and become heirs to an organization that still has a great task to perform." He added that the "ful-

fillment of our objectives will take decades. The problem of Jewish survival, here, in Israel and everywhere will not be solved overnight. There are no quick panaceas."

May says Zionists should turn to American Scene

Mortimer May in his address, stated that "Zionists shall be called upon to turn our attention to the American scene as never before. Realistically we must appraise its strengths and its weaknesses. The American Jewish community has probably yet to find a sound base for survival and for operating on its own. Hitherto it has depended upon the Old World. It needs to be made a creative Jewry and one with a will to live. In this the new State can be of the greatest help. The creative example of Israel in the material and in the cultural fields should give a new stimulus and a new meaning to Jewish life here. It will be a major task to make known the community of Israel to that of our own. We shall have to bring through travel, camps, scholarships, speakers and the printed word, this understanding of the meaning of the new life which Israel is creating. We shall have the opportunity to foster Hebraic education here at home. The task is a challenging one. It shall be our privilege to fuse the power and the numbers and the strength of American Jewry with the ideals and the spirit and the creativity of the Yishuv, to produce perhaps a new and glorious Golden Age.

The speaker further asserted that "we shall be called upon to create in our own America, a new Jewish ethos which shall in turn produce a Jewish life worthy of the new State and its people. To these tasks we shall rededicate ourselves, firm in the resolve that the new state and the Jewish people have as their destiny to contribute in the future as in the past, toward vindicating the ways of God to man.

STEPHEN S. WISE MEMORIAL

The Saturday night session in Carnegie Hall was devoted in part to a memorial for the late Dr. Stephen S. Wise, with Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester, who was a close associate of the deceased, delivering the eulogy. In his memorial address, Rabbi Bernstein paid tribute to Dr. Wise's rare human qualities and his services to the cause of the Jewish people and to mankind. "Fundamental to his outlook was his faith in his fellow-men and his love for them. A profound faith in democracy was in the very core of his being."

The speaker continued: "His was a passionate love for America. Unlike those born in this country, he said, "foreign born Americans like myself do not take America for granted. We look upon American citizenship as the most precious and sacred of boons." But he loved America not just as it was but at its best. He resented and resisted exploitation, discrimination, corruption. He attacked dishonesty in high places and bigotry in low. No consideration of expediency could deter him from speaking the truth. "Because I am an American I am free. Because I am an American I shall live and labor to the end that all men be set free."

"He had a passionate love for his own people. The crucial test of a Jew in his feeling of identification with the fate of his fellow Jews. It was because the American Council for Judaism could not successfully meet this test that he detested them. He could not forgive them for attempting to impose an ideology born of timidity and sycophancy, on European Jewry struggling desperately for survival and national rebirth."

Rabbi Bernstein stressed Dr. Wise's Zionist fervor and role as a founder of the Zionist Organization of America. "Dr. Wise did not regard Zionism as a form of defeatism or escapism. He saw it against a background of Jewish history and Jewish needs as the democratic, progressive statesmanlike solution of the Jewish problem. It was not because he despaired of democracy that he was a Zionist but because he believed in it and in its extension. So he had faith in America and he loved it with a fervor akin to his love for his own people. I know of no one who was more completely a Jew and an American than he."

"He believed, as we must, that the survival of American democracy is indispensable to the welfare of mankind. And what hope would there be for little Israel if democracy should go under and world organization with it? The answer to the Jewish problem as to the total human problem is the freedom and the equality in which Stephen Wise so passionately believed."

"It was this democratic approach to Zionism which made him so effective an interpreter to the American people and their leaders. He touched a responsive chord in the hearts of innumerable Americans who sensed in the Zionist enterprise the same pioneering spirit which founded this country and made it great."

=====

Dear Abba,

Herewith, a part of my speech.

I'm still at it

WVHS
C. W. Harris



Enam

III

As I have indicated, much will be said tomorrow by others, including Judge Rifkind, Dr. Silver, and I believe, Mr. Frisch, touching the future program of the Zionist Movement and that of our own Organization. I will therefore confine myself to a few ^{crucial issues} ~~important points~~ on which we ought to achieve some clarity.

For several years past the ^{task} ~~responsibility~~ for fund-raising for urgent needs in Israel has become in this country, increasingly the responsibility of Jewish communities and of American Jewry as a whole. This has been a slow process. I well recall how few were those who responded to our call when I undertook the organization of the Keren Hayesod in the United States, ^{in 1921} twenty-eight years ago, and how few they still were, when I organized and directed the United ^{viewpoint} ~~philosophy~~ Palestine Appeal in 1925. But the steady progress of our work in Palestine and the tragic vindication of our Zionist ~~philosophy~~ in the days of Hitler, and above all, the magnificent triumph of Zionism itself in the political arena and on the battlefields of Israel - all these have finally rallied even the doubters and waverers, even the skeptics and the cynics. We welcomed them all as we have always welcomed new friends and converts with outstretched arms. And it is for that reason that we responded so readily to the suggestion put forward last Fall, that we accord liberal representation to local communities and welfare funds on the governing bodies of the United Palestine Appeal, even though the communities and welfare funds themselves, made no demand whatsoever for such representation.

But the question remains whether and to what extent the organized Zionist Movement in this country, and more especially our own organization, shall retain ultimate responsibility for the administration and management of Zionist funds on the American scene. It would, in my judgment, be a great disservice to the Movement and to Israel, for the organized Zionist Movement

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to relinquish that responsibility. I once said in another context that it is pleasant to witness ^{the} a great rush on to the Zionist band-wagon but there ^{is} ~~was~~ danger that such a rush would hurl the driver from ^{his} ~~the~~ seat - the driver in this case, being the organization which has piloted the Movement and devoted itself exclusively to ^{Palestine & Israel} ~~its~~ interest for more than half a century. I would therefore recommend that ^{in the period which lies ahead} the Zionist Movement shall retain ultimate control of the Zionist funds and that the representation of the Zionist Organization of America, the parent organization, shall not be substantially reduced.

But we must go further. In addition to our participation in general fund-raising effort on a community level, and our participation in the management of the funds on the American scene, the time has come for us to develop our own activities and projects in Israel under our own management, direction and control. This would be a radical departure but there is ample precedent for such a policy. Many years ago Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization, inaugurated such a program of its own, which from modest beginnings has grown into a great and significant effort on behalf of Israel. In the beginning it is true, this policy adopted by Hadassah, was criticized and opposed and the demand made that Hadassah should turn over the proceeds of its collections to the Jewish Agency and the Keren-Hayesod, to be administered by these central organs of the Movement. The question was raised and debated in successive Zionist Congresses but Hadassah ^{resisted this pressure and} stood firm, asserting that a direct stake in concrete projects in Palestine was essential to the growth of its organization and the success of its ^{practical} efforts. The position taken by Hadassah prevailed, and has since been vindicated in every respect. Its collections have increased steadily. So has its membership.

Haddassah is thereby

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~~It is~~ ⁱⁿ a daily and vital contact with Israel through projects and activities which are under its own control and directed ~~directly~~ from New York. Nor has this policy reduced in the slightest, Haddassah's participation in General Zionist affairs or its influence in the Councils of the Movement. On the contrary, its influence has been enhanced by the prestige deriving from significant achievements in Palestine under its name and banner. Indeed its influence has now reached the point where its representatives in the councils of the Movement and in the Agency Executive, sometimes cast deciding votes prescribing to us, the Zionist Organization of America, the degree to which we may assert our prerogatives in the Zionist funds and the extent to which we must surrender our administrative autonomy to ^{the} over-riding authority of the Jewish Agency. The Haddassah leaders are thus in ^{the remarkable and enviable} ~~a fortunate~~ position of appearing as advocates and champions of ^{where we are concerned for themselves} highly centralized control by the Jewish Agency while retaining not merely administrative autonomy but full independence and complete freedom of action with respect to ~~their own funds~~ ^{on} in regard to the raising of their funds here and ~~the management~~ ^{ing} of their projects in Israel.

~~Actually~~ This is a developing pattern which is being adopted by other organizations, Zionist as well as non-Zionist. A recent example is that of the ORT which has undertaken a broad program of vocational training of its own, in Israel, with the full approval of the authorities there.

~~Some~~ Programs for direct activity in Israel are being projected by the Bnai Brith and many lesser organizations. ^{are carried on by} ~~It would be absurd~~ In these circumstances ^{it would be folly} for the ZOA to deny itself the life-giving benefit of direct contact with the life and people of Israel, ^{by} ~~to~~ a constructive program of its own. If we fail to move in that direction we may soon find ourselves in the absurd position that ^{ours} ~~we~~, the parent Zionist Organization in the United States, is the only

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important Jewish organization kept behind the iron curtain, separating it from direct contact with Israel and making no special or specific contribution of its own. What an inglorious end to half a century of pioneering and struggle on behalf of Israel!

I therefore recommend that the convention authorize and instruct the incoming administration to develop a ZOA program of activities in Israel, with due regard of course, to the responsibility which we share with the whole of American Jewry for the general fund-raising effort of the United Jewish Appeal. I hope that a beginning will be made at once, possibly at this Convention. I entertain no doubt regarding the possibility of our success in that direction. Last year, in a sense, we experimented by carrying through for the first time, a special effort in the form of our "Food for Israel" campaign. It succeeded beyond our expectations. It was of material benefit to Israel and reflected credit upon our Movement.

Of late, considerable quantities of ink have been spilled on the subject of ^{organizing} ~~bringing~~ the whole of American Jewry ~~into play~~ on behalf of Israel, under an over-all umbrella. Personally I do not like umbrellas but the idea is ^{basically though it is far from} sound, ~~nor is it essentially~~ novel. The more the pity that those who have raised the cry and used it as yet another slogan directed against the ZOA or its leadership, have failed to come forward with anything more detailed or concrete regarding the form which the umbrella should take. There have been many attempts of this kind in the past. The Jewish Agency was itself conceived originally as such an umbrella, though its mechanism proved cumbersome and defective. To mention another experiment, there was the American Jewish Conference which rendered invaluable service during a highly critical period, but as soon as the United Nations adopted its famous

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resolution on Palestine, the life went out of the American Jewish Conference and presently it expired. We, of the ZOA did our best to preserve it and I personally was chiefly responsible for prolonging its life to the end of 1948 by securing a substantial allocation for its meager budget. But the conference foundered because of the unwillingness of leading powerful Jewish organizations to merge their separate activities and stand together under one umbrella.

There may be other and more successful ways of accomplishing that end. They should be explored. I have previously suggested and now recommend that the ZOA in company with other Zionist organizations, endeavor to establish, to begin with, a consultative body representing the largest possible number of Jewish groups and organizations in the United States, to explore all possibilities for effective cooperation on behalf of Israel, ^{and} pending such exploration, to endeavor to ~~achieve a semblance of~~ ^{promote} coordination of effort among them all.

Even so, ^{for universality} we must warn against such an excess of zeal as would [^]relegate organized Zionism to the background. In a feasible measure this process has actually begun. It ^(S)is natural and perhaps forgivable that other groups in American Jewish life, including some who have fought the Zionist program for decades, should now wish to ride the crest of the Zionist wave, seeing how completely our cause has won the heart and loyalty of American Jews. It is even understandable, though not ~~quite so~~ ^{quite so} forgivable, that some should attempt to build up their strength on the ruins of the Zionist Movement. But it is perplexing to find that there are persons or elements in Israel, so short-sighted as to think that the strength of the Zionist Movement in the Diaspora is no longer of any great moment. We are not yet quite over the hill. The coming period is likely to be full of

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difficulties and peril. It is far too early to dispense with the services of that ~~great~~ ^{great} and powerful organization built up throughout the world, with ~~a~~ ^{over} vast expenditure of effort ~~for~~ half a century. ^P The burdens are becoming heavier rather than lighter, the less reason for dismissing the chief burden-bearer, whose shoulders are accustomed to the load. One is reminded of a tale concerning the Wise Men of Chelm, of legendary fame. They were conveying a wagon heaped high with burdens - a staggering load. The going was rough. The wagon was mired and might have gone to pieces. It occurred to one of them that some things had to be removed, whereupon, to make better progress, ^{the wise men} ~~they~~ proceed to remove the wheels. We, my friends, are the wheels which have moved the cart and brought it to this point - and our task is by ~~no~~ means ended. ^P Virtually all of the matters I have referred to, as well as ^{others} ~~those~~ which I have not, were involved directly or indirectly, in ^{the} controversial discussions which took place recently in the Executive of the Jewish Agency. As a result of ~~certain~~ decisions reached there, Dr. Silver and I felt constrained to resign our positions on the Agency. In all loyalty we could not ~~do otherwise~~. We had been elected as members of that body not only in our personal capacities, but as your representatives, as representatives of this great organization. Now an issue arose affecting the very future of our organization and of the Movement as a whole. Confronted with a choice of yielding to certain ^{external} pressures or upholding the authority of American Zionism in matters arising on the American scene, the Agency Executive chose to reverse its own unanimous decisions, to accept dictation ^{from without}, thereby thrusting American Zionism into a position of ^{object} subserviency. The Executive went further and did what it could to coerce American Zionists into accepting ^{that} ~~such~~ dictation ~~from without~~, thereby abandoning ~~and destroying~~ the last pretense of ^{respecting} ~~honoring~~ the well-established administrative autonomy of American Zionist bodies. In an

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earlier phase of the controversy ^{certain} members of the Executive could not find their voice in order to declare in unambiguous terms that the establishment of a rival fund for Israel, competing with UPA would not be tolerated and that money collected through such a rival fund, would not be accepted. ^{Subsequently} ^{American Zionist and} ~~at~~ the same members of the Executive, in order to coerce the United Palestine Appeal to accept dictation, did not hesitate to register a New York membership corporation in Albany, under the name and style of the Jewish Agency, to by-pass the United Palestine Appeal, and ^{negotiate} ~~sign~~ an agreement directly with the Joint Distribution Committee..

This chapter will be dealt with more fully, I believe, by Dr. Silver, tomorrow. Again, without entering into detail, I must share with you my views on the basic issue, the autonomy of American Zionist bodies.

Fellow Delegates: What I am about to say, I say not as an American Zionist but as a Zionist. I am far from being animated by a narrow, parochial attitude or local pride. For eight years prior to the war, I was a resident of Palestine, It is entirely possible that before long I shall return to ~~live in~~ Israel ^{to} and live its life. But as a Zionist with a long and wide experience in the affairs of the World Movement, as one who prides himself also with some degree of historic perception, I raise my voice ^{in protest and warning} ~~and warn~~ against a tendency for over-centralization of authority and the over-concentration of power in one small body of men, ~~however wise and devoted they~~ ^{which would} ~~may be and the killing~~ that initiative, spontaneity and the joyful acceptance of responsibility by local Zionist groups here and throughout the world, ~~was~~ ^{so} largely responsible for the phenomenal success of our Movement. This is particularly true of a community so large, so resourceful and so highly organized as our own. American Zionists are justly proud of their massive contributions to the Cause in so many spheres of action. And I freely confess that in en-

~~convinced~~ ^{sucking} to evoke a maximum response from you and your constituents, especially in our political effort, I have myself deliberately and systematically appealed to your sense of pride, your feeling of maturity and your sense of historic responsibility. Dr. Silver has done likewise and with far greater effect; and you responded and rose to the occasion.

It is no accident that so much of the political battle has been fought and won in this country, not only because of America's position in the world, but also of your position in America - the existence of a virile Zionist Movement, alert, ~~exuberant~~ ^{vibrant increasingly mature} and increasingly self-confident.

It is no accident that the first official formulation of the demand for a Jewish State was made here in America in the form of the Biltmore Program in May 1942. It was not until December of that year that it was adopted by the smaller Actions Committee meeting in Palestine; and it was not until 1945 that it was approved and ratified by the World Zionist Conference, meeting in London. Nor was it an accident that so much was accomplished by American Zionists by way of ~~helping to realize~~ ^{the Biltmore Program} in the teeth of determined and often violent opposition. Throughout ^{those fateful years} we exercised a large measure of independent initiative, but even ~~when~~ we acted as we did on virtually all occasions, in close conformity with the policy of the World Organization, we chose our own means and methods and techniques, ~~and~~ ^{worked} through men of our own choice, and were left entirely free to do so. It was providential that ~~this was the case~~ ^{it was so}, for no group of men representing the Zionists of the world, drawn from many countries, could possibly be so omniscient and all-wise, as to know better than the American Zionists themselves, how to mobilize the forces available on this scene ^{Jews and no Jews,} and what methods would be most effective in achieving those results which we ~~had~~ ^{did} achieve. Destroy this initiative, this sense of responsibility, the ^{willing-up}

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~~abundance~~ of energy^{ies} generated by spontaneous effort and self-direction,
 and you crush the life of the Movement, its elan, its zest, its spirit
 of venturesomeness, its capacity for high endeavor. ^{If you} Substitute detailed
 direction from without, ^{American Zionism} reduce it to a ^{mere} mechanism operated by remote control,
~~and~~ it will wither and desiccate under your eyes.



[1949]

REPORT

Of The

COMMISSION

On The

FUTURE PROGRAM

And

CONSTITUTION

Of The

WORLD ZIONIST

ORGANIZATION

1949

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Report

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1949

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

New York 17, N. Y.



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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Printed in the United States of America

I. INTRODUCTION

AT the last convention of the Zionist Organization of America, the president was authorized to appoint a Commission on the Future Program and Constitution of the World Zionist Organization. In due time, Dr. Emanuel Neumann appointed the members of the Commission and subsequently, on January 23, 1949, the National Executive of the ZOA confirmed his action.

The Commission was composed of the following: Judge Simon H. Rifkind (chairman), Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein (vice-chairman), Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Murray I. Gurfein, Milton Handler, Leon A. Kohn, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Mortimer May, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Jochanon Rudavsky, Robert Szold, Jacques Torczyner, Herman L. Weisman. Dr. Benjamin Akzin acted as adviser, and Dr. Sidney Marks as secretary to the Commission.

The Commission held seven meetings. It invited correspondence from the public through announcements in the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press. Many Zionists in this country and even abroad responded and contributed in important ways to the thinking of the Commission.

The Commission also invited the other Zionist groups in the United States to send representatives to state their views. The following accepted: Hadassah Women's

Zionist Organization, Mizrachi, United Zionists-Revisionists, Achdut Havodah-Poale Zion.

The exchange of views thus made possible was of inestimable value. To all who have participated in its work the Commission expresses its thanks and its high appreciation of the service they have rendered.

One item elicited a unanimous judgment from the members of the Commission, its correspondents and the organizational representatives who appeared at its meetings: that the Zionist movement had reached a stage in its history when it must think anew of its aims and its policies and devise the institutional means most effectively to carry them to success. It was, therefore, an act of high statesmanship for the ZOA to take the initiative in creating the Commission to serve as a repository of the ideas which have been fermenting among thinking Zionists, to sift and appraise the many proposals and, as far as possible, to generate new organized thinking.

The report submitted herewith was adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Commission with Messrs. Gurfein, Lipsky and Szold dissenting because they disagreed with one or more aspects of the report.

The very severe limitations of the Commission's responsibility must be clearly understood. The Commission is an agency of ZOA. It does not presume to speak for the ZOA. It certainly has no authority to speak for other Zionist bodies in America. And assuredly it does not pretend to speak for the WZO, whose Congress is

the only body authorized to revise its constitution. It follows that what the Commission undertook to do was to begin a task that needs doing—not to complete it.

Jewish affairs in general and Zionist affairs in particular are in a state of flux. The historic events of the past few years, events both tragic and glorious, have had a tremendous impact upon all phases of Jewish life. They have set in motion forces for change which have not yet been spent. They are still in operation. A demographic map of world Jewry today is quite different from one prepared before World War II. The establishment of the State of Israel is, of course, the paramount fact, of momentous significance to the movement. It was that fact, more than any other, which created the need for the project assigned to the Commission. The consequences of that fact for Jewry and for the Zionist movement will have to be studied by Zionists for years to come.

The last mentioned considerations of historical perspective unite with the previously mentioned considerations of organizational protocol to give this report a character of tentativeness, as a record of exploration rather than the announcement of discovery. Moreover, the tentative conclusions herein reached are largely concerned with basic principles rather than with detailed programs and activities.

The Commission suggests that, after the Convention has received the present report, it authorize its circulation as material for study and public discussion; that

the report be thereupon referred to the Administrative Council of the ZOA; and that, prior to action upon the issue by the central bodies of the World Zionist movement, a group representative of all Zionist bodies in America undertake a coordinated study of the problem involved.

II. CALL TO JEWRY

THE Zionist movement can be justly proud of its achievements in little more than half a century, a short time in the life of a people. But it is not our task to look backwards. We must look forward. As we count our gains, not the least of them is the growing enthusiasm for the future of Israel on the part of great numbers of Jews who had not earlier shared in the organized Zionist movement.

At this critical hour, we call upon all Jews to meet the challenge of the future. We earnestly ask all Jews who agree with us that unceasing effort is essential to make the promise of Israel a fulfillment, to join with us as we will with them.

We have high hopes that the time has come when a statement of our principles will commend itself to Zionist as well as those Jews who did not, in the past, call themselves Zionists. We submit this program to our fellow Jews as matters of fundamental principle upon which we believe the vast majority will find themselves in agreement.

III. THE AIMS OF ZIONISM

THE establishment and international recognition of the State of Israel constitute a signal achievement for Zionism. They do not mark the fulfillment of all of its aims.

The existence and unity of the Jewish people have been and are basic postulates of the Zionist movement. An invariant aspect of the Jewish people, throughout its tri-millennial history, has been its attachment to the land of Israel. Both existence and unity of the Jewish people have been fostered by the cultivation of Jewish awareness of its cultural heritage and the will to perpetuate it. Zionism is an integral element of the Jewish way of life; it is not a temporary political platform. The modern Zionist movement is an instrumentality fashioned by the Jewish people for the preservation of Jewish existence and the perpetuation of its unity by the re-creation of the Jewish State in Israel, the revival of Jewish culture and the revivification of its creative forces.

These aims are, in their very nature, as eternal as the Jewish people; and the responsibility for their pursuit and furtherance can never be finally discharged.

In the light of the historic events which have recently occurred—tragedy in Europe, triumphs in Israel—we venture to suggest a re-formulation of the objectives of the Zionist movement along the following lines:

The aims of Zionism are:

1. To safeguard the integrity and independence of the State of Israel as a free and democratic commonwealth by means consistent with the laws of the several countries whereof Zionists are nationals or inhabitants; to this end, the Zionist movement will render moral and material assistance to the people of Israel, will promote the speedy migration to Israel of Jews desirous of settling therein, will further their adequate preparation, economic absorption and cultural integration and will cooperate in lifting the standard of life in Israel.
2. To assist in the organization of all Jewry for the above-stated purposes by means of local and general institutions in conformity with local law.
3. To strengthen Jewish sentiment and consciousness as a people and promote its cultural creativity.

IV. THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL

THE Zionist movement belongs to the Jewish people. All Jews have the right to share in it. Jews in Israel as well as Jews out of Israel are entitled to participate in the movement, to shape its policies and execute its programs. The reasons which justified conferring upon the Jews of Palestine representation at twice the ratio for Jews elsewhere have become invalid as a result of the growth of the population within Israel and the re-

duction in the number of Jews in many other countries. Representation at the Zionist Congress should, therefore, be on a uniform basis throughout the world.

The Jews of Israel and the Jews out of Israel are bound together as one people with a common heritage of religion and culture. Jews everywhere have therefore a special concern for the unimpeded flowering of Jewish civilization in Israel and for the tranquillity and happiness of the Jews in their ancient home. Moreover, Jews everywhere anticipate the enrichment of their spiritual lives from the renaissance of Jewish culture in Israel.

V. ZIONISM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

ISRAEL is a sovereign State. Only the citizens of Israel owe it allegiance. The establishment of Israel has in nowise affected the citizenship of Jews of other lands.

The Zionist Organization is a voluntary body of citizens of many lands who, acknowledging their kinship with the people of Israel, are eager to further their welfare. The Organization will in no manner dictate to the Government of Israel or attempt to shape its sovereign decisions. Nor will the World Zionist Organization or any of its territorial bodies or institutions constitute themselves agents or instrumentalities, or be subject to the control, of the Government of Israel or any of its agencies. The activities of the WZO and of the several

Zionist bodies and institutions will be pursued conformably to the law of the several states wherein they are domiciled.

Such a relationship does not preclude, but on the contrary invites, cordial consultation, friendly cooperation and intelligent coordination with the authorities of Israel. Nor does mutual independence preclude the establishment, by agreement with the State of Israel, of special procedures for the accomplishment by the WZO or by other Zionist bodies of specific tasks in the field of migration to and settlement in Israel or in other appropriate fields of activity.

Historically, the party structure of the Zionist movement was the product of the division of opinion among the Jews of the world with regard to the methods of building the Jewish National Home. Since the creation of the State of Israel, the division of political opinion as to the internal and external problems of the State has become the concern of its citizens. It is not in the interest of the Zionist movement that Jews living outside of Israel should maintain affiliation with the political parties of Israel as such, shape their policies, or be subject to their direction. Nonetheless, it is understood that Jews outside of Israel will continue to differ on the manner in which they will wish to see Israel develop and will continue to give sympathetic support to like-minded enterprises and movements in Israel.

VI. STRUCTURE OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

THE new circumstances require a gradual shift of the organizational center of gravity from the World Organization to the territorial bodies. Centralization in the WZO was essential before the independence of Israel and so long as colonization and political activity were its prime responsibilities. Before the establishment of the State of Israel, WZO exercised through the Jewish Agency quasi governmental functions in Palestine. That category of activity has become the inalienable prerogative of the State of Israel. Insofar as representations to individual governments and public relations work in any individual country are still required they can be appropriately engaged in by local Zionist bodies which are not subject to direction from beyond that country's borders. Decentralization, combined with local self-direction, will likewise permit of a flexible distribution of responsibility for the various projects essential to the development of Israel in accordance with the preferences and potentialities of the several territorial bodies.

Consideration should therefore be given to the progressive conversion of the WZO into a federation of territorial organizations. Through the Congress and the World Zionist Executive the required measures of coordination among the territorial bodies and with Israel would be achieved. The conversion from unitary organi-

zation to federation may be achieved with a minimum of interruption to existing activities if it is pursued through a pre-determined series of stages. In such a process it is reasonable that the educational and cultural spheres of activity may most readily be transferred to the territorial federations while the practical tasks of immigration and colonization are continued under central management until the present mass movement is substantially completed.

Such reconstruction of the relative spheres of the WZO and the territorial bodies carries in its train a number of subsidiary changes. It renders possible the abolition of the Shekel both as a source of revenue and as an evidence of the electoral franchise and the re-organization of the World Zionist Congress as a body of delegates from the territorial organizations with representation proportionate to their membership.

It is recommended that within individual countries, the various wings of the movement be united into a single organization or federated, by agreements freely made among them, into territorial organizations whose internal ruling bodies and whose delegations to the Congress shall be proportional to the relative strength of the various wings of the Zionist movement in the country.

The standard of membership within the territorial organizations should be left to the discretion of the respective territorial organizations.

VII. FUNCTIONS OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE

THE functions of the Zionist movement are necessarily accommodated to conditions prevailing in various lands. Work for Israel, assistance of Jewish migration to Israel, and fostering of Jewish self-awareness are, of course, of universal application. The functions which are of particular moment to American Zionists are:

1. To continue to generate among the Jews of America a climate of opinion favorable to Israel and its maximum development and to instill zeal in the performance of the practical tasks necessary for the firm establishment of Israel as a successful, going concern.

2. To promote in the general body politic of America an understanding of the aims and ideals of the Zionist movement.

3. To build a two-way bridge between America and Israel for the free movement and exchange of men, materials and ideas for the common enrichment of both communities.

4. To facilitate the immigration of Jews into Israel, to encourage Halutz movements among the youth, to provide for the training of the migrants for a useful life and their economic absorption in their new home, to promote agricultural, industrial, commercial and scientific development so as steadily to enlarge the

capacity of the land to receive new increments of population.

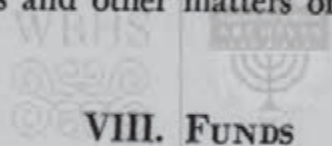
5. To enlarge the means at the disposal of the central Funds of the movement.

6. To encourage the investment of capital and talent in useful enterprises in Israel.

7. To foster among the Jews of America self-awareness and a sense of kinship with Jews everywhere, and stimulate Jewish cultural creativity.

8. To encourage the spread of the Hebrew language and of Jewish culture among the Jewish youth and the Jewish population generally.

9. To cooperate with other organizations in defense of Jewish rights and other matters of common concern.



VIII. FUNDS

WITH the physical transfer and economic absorption of mass immigration to Israel on an unprecedented scale looming as the most urgent tasks of the immediate future, special attention must be given to an efficient and productive relationship between the Government of Israel, the WZO, and the financial instruments of the movement. It is clear that the various Funds will have to conduct their operations in the territory of Israel in conformity with that country's laws and in close cooperation with the Israeli Government. At the same time, representing as they do the efforts of world

Jewry for the benefit of Israel and its new settlers, these Funds cannot, of course, be placed under the authority of the State of Israel.

The priority of the two central Funds of the movement, the Keren Kayemeth and the Keren Hayesod, must remain assured throughout the period of mass immigration to Israel. The Government of Israel, the World Zionist Organization and its territorial bodies, and all other significant Jewish groups, should be asked to cooperate in securing the priority of these two Funds and in regulating the extent to which other funds seeking to mobilize Jewish support for Israel may be encouraged.

IX. COOPERATION BETWEEN ZIONISTS AND NON-ZIONISTS

DESIRABLE as it is to bring about international coordination of Zionist and non-Zionist efforts on behalf of Israel, experience has demonstrated the difficulties of attempting to institutionalize such coordination on the international level. In the present circumstances, with the emphasis shifting to the territorial organizations, it is suggested that Zionist—non-Zionist cooperation at least be strengthened on the territorial level.

The Zionists of America welcome the cooperation of non-Zionist groups in promoting the welfare of the people of Israel. They are prepared to enter into agree-

ments regarding the coordination of their respective efforts and to participate in suitable agencies for such purposes. As an initial step in this direction, it is recommended that American Zionists promote the formation of a consultative body representing all Jewish groups interested in the welfare of Israel.

Similar arrangements are recommended for any other country in which coordination between Zionists and non-Zionist friends of Israel appears advisable.

Since the desired coordination can be obtained by mutual agreement only, no attempt is made here to particularize the terms thereof.

