



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

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

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

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Zionist Organization of America, Frisch, Daniel, 1949-1950.

**MEMORANDUM**

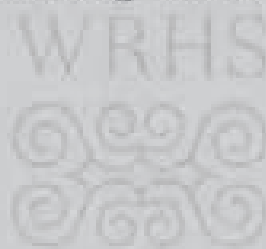
TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

DATE: March 8, 1949

FROM: Mr. Daniel Frisch

SUBJECT:

I think you will enjoy reading this.



Acknowledging  
with grateful appreciation  
your very kind and thoughtful  
expression of sympathy

Mrs. Tillie Frisch and Family

March 9, 1949

Mr. Daniel Frisch  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dan;

Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter of Dr. Robbins which I am returning herewith. I also read a copy of the letter which you sent me from Samuel F. Jacobson who endorsed you at the Chicago Zionist Executive Committee. In this week's issue of the Chicago Sentinel I find a letter from Mr. Jacobson in which he venomously attacks the administration of the Z.O.A., and in which he places himself in opposition to the political line which we have taken and which you have taken. Just how do you reconcile the two?

In the issue of "The Spectator" which you sent me, I find a similar disturbing phenomenon. The editor endorses you for the Z.O.A. presidency, but in another editorial on the same page, bitterly attacks the present administration for the position which we took in the U.J.A. controversy, as if you were dissociated from the position of the administration in this controversy.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er  
Enc.



DANIEL FRISCH  
300 CENTRAL PARK WEST  
APT. 5H  
NEW YORK CITY

March 10, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Although I have spoken with you by phone on the matter, I am disturbed enough to feel impelled to drop you a note.

I was deeply hurt by the implication which your question, as to how I reconcile the two-fold attitude on the part of some anti-administration and pro-Frisch people, bespeaks. The implication is that I may be guilty of double dealing. What is more, the fact that you found it necessary to tell me while we spoke, that some people in the administration suggest such an attitude on my part, makes me feel very unhappy. I can not and should not be called upon to account, let alone be held responsible for inconsistencies and attitudes of others.

At no time, either by word of mouth or by pen, did I hesitate to make my position sunonymous with yours on all political issues which we faced. What is more, I submit on the basis of facts that all the top men of the administration combined, did not speak in as many places, as often, yes and as powerfully, as I did of late.

With best of good wishes, I remain,

Most cordially yours,



Daniel Frisch

DF:ca

COPY

May 10, 1949

Mr. Daniel Frisch,  
300 Central Park West,  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Dan:

This is to advise you of a disgraceful attempt last night by the Washington (Brandeis) Zionist District to prevent the election of any Washington delegates to the forthcoming Convention who are pledged to you and to a continuation of the Silver-Neumann policies.

Under the leadership of Rabbi Breslau, John M. Safer, Mrs. Bernice Turover (V.P. of the Hadassah Organization), and the long-time anti-Silver clique, the Washington Zionist machine put on its most disgraceful, hysterical performance in recent years.

They failed, however, to prevent the election of Isidore Turover and Joseph Freedman as delegates pledged to you.

A complete slate of eight pro-Silver-Neumann-Frisch delegates would have been elected, I am confident, had not Joe Cherner, as presiding officer, flagrantly, wilfully and disgracefully refused to permit the use of a printed ballot which included the names of your delegates. As a consequence, the Zionists who wanted to vote for your friends, were forced to write in the names of Turover and others who favored you.

I was greatly disappointed in the behavior of Joe Cherner, who has permitted himself to be influenced by the anti-Silver Zionist politicians.

Isidore Harshfield, who received the top vote, refused to participate in the monkey business. I feel sure, however, that he will be inclined to favor you, although I cannot swear to this because the old man was a beneficiary of the support of the Breslau group.

Mr. Daniel Frisch

May 10, 1949

The delegates elected included:

Isidore Herahfield  
Joseph Cherner  
Isadore Turover  
Abe Kay  
Mrs. John M. Safer  
Joseph Freedman (who has been a long-time supporter  
of the Silver cause, chiefly, I believe, because of my efforts)  
Hyman Goldman  
Jacob Heckman (who claims to be absolutely independent).

Among the alternates was Joseph Andelman, who was associated with Isadore Turover in the fight for delegates friendly to you.

I am enclosing a circular, prepared by Isadore Turover and his associates.

You, of course, are aware of the bitterness of some of the Washington old guard Zionists. This bitterness blossomed, apparently, along with the fighting which occurred in New York during the winter.

The result of the meeting, however, is that the machine really took a beating, in that Turover, against whom their fire was chiefly directed, was among the top three elected through a write-in campaign. There is no doubt in my mind that, had a fair parliamentary practice been followed, a complete slate of delegates for you would have been elected. But you know, and I know that it is very difficult to write in eight or ten names. I should add that, for the past two weeks, the machine has been ringing door bells, telephoning and having dinner parties to tell the folks that your election would mean a continuation of the Silver policies.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

  
Leo R. Sack

LRS/mp  
Encl.

CC: Dr. Silver

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

MORRISTOWN DISTRICT

May 10, 1949.

Dear Dan,

At the N.J. Convention last Sunday I told the group that we Zionists are a bunch of suckers. We concentrate on the work that others have taken out of our hands, and neglect AZF, Membership and ICA.

To you, however, I can say what is on my mind.

ZOA needs a "new look". If we project ourselves a few years in the future we will see that our material approach, our defensive appeal of hating the English, the Arabs, and the Reactionaries, will disappear as soon as the emergencies have gone. What then to do with our excellent group that brought a great ideal into existence? There are other ideals. We can continue to fight other so-called hopeless causes.

I find, on an impartial examination of Jewish History, that we Jews seldom can stand prosperity. The real light of our people, the Prophets, were a persecuted lot. They thundred against the ruling class, and were often hunted by the ruling class. Our people seldom took the universal approach, so far as the exoteric side of our religion, nevertheless, the prayer has crept into our services "On that day shall the Lord be one and his NAME one."

The Essenes, who were the prophets and Mystics, understood this principle, and in the face of the empty orthodoxy on the one hand, and the agnosticism on the other, which, I understand, <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ the order in Israel to-day. If ZOA could restore the high plane of science, philosophy and the greater light to our religion, we would indeed do a great service to our people and to the world at large. (Mysticism is the application of science and philosophy to religion) I understand that Dr. Silver is quite a student of the Sefer ha Zohar, and the Sefer Yetzirah. If that is so I would greatly appreciate it if you would arrange for me to spend some time with him when he is next in this vicinity. I live at 42 Western Ave., Morristown, N.J. and my phone is Morristown 4-0323.

Eddie Hart wishes to be the delegate from the Morristown District, and I wanted to have the privilege of voting for you for President, but since Eddie sees eye to eye with me on this issue I think that I shall confer on him this honor.

With best regards,

*Re Kasdin*  
*42 Western Ave*



May 12, 1949

Mr. Simon Kasdin  
42 Western Avenue  
Morristown, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Kasdin:

Thank you for your letter of May 10th.

The best way of obtaining an appointment with Dr. Silver is to write to him directly, in care of The Temple, Cleveland, and make such arrangements. Personally, I have no way of doing so, since Dr. Silver's presence and schedule are usually his own.

With best of good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Daniel Frisch

DFica

May 12, 1949

Mr. Daniel Frisch  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York, New York

My dear Dan:

I shall not be in New York before next Thursday. By that time possibly the negotiations with the "Progressives" will have been concluded. I should like to suggest (1) that you put in writing whatever is agreed on, especially whether they will oppose a vote of confidence to the administration. (2) That they indicate specifically who are the people who are going along with them. You may find yourself with a sizeable opposition at the next Convention in spite of the fact that you will have made substantial concessions and guaranteed places to certain individuals. (3) Do not make too many concessions in your desire to come to an understanding.

I understand that they are maneuvering to exclude Jacques Torsyner from the office of the Vice-Chairman of the Administrative Committee. There is no justification for this whatsoever.

I think that you ought to indicate a stronger interest in the Israel Corporation. I understand that Mr. Schiff has been trying to get together with you on this subject, but without success. As you know, the I.C.A. is a vital activity of the Z.O.A. — in my judgment, it should become the major activity. The impression is going abroad that you are indifferent to it.

With all good wishes and with a warm "mazel tov" on what transpired yesterday in the United Nations, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

Via Air Mail

June 1, 1949

Mr. Daniel Frisch  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dan:

It was a grand Convention and your administration got off to a wonderful start. All good luck!

I was very pleased with the appointments which you made and which you announced at the meeting of the Executive. There are a few names which I missed in the official family - Coblenz of Albany, Goldstock of Pittsburgh, I. R. Goodman of Miami - all good men, as you know. If you find room for them, so much the better.

Ben-Horin phoned me this morning. He wondered whether he could be of service in connection with the Z.O.A. House which you are going to set up. As you know, he would like to settle in Israel, and of course, knows Israel as well as America. He might be just the Director for the Z.O.A. House. He has been enthusiastic for such a project for some time. I pass this on to you.

One final matter which you ought to attend to before you leave for Israel, and that is the matter of the Z.O.A. representation on the American Zionist Council. I understand that a meeting of the Nominating Committee is scheduled for June 6th. You know that I have felt right along that Irving Miller should be elected Chairman for the coming year. There may be opposition to him from certain groups in the Council, but I think that there are enough votes to elect him. He would do very well in this position, and I think it would integrate him in a friendly manner in your administration.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

DANIEL FRISCH  
300 CENTRAL PARK WEST  
APT. 5H  
NEW YORK CITY

June 6, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

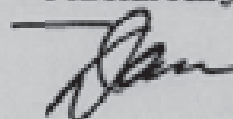
My dear Dr. Silver:

Please foregive me for not answering your letter of June 1st any sooner. The truth of the matter is that I did not see your letter until this evening when I am dictating this reply, namely at 7:00 P.M. (I have been here since early this morning, at 9:30 attending to business).

I took note of all you say, and I shall give proper consideration to the matters in your first two paragraphs. The meeting of the Emergency Council Nominating Committee, was postponed, and I shall keep you informed of developments as they occur.

With best of good wishes, I am

Affectionately yours,



Daniel Frisch

DF:ca



CL  
To  
Tele  
gram  
ferre  
dicat  
synd  
cedir

**WESTERN UNION**  
**THE WRITTEN RECORD**  
**NEVER FORGETS**

**TELEGRAPH** *and be sure*

# STERN NION

(10)

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS
DL - Day Letter
NL - Night Letter
LC - Deferred Cable
NLT - Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The following message is sent in STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

TS CL095 LONG DL PD=NOH NEWYORK NY 15 920A= 1949 JUN 15 AM 10 11  
DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE=

THANK YOU FOR GOOD WISHES HAVE INSTRUCTED TORCZYNER  
AS FOLLOWS FIRST CHOICE NEUMANN IF NEUMANN REFUSES ZOA  
REPRESENTATIVES STAND BY AND VOTE FOR MILLER AS UNIT  
STOP THOUGH I DONT BELIEVE MILLER CAN BE ELECTED NOR  
WOULD I BE UNHAPPY IF HE IS NOT I NEVERTHELESS FOLLOWED  
YOUR PLEASURE IN THIS MATTER AND GAVE ONLY ONE KIND OF  
INSTRUCTION NAMELY SUPPORT FOR MILLER BY THE ZOA DELEGATION.  
AFFECTIONATE REGARDS AND BEST WISHES FOR A PLEASANT SUMMER=  
DAN FRISCH=

TORCZYNER ZOA ZOA=

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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

PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPT.  
ERNEST E. BARBARASH, Director

July 20, 1949

AIRMAIL

Mr. Daniel Frisch  
Grand Hotel  
Paris, France

Dear Dan:

I am advised that you are scheduled to return by the "Queen Elizabeth" arriving here on August 2nd. It would be inadvisable to arrange a press conference aboard ship inasmuch as the "Queen Elizabeth" usually brings a host of notables and your statement would be coupled with theirs and receive inadequate space. I shall therefore arrange a separate press conference on August 3rd in some hotel. I will cable you the time and place while you are on the seas.

I received your article. It was very beautiful and most descriptive and it will appear in the next issue.

While we have heard here of the arrangements made for the erection of the America ZOA House, there is no word about the outcome of your negotiations for a ZOA project. In fact, there are rumors being spread that the results of your mission in this respect are nil. I am hoping - I have full confidence - that this is not the case. I am hoping that you plan to spring a surprise upon your return and announce the project in your first press statement. The contemplated erection of the ZOA House does not make news any longer. The press will want to know what the ZOA plans to launch as a result of your mission to Israel. The launching of a worthwhile project is the crux of the entire future activity of the ZOA. Just a statement of conditions in Israel won't be of much news value. The press lately is being filled with alarmist reports on immigration and labor conditions in Israel. These reports while they may be true, are beginning to take on a serious aspect and may in the end become a boomerang. It has become so that to say something good about conditions in Israel is contrary to the "line." I personally think it is a mistake. While the truth should be told, the constructive achievements in Israel should also be played up.

In other words, upon your return from Israel it is important that an announcement be made of the launching of some important project by the ZOA and any other concrete outcome of your negotiations. Anything else will be an anti-climax.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, Cleveland, Ohio  
*President*

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD, Baltimore, Md.  
*Hon. Vice President*

DR. LEON FEUER, Toledo, Ohio  
JACOB FISHMAN, New York, N. Y.  
DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN, Chicago, Ill.  
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, New York, N. Y.  
DR. JAMES G. HELLER, Cincinnati, Ohio  
EDMUND I. KAUFMAN, Washington, D. C.  
JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL, Philadelphia, Pa.  
LOUIS LIPSKY, New York, N. Y.

RABBI IRVING MILLER, Far Rockaway, N. Y.  
DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN, New York, N. Y.  
JUDGE BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT, New York, N. Y.  
CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG, New York, N. Y.  
ELIHU D. STONE, Boston, Mass.  
ROBERT SZOLD, New York, N. Y.  
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, New York, N. Y.

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*Treasurer*

MARK SUGARMAN, Coatesville, Pa.  
*Associate Treasurer*

DANIEL FRISCH, New York, N. Y.  
*Chairman, Nat'l Adm. Council*

MILTON POLLACK, New York, N. Y.  
*Chairman, Finance Committee*

DR. SIDNEY MARKS, New York, N. Y.  
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JUDGE HYMAN J. REIT, New York, N. Y.  
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ALBERT SCHIFF, Columbus, Ohio  
JUDGE JACOB SCHWOLSKY, Hartford, Conn.  
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DAVID SPIEGEL, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
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WILLIAM B. SYLK, Philadelphia, Pa.  
JACQUES TORCZYNER, New York, N. Y.  
ELKAN C. VOORSANGER, Milwaukee, Wis.  
MORRIS WEINBERG, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
HERMAN L. WEISMAN, Scarsdale, N. Y.

*Executive Committee*  
*(In addition to National Officers)*

Mr. Daniel Frisch

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July 20, 1949

The heat and humidity have been almost sickening and I am looking forward to resuming my vacation immediately at the conclusion of the press conference. I am not feeling so well. I am now preparing the next issue of The New Palestine which will appear on July 29th. Justice will be done to your visit to Israel. The next issue will also carry articles devoted to the 100th anniversary of Max Nordau.

Looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Frisch, hale and hearty, I remain,

Yours, as ever,

*Ernest*

Ernest E. Barbarash

*Destroy  
after reading*

eeb:rc

*9<sup>30</sup> PM.*

*If I can accept your precious  
invitation to lunch I shall call  
you at 11 AM. Otherwise I wish  
you a perfect vacation. I envy  
you.*  
*Ernest*



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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

DANIEL FRISCH  
*President*

RUDOLF C. SONNERBORN  
*Chairman, National Administrative Council*

MORTIMER MAY  
*Chairman, National Executive Committee*

BENJAMIN G. BROWDY  
*Vice Chairman, Inner Committee*

DR. SIDNEY MARKS  
*Secretary, Executive Director*

RABBI JEROME UNGER  
*Assistant to the President*

September 9, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
East 105th Street at Ansel Road  
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Rabbi Unger just left my office and handed me your letter of September 7th as well as told me of your observations regarding my failure to write or call you.

As to the Emergency Council, I thought it unnecessary and undesirable for you -- and still think so -- to be designated as a regular member of the Emergency Council at a time when you are Honorary chairman of it and perhaps more so because you are You.

Since you seem to think that we are dumb and overlook the necessity of your being able to vote when present, I am now reappointing you as a regular member of the Council and have so informed the Council, withdrawing my own name from the list of five in your behalf which is and I hope will always remain a pleasure and privilege for me to do.

As to your observations regarding my failure to write or call you, I regret the implication which you seem to attach to it because I know that you are wrong. At the same time I feel deeply hurt let alone being greatly surprised by the manner in which you characterized it to a third person.

To say that I am having my hands full, that I am walking on a tightrope would be an understatement. What I need -- what the Zionist Organization of America needs at this crucial moment -- is more help on the part of my friends and less suspicion.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

-2-

September 9, 1949

Whatever I said or wrote to you in the past of my affection, admiration and sense of respect and gratitude for you are true today as they were during the last five years. However, I can only help manage the difficult affairs of the Zionist Organization of America to the best of my own thinking, convictions and understanding.

Incidentally, I wish to say in closing that it was a day before yesterday that I was informed by Mr. Torczyner that you were back. Had you gone to the trouble of dropping me a line -- as it is customary amongst friends -- I would have been delighted and would have deemed it a privilege to have been at the boat at the time of your arrival.



Yours in Friendship,

DP:dh

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42<sup>ND</sup> STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 2-3203

DANIEL FRISCH  
PRESIDENT

September 12, 1949

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The Los Angeles Community expects to hold a  
Zionist Chest Banquet on November 6th at the Ambassador Hotel  
there.

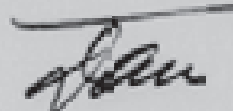
They strongly urge me and the office to plead  
with you to be the guest of honor at that banquet.

I know how difficult it is for you to be away  
for a week-end. I convey to you their cordial invitation  
nevertheless, and urge you to accept this invitation if at all  
possible.

I would appreciate it very much if you could see  
your way clear and advise us by return mail your pleasure in  
the matter.

With best of good wishes, I am

Yours in affectionate friendship,



Daniel Frisch  
President

DF/br

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

# ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42ND STREET  
NEW YORK 17. N. Y.

DANIEL FRISCH  
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BENJAMIN G. BROWDY  
*Vice Chairman, Inner Committee*

DR. SIDNEY MARKS  
*Secretary, Executive Director*

RABBI JEROME UNGER  
*Assistant to the President*

September 16, 1949

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

My two last letters to you remained unanswered.

I wish to share with you some of the happenings around here with special emphasis on current events.

Upon my return from Israel and after having spoken to you in France, I met with Tuvim and Schiff and informed them that the ZOA is willing and ready to go to the limit to champion the Israel Corporation in the spirit of the convention resolution and much more so, because of your own personal interest in the matter.

I found out soon thereafter that negotiations were begun during your and my absence with the Palestine Economic Corporation and that Naumann and Abe Goodman were conducting the negotiations. Abe Goodman came to see me and I had a long talk with him on the subject and reiterated my pledge, but he seemed to be inclined to impress me that I should take up this matter with Szold and see to it that the PEC be generous in the negotiations. Thereafter I found out all the facts of life from Schiff - that the ICA had collected about \$470,000 in cash and invested \$250,000 of the proceeds in a 15 year Jewish Agency note; it had \$100,000 in cash on hand, the balance having been spent for corporation and operating expenses (this in addition to quite a bit of money which the ZOA spent in promotion of this thing).

Upon the request of Mr. Schiff and Abe Goodman, I called Szold and talked with him urging him to absorb at least two-thirds of that cost. The PEC claimed that it could not take over the Agency note in lieu



September 16, 1949

of cash. Under pressure by Schiff and others I agreed that the ZOA would take over the note as part of its life membership investments, provided that the note would be changed into a four to five year note, amortized annually, and endorsed by the PEC at least to the extent of half of its value.

A few days ago, Emanuel had a long talk with me and asked that in the event the negotiations were not successfully culminated, I ~~take~~ <sup>take</sup> the same action on behalf of the ICA, namely, the taking over of the note which would immediately release the money to the ICA, which, in turn, would enable them to begin functioning, thus helping psychologically in the new attempt to sell stock.

I readily consented and what is more, told him that the ZOA stands completely at the disposal and services of the ICA, and that the ICA could write its own releases in the name of the ZOA.

Having pledged all this to Neumann I felt it my duty to tell him when he asked me my personal opinion about continuing the ICA, that I was profoundly convinced, in view of the current situation both in Israel and in the United States, that the sooner our friends got out of the ICA, the better for all of us. This, believe me, my dear friend and teacher, has nothing to do with any complaints I might have had in the past concerning the methods employed in organizing the ICA. I am looking at the thing realistically, and I am impelled chiefly by the fact that your name has been so prominently connected with this venture of late.

I do not know what has been decided or if a decision was made. I told Emanuel that I believe that the negotiations represented a most unfortunate incident if he is to continue the ICA.

On the matter of the Confederation and the program, I was invited and appeared before the Executive of the Agency under the chairmanship of Goldmann, in the presence of Zuckerman, Greenberg, Schectman and Goldstein. I stated there that the rudiments of the ZOA program must be implemented either by an allocation on their part or by an independent drive. In the face of the almost considerate though negative attitude on the part of the others, Dr. Goldstein went all the way with a fierceness and bias unbecoming to his professional calling, in opposing our inclusion, suggesting that, in his judgment, the Agency would not hesitate to proclaim an independent drive by us as unlawful, with all the consequences that would flow therefrom.

I placed on record that the ZOA is not represented on the Executive; that while I was speaking for the ZOA I was at a loss to understand for whom Dr. Goldstein was speaking. I pointed out that he had been elected as

Dr. A. H. Silver

-3-

September 16, 1949

treasurer of the Agency to serve in Jerusalem and that it was expected that upon his resignation from the treasuryship, he would have also resigned from the Executive. Moreover, I emphasized that if anyone present who is a member of the ZOA thought that he could become the president of the World Zionist Organization against the wishes of the ZOA and the ZOA would still continue to cooperate, he was making a fatal mistake,

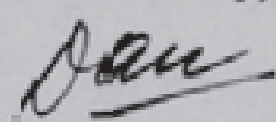
It was decided then that Dr. Goldmann would meet with me in Washington for the purpose of further exploring the situation. This we subsequently did for about seven hours. We agreed that the ZOA would, without prejudice to its interests, withhold action on its own campaign for ten days until Dr. Goldmann returned from Paris, where he was to meet with other members of the Zionist Executive. I agreed to this even though I was determined to proclaim the drive last Monday night. Instead I summoned the Inner Committee to meet next Wednesday to consider the matter in the light of the answer Goldmann will bring.

cmf N It may interest you to know that I took occasion to say while addressing the Executive of the Agency, that what Goldstein is mostly concerned about is the Confederation and especially his own position there; that not alone would we not remain in the Confederation if the Israelis did not unite, but even if we were to remain in the Confederation, we would still expect to work in Israel on our own, along the lines mapped out in the ZOA program. Otherwise, the ZOA would decline and degenerate.

Dr. Margoshes told me of your thinking on this matter, and Neumann also remarked to me that if the drive were outlawed, the consequences would be too formidable for us to face. What my own attitude would be in such event is a question that disturbs me very deeply. Of one thing I am certain, namely, that if I continue, I will see this thing through.

With best of good wishes, I am and remain

Yours in friendship,

  
Daniel Frisch

cc: Dr. Emanuel Neumann

df/rk

September 21, 1949

Mr. Daniel Frisch, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dan:

I wish to acknowledge the receipt of your letters. With reference to the invitation to visit the Los Angeles community in connection with the Zionist Chest Banquet on November 6th, I regret that I shall not be able to accept the invitation. I have already declined a similar invitation in Los Angeles to address their J.N.F. banquet.

I was at a loss to understand just what was implied in the statement of your letter of September 9th: "However, I can only help manage the difficult affairs of the Z.O.A. to the best of my own thinking, convictions and understanding." I do not recall ever having bothered you with any of my advice or suggestions since you became President. The only time that I discussed any Z.O.A. affairs with you was in Paris on your return from Israel, and that was at your own invitation. Following the Z.O.A. Convention I wrote you early in June with reference to Rabbi Miller's election to the Chairmanship of the American Zionist Council. This was part of the unfinished business of the past administration leaders whom I persuaded to elect you President of the Z.O.A. That this was not done is a matter of great regret to me, and your known opposition to Rabbi Miller made the election of Mr. Lipsky, the leading spokesman of the oppositional forces to the past administration and to me, assured, thereby, to quote the report in the New York Herald Tribune, "completing the rout of the Silver-Neumann forces", a public interpretation of the event which I am sure you must have foreseen.

Otherwise, I do not recall any instance in which I bothered you with my unsolicited advice, and please be assured that you will not be bothered at any time in the future.

Furthermore, I do not recall any instance when you took the trouble to discuss with me any of your plans and programs, especially those which you made public in Israel with reference to your public endorsement of the Marshall Plan for Israel, a grave matter indeed, on which I and many others in the administration had very strong convictions. You must have realized that you were not speaking as an individual and that people in Israel might have assumed because of our close association that you were also reflecting my views on the subject. Nor did you discuss with me the "projects" for which you asked a so-called check-off of the officials in Israel. Nor, for that matter, did you discuss with me the \$2,000,000 fund which you asked the Z.O.A. to raise. And I do not recall that I at any time criticized you for not consulting me on these matters.

Daniel Frisch

-2-

September 21, 1949

I read your letter of September 16th with reference to your relationship to the I.C.A. I understand that last evening the Board of I.C.A. decided to merge with the P.E.C. You go to great lengths in your letter to explain how correct you have been in reference to the I.C.A. all along. It is, however, clear to me that if you had consistently backed the I.C.A. as I hoped you would - as the Zionist Convention hoped you would - and had organized the Z.O.A. for effective mass action in behalf of it, the I.C.A. would not now be dissolved. I wrote you last May before the Convention that you ought to indicate a stronger interest in the Israel Corporation and that the impression is going abroad that you are indifferent to it. I am persuaded now that you were not only indifferent to it, but you were very eager for its dissolution.

You cannot be, as you write, "profoundly convinced that the sooner our friends get out of the I.C.A., the better for all of us" and at the same time work for its continuation and for effective support on the part of the Z.O.A. If what you told Dr. Neumann is correct, and you told me the same thing in Paris, then you should advise our friends to get out not only from the I.C.A., but also from the P.E.C. and not to join any economic corporations for Israel whatsoever. A merged I.C.A. - P.E.C. will also involve the Zionist Movement. It will have to appeal to the members of the Z.O.A. and will expect support from it.

I am afraid that the liquidation of the I.C.A., which I had hoped would become the major activity of the Z.O.A., will be disastrous to the Organisation. You will have no sustained and challenging activity for the membership of the Z.O.A. You will not be able to launch your \$2,000,000 fund for the powers that be will not permit you, and the pittance which they will throw you - the people whose peace you have sought - for remaining in the Confederation to give you face-saving - will be insufficient to keep a great movement going in the United States.

I think by the time you are through tight-rope walking, as you put it - a role, by the way, which I never thought was to be yours when we backed you for the presidency - you will realize the mistakes which have been made. There will be no I.C.A. There will be no \$2,000,000 campaign. There will be no independent Z.O.A. activity in Israel to amount to a row of beans. The Z.O.A. will remain in the toils of the Confederation, and you will be facing a rapidly disintegrating organization.

I hope that my prophecies will prove false.

With all good wishes to you on the eve of the New Year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er



.....I saw Daniel today and we talked for about an hour and a half. I listened and he talked. In his opinion Hillel already came out against him but he will lose. He is not prepared to give in to Hillel. He said: "I was elected without Hillel's support and against the will of Emanuel and I am not ready to change my independent line. I wouldn't agree to attacks on Hillel, but in his fight against the Government I shall oppose him for it is our duty to support the Government. If I will not succeed in securing the Government's support for my line I shall have no alternative but to resign. Of course I would do it at the National Convention.".....

# Zionist Organization of America

Office of the President  
41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 23, 1949

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

My dear Dr. Silver:

I have your letter of September 21st and know that you are both chagrined and disappointed. Your letter has an angry ring.

I could, of course, enter upon a long argument in an endeavor to prove to you that most of your grievances are based upon misconceptions. For one thing - I could demonstrate to you beyond the shadow of a doubt that the early and unfortunate demise of the Israel Corporation of America was no fault of mine. The ICA had been ill for over a year under Dr. Neumann's administration and could no longer be saved. For another, I could answer your charge about my "tight-rope-walking" with the fact that I inherited the situation from the old administration which was not of my making, the consequences of which definitely necessitated a mode of cooperation and conciliation with elements previously at war with the Z.O.A., if the Z.O.A. and its usefulness were not to be further impaired. I could also find ways of answering your more personal strictures. I prefer not to follow the argumentative line. There is nothing I can think of that I would detest more than quarreling with you.

I don't have to tell you of my genuine esteem and affection for you all these many years. I believe with all my heart and soul that you are a man of destiny and that you stand head and shoulder above any other Jew outside of Israel. This attitude of mine towards you has not changed in the course of the last few weeks and months, and whenever I had an opportunity I have voiced my feelings for you in no uncertain terms. As to your counsel and advice, you must know in your heart of hearts that I welcome it on all occasions and that I am prepared to follow it whenever possible. However, I know you will realize that when, with your great help, I became president of the Z.O.A., I have assumed not only a staggering administration and financial burden but also a moral responsibility which can be discharged only by following my own conscience. Knowing you, as I do, I am certain you would not wish me to depart from this course.

# Zionist Organization of America

Office of the President  
41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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I look forward, my dear Dr. Silver, to an opportunity to have a heart-to-heart talk with you to clear up, if I can, the atmosphere of much misunderstanding to which, I am sure, the loose talks of our "friends" have contributed no small part.

With best of good wishes, I remain,

Very cordially yours,



Daniel Frisch



af/km

Keep

# THE STATE OF THE ORGANIZATION

Report rendered by

DANIEL FRISCH, President

of the

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



at the meeting of the

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

held at the

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City

on Sunday, November 13, 1949

and adopted.



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## THE STATE OF THE ORGANIZATION

*Address delivered by Daniel Frisch, President of the Zionist Organization of America, at the National Administrative Council, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, November 13, 1949.*

\* \* \* \* \*

### PERSONAL NOTE

1. In greeting you at this, the second meeting of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, I wish to extend a hearty personal welcome to every one of you. It has not been my privilege since I became President of the Zionist Organization of America to travel as much through the country and to see as much of you as I should have wanted to. Those of you who have come to New York and who have done us the honor of visiting the office, will testify that they have always found my door wide open to you. I have put myself entirely at the disposal of the Zionist Organization of America and those who, because of their interest in our cause, have become part and parcel of it. Yet, I cannot help feeling that because of my preoccupation with the duties of the Presidency which keep me chained to my desk for hours on end, seven days a week, I may have lost much of the personal contact with Zionists throughout the country, a contact which I have cherished so much throughout the years. I am glad therefore, that this gathering, bringing together as it does, Zionist leaders from all parts of the land, affords me an opportunity to renew and reinvigorate my friendship with all of you. Again, I bid each and everyone of you a most hearty welcome.

2. I hope that you will agree with me that this meeting calls for a full report on the state of the Organization. It is almost six months since I took office and much has happened during that period, both on the larger Jewish scene and within the Zionist Organization. I know that you expect me to give you in my report, the full and the unvarnished truth, sparing neither myself nor others. The ZOA cannot grow or remain an important factor in the Jewish community of America and in the World Zionist movement unless it works in the open and in the full glare of public opinion, - nothing can hurt it so much as a secretive, conspiratorial attitude, and nothing can so heal its wounds as letting in the full daylight on everything we do or aspire to achieve. Perhaps you will remember that in living up to this thought and feeling, I did not make a secret of my desire for the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America. I was an avowed candidate when the good practice for candidates was

to play hard-to-get. It is in this spirit of forthrightness that you can expect me to act while I am in office and to report to you on all the activities, my own and of others within the Organization. I am of course subject to your criticism for everything I do or fail to do, but so, I wish you to understand, are all others who share in this administration. I don't mind saying that those who, after having accepted positions of honor and influence at the Convention or Regional Conferences throughout the country, have neglected their responsibilities, will come in for particularly severe treatment from me and in my reports. And if out of these efforts there emerges the image of a President who cares more about the progress of the Organization than about continuing in office after his term is over, - the fault, I beg you to believe me, will not be entirely mine. You should have looked twice at your President before you elected him to office. So much for the personal note.

#### MEMBERSHIP

3. To begin unrolling the Organization story, I wish to present to you some facts and figures on finances and membership, - two domains which, after all is said and done, are the mainstays of the Organization. When I took office in May, I found myself headed for four months of summer, during which there is barely any income. The amount left in the treasury was just sufficient to carry us through close to a half of that period. Compounding this difficulty was a psychological as well as an organizational tendency towards disintegration pervading almost every phase of the Z.O.A. Whatever the cause, - and I don't think this is the time to go into it - the trouble with finances and membership resembled more than anything else a creeping paralysis. That's the legacy I came into on May 30th.

Today, after weeks and months of strenuous effort, and I might add, sleepless nights on the part of your President and the devoted staff, and a handful of loyal stand-bys, I can report that the end of the fiscal year, - that is, September 30th, found the Z.O.A. in the black, with a paid-up membership of 175,000. This, compared with a 212,000 membership of a year ago, points to the hard road we still have to travel if we are to catch up with our high watermark of affiliation, but I am persuaded that if we proceed to work as hard as we did in the past, and with every one of you lending a hand in his own community, we will not only equal last year's membership but surpass it.

The Z.O.A., as the greatest dynamic force in American Jewish life and in the Zionist movement generally,

cannot stand still; it must grow and grow and grow. Those who, either because of an inborn pessimism or a desire for a convenient excuse, urge upon us the merits of a small but compact Z.O.A., are not necessarily small-souled themselves; they just lack vision. Instead of envisaging the Z.O.A. as the premier Jewish organization in America, always in the vanguard, always leading American Jewry to higher goals of Jewish living, they see the Z.O.A. as just another organization. I am proud to say that your President does not suffer from this sort of myopia; he sees the Z.O.A. as a creatively and numerically significant force. In his opinion, quantity and quality do not militate against each other. If we are ever to attain the high purposes which the Z.O.A. has set for itself, we need them both.

We are aware of course, of the tremendous obstacles in our path. In the wake of the great upsurge of enthusiasm following the establishment of the Jewish State, has come a let-down, a relaxation of both feeling and effort. Whatever the psychological and ideological reason that led to this phenomenon, it has had its deleterious effects on Jewish organizational affiliation throughout the land. Reports to the contrary notwithstanding, the Z.O.A., far from being the worst sufferer from this general flight from Jewish responsibility, has, speaking in terms of percentages, sustained smaller losses than many another group. We cannot, however, be reconciled to a diminution in membership or, for that matter, in any of the multifarious aspects of our organization. Nor can we find justification for those who, because of their displeasure at some of the activities of the present administration, withhold their support from the organization, and predict catastrophic decline in membership, American Zionist Fund, and shekel results. We hope to disappoint them sorely. We can and we shall retrieve our losses and forge ahead as an ever-growing army, marching constantly forward, inspired by the idea of Zion reborn and a renaissant and revitalized American Jewry.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT

4. Perhaps you recall that immediately after my election to the Presidency of the Z.O.A., I went on a pilgrimage to Israel. In this, I believe, I expressed what was in the hearts and minds of all of you and of the whole Zionist Organization of America. I know I was meeting your innermost wishes when I sought the closest possible connection with Israel. Ever since, I have never wearied of expressing your and my thought that we stand behind the duly elected Government of Israel. This Government

has been elected in a free and open democratic election, and that suffices for us to give it our utmost support. It is not for us as American citizens either to seek to influence its actions or to assume responsibility for its policies. To this line we have hewed all along and from this line we shall not deviate. Whatever justified criticism there might be against Zionists throughout the world wishing to direct Israel's government policies through a system of remote control, it most decidedly does not apply to us, who have never attempted in any manner, however indirect, to influence the course of the State of Israel. All through my dealings with the government, the ruling party in Israel, and all other Zionist groups, with which we have wished to establish hearty cooperation, I have insisted only on one thing as a condition sine qua non—that the dignity and the interests of the Z.O.A. and General Zionism shall not be impaired. On this principle this Administration will never yield. However, we have no desire to interfere in the affairs of others.

#### ZIONIST HOUSE IN ISRAEL

Perhaps the best symbol of our urge for a better understanding between the State of Israel and the Jewish community in America is the Z.O.A. House which is soon to go up on a beautiful site donated by the Jewish National Fund in Tel Aviv. Through this House it is hoped America will be interpreted to those who dwell in the Jewish State, while Israel will be brought closer to American Jewry. As chairman of the Z.O.A. House Committee, Mr. Fred Monosson went on a mission to Israel to see the House through.

#### RELATIONSHIP OF AMERICAN JEWRY TO ISRAEL.

5. This brings me to a cluster of problems surrounding the general relationship of American Jewry to the State of Israel. The fact is, we are still groping for an exact definition of this relationship. This quest, in which many of us are engaged, has thus far produced but few formulae which have satisfied both our innermost feelings and the requirements of the environment and the times in which we live. Your President, acting in behalf of the Organization, believes he has done his best in this respect. Faced with the challenge of formulating the Z.O.A. position on the relation of American Jewry to the State of Israel, he made a statement which, to him, was expressive of the basic thought of American Zionism. Utilizing the occasion of a great membership meeting, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, in the presence of distinguished guests from Israel, he said:

"American Jews are an integral part of the American community. To them the establishment of the State of Israel represents the realization of the historic aspirations of the Jewish people. In no way is their political allegiance affected by the emergence of the State of Israel. American Jews owe their political allegiance to the government of the United States, while the citizens of Israel owe theirs to the government of the State of Israel. The bogey of dual allegiance, conjured up by some who should know better, is just pure invention. It is a figment of the imagination; it has no roots in reality.

"It is important, however, to point out in this connection, that such political separation does not imply any severance of the close cultural, religious and sentimental bonds existing between the American Jewish community and the Jewish community of Israel. These bonds have existed long before the establishment of the Jewish State and will continue to exist as long as Jews everywhere will be linked by a sense of kinship, mainly arising from a sense of common history and tradition.

"It should be remembered too that the tasks undertaken by the American Zionist Organization to alleviate the heavy and pressing burdens assumed by the fledgling state to absorb the hundreds of thousands of Jewish homeless and to help promote its economic development, are in full consonance with the humanitarian and traditional principles of Americanism. Moreover, the constructive tasks of rendering economic aid to Israel are in line with the American foreign policy and current American interests, which require the consolidation of Israel as a bulwark of democracy in that part of the world."

"As to the American Jews, they remain here by choice, looking toward their own future in America. They see no incompatibility between their Americanism and their profound interest in the fate and future of the State of Israel. In this they take their stand with the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis who said: "Every Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, is likewise a better American for doing so." "

In my judgment the fact that the American Jewish Committee subsequently saw fit to identify itself with this statement, in no way detracts from the Zionist character of the pronouncement. All the rumors to the contrary

notwithstanding, it constitutes no "concession" either to the American Jewish Committee or to anyone else. Rather, it is a restatement of the Zionist position often enunciated by the Zionist leadership since the establishment of the Jewish State. There can of course be other formulations of Zionist principles, and I for one, shall be only too glad to consider them, if and when they are put forth. Until then I shall assume that your President's declaration on the Zionist position on the relationship of American Jewry to the State of Israel stands as the authoritative statement of the Zionist Organization of America.

#### U.J.A. - AUTONOMY OF FUNDS

6. The other issue directly connected with the attitude of American Jewry to the State of Israel is the volume of material help that must be forthcoming from the five million Jews of the United States, if the State of Israel is to begin to cope with the plethora of problems which continue to pile upon it with each new wave of immigration in that unprecedented tide, that all but threatens to engulf the fledgling state. Your President has said it time and time again, and takes this occasion to repeat it, that, however pressing any Jewish communal need anywhere may be, it cannot be compared, at this moment, in urgency with the need of caring for the hundreds of thousands whom the tidal wave of Jewish misery has swept into Israel from the seven seas of Jewish dispersion only to deposit them, hungry and shivering, on a wintry shore. The primacy of the United Jewish Appeal over all other funds was never more imperious than it is today, nor was the need greater to defend it against petty local interests, blind to poignant human tragedy, and deaf to the insistent clamor for Jewish redemption. At this critical juncture in the life of the Jewish people, with the U.J.A. Conference which is to map out plans for rescue and rehabilitation only a few days away, your President feels that he would be derelict in his duty were he not to declare in all solemnity and in full conformity with the deepest sentiments that animate the whole membership of the Zionist Organization of America, that the historic process of the in-gathering of the Jewish people to its ancestral soil must go on until the last Jew throughout the world, who is in need of a home or who chooses to make his home in Israel, can find a new lease on life there. To this end, the Zionist Organization of America pledges itself not to leave a stone unturned until the adequate support required for that high purpose has been forth-



coming in the fullest measure, consistent with the generosity and economic position of American Jewry.

Coupled with this effort, which to me seems only natural as a sequence of the sense of kinship which American Jewry shares with the Jewries of the world and with the State of Israel, there is a corollary which I should like to call to your attention. I refer to the full autonomy which must be reserved for the Zionist funds in America, if these funds are to be raised in an atmosphere of complete good will and a maximum of generosity. American Jewry must be as free in its determination of the funds it will raise and their management as it is in its spiritual and cultural activities on American soil. Any outside interference can only hamper the fund-raising effort and serve to ultimately dry up the source of giving. To me this is axiomatic, but since even axioms are often misunderstood, it is well to repeat them from time to time, giving notice to all and sundry that they cannot be continually violated with impunity. This principle of autonomy we shall defend to the utmost at the forthcoming Congress, the supreme Zionist authority.

#### CHALUTZIUT

7. Directly connected with our attitude toward the State of Israel is the form as well as the direction of the Chalutzit movement in America. Of late there has been precipitated in the press, and also via the grapevine, a considerable controversy over your President's stand on Chalutzit. I have been represented as an opponent of American Chalutzit. I wish to brand this sort of talk as a complete misrepresentation of the position of the Zionist Organization of America. We have always regarded Chalutzit as one of the great contributions which American Jewry can make to the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland, and this is precisely our position today. If anything at all has changed in our attitude, it relates entirely to ways and means, not to the goal which the Z.O.A. along with the whole Zionist movement, has set itself with regard to Chalutzit.

As far as the Z.O.A. is concerned, the only change it has made has been limited to the matter of propaganda. Plugat Aliyah had used our funds chiefly, if not exclusively, for propaganda to stimulate sentiment among young American Jews to choose a life of pioneering in Israel. It is my profound conviction that the fact itself of the creation of the State of Israel and the shining example of high courage and singular achievement it has been setting for our youth the world over, have



rendered direct propaganda for Chalutzit quite unnecessary. It is my considered judgment that what we need most is a constructive plan to lead the prevailing enthusiasm and the inspiration into channels of practical activity. Such a plan, in my opinion, must concentrate on the selection of the pioneering material rather than on the promotion of sentiment for pioneering. In line with this thought, the Z.O.A., with your approval, will soon begin to register eligible American young men and women for pioneering work in Israel, which will include settlement on the Z.O.A. colonies soon to be established, as well as highly skilled technical labor, of which the fledgling Jewish State stands in great need. Once selected from the registration lists, after a short orientation course in the United States, these young men and women will be enabled to proceed to Israel and do their training there under conditions typical of those they will have to live and work under in the Jewish State. This, to my mind, is a form of "hachshara" vastly superior to that we were engaged in through the years with very meager success, before the establishment of the Jewish State. It is to this sort of Chalutzit, including this new form of "hachshara," that the Z.O.A. is prepared to give a maximum of support.

Lest I be misunderstood, I should like to add that the Z.O.A., while ready to embark upon a new course regarding Chalutzit, is by no means pulling up its stakes from the old domain. The Z.O.A.'s partnership in Hechalutz and its hachshara farming enterprises, remains unimpaired. Negotiations with the Zionist groups concerning possible modifications of the Chalutzit program are still continuing and I have no doubt but that a modus operandi satisfactory to everybody will be found.

## JEWISH EDUCATION

8. Which brings us to the problem of Jewish youth education and of Jewish education generally. To my mind, no problem before us is more pressing or more far-reaching in its consequences both for the future of the Jewish community in the United States and our relations with the State of Israel. For years I've given the question of Jewish education my closest personal consideration. I still regard it as the central issue in Zionist and in American Jewish life. In my Program for Action, which you were good enough to adopt unanimously at your last meeting, I recommended, after putting forward some general considerations, that "we fearlessly think through the whole problem of Jewish education in America in relation to our mode of life as Jews." The

National Commission on Jewish Education of the Zionist Organization of America, composed of some of the leading Jewish educators in this country, is doing just that, and it is hoped that before long we shall have not only a philosophy of Jewish education in America but also a blue print of the ways and means how to put that philosophy into practice, bringing about that long-delayed intellectual revolution in Jewish life which has been the goal of Zionism since its inception.

Meanwhile, I've taken the liberty of recommending to the rank and file, as well as the districts and regions of the Zionist Organization of America, a number of concrete measures that the members of the Zionist Organization must carry out if they take their Zionism seriously. These are the three "musts" urged by your President: (1) Every Zionist must send his own children to Hebrew school as a matter of cardinal Zionist duty from which there can be no deviation; (2) Every Zionist district must become a center for the cultivation and dissemination of Jewish education and culture in the local community: wherever there is no Hebrew school, the Zionist district must help to establish one, and wherever there is a Hebrew school in existence, the Zionist district must make sure that it is conducted according to the soundest principles of Hebrew education; (3) Zionist regions must assume responsibility for a great Jewish cultural project in their own part of the country, in the form of a Chair in Hebrew Language and Literature in one or more universities, or of Jewish educational activities on the university campuses, or both. These three steps, generally regarded as within the power of our membership to undertake, must be undertaken without undue delay. Your President shall insist on their being carried out with the utmost possible dispatch and will not cease reminding you of their urgency until they are carried out. "As Zionists," I said in my appeal to our membership to redouble its efforts in behalf of Jewish education, "we dare not wait or depend on others to do our work for us. Zionists in America, as elsewhere, are the shock troops of the Jewish renaissance, or they are summer soldiers merely playing with Jewish destiny." Let us not be summer soldiers. Let us show that in this struggle for Jewish survival and for the soul of our own children we mean to fight with all the force at our command until victory is won.

#### YOUTH

The problem of Zionist youth has caused your President no end of worry. The plain truth is that, after

fifty years of Zionist work in this country, we still find ourselves without a key to the heart and mind of our American Jewish youth. It is my conviction that of all organizational forms of Zionist youth education, that of the young Zionist districts is the most practical as well as promising. In line with this thought, we have been conducting negotiations with Masada to assume a central position in the framework of our Zionist Youth Organization. A strong Z.G.A. delegation will attend the Masada Convention to propose our new plans which, when accepted, will, I trust, prove a turning point in Zionist youth work in America.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

9. As the premier Jewish organization operating on the American scene, we have a vital interest in the regeneration of the whole of American Jewry, not only of its youth. In my "Program for Action" I stated my position, in which you concurred, when I said: "It is our inescapable destiny as Zionists not only to mobilize the American Jewish community and all its vast resources for the support of Israel, but to render it into one of the greatest power-houses of Jewish creativity and of Jewish genius." It is idle to expect the Jewish community of America to even approximate this ideal as long as it is dominated by a few individuals and small groups with vested interests. It must be reorganized on a democratic basis with the control of communal activities and funds in the hands of the many instead of the few.

It is melancholy to reflect that American Jewry which, because it has its being in the heart of American democracy, should be democratic, has been organized along lines which are anything but democratic. The result is that even some American Zionists, having grown up in a Jewish communal atmosphere devoid of democracy, and misreading the signs of the times, have come to resent your President's constant insistence on the democratic processes being applied to Jewish life. This attitude indicates the need of further education of American Zionists with regard to Jewish democratic community organization, particularly as it affects the power and the prerogatives of the Jewish Welfare Funds. To meet this need, I have made available under the title of "Democratization of the Jewish Community," a pamphlet, outlining a program of Jewish democracy in America, beginning with the democratization of the local Jewish Community Councils and ending with a projected democratic representation of the Jews of the United

States, to which all Jewish national organizations and fund-raising agencies are to be subject for supervision or control. In such a Jewish community system, based on the concept of American democracy, the Zionist Organization of America, I pointed out, would have no difficulty in finding its proper place. As to the national organizations and fund-raising agencies, they would have to learn to take their place as the accredited agencies of the whole Jewish community in America. This I added, would apply particularly to the Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, which, in the new democratic communal order, would be required to serve as the fiscal arm for the whole Jewish community, under strict communal control.

If all this seems remote or unattainable it is because we have not taken our Jewish democracy seriously and are not taking it as seriously today as we should. As far as your President is concerned, he is convinced beyond a shadow of a doubt that we must press on in the direction of Jewish communal reorganization constantly and relentlessly, until Jewish communal chaos, with all its wastefulness and irresponsibility, makes room for order and democratic control.

Until that day, I hope you will agree with me that, as Zionists, we cannot do otherwise than challenge the concentration of almost unlimited power over the purse strings and the activities and the life of the Jewish community in America in the hands of the few, however well intentioned. It is this thought that I expressed when, at the end of my pamphlet, I stated: "To my mind, it is not casting any aspersion on the integrity or ability of those who today compose the leadership of the Federation and Welfare Funds, to say that until they accept the control of the organized democratic Jewish community, they cannot expect to be entrusted with the direction of Jewish life through a system of planning and budgeting. After all is said and done, they represent but a part or at best parts of the totality of Jewish community life. They should be guided by the will of the community as a whole rather than by their own notion of what is good and proper for the community. Personally, I am with Lincoln who said that "everybody knows more than anybody." This may not have been the most politic way of putting it, but I believe the time has come to speak out bluntly and call a spade a spade.

I hope in the near future to be able to appoint our National Commission on Jewish Community Organization under the chairmanship of an outstanding civic leader. It will be the task of that Commission to implement, with

the aid of Zionists in all the communities, the program of the reorganization and the democratization of the American Jewish community.

#### SHEKEL

10. There remains to touch upon a number of major organizational problems such as the Shekel Campaign, preparation for the World Zionist Congress, the American Zionist Funds, etc.

I doubt whether there will be much disagreement concerning the role of the Shekel in our own day. Originally intended by the World Zionist Congress as a means of mobilizing the Jewish people in support of the Zionist movement, it has lost most of its usefulness. As a measure of Zionist strength throughout the Jewish world and the relative strength of the various Zionist parties, it has proved most unreliable. As an instrument for raising funds for the World Zionist Organization it has become hopelessly outmoded. Yet, we must take the Shekel in consideration as we prepare for the World Zionist Congress since the Shekel, according to the constitution of the World Zionist Congress, is the sole basis of representation at the Congress.

I had hoped that it might be possible, by agreement with the World Zionist Organization and with the Zionist parties involved, to dispense with the sale of Shkolim this year and with the usually noisy and quarrelsome shekel campaign that accompanies the nationwide sale of shkolim. Unfortunately, our negotiations with the various Zionist groups looking toward some kind of an arrangement involving financial provision for the World Zionist Organization as well as a basis for the distribution of representation at the Zionist Congress, has not brought the desired results. Despite our pleas, the decision was taken to go through with the shekel campaign. The rule rather than reason has triumphed; we had no choice but to submit.

Thus the Zionist Organization of America has been challenged to measure its own strength against that of other Zionist parties in the United States. We accept this challenge. A call must go forth to each and every member of the Zionist Organization to see to it that all his friends and acquaintances and all within the reach of his influence acquire Shkolim from him. The number of Shkolim sold by the Z.O.A. must top, as in the years past, the number of Shkolim sold by any other Zionist group in America. On this show of strength depends our position of leadership in World Zionism. This position of leadership has been ours for many years, we dare not relinquish it.



A word to our districts and regions. The Shekel is a measuring rod, at the moment at least, of the strength of the Zionist Organization of America and the greatest support for its claim to the strongest American delegation to the World Zionist Congress. The Zionist districts and regions and their respective leaderships will therefore be held to strictest accountability for their part in selling the Z.O.A. shekel. I promise you to report faithfully on the achievements and the failure of each part of our organization in the great Shekel drive in which we are soon to engage. Nobody who neglects this primary duty to the Z.O.A. can expect any consideration from me or, for that matter, from an aroused membership which will be duly informed about his desertion under fire.

Now a word about the representation at the forthcoming Zionist Congress. It has been our contention, based upon profound conviction, that the Zionist movement, particularly in the United States, cannot afford an electoral party-struggle at this juncture, and that the distribution of mandates to the forthcoming Zionist Congress should be made through an understanding and amicable settlement among the Zionist parties. It is our unshakable belief that no party advantage that might be gained from an election could possibly outweigh the incalculable harm that would accrue from an electoral struggle to the State of Israel, to the United Jewish Appeal and to American Zionism as a whole. So strongly is your President convinced of the irreparable damage of such an electoral struggle that, confronted with the choice between an election and lack of any representation at the Congress, he would choose the latter rather than jeopardize the welfare of the whole Zionist movement. If this sounds like a concession to those who would capitalize on our sensibilities and loyalties to the highest interests of the Zionist movement, let them make the most of it. However, they would do well not to under-rate the fighting power of the Z.O.A. It has never been known to flinch in the face of provocation or challenge.

#### WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS

11. The first Zionist Congress to be held since the establishment of the State of Israel may well be an exceedingly important one in the history of Zionism. Decisions of far-reaching importance affecting the structure of the World Zionist Organization and its scope of activities will be adopted.

The Zionist Organization of America is pledged to defend at the forthcoming Zionist Congress the principle of autonomy for all territorial Zionist federations

constituting the World Zionist Organization. The Z.O.A. is also committed to the concept of a strong World Zionist movement, with wide powers to mobilize all the moral, intellectual and material resources of World Jewry, both for the strengthening of the State of Israel and the safeguarding of Jewish survival and the flowering of Jewish culture throughout the world. As the prime mover of such gigantic mobilization effort embracing the entire world outside the physical borders of the State of Israel, I can see one personality looming up before me: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. Under his leadership, I am certain, the Zionist movement will go from strength to strength, realizing the high hopes of world Zionism of which the establishment of the Jewish State was but a partial fulfillment. This goal, in my opinion, can be attained if we have peace and cooperation within the Zionist movement. Your President has been straining every effort to bring out of the conflicting interests in Zionism the greatest degree of harmony possible. If by narrowing the field of discord and widening the area of agreement among the Zionist groups, we can reach an accord with the Zionist parties before and during the Congress, we shall have in Jerusalem a Congress of peace that will be productive of results so beneficial that only the greatest of optimists have dared to dream about them.

#### WORLD CONFEDERATION OF GENERAL ZIONISTS

12. Our relation to the World Confederation of General Zionists will undoubtedly affect our position at the next Zionist Congress. While our success at the last Zionist Congress at Basle was due mainly to the correctness of our position on outstanding issues, there is no doubt but that it was helped by the World Confederation of General Zionists. However, due to changed conditions, our relations with the Confederation have become platonic. We've entered the Confederation, inspired by the hope of forging it into a mighty instrument for the promotion of a General Zionism worthy of the name. With the General Zionist Party in Israel split into quarreling factions, this hope has gone aglimmering. At this time a commission of three distinguished Zionist leaders, representing all General Zionist factions in Israel, is here for the purpose of inducing the Z.O.A. to again become active in the Confederation. Thus far the negotiations with the delegation have produced an exchange of opinion leading to a better appreciation of each other's position. The members of the delegation will address you and I am sure you will accord them a

respectful hearing. It is my considered judgment that at this time we ought to limit our participation in the Confederation to the point of attending a special conference, scheduled by the Confederation to be held prior to the next session of the Actions Committee, with the understanding that a) the conference is free to elect officers and b) that our participation does not bind us to any pattern of action with regard to the Confederation in the future.

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

13. Every day presents the World Zionist movement with new problems as a result of continued threats to the territorial integrity of the State of Israel. The latest attack is aimed at the very heart of both the State of Israel and the Jewish people, - which is Jerusalem. The American Zionist Council, which represents all Zionist parties, has been trying hard to recover ground lost during months of shadowy existence and neglect. It has attempted to stop the drive for the internationalization of Jerusalem. Your President, impelled by the great urge, which he knows is in the heart of every Jew, to save Jerusalem from being severed from the living body of Israel, has done what he could to arouse the entire membership of the Zionist Organization of America on the Jerusalem issue. The oath "If I forget Thee, O, Jerusalem" which he recommended to be taken as part of every Zionist assemblage has made, as he has been informed, a profound impression upon all observers as well as participants. Similarly his call upon the candidates for the U.S. Senate in the last N. Y. state elections to declare themselves jointly on Jerusalem, was met with wide acclaim. If because of these actions, which he regarded necessary to the success of our cause, he is to be adjudged, as some seem inclined to adjudge him, a breaker of discipline, he will not demur. There is a time for speaking out and time for keeping silent. To me it seemed that the time had come for the Zionist Organization of America to speak out and not to keep silent, fulfilling the words of the prophet: "For the sake of Zion I shall not keep silent" (l'maan tzion lo echsheh.)

#### AMERICAN ZIONIST FUND

14. Thus far I've spoken of Zionists problems and our plans and work designed to meet them. I've said very little about the wherewithal with which to accomplish our high purposes. The American Zionist Fund is our greatest financial instrument which enables us to carry out our plans and projects. Without it, the wheels of our organi-

zation stand still, our plans and blueprints are mere scraps of paper and our high vaulting ventures are just empty gestures. I need hardly tell you that the proceeds from membership dues, of which, by the way, only a minor share remains in our national coffers, are far from sufficient to cover our budget. We need the American Zionist Fund not only to make it possible for us to continue our present operations but to expand them. You adopted a Program of Action for the Zionist Organization of America. This program, if it is to be implemented even in part, will require the expenditure of large funds. If you really believe in the program you have adopted unanimously and its value both for the State of Israel and American Jewry, you will do your utmost to make the American Zionist Fund this year the greatest success it has been in years. Each district and region has a duty of its own to the American Zionist Fund, a duty which no one dare shirk. I will look to each and everyone of you to be my helper in the great task of putting over the American Zionist Fund, as it has never been put over before, in each and every community through the United States. We have great work to do and we need large funds to do it with. This is the time for every good Zionist to show his mettle through giving and producing.

#### ZIONIST HOUSE IN ISRAEL

15. Another of our requirements is money for the Z.O.A. House in Israel. We have over \$100,000 already raised, but we need \$200,000 more. This sum is not included in the American Zionist Fund. The Z.O.A. House in Israel gives promise to become not only one of the shining landmarks in the State of Israel, but also a monument to the Z.O.A. contribution to a better understanding between America and Israel. I bespeak your utmost generosity for this great venture of the Z.O.A. in Israel.

#### BUDGET OF ORGANIZATION

16. A brief word on the budget of the organization. The budget, originally prepared for the Convention, amounted to only \$1,100,000 against \$1,400,000 of last year. Since the convention, however, we have instituted a number of economies, enabling us to operate on a lower figure. So far, only one month of the new fiscal year has elapsed and we have been able to keep our expenses down to a minimum basis. I am afraid, however, that we may not be so fortunate in the coming months, since demands are constantly being made on our organization for the extension of our operations. However, I can promise you that everything possible will be done to continue to operate within our means and to make sure that our organizations

will remain on a liquid basis. There will be no deficit financing while I am president. While I hope to be able to continue our subventions to many worthwhile organizations deserving our support, I will do so only on the basis of our financial ability as reflected in our monthly financial status. Believe me, it is neither easy nor pleasant for your President to constantly resist the pressure of groups concentrating on their own needs to the exclusion of everything else.

#### JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

17. While I am on the question of funds, I regard it as a genuine pleasure as well as a special privilege to be able to report to you that, as a result of an agreement with us, the Jewish National Fund will put at the disposal of the Z.O.A., 6,000 dunams of good land, centrally located, for the first two agricultural colonies which the Z.O.A. is about to establish in Israel. In addition thereto, the Jewish National Fund has generously agreed to allocate 37% of its own funds that will be raised by the Z.O.A. membership, under this arrangement, for further assistance to the Z.O.A. colonies. I know I speak out of your hearts when I take this occasion to express our gratitude to the Jewish National Fund for this fine help which it has extended to the Z.O.A. in one of the most significant ventures of our organization.

Over the years, the Jewish National Fund has won for itself a place in every Jewish heart, which sets it apart as a singular institution of incomparable significance in Jewish life. No matter how much we do for the upbuilding of the State of Israel and for Jewish survival everywhere, each and every one of us must add to his list of activities a special effort on behalf of the Jewish National Fund. This is a MUST. More than ever this is the time to come to the assistance of the Jewish National Fund which is now doing a heroic job in preparing new vast stretches of land for the hundreds of thousands now pouring into Israel and the multitudes that are to follow. I appeal to every Zionist to do his utmost for the J.N.F. so that, within the framework of the agreement between the J.N.F. and the U.J.A., J.N.F. receipts may be adequate to the needs of the hour.

#### MACHINES FOR ISRAEL.

18. A few more organizational notes which I shall ask you to bear in mind: Our organization has undertaken a campaign for machinery supply equipment. There is a crying need for machines of all sorts, beginning with sewing machines and ending with carpenters' tools. Our Zionist districts have been asked to carry out an intensive



campaign among the membership as well as among all our friends in the communities throughout the land for this type of machinery, which we are eager to forward to Israel with the least possible delay for distribution among the legion of the "forgotten man" there. You are urged to give this important project your most serious consideration and your heartiest cooperation. It is through projects like these that Zionists in America identify themselves most closely with our people in the State of Israel.

#### PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ISRAEL INFORMATION

The Z.O.A. Commission on Public Information has already sent out some very worthwhile material to the leaders of our districts and membership. A new program of information on Israel will soon be started, affording each and every district an opportunity to set up its own information center for the purpose of servicing all those in the community who desire any type of information about Israel and Israeli life, including information about visas, cost of transportation, custom charges, hotel, schools, kvutzot, the latest books and plays, how best to send parcels or money to relatives, etc. The Z.O.A. Israel Information Service, which is now engaged in preparatory work, is expected to begin functioning the latter part of January.

Our publications have been expanded and improved. I hope you have been reading the New Palestine, and I trust you will agree with me that it has become more interesting. The New Palestine, which in line with our retrenchment policy, has appeared since the Convention every four weeks, will, because of the greatly aroused interest, henceforth appear every three weeks. Dos Yiddische Folk, as some of you may have noted, has now been enlarged to include a Hebrew supplement. I am glad to report that its circulation had risen considerably in the last few months.

#### ISRAEL CORPORATION OF AMERICA AND PALESTINE ECO. CORP.

An organizational event of great importance occurred when the unification of the Israel Corporation of America with the Palestine Economic Corporation took place. Your President, acting in the interests of the Organization, assisted in this unification, which, he is sure, will bring good results for the State of Israel. I bespeak for the Palestine Economic Corporation, whose record for sound investment, dividends and management is unexcelled, your most hearty support. It is my profound belief that it is through private capital investments that we can help in the most efficient manner to build the economy of the State of Israel.

ESTABLISHMENT OF Z.O.A. COLONIES — NEGOTIATIONS WITH  
JEWISH AGENCY

19. I now come to the crux of our work in Israel. For some time it has become increasingly clear to most of us, if not to all of us, that the Z.O.A., in order to make its maximum contribution to the upbuilding of the State of Israel, must undertake a special task of its own to be carried out under its own name and in accordance with its own principles and ideas. In line with this thought, I recommended to you, upon my return from Israel last summer, the establishment of the first two Z.O.A. agricultural colonies and as much aid as possible to the social services for the forgotten man in Israel. To carry out these projects we required substantial funds, which we could obtain either from the Jewish Agency or through a special campaign.

Our negotiations with the Jewish Agency have been carried on over a long period of months, leaving us alternately between hope and despair. However, I am glad to be able to report to you that finally we have reached an agreement which I can recommend to you.

According to the agreement, the Z.O.A. will receive from and through the World Confederation of General Zionists, the sum of \$500,000 to be used by the Z.O.A. in Israel. To make this transaction possible, the Jewish Agency has increased for the fiscal year of 1950, its allotment to the General Zionist Constructive Fund of the Confederation, from \$750,000 to \$1,100,000, that is, by \$350,000, which was earmarked by the Agency for the Z.O.A. In addition, the World Confederation of General Zionists, out of the consideration for the work of the Z.O.A., has allotted out of its meagre resources, the sum of \$150,000 to the Z.O.A. to be spent by the Z.O.A. in Israel. As an act of our appreciation of this generosity, I recommend that the Zionist Organization of America spend \$150,000 out of consideration for the work of the Z.O.A., has Keren of the Confederation. I can only say here that this money will be spent by the Z.O.A. mostly to strengthen the credit facilities and the social services of the small man in Israel. — the forgotten man.

Here, for the record, is the full text of the letter from the World Confederation of General Zionists, signed by its president, Dr. Israel Goldstein:

November 10, 1949

\*Mr. Daniel Frisch, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Frisch:

Pursuant to the conversations and negotiations which have been held between you and your colleagues on behalf of the Z.O.A. and my colleagues and myself on behalf of the World Confederation of General Zionists and its Constructive Fund, I am pleased to convey the following:

The General Zionist Constructive Fund (Keren Mifalim Constructivim), out of the allocation to it of \$1,100,000 from the United Palestine Appeal in 1950, will make available a sum of \$500,000 to be used by the Z.O.A. for constructive projects in Israel.

We look forward to good results for this arrangement. It will provide additional opportunities for strengthening the economy of Israel, increasing its absorptive capacity, and enabling additional numbers of General Zionists to find assistance similar to that provided by other Zionist parties to their groups, such as will help them gain a long-awaited foothold in the land of their fulfillment. Thus the existing program of the General Zionist Constructive Fund will be enhanced.

May I also take this occasion to express the hope that the Z.O.A. which has had an outstanding part in the founding of the World Confederation of General Zionists, will lend its full strength and support to this body representing the largest single group within the Zionist movement.

Sincerely yours

(Signed) DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN  
Chairman."

This still leaves us with the need for funds to finance the first two Z.O.A. colonies, and it is at this point that the Jewish Agency has decided to extend to us its greatest help. According to an arrangement between the Z.O.A. and the Jewish Agency, — an arrangement by the way, unanimously approved by the representatives of all Zionist parties in the Jewish Agency Executive — the Jewish Agency will finance two Z.O.A. colonies in Israel to be built in accordance with the plans and directions of the Z.O.A. and settled by a special group selected by the Z.O.A. It is estimated that the building of these two colonies will require an outlay in the neighborhood of \$750,000 and that the number of settlers will run to about two hundred, of whom two-thirds will come from the United States, and the remainder to be selected by us from those in Israel.

Here, again for the record, is the letter of the Jewish Agency, signed by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency:

November 9, 1949

\*Mr. Daniel Frisch, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Frisch:

I want to inform you that the Executive of the Jewish Agency has decided to include the program of establishing two agricultural settlements in Israel, based on plans worked out by the Z.O.A. in consultation with the Colonization Department, within its program for 1950.

The settlements will be established on land which the Keren Kayemeth L'Israel will provide based on your agreement with it and they will be financed by the Colonization Department as part of the general budget for Colonization.

I hope that the Z.O.A. will mobilize as soon as possible the manpower for these settlements; and will begin discussions with the Colonization Department as to the details of the implementation of the program.

With best regards.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Nahum Goldmann  
Chairman, American Section  
Jewish Agency for Palestine."

I wish to take this occasion to express my thanks to Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, and Berl Locker, chairman of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, for their generous help in carrying through this financial arrangement. I know their task has not always been an easy one. Often in the long negotiations they have been called upon to put the welfare of the Movement above party considerations.

#### UNIFICATION OF FUND-RAISING FOR ISRAEL

In recommending the acceptance of the arrangement with the Jewish Agency and the World Confederation of General Zionists, I am aware that the amounts which have been put at our disposal are not at all adequate for the high purposes we have in mind. At the same time, I wish you would

remember that none of the great Zionist funds, certainly not the special funds of Zionist groups, such as Hadassah and the Histadrut, were large at their beginnings. They have grown with the passing years. We regard the present financial arrangement with the Jewish Agency as a mere beginning; we are determined to grow and grow and grow. That is how a great organization must pursue its historic task. We have momentarily yielded our right to enter upon a special campaign out of regard for the needs of the hour which require complete concentration on the forthcoming U.J.A. campaign. We still believe in the complete unification of all funds, raised for Israel, in the U.J.A. This conviction we shall defend at every opportunity, while defending our claim to our own share in the funds, that we regard as adequate for our work in Israel.

20. I've come to the end of my report. I know it has been too long and has taxed your patience unduly, and I beg your forgiveness. I have felt that I owe you every significant item of information that would give you a correct picture of the state of your organization during this period of transition. After all is said and done, you are the true masters of the Zionist Organization of America. In you resides the power to make policies. You can hold us all to strict accountability for their execution. We are here to conduct the organization in your spirit.

In reporting to you of my stewardship during the last six months, I cannot but feel very humble. The task is so immense while the achievements have been so few and limited. If I have accomplished anything in the course of these six months, it is because in all I have done and sought to do I've been aware of your presence and felt your impulse at every hour. Yours is the driving force in our organization. Ours is a truly democratic movement; while others talk about democracy, we practice it. It's because of this upsurge of genuine popular sentiment, which is possible only in a democracy, that we have succeeded in becoming the most dynamic force in American Jewry today. Without a trace of arrogance but also without undue humility, I declare in your name: We, Zionists, have come to revolutionize Jewish life, to redeem it from the sloth of indifference, to recapture its ancient glories, to reconstruct it on a new and healthy basis. That is our destiny! God willing, we shall not be found wanting.



MINUTES OF MEETING OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF ZOA,  
HELD AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, N.Y., SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1949

Presiding: Rudolf Sonneborn, Chairman

The meeting was opened by the Chairman, who welcomed the members and guests, and then proceeded to outline the agenda covering the day's meeting.

REPORT OF NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN

Abraham Redelheim, national membership chairman, rendered a report on membership activities. He stressed the importance of a large increase in numbers to strengthen the ZOA and help to provide necessary income for its essential operations. He outlined various techniques initiated by the national office which Mr. Redelheim stated would assist materially in implementing membership campaigns throughout the country.

Reporting on a recent tour of numerous communities, the speaker pointed out he had discerned a lack of interest on the part of many of the leadership rather than among the rank and file, with some districts failing to implement the material sent out by the national office. Mr. Redelheim stressed the vital role which the ZOA has played and must continue to play in America and Israel, and called for the fullest cooperation in order to achieve membership goals.

AMERICAN ZIONIST FUND

Jacob Lukashok, chairman, outlined the various projects sponsored by the AZF. He characterized the Fund as the indispensable arm of the ZOA and one of the most effective and necessary agencies by which its financial needs may be served. In addition to its regular program, the AZF this year will sponsor special projects including Machinery and Equipment for Israel and the ZOA House.

Discussing fund-raising methods, Mr. Lukashok pointed out that techniques and timing should be adapted to the conditions and opportunities existing in regions and districts throughout the country. He advocated the holding of a joint campaign for AZF and Projects for Israel where feasible, emphasizing however that such campaigns must not conflict with local UJA drives. Special literature is being prepared to supplement locally devised material. Mr. Lukashok stated many campaigns were already under way and it was hoped that allocations from Welfare Funds would equal if not exceed those of the previous year.

SHEKEL CAMPAIGN

In the absence of Harry Cohen, national chairman, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, a member of the national ZOA shekel committee, outlined preliminary plans for the launching of the shekel drive in connection with the forthcoming World Zionist Congress scheduled to be held in Israel this summer. He stated the work was only in its initial stage, adding there was some reluctance by the ZOA to engage in an extended shekel campaign at this time. However, the ZOA was confronted with a challenge by other Zionist parties in the USA and therefore had no other recourse than to proceed with its own shekel drive. Dr. Margoshes explained that a successful shekel campaign would determine the size of the ZOA delegation to the Congress and help to maintain the position of leadership enjoyed by the organization in the World Zionist movement. He called for wholehearted cooperation on the part of all Zionist leaders to ensure the success of the shekel drive.

REPORT OF DR. ROBBINS

The Chairman introduced Dr. Morton Robbins, vice-chairman of the National Administrative Council, newly appointed chairman of the American Zionist Youth Commission, who had just returned from an extended visit to Israel.

Dr. Robbins devoted the greater part of his remarks to a presentation of his views of the political picture in Israel. He referred in particular to the situation in General Zionism created by the split and subsequent formation of the G. Z. Progressive Party; the relation of these two General Zionist groups to the over-all World Confederation of General Zionists and to the ZOA.

Prefacing his report with the comment that if the General Zionists in Israel were united, General Zionism in Israel and the Confederation would be considerably strengthened. Dr. Robbins told of his conference with leaders of both groups, as well as his visit to enterprises of the General Zionists. In referring briefly to the general political and economic picture, he paid warm tribute to Prime Minister Ben Gurion and the Government of Israel.

Dr. Robbins then told of his visit with Judge Pinhas Rosen(Rosenbleuth) head of the Progressive Party, at which time he emphasized the need for unity in General Zionist ranks in Israel, stating that such unity would be an important factor in encouraging investment in Israel by American Jews. He said that Judge Rosen had expressed the hope that General Zionists would come united to the next gathering of the World Confederation to be held prior to the sessions of the World Zionist Congress.

Dr. Robbins related his experiences with the "man on the street" who he said, had become more aware of the work of the ZOA. He expressed conviction that the opening of the ZOA House would contribute materially toward good-will and understanding, in addition to aiding American tourists and encouraging capital investments.

Referring to his visit to General Zionist colonies and enterprises, the speaker stated he was greatly impressed with their accomplishments and urged American Zionists to be more aware of the important contribution of General Zionists in the upbuilding of Israel.

STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN

Before calling on Dr. Sidney Marks to present the report of the President, the chairman made a brief statement dealing with the present situation in American Zionism. He pointed out that the ZOA was passing through a transitional period; it must envisage new horizons, procedures and programs in order to meet the changing conditions of recent years. He voiced the conviction that this was the time to strengthen the sense of Zionist responsibility and solidarity, and engage in constructive planning.

Stressing the need for the continuation of a strong Zionist movement for a long time to come in order to render maximum aid to Israel, the chairman stated that as a matter of policy, Zionists must follow the pattern of non-interference in the politics of Israel. This however, he added, does not mean a halt to the necessary interflow of ideas from America to Israel and Israel to America. He called for full support of the new ZOA program of constructive work in Israel and continued aid to all these potential Americans who contemplate settling in Israel, who he stated, were carrying American concepts to Israel.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The report of the President, embodied in a pamphlet "The State of the Organization" dealing with every phase of the ZOA program, was read by Dr. Sidney Marks. Its conclusion was marked by a rising acclamation. (The full report has since been distributed to all members)

DISCUSSION

A lengthy discussion then ensued which centered on an interpretation, analysis and definition of General Zionism; the role of the ZOA in relation to General Zionist activities in Israel and to the World Confederation of General Zionists.

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Speaking as president of the Confederation, Dr. Goldstein analyzed the present position of General Zionism, with special reference to its position in Israel and the situation resulting from the split within the Party. He stated that among the various parties which constitute the Zionist movement throughout the world and Israel, the General Zionists are not only the largest in numbers but the most central in policy and program; the ZOA is the most conspicuous unit within the orbit of the Confederation.

The speaker then spoke of the work of the General Zionist Constructive Fund in Israel established by the Confederation which operates primarily in the fields of colonization and housing. He maintained the Fund was making a definite contribution to the national economy of Israel in the absorption of large numbers of immigrants. The Fund has been set up as part of the existing pattern of help provided by all parties to their groups on the principle that those who belong to the General Zionist party are entitled to similar consideration and aid.

Referring to the allocation from the Constructive Fund to the ZOA for its own projects in Israel, Dr. Goldstein spoke strongly of the need for this type of specific activity by the ZOA as representing General Zionists of the Center party. Such a role, he believed, would serve as reassurance and encouragement to Jews outside Israel who are contemplating investments.

The speaker praised the role of the ZOA in educating and bringing about a clearer understanding of General Zionism and stressed the impact which constructive activity under the aegis of General Zionism will have on the life of the people in Israel.

Dr. Goldstein emphasized the need to assist those in Israel who are General Zionists or unaffiliated with other parties; otherwise, he maintained these people would be under-privileged and "lost in the shuffle unless they had a party to which to turn. Taking a negative attitude would mean the enthronelement of existing parties at the expense of those who would like to identify themselves with the General Zionist point-of-view."

Concluding, the speaker called upon American Zionists to become familiar with the political complexion of Israel as it exists today. He expressed the hope that the ZOA House would be a medium through which General Zionists will be able to gather at first-hand not only general information but specific knowledge of the constructive achievements of General Zionism in Israel. He also expressed the hope that the two General Zionist parties in Israel would be reunited within the World Confederation and that the efforts of the ZOA along these lines would be helpful.

While there were certain differences and nuances between the General Zionists in Israel which could be readily comprehended outside Israel, these differences become more sharply pointed in Israel because they deal with problems of every-day life. However, Dr. Goldstein added the two General Zionist parties do have certain things in common, in Israel, such as the G. Z. Constructive Fund and the education program.

He reiterated his hope for a closer integration of the ZOA within the Confederation, which would be a source of strength to the Zionist movement as a whole, as well as to Israel and the Jewish people.

#### REPORTS OF MEMBERS OF DELEGATION FROM ISRAEL

Dr. Itzhok Kubowitzki, director of the General Zionist Constructive Fund (who spoke in Yiddish) described the work and achievements of the Fund, in the fields of housing, kibbutzim, child care, loans, etc. He urged a strong ZOA which he maintained would in turn result in increased practical work in Israel and strengthen the Confederation.

(Luncheon Adjournment)

#### Mr. Joseph Serlin

Mr. Serlin, member of the Knesseth and vice-president of the General Zionist party in Israel, opened the afternoon session. (Speaking in Yiddish) He prefaced his remarks with the statement that the resolution experienced by the establishment of the Jewish State, made it mandatory to redefine General Zionism which was going through a transition in its ideological development. He stated that General Zionism, until 1939 had been of a negative nature -- it was not identified with any existing party. Then, under the impact of largescale immigration of General Zionists to Israel, General Zionism had been defined as Zionism which should work for the under-privileged. However, with the advent of the State, this definition no longer applies and a new formula is needed. Today, Mr. Serlin maintained, it was imperative for General Zionists to decide their role in the State and whom they wished to defend. The old slogan that General Zionism represents and defends everyone is no longer needed in Israel. General Zionists have identified themselves with the "forgotten man", the small holder, the middle-man; although there are workers in the Party, General Zionists do not necessarily claim to represent the workers in Israel.

With regard to the World Confederation of General Zionists, Mr. Serlin advocated a single General Zionist party in Israel, declaring that a single party would exist only when the Confederation would determine the role of General Zionism. He urged an understanding of the attitude and position of the State toward the General Zionist party. He concluded with the warning that General Zionists must reorganize and clarify their thinking so that a cohesive movement may result, and internal dissention and differences arising from disorganization, abolished.

#### Mr. Moshe Kol

Mr. Kol, member of the Jewish Agency Executive and head of the Haoved Hazoni, reported briefly on his mission to America, which he said had met with a certain measure of success. He was returning to Israel with the feeling that a closer relationship had been established with the Confederation, the Constructive Fund and the ZOA.



Mr. Kol reverted to the World Zionist Congress which was held in 1946 when despite differences, General Zionists had found it possible to unite. He expressed confidence that this same spirit of striving for unity which existed then was still present. Despite the various nuances and differences in the General Zionist party in Israel, the speaker emphasized there were some areas of common endeavor and thinking. He declared the establishment of the State was merely an instrument and not the realization of full Zionist aims. To accomplish ultimate Zionist objectives, a strong Zionist Organization was essential, not only in Israel but throughout world Jewry; together, they could form a strong partnership. In this type of set-up, a well-organized World General Zionism must assume even greater responsibility than heretofore.

Referring to the question of why a Zionist Organization now, Mr. Kol emphasized that the realities of the day have proven there is definitely such a need. However, a new formulation must be drawn up as to its purposes and projects. He reiterated his belief that a stronger General Zionism would afford the possibility of uniting all parties in Israel; maintaining however that the interests of the State over-shadow all others. In view of the revolutionary period through which the State was passing due to unprecedented immigration, the interests and ideas of General Zionists must be in the forefront. He added that General Zionists should assume full responsibility both in Israel and in the Diaspora to assure the continued development and complete realization of Zionism.

The speaker voiced the opinion that General Zionists will have a great mission to perform for at least the next two generations since they are in a position to reach the Jewish masses more readily. There was no division of opinion on the need for a strong General Zionist movement; there should be none on the question of the place of both kinds of capital essential for the development of the State -- private investment, and national funds.

General Zionism has never defined itself as the adherent of only one class; General Zionism is the central core of Zionism. If it declared itself as a Center party, or any other kind of a party, Mr. Kol maintained it would no longer be considered "general" Zionism.

(Mr. Kol spoke in Yiddish; the conclusion of his address was not recorded.)

#### REPORT OF MR. PHILIP APRIL

Mr. April reported briefly on his recent visit to Israel. He stressed the importance of the role to be played by the ZOA and praised the efforts of the Government and people in meeting the immigration crisis. He called upon American Zionists to take all constructive steps to help overcome the present critical situation.

#### CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

Before opening the session for general discussion, the chairman made a brief statement dealing with one aspect of the President's report. Referring to the recent trend of isolationism evidenced by a certain segment of American Jewry who urge that all energies and resources should now be centered in the fight against anti-Semitism in America, he characterized such action as un-American and contrary to the avowed policy of U.S. Government which advocates building up democracy and friendship in all parts of the world. He scored those American Jews who wished to withdraw all aid from Israel and abroad and asserted that the UJA which must continue to receive primacy in American fund-raising, had raised the level of giving and has therefore benefitted American institutions.



GENERAL DISCUSSION

The meeting was then opened to general discussion in which many speakers participated, all of whom spoke on various aspects of the President's report. They stressed the need for a new orientation of the ZOA toward constructive enterprises in Israel and the need to define and crystallize the philosophy and role of General Zionism in Israel and its relation to General Zionism in this country. There was general agreement that every reasonable effort should be made to try to bring about unity within the ranks of General Zionism in Israel. Emphasis was also placed on the need to encourage private investment and support of the Palestine Economic Corporation.

Cognizance was taken of the recent trend of assimilationist forces in America and the pressure to resist continued aid to Israel, with speakers underscoring the importance of strengthening the ZOA.

A word of caution was uttered by Ezra Shapiro and Louis Lipsky that the ZOA administration, before embarking on a program which may prove too large and all-embracing, should give greater consideration to certain of its aspects which may require preliminary preparation, education and understanding on the part of the community. Too broad a program might divert the energies of the ZOA membership over too large a field.

Mr. Frisch

Reviewing the discussion, the President answered some of the points raised during the course of the day. Referring specifically to the education program, democratization of the American Jewish community and chalutzit, the President pointed out these programs had already been presented and endorsed unanimously by the National Administration Council at its previous meeting. He explained that in the matter of education and community democratization, their implementation was not obligatory but was left to the discretion of the respective communities. They represented a pattern of a desirable goal which it was hoped might be achieved with the cooperation of existing organizations over a reasonable period of time.

Regarding Chalutzit, the President believed that the difference in policy was one of approach rather than of basic principle. He explained that the ZOA was anxious to encourage young people willing to settle in Israel. However, the ZOA would not engage in propaganda which would stimulate such immigration on the basis of American insecurity. Negotiations are under way at this time for the promotion of chalutzit and an allocation of funds, in consonance with this guiding principle.

Mr. Frisch then analyzed the present situation existing in Israel and expressed hope for unity among the existing groups of General Zionists. He stated there was no intention of withdrawing from the Confederation even if such unity were not attained.

He reaffirmed the need to cooperate with and give full support to the existing government in Israel. However, he pointed out that if private investment would be stimulated, there would be freedom of initiative and the prospect of enjoying the benefit of one's industry.

Referring to the merger of the Israel Corporation of America with the Palestine Economic Corporation, he urged wholehearted cooperation and support to the PEC and for the furtherance of private investment.

He concluded his remarks with a strong appeal for increased ZOA membership, American Zionist Fund income, support of the ZOA House and the sale of shekolim.

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Dr. Goldstein concluded the afternoon discussion with his interpretation of the meaning and role of General Zionism. He prefaced his remarks with the suggestion that sub-committees might be appointed to crystallize the day's discussion and give further consideration to the various thoughts expressed. He also advised that meetings be held more frequently to allow for full expression and exchange of thought on fundamental Zionist problems.

Speaking as President of the Confederation, Dr. Goldstein summed up his views as follows: "that all groups in General Zionism subscribe to the proposition that General Zionists are a classless party, recognizing the importance of the middleclass and of private initiative, big and small; it also recognizes the importance of the chalutz sector -- of the collective, the kibbutz, or those based on private agriculture. He stressed the interest of General Zionism in agricultural development and the need of giving full opportunity to General Zionists who wish to find fulfillment through agriculture.

Dr. Goldstein explained the beliefs of Haoved Hazoni and pointed out that it differed from Mapai and Mapam politically, inasmuch as they did not stand for a socialist state. He added that the General Zionist Party in Israel is likewise interested in encouraging Chalutzit. There are also several General Zionist colonies which are being projected upon the principle of private agriculture.

Dr. Goldstein reaffirmed his conviction that the ZOA should lend its support to all groups in Israel who affirm themselves as General Zionists and whose basic principles come within the framework of General Zionism. Unless such a philosophy were adopted, Dr. Goldstein cautioned that dissensions would result within General Zionist ranks. He restated his strong desire for a united General Zionist party.

RESOLUTION ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Judge Henry Ellenbogen, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, submitted the following resolution:

"BE IT RESOLVED, at the meeting of the Administrative Council assembled at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City on the 13th day of November as follows:

- 1) We congratulate President Daniel Frisch upon the successful conclusion of the negotiations with The Jewish Agency in the General Zionist Constructive Fund;

2) We accept and approve the agreement that he reached with The Jewish Agency under which it is agreed to finance two Zionist colonies;

3) We accept and approve the agreement which was reached with the General Zionist Constructive Fund under which the ZOA will receive without strings, the sum of \$500,000 to carry out its projects in Israel;

We accept with thanks and approval the comprehensive and constructive report rendered by the President and refer it to the Executive and the Interim Committees for implementation and execution."

This resolution was seconded by Dr. Robbins.

An amendment to the resolution was made by Ezra Shapiro that it be divided so as to provide for a vote on the first three points on which there was unanimity, and allow for discussion and a separate vote on the last point. However, a motion made by Mr. Torczyner to table this amendment was approved and the original motion was put to a vote. The resolution in toto was thereupon approved, with Dr. Emanuel Neumann requesting that he be recorded as not voting.

Among those participating in the discussion were Messrs. Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi William Greenfield, Jacques Torczyner, Arnold Ginsburg, Benjamin Rabalsky, Ezra Shapiro, Louis Lipsky, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Milton Taylor, Mendel Fisher, Harry Cohen, and others.

The chairman announced that a meeting of the National Executive Committee would convene shortly and invited all members of the National Administrative Council to participate.

The meeting adjourned at 7 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

Dr. Sidney Marks  
Secretary

MINUTES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA  
HELD AT THE HOTEL WALDORF-ASTORIA, N.Y., ON NOVEMBER 13, 1949.

The meeting convened at 8:30 P.M. following the adjournment of the all-day session of the National Administrative Council.

FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT:

I.J. Caplan, Associate Chairman of the Finance Committee, advised that ZOA Life Memberships invested in Jewish National Fund bonds had matured last month thereby freeing approximately \$350,000. He reported on subsequent negotiations with The Jewish Agency for Palestine and disclosed the details of an agreement whereby the ZOA will make a five year loan of \$250,000 to the Agency through which The Israel Corporation of America will merge with The Palestine Economic Corporation.

A resolution to ratify the action of the Finance and Inner Committee in making the loan from Life Membership to The Jewish Agency in the sum of \$250,000, was approved.

Mr. Caplan also stated that the ZOA wished to purchase with Life Membership funds, a one-year note of the Keren Hayesod for \$50,000 at 6% per annum discount, and asked for approval of the NEC. Upon motion made and seconded, this action was ratified.

GENERAL ZIONIST PROGRAM:

The rest of the meeting was devoted to a continuation of the day's discussion dealing with basic Zionist principles and the need for a revaluation of the philosophy and aims of General Zionism.

Mr. Serlin, who had spoken earlier at the NAC meeting, made a brief statement in the light of the discussion.

He presented the position of General Zionist representatives in the Knesset who he maintained, supported the Government on political and military measures, but opposed only the government's economic policies.

Referring to the start made by the ZOA in constructive work in Israel, Mr. Serlin indicated that more than political slogans were needed to build up a strong General Zionist party -- practical, constructive enterprises in Israel bearing the stamp of the ZOA would serve as an important factor.

Touching on the relations between the General Zionist Party and the Progressives in Israel, the speaker expressed his belief that General Zionists are prepared to accept peace unconditionally with the Progressives and work with them through the General Zionist Party.

Mr. Sonneborn expressed regret that more time had not been allowed at the close of the NAC meeting for fuller discussion of the four point resolution approved by a majority vote. He believed that further discussion of that part of the resolution which created a difference of opinion, would have resulted in clarification, and made possible its unanimous approval.

Statement by the President:

Mr. Frisch urged members to give serious consideration to the day's discussion relating to the problems of General Zionism and the Confederation, which he felt had served an important purpose in crystallizing various points-of-view.



Referring to the implementation of the program embodied in his Report on the State of the Organization, Mr. Frisch stated a commission would be appointed shortly to implement that phase dealing with the democratization of the Jewish community. Practical steps are also being taken to work out a formula covering all aspects of the ZOA education program.

The President emphasized the need for increased membership, support for the American Zionist Fund, and the successful implementation of the shekel campaign.

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Bernard Shulman suggested as a means of uniting the General Zionist Party in Israel, that representatives of those groups now in America should confer with the view of arriving at an understanding. Such preliminary agreement might well pave the way to positive action on their return to Israel.

Samuel Princer likewise spoke of the need of unity, citing the American political party system as an example wherein different shades of opinion could be found within the orbit of a single party.

#### Chalutzit:

Rabbi Joseph Sternstein, who represents the ZOA on the Chalutzit Commission, spoke at length on chalutzit activities and the function of the ZOA in this respect, and clarified the basis of ZOA chalutzit work. According to the terms of reference of the World Zionist Organization, the Chalutzit Commission was directed exclusively to propaganda and education on a chalutz level, with no directives in the matter of hachshara. He made the point that criticism of ZOA policy was not valid inasmuch as the organization did not have the legal authority to direct or make such policy, although in past years, it had assumed the responsibility for raising and developing a strong chalutz movement in this country. In actuality, the authority for the method of training at various hachshara centers is vested in Hechalutz which is supported by The Jewish Agency and Histadrut. Thus it is they who control the conduct of the chavat; the ZOA as an organization has no voice in that activity.

Rabbi Sternstein pointed out that the pattern for hachshara training is usually derived from Shlichim from Israel visiting in this country, together with Hechalutz and The Agency. This procedure is followed in all parts of the world where hachshara centers exist.

With regard to a chalutzit program in America, clarification of the structure of the Chalutz movement would have to be sought at the next World Zionist Congress, the supreme Zionist body. Until changes are made, Rabbi Sternstein maintained it was unfair to charge the ZOA with failure to do a job inasmuch as it does not have the necessary power.

Other speakers continued the discussion of General Zionism, emphasizing the need for unification and a redefinition of General Zionist aims and philosophy directed to aiding the middleman and encouraging private investment in Israel.

Ezra Shapiro deplored any attempt to use undue pressure or ultimatums in the effort to bring about desired unity. He reviewed the ideological differences between the Progressives and General Zionists, declaring it was his belief that the General Zionists stood for a "class program". On the other hand, he interpreted the Progressive Party as one which fights any point-of view that is class-orientated; it speaks for the protection of the rights of all inhabitants of Israel,



including the small-holder and businessman, as well as the big businessman and labor, who may not wish to come under the control of Histadrut or Mapai.

Touching on the economic situation and private investment, Mr. Shapiro suggested the General Zionists utilize their position to impress the Government with the need for conditions conducive to private investment and business in Israel.

Mr. Shapiro spoke of the policy of non-interference on the part of American Zionists in the government of Israel. He stated that while Americans could not take any part in internal, political affairs, they would, as long as there was large scale immigration, continue to have some inter-relationship with Israel.

In closing, he suggested the advisability of arranging a meeting where duly qualified representatives of the General Zionist and Progressive Parties in Israel would be given the opportunity to present their authoritative points-of-view and answer questions.

Judge Henry Ellenbogen suggested that the parties in Israel emulate the pattern of political parties in America which embraced various points-of-view in one party, citing the Democratic Party as an example. He recommended that inasmuch as various Party representatives from Israel visited America frequently, we might in turn send a mediator to Israel to try to bring about unity.

Rabbi William Greenfield pointed out that peace between the two General Zionist groups would not necessarily result in unity of opinion in America. A simple statement of principles of what General Zionism stands for and its relationship to Israel and the World Confederation would be helpful in obtaining unity.

Harry Cohen, national ZOA Shekel Chairman, urged full support of the shekel campaign. Until the World Zionist Congress changed its method of election, the ZOA had no alternative but to do everything possible to elect the maximum number of delegates in keeping with the stature and dignity of the ZOA.

#### STATEMENT BY DR. NEUMANN

Dr. Neumann spoke of the difficulty of carrying out the everyday practical work of the Organization while attempting to work out the basic policies and philosophy, without which its activities would be rendered meaningless. In order to maintain a live organization, it is essential that those who are behind the work are profoundly convinced of the significance of what they are doing.

The speaker stressed the need to overhaul completely one's mental thinking and outlook in the light of the realization of the Jewish State. He expressed the belief that a basic difficulty had arisen from the fact that out of the very birth of the Jewish State, Zionists were faced with the question of their further function and program. When the State came into being, those in Israel were in a propitious position to capitalize on that event. Paradoxically, Zionists in the Diaspora who were largely instrumental in achieving this goal and who should have been the unchallenged leaders in Jewish life and all efforts pertaining to Israel, were left without a specific goal. Dr. Neumann reiterated his conviction that the formula he had proposed at the last Actions Committee meeting -- that all organized effort in behalf of Israel the world over should be channelized through the Zionist movement -- would have given strength and potency to the Zionist movement in the Diaspora. This formula, he maintained, still applies. The Zionist movement would thus be the connecting link, the interpreter of Israel to the Diaspora and the Diaspora to Israel. He ascribed the failure to implement such a policy to the fact that the majority of Zionists outside Israel were not of the same party as that of the ruling party.

Referring specifically to the need for unity among General Zionists in Israel, Dr. Neumann emphasized that unless there was a strong, united Party, General Zionism would be unable to maintain a leading role in the Diaspora and their position would consequently be weakened.

He believed the platform of both groups was similar in principle, but that there existed the problem of personalities.

Dr. Neumann defined the General Zionist Party in Israel as a non-socialist party of general interest; one that seeks to place national interests above party and class interests. He stated that outside of Haoved Hazoni which had its particular function in attempting to organize chalutzit, there was no real reason why these two groups could not combine. Continued division and lack of cohesion would tend to weaken the entire structure of General Zionism.

The speaker concluded with a strong plea that leadership in Israel should not reduce the prestige of the Zionist movement in the Diaspora, and should take positive steps to strengthen the Zionist movement as its right arm and source of support.

Dr. Robbins urged the ZOA to lend its full support to the General Zionist Party in Israel which he thought would be helpful in bringing about the uniting of the Progressive Party with the General Zionists.

Jacques Torczyner indicated that the failure to bring about peace might be attributed in some measure to outside political factors whose position was made stronger by the split in General Zionist party. He stated the crux of the Zionist problem today lay in the need to re-define Zionism as representing the complete values in Jewish life.

In closing the meeting, the President expressed his appreciation for the full participation of the members in the discussion, which he believed would contribute to the evolution of a pattern conducive to greater happiness and normalcy of the Jewish people.

Those participating in the discussion included Rev. Martin Adolf, Leon Kay, Ben Friedman, Benjamin Gordon, Samuel Jacobson, Morris Margulies, Morris Bromberg, and others.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Dr. Sidney Marks  
Secretary

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42<sup>ND</sup> STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 2-3203

DANIEL FRISCH  
PRESIDENT

December 16, 1949

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I designate you as a spokesman for the Zionist Organization of America on the Board of the United Palestine Appeal.

I am confident that you will serve faithfully, attend meetings, and actively participate in the management of the UPA and in the success of the United Jewish Appeal campaign for 1950.

With best of good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

*Daniel Frisch*  
Daniel Frisch  
President

1/5/50

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and Mrs. Silver  
my affectionate  
greetings  
Rene.

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## 5 DIE, 60 INJURED IN RIOTING IN ITALY

Clash Between Workers and  
Police in Modena Is Worst  
in Year and a Half

TOLL IS EXPECTED TO RISE

Both Sides Employ Firearms  
—Grenades Reported Used  
in Labor Demonstration

By ARNALDO CORTESI  
Special to The New York Times

ROME, Jan. 9.—Five persons were killed and more than sixty injured in rioting in Modena today. It was the most serious clash between the police and workers that has occurred in Italy in eighteen months.

The death toll is expected to increase, since some of the wounded from both sides are in critical condition. Those severely wounded include a girl who was shot in the face. Firearms were used by both sides, and the workers were reported to have thrown hand grenades at the police.

Although the situation was still extremely tense, the police stated that they had it under control by nightfall. Many thousands of workers who had been brought into the city by the Communist leaders in the Modena labor movement had been prevailed upon to return to their homes and the city was heavily guarded by the police and carabinieri reinforced by armored cars.

Shortly after the clash occurred, the Modena Chamber of Labor declared a twenty-four hour general protest strike for tomorrow. The Executive Committee of the Communist-dominated Italian General Confederation of Labor some hours later proclaimed a twenty-four hour general strike throughout the region of Emilia and a nation-wide twenty-four hour strike of metal workers. At the same time it urged all local chambers of labor to organize protest demonstrations leaving them free to decide what form the demonstrations should take.

Reds Lay Shooting to Police

Contrary to most reports of what happened in Modena, the labor confederation said that it had been the police and not the demonstrators who started the shooting. The projected protest strikes do not have support of the anti-Communist labor unions, which favor sending committees on the spot to ascertain how the shooting started. Today's riot in Modena was attributed to a lockout recently imposed by four local industrial establishments. It was said, had been trying for months to reduce the number of surplus workers without success.

Government authorities intervened and the controversy seemed to be approaching a satisfactory solution when the Chamber of Labor on Saturday proclaimed a night-hour general strike for today. It became known that the Communist party was making arrangements to concentrate many thousands of workers from the surrounding countryside into Modena.

The first serious incidents were caused by police efforts to prevent entry into the city by the workers. At one point a bomb was thrown at a police jeep, wounding one police sergeant and two carabinieri. It is calculated that about 10,000 demonstrators, including city dwellers and those who came in from outside, gathered at various points.

The most serious shooting occurred when the demonstrators attempted to storm one of the locked-out factories, which was under strong police guard. While the riot was still in its initial stages a hand grenade suddenly exploded. The police said it was thrown by the demonstrators, while workers' spokesmen deny the charge.

In any case the explosion of the grenade was followed almost instantly by several shots fired by unknown members of the crowd against the police, it was reported. The police said that they fired into the air several times before being obliged to shoot at the demonstrators.

Three workers lay dead when the shooting suspended. Two more persons died shortly afterwards. The injured among the demonstrators were said to be about thirty, of whom four were critically wounded. The police casualties were one officer, one carabinieri and two policemen seriously wounded and several others less seriously injured. Altogether about sixty persons were injured in this and other riots during the course of the day.

Modena is a city of 100,000 inhabitants fifteen miles northwest of Bologna on the main highway to Milan. It is in the Emilia region, which is considered among the leading "Red strongholds" in Italy. Its municipal administration is firmly in the hands of the Communists.

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Curtiss Wright Also Offers Insurance to 4,400

Special to The New York Times  
CALEWELL, N. J., Jan. 9.—A wage rise of 4 cents an hour and a company-financed insurance and hospitalization program are included in a new two-year contract being negotiated for employees at the Curtiss Wright Corporation. It was announced here today. Aircraft Lodge 703 of the International Association of Machinists, an independent union, represents 2,800 of the 4,400 employees.

Company officials said the same terms would be offered to the 1,600 other workers, who are covered by other contracts or listed as salaried employees. Aircraft Lodge and company representatives said the contract was the sixth since 1942 that had been executed without strife. The wage situation alone may be responsible for discussion one year after the new contract has been ratified and signed.

## DER FUHRER'S DOUBLE GETS A CAREFUL CHECK



Heinrich Noll, 35-year-old German male nurse, having his identity papers looked over by Corp. Edward J. Kalick of the Military Police on a street in Frankfurt, Germany, last Saturday. Mr. Noll, who has been frequently stopped, has kept his toothbrush moustache on the chance of portraying Hitler in a planned Austrian movie.

## REDS HURL CHARGE IN LEOPOLD DEBATE

Accuse Belgian Catholic Group  
of Complicity in \$1,000,000  
Scandal in Securities

By SYDNEY GRISON  
Special to The New York Times

BRUXELLES, Belgium, Jan. 9.—The Chamber of Deputies will open its long delayed debate tomorrow on the bill for a national referendum on the return of King Leopold to the Belgian throne. The atmosphere of bitter and passionate recriminations surrounding the royal question has been worsened by two week-end developments.

One was the visit of Foreign Minister Paul van Zeeland and other leaders of the Catholic party to the King at his holiday villa at Antibes, on the French Riviera. The other was a sensational charge by the Communist paper *De Personeel* that the Catholic party Premier, Gaston Ryckens, was involved in a financial scandal over the handling of \$1,000,000 of illegal securities.

M. Ryckens is scheduled to answer interrogation on this matter before the Chamber begins considering the referendum bill. Six Belgians have been arrested in connection with the scandal, including one important official of the Central Bank and head of the Credit Bank in Flanders.

Under a special decree, all stocks and bonds in Belgium were to have been registered with the Ministry of Finance immediately after the country's liberation. The law was aimed at invalidating holdings acquired through illegal wartime dealings or collaboration with the Germans. The Ministry of Finance was empowered to validate the securities, provided that it was satisfied with the proof of their legitimacy.

It has now been found that large blocks of securities were validated, although they were forgeries or illegally held. M. Ryckens was Minister of Finance at that time. The Communist paper charged that the Catholic party had benefited from the registration of stocks and bonds that the paper alleged had previously been transferred at a large discount.

Observers here speculated that the main purpose of Dr. Van Zeeland's trip was to give the King a complete report on the current political situation, in which the security affairs now loom large. The Catholic party is committed to the return of the King, and anything that embarrasses the party embarrasses Leopold's chances for a favorable vote in the referendum.

The Government, a coalition of the dominant Catholic, liberal and the Liberals, is certain to see approval for the referendum bill, which has already been approved by the Senate. The Catholic alone are only two votes short of an overall majority in the Chamber. But the debate, which will last three weeks, promises to provide still more bitterness in the country between Leopold's supporters and his opponents.

**'FALLING STARS' MISNAMED**  
Meteors and Meteorites Are Described by Scientist

LOS ANGELES (AP)—Few persons know the difference between a meteor and a meteorite, Dr. Frederick C. Leonard, University of California astronomer, says.

A meteor is the luminousity that appears when a meteorite reaches the earth's atmosphere and gets so hot from friction that it becomes incandescent, he explains. Most persons call it a falling or shooting star.

## ARGENTINE TRADE IN SPAIN IS EBBING

Buenos Aires Sources Concede  
Friendship Is Menaced While  
Each Accuses the Other

By MILTON BRACKER  
Special to The New York Times

Buenos Aires, Jan. 9.—Trade relations between Argentina and Spain were acknowledged unofficially today to have reached a new low, in the extent that the situation between the two countries.

A report that Madrid might break off economic ties in protest against the Buenos Aires interpretation of the once highly touted commercial accord was not published here today. [The report was contained in a Madrid dispatch in The New York Times, published Monday.] In general, the predicted difficulties of the Spanish Ambassador, Count José María de Arana, and of a special trade mission headed by Emilio Navarrete have been ignored here by the Government press.

But it was learned that all sorts of recriminations had figured in the last sessions here between the Spanish mission and the Argentine here. At one point the Argentines accused the Spaniards of having sold goods shipped from Argentina for dollars.

According to an independent Argentine source, the primary Spanish complaint here was that the goods promised, and not shipping the goods promised.

"Right now, trade relations with Spain are far worse than those with the United States," this Argentine said.

All this is striking when considered against the ceremoniously built-up background of friendship between the countries since President Juan Perón was inaugurated in June, 1946. Beyond that there has been an endless series of visits of protocol, special missions, decorations and grandiose declarations of mutual affinity. Streets have been named after both Presidents and Señora Perón in Spain and monuments have been raised.

The signing in April, 1948, of the main protocol to the original Franco-Perón accord or October, 1946, was made a great occasion in both countries. But the revision of the accord in November, 1949, has not renewed the promise to reinvent its past.

Instead General Perón has insisted that such balances be pegged to gold at the United States price of \$35 an ounce. This did not please the Spaniards, who previously had had a five-year draft of 3,750,000,000 pesetas as evidence of Argentina's generosity.

**LONG ISLAND RAIL TIE-UP**  
Power Shut Off While Fireman Fight Blast in Freight Car

Special to The New York Times  
LYNBROOK, L. I., Jan. 9.—To protect firemen while they fought a blaze in a freight car, power on the Montauk division of the Long Island Rail Road was shut off here tonight at 7 o'clock tonight.

Four gutted cars, three jammed between New York and Babylon, and one from New York to Freeport, were stalled about fifty minutes. A westbound Babylon New York train was held up for thirty-seven minutes, the road reported.

## SPANISH TIES ASKED IN CONGRESS BY KEE

Speech by House Foreign Unit  
Chief Is 'Coordinated With'  
Department of State

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—In a speech made with knowledge of the State Department, Representative John Kee, Democrat of West Virginia, told the House today that the United States should renew full diplomatic interchange with Franco Spain.

Mr. Kee, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, delivered an address described by a State Department informant as having been "coordinated with" that department. The ideas presented, Mr. Kee said, were "essentially" the same.

While he attacked the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco as a "Fascist" one, Mr. Kee declared that the restoration of an embassy to Madrid would be to the "advantage" of the United States.

The 1946 United Nations resolution recommending withdrawal of chiefs of mission from Spain, Mr. Kee asserted, had failed to its purpose of weakening the regime in Spain and instead had strengthened that regime.

Action in U. N. Urged  
Nevertheless, he said, the United States should not take the lead by alone restoring full diplomatic machinery to Madrid but should support in the United Nations an effort to rescind its declaration.

At all events, he went on, the United Nations resolution had not brought a common front on denial of normal diplomatic relations with Spain and the members actually were "free" now to act on their own if they wished.

Although denouncing the Franco Government as the threat followed by "ambiguously neutral" during the war and had repressive policies now, Representative Kee declared that there had been some "amelioration" in recent months of the Franco policies toward minorities.

"Spain," he went on, "can be said to be free of religious persecution in the sense of the employment of force as an instrument of the state coercing conformity."

Mr. Kee asserted that the Spanish Government had been "courting public opinion" in the United States by "public relations" rather than "public policy."

Making clear that the Spain of the present was, in his view, ineligible now to enter the United States-Western European association, Representative Kee went on: "I for one do not believe that the pattern in the West will ever be complete until Spain is a part of it."

Some, Mr. Kee declared, took the view that the United States should not become the guarantor of international agreements it should "embrace Spain within our undertakings."

"If our policy were merely anti-Communist," he added, "there would have been no need for justification for fighting World War II. We should simply have suffered Hitler and Mussolini to bring the world to the Nazi-Fascist pattern."

"Our policy is based—and if it is to succeed it must be based—on the simple premise of the affirmation of freedom."

"Were Spain to transform its government and mend its ways, bringing it into harmony with the general pattern of Western Europe, I am sure that the other nations of the region and this nation as well would welcome Spain as a full partner in the great undertakings."

**ON-THE-SPOT SURVEYS  
OF BIAS URGED IN U. N.**  
Special to The New York Times

LAKE SUCCESS, Jan. 9.—A subcommittee of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which is making a detailed analysis of discrimination and minorities questions, received a proposal today that the world organization sponsor "on-the-spot" surveys of areas in which such prejudice prevails.

The proposal was submitted by Rastanah Shafiq, the member from Iran. All twelve persons on the United Nations subcommittee serve as individual experts and not as Government spokesmen.

Mr. Shafiq recommended that teams of three volunteer members be sent to investigate the situation in the on-the-spot investigations.

The Indian expert also proposed that the United Nations study the status of "newly created minorities."

Presumably, such studies would deal with discrimination issues arising out of shifts in boundaries or of geographic changes or new political alignments.

At a brief opening session, the subcommittee agreed to put off until tomorrow election of officers and debate on its work program.

**FINE ARTS DRIVE OPENS**  
Tagliavini's \$3,800 Gift Starts a Fund for Jersey City Center

Special to The New York Times  
JERSEY CITY, N. J., Jan. 9.—A \$3,800 contribution from Ferruccio Tagliavini, Metropolitan Opera tenor, today has started a campaign to build a Fine Arts Center here that also would serve as a memorial to Jersey City's war dead.

## BRITAIN TO REDUCE UNREQUITED TRADE

Cripps Says He Will Cut Drain  
on the Sterling Balances—  
Deficit Is \$110,000,000

By RAYMOND DANIELL  
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Jan. 9.—Although Britain is producing half again as much as in 1939 and selling more to North America, she is earning fewer dollars than prior to devaluation last Sept. 18, Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, reported today in a review of the nation's economic achievements in 1949.

Relations to the United States and Canada for the October-November period, he said, were running at the rate of \$160,000,000 a year. This, he added, compared with a rate of \$120,000,000 in the third quarter of 1948 and \$143,000,000 in the first quarter. Because the pound had been devalued from \$4.03 to \$2.80, he estimated that Britain's exports were now earning 7 per cent less dollars than in the third quarter and 22 per cent less than in the first quarter of last year.

The Chancellor estimated Britain's overall trade deficit for the year at about \$110,000,000 and, in the clearest language he has yet used, asserted his intention of slowing down the rate at which Britain's sterling area creditors could draw on their blocked accounts. It is essential that these balances, which are being liquidated through exports that bring Britain no actual revenue in return, be released more slowly in order that exports can be diverted to markets where they earn hard currency, Sir Stafford said.

"But there is another very important side to this picture," he added. These resources have been made available, many of them, by the release of funds in return for assistance in their post-war reconstruction. Unless we had provided this help, we should undoubtedly have seen an even greater spread of communism. What are 'unrequited' exports to us are immeasurably valuable supporting imports to the countries threatened by the cold war. They have helped to enable them, despite all their difficulties, to withstand the onslaught of that cold war and to build up their own production.

"That we have now reached a stage where we must go slower, whether we wish it or not, for the sake of preserving our own strength and ability to help."

Asked whether he would favor American bankers underwriting Britain's sterling obligations in India, Pakistan and her Middle Eastern allies, the Chancellor replied that he "certainly would."

The balance of the sterling balances is fixed by bilateral agreements between Britain and her partners. The agreement with Pakistan has until the end of June to run, and the agreement with India does not expire until June.

Announcement of a new revised agreement with Egypt, however, will open Wednesday at the Treasury and efforts are being made to set a date for similar negotiations with Iraq and Iran.

Sir Stafford estimated that the productivity of British labor had increased during 1949 by about 5 per cent. Britain, he said, has been devoting about one-fifth of her total resources to capital investment, of which half has gone into new homes and machines.

Government expenditure has been heavy in the past year, he said, owing in part to defense obligations and in part to the needs of the socialized health service, which has increased by expansion, especially in hospitals.

Heavier spending has been necessary, he said, to build up food stocks. Notwithstanding these heavy commitments, the Chancellor said, he saw no reason to doubt that the surplus of \$192,000,000 that his budget was designed to provide would be realized.

Turning to the Government's efforts to hold price and wage levels steady, he noted that wages had increased only infinitesimally and that increased food costs had been offset by lower clothing prices.

From August to November, he said, in prices of imports, especially of food.

The 25 per cent cut in dollar imports that he had ordered last summer had become fully effective on Jan. 2, Sir Stafford said. Rapid reduction of the cost of living was Britain's gold reserves attained a "safety level" of about \$2,000,000,000, he added, and until "we have achieved a balance without external aid."

Britain has been shifting steadily from dollar countries to sterling sources for her imports, the Chancellor said, disclosing that the United Kingdom's imports from hard currency areas had fallen from 34 per cent in 1947 to 22 per cent in 1949. This change in origin has enabled Britain, he said, to maintain the volume of her dollar imports despite the shortage of gold and dollars. He warned that non-dollar imports should not be expanded to the point where they might jeopardize either our dollar exports or our overall balance of payments.

**Hopes for New Dollar Talks**  
LONDON, Jan. 9 (AP)—Sir Stafford made a bid at his press conference for new dollar talks with Canada and the United States.

Secretary John W. Snyder and Canadian Finance Minister Douglas Abbott in Washington last September. Shortly after that meeting he announced the devaluation of the pound.

The Chancellor said that he hoped another meeting on Britain's dollar shortage problem "will not be long delayed because this is a continuing study."

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## Idaho and Nevada Grant Licenses for Gambling

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS  
CHICAGO, Jan. 9.—Commercialized gambling is licensed in only two states—Idaho and Nevada. However, nearly one-half of all states license operation of pari-mutuel betting at race tracks.

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Council of State Governments reported here today, after Mayor O'Dwyer of New York urged legislation to permit gambling under state control, that Nevada licensed virtually all forms of gambling. Idaho controls only slot machines under a 1947 act.

Operation of handbooks for horse-race betting is banned in Idaho but legal in Nevada. The most recent state gambling license law in Idaho, passed last year, provided that the state might be declared legal by local option and licensed by municipalities under one of two systems.

## MINERS REJECTING BRITISH PAY FREEZE

Refusal to Government's Plan  
Endorsed by Union Council  
Is Registered in Vote

By BENJAMIN WELLES  
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Jan. 9.—Workers in Britain's nationalized coal industry delivered tonight an unexpected rebuff to the Government's wage-freezing policy, which was recommended recently to all unions in the country by the powerful Trades Union Congress.

The freezing of wages, prices and profits has been urged by the Labor Government as one of the most important measures in the fight against inflation.

Following approval of the idea by the Trades Union Congress General Council, the issue was put to the unions' rank and file. Early returns from the important miners union, which has 600,000 members, indicated that large districts such as Scotland, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Derbyshire had voted overwhelmingly against the proposal. This was considered enough to put the entire union on record against the stabilization policy.

The issue will come to a focus in the coming week when associations of 181 affiliated unions will meet here with the General Council. The council is expected to argue forcefully the Government's plea for achieving any wage claims, even those of long standing or those tied to cost-of-living sliding scales.

The opposition of the National Union of Mine Workers, which is now considered a forerunner of the three other strong union groups, the engineers, railwaymen, and electricians, are also expected to reject the wage freeze and propose instead a wage incentive plan. The incentive idea is growing in favor as one means of combating rising living costs.

Experienced labor observers forecast no workers' revolt at the meeting of a repetition of the vote in the TUC in March of 1948, when the unions cast five-and-a-half million votes for wage "restraint" to two million votes against.

Nevertheless, these observers added, the lines in the coming battle are not clearly drawn even now, since many of the most important unions are waiting to hear the issues debated Thursday before committing themselves. Furthermore, they pointed out, two of the country's biggest unions, the transport workers and municipal workers, which number between them one-quarter of the total TUC membership of 4,000,000, are actively behind the Government's wage policy.

"What is worrying the TUC General Council most, it is said, is the probability that the final vote will show a narrow majority in favor of stabilization, in which case it would be difficult to hold the majority in restraint. A galloping union, for instance, have come out strongly for a general wage increase of one pound a week for their 1,000,000 members, a claim they are not likely to drop.

Specially difficult, too, is the decision confronting the so-called "sliding scale unions," which are being asked, in effect, to suspend operation of their long-standing wage plan and to give up any hope of wage increases unless the index of retail prices rises another seven points.

Library Honors Gertrude Stein  
A special exhibition honoring the seventy-fifth birthday of the late Gertrude Stein will open today at the New York Public Library.

The display of first editions, manuscripts, scores for opera, photographs from the production of Miss Stein's plays and other memorabilia will be in Room 111 through February.

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## LONDON IS GRIPPED BY ELECTION FEVER

Forecasters of Announcement.  
Perhaps Today. Draw Crowd  
to 10 Downing Street

By CLIFTON DANIELL  
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Jan. 9.—Political forecasters in London were predicting tonight that an announcement would be made very soon—perhaps tomorrow—bearing on the date of Britain's general elections.

Traffic was heavy in and out of Prime Minister Attlee's office at 10 Downing Street today, and although the comings and goings had little to do with the choosing of an election date they increased the frenzy of speculation among politicians and newspaper men. Enough public interest was generated to attract up to fifty sightseers at a time into 10 Downing Street.

Tomorrow the whole Cabinet will pass through the portals of No. 10 for its first full meeting in 1950 and the presumption was that Mr. Attlee would tell his colleagues what his election strategy would be. Some subsequent public announcement was expected.

Feb. 23 was still the favorite date of the forecasters, but some of the prophets began to scrutinize their own prophecies today and, hedging on their predictions, started suggesting various alternatives.

The prediction for Feb. 23 was based on the simple fact that the choice of that date would make the start of the campaign coincide with the Labor party's fiftieth anniversary celebrations in London.

Feb. 23 was still the favorite date of the forecasters, but some of the prophets began to scrutinize their own prophecies today and, hedging on their predictions, started suggesting various alternatives.

Most political prophets seemed to think that Mr. Attlee when he made an unexpected solemn journey to see King George at Sandringham yesterday, suggested that the scheduled reassembly of Parliament on Jan. 30 be postponed because of the imminence of the election.

If that were so, it was thought, the King's postponement proclamation would soon be issued

JACQUES TORCZYNER  
2 West 46th Street  
New York, N. Y.

Confidential

January 12, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
19810 Shaker Blvd.  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find excerpts from a letter of a very good friend of ours, Mr. Meier Hartman, reporting on his conversation with the President of the Z.O.A.

From another correspondent I have reports that Mr. Frisch is not very active and that the press hardly mentions him at all.

With best regards, I am

Sincerely,



ENC.

To Mr. Silver

Have you seen  
this?

(From Hartman  
to Karpman)  
JH

....I saw Daniel today and we talked for about an hour and a half. I listened and he talked. In his opinion Hillel already came out against him but he will lose. He is not prepared to give in to Hillel. He said: "I was elected without Hillel's support and against the will of Emanuel and I am not ready to change my independent line. I wouldn't agree to attacks on Hillel, but in his fight against the Government I shall oppose him for it is our duty to support the Government. If I will not succeed in securing the Government's support for my line I shall have no alternative but to resign. Of course I would do it at the National Conventich."....



1/12/50

ANGLO-ISRAEL TALKS TO PROCEED ON SCHEDULE DESPITE FORTHCOMING BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION

LONDON, Jan. 11. (JTA) -- Although the forthcoming British general election and the political campaign preceding it are not likely to affect the Anglo-Israel trade and financial talks which will begin here in a fortnight, it is expected here that the negotiations will extend over the entire period and whatever agreement is reached will be signed under the authority of the new British Government.

There is no prospect of a quick settlement since a considerable area of disagreement still exists, it was indicated here. In official quarters it was stated that the recent announcements that the talks will be resumed merely meant that the positions of both parties were sufficiently clear to warrant direct negotiations. It did not mean, these same circles stressed, that the forthcoming talks could be considered merely formal preliminaries to the signing of an agreement on the principles of which an understanding has already been reached.

It was further pointed out that the negotiating delegations will not have before them a series of clearcut proposals, and that hard bargaining is expected to continue for several weeks before details acceptable to both sides are hammered out.

A Foreign Office spokesman today stated that the negotiations would consist of two separate sets of talks, independent of each other. David Horowitz, director-general of the Israel Treasury, will head the Israel parties at both talks. The British have assigned Norman Young, an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to head the British delegation on sterling talks, and Sir James Crombie will lead the British party discussing settlement of assets of the Mandatory regime in Palestine.

FRISCH SAYS EXISTENCE OF VARIOUS PARTIES WITHIN ZIONIST MOVEMENT IS UNJUSTIFIED

TEL AVIV, Jan. 11. (JTA) -- Declaring that the existence of various parties within the Zionist movement is unjustified outside the borders of Israel and that their continuation "constitutes disaster" for the Jews in Israel and in other countries, Daniel Frisch, president of the Zionist Organization of America, today urged the liquidation of conflicting groups within the overall Zionist movement in countries outside of Israel and the mobilization of all forces within the movement for the benefit of the Jewish state.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Frisch stated that liquidation of the various parties comprising the World Zionist Organization will be the principal problem confronting the World Zionist Congress when it meets in Jerusalem this summer. He rejected the need for elections in America to the Congress, contending that "electioneering battles," entailing the sale of party "Shekolim," could jeopardize the success of the United Jewish Appeal campaign. He urged an agreement among all parties in the U.S. for the selection of delegates to the Congress.

The Zionist Organization of America has decided to transfer to Israel all Hechalutz training camps in the United States, Mr. Frisch reported. He also stated that American General Zionists will participate in the convention of the World Confederation of General Zionists, scheduled to be held in Israel in April, providing that a new Confederation executive is elected and that the conflict between the Progressive and regular General Zionists is "curbed to its lowest possible level."

ISRAEL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TOURS NEGEV; INVESTIGATES WATER AND MINERAL RESOURCES

TEL AVIV, Jan. 11. (JTA) -- A 27-member scientific and government expedition comprising experts in various fields left for Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba today. The scientists will tour the Negev to evaluate development possibilities and will probe for water and mineral resources.

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JACQUES TORCZYNER  
2 West 46th Street  
New York, N. Y.

January 20, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
19810 Shaker Blvd.  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

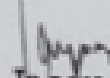
The following is an excerpt from a personal letter to me from Dr. Fritz Bernstein:

"Frisch is courting B. G. and his party with vehemence and determination, but I don't think the result will amount to much. Except for the official Government and Agency Mapai-people, their leaders as Abramowicz, Lubianker, Globinan (etc), were spectacularly absent at the ground breaking ceremony of the Z.O.A. house.

B. G. has now invited us officially to join the government but things being what they are I don't think he can offer us such positions in the cabinet which would give us the minimum of influence necessary to justify our participation."

With my kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

  
Jacques Torczyner



C O P Y

JERUSALEM

JANUARY 22, 1960

FRISCH STATEMENT I ELECTED EXECUTIVE ONLY AS TREASURER AND THEREFORE  
QUESTIONS MY PRESENT RIGHT SINCE DONT REPRESENT ZOA STOP GOLDMANN CAVE  
STATEMENT JTA I REPRESENTING CONFEDERATION ELECTED EXECUTIVE BY AC AND  
THEN EXECUTIVE ASSIGNED TREASURERSHIP WITH UNDERSTANDING SERVE ONLY ONE  
YEAR BUT NOW RETAIN FULL RIGHTS MEMBER EXECUTIVE

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN



JACQUES TORCZYNER  
2 West 46th Street  
New York, N. Y.

January 24, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
19810 Shaker Blvd.  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am happy to hear that you are coming to New York next week when we will all have an opportunity to discuss the present situation.

I am enclosing excerpts from another letter from one of our friends in Israel and I would be very grateful to you if you would keep the source of this information confidential, since it is the same man who had the first conversation with Mr. Frisch.

You will have also heard from Dr. Neumann about the incident between Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Frisch. I am enclosing a copy of a cable from Dr. Goldstein explaining this incident.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



... He told me he is organizing the work of this year because he does not know how long he will remain in this position. This includes the houses, colonies, sick fund and the main thing, an agreement with the Government and Mapai. He believes that he will reach this agreement by April if not publicly at least for practical purposes. He thinks that the half million is only the beginning; next year he will get more; that the amount is not important as long as he can carry on independent campaigns. For instance, right now for the houses; he is sure that the UJA will not continue for long and some day there will be a possibility for a great independent campaign. All this of course, if he will be permitted to work. He knows that Hillel is not satisfied and that Emanuel is opposed and that activities are being prepared against him. He was informed, for instance, that a meeting is being called at which Emanuel will talk against him but he is not afraid because he is sure that Hillel will desert Emanuel at the last minute and he will fall like at the last Convention. It could be different because as a matter of fact, Emanuel agrees with him that it is necessary to cooperate and reach an agreement with the Government and only because of his slavery to Hillel he does not have the courage to do what he is doing. If he would go this way there could be peace between both of them because after all, he appreciates Emanuel and likes to forget old wrongs, but he thinks that Emanuel is not ready and he is also sure that he will fall very quickly. To my remark that the picture of General Zionism remains as before, that they cannot work together in peace and that such a fight will bring to a general defeat, he reiterated that if such a fight will occur it will be a very short one because Hillel will remain at his home and Emanuel will be liquidated.

# Zionist Organization of America

Office of the President  
41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 25, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
19810 Shaker Boulevard  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:


It is my pleasure and privilege to have mailed you, under separate cover, a trowel made for you in commemoration of the cornerstone laying of the ZO A House to be erected in Tel Aviv.

Please accept it as an expression of my sincere appreciation for your matchless efforts in behalf of the spirit and the ideals to which this House is dedicated.

I pray and hope that at the time the House is completed and ready for dedication, that you will then see your way clear to be present, thereby adding to the glory of the occasion.

With best of good wishes, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,



Daniel Frisch  
President

df:rk

A. K. ISREELI  
342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

January 26, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I had a lengthy private discussion with Mr. Frisch upon his return from Israel, the gist of which I will try to formulate here. I think you will be interested.

Mr. Frisch gained the impression in Israel that the American Section of the Jewish Agency will remain the sole active factor in America supported by the Yishuv (I use Mr. Frisch's term).

I am attaching an article from the Haaretz, on the whole, very friendly to you personally and to the ZOA generally, which implies the same idea and says additionally that without the support of the Israeli Government no Zionist organization in America can function.

Mr. Frisch says that Israel resents American Zionists' mixing even in such a vital matter as Jerusalem. The contention there is that there is a government in existence, and it alone has to take care of all political interests of the country.

The result will be, according to Mr. Frisch, that in the end our Council will fold up unless it is transformed into something else and has the means to exist as such. The Agency, which will be in close contact with the Government, will take care of all matters of international character and of immediate interest to Israel.

As to his personal standing, he told me that he has been criticized by all those who favor this arrangement, for on the whole he politically supports your ideas of autonomy, non-interference bothways, etc.

Of course, the last word will be with the forthcoming Congress which, he believes, will take place at the beginning of 1951.



January 26, 1950

He is anxious not to have inter-party squabbles in America during this year and to prepare Zionist public opinion for a peaceful constructive Congress. He, therefore, plans to call together the leadership of the various Zionist parties and discuss with them an agreement of maximum cooperation.

As to the ZOA, he was informed upon his arrival that the membership is increasing day by day, and that funds are coming in. He believes that the ZOA could become a very vital factor in the reorganization of the Zionist movement which inevitably will take place at the next Congress, but he is very anxious to have your cooperation which he is certain would strengthen the organization and its international influence. He regrets that you have been keeping yourself aloof and that you haven't appeared publicly in the country on behalf of your ideas or any program you may have in view.

There have been rumors that he spoke against you in Tel Aviv. He assures me that nothing of the sort took place and that he will never speak against your ideas or against you unless he is attacked and must defend himself. He has tried to make overtures towards you. He came to Cleveland, he spoke in the friendliest manner of your leadership on many occasions, and especially at the Waldorf-Astoria in your presence, but he failed to hear one friendly response.

The Times had a cable from Tel Aviv wherein it reported that he would not run for the second term unless there is complete peace in the movement. The cable report was wrong. He does not intend to withdraw as a candidate unless you personally would consent to run. Of course, he believes that you would not have the cooperation of the powers that be in Israel, and without their cooperation, the ZOA could barely be successful or function at all.

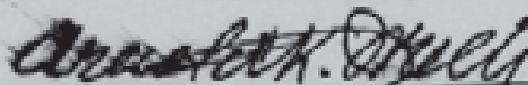
This is more or less the gist of our discussion. There were many other details which are of less importance.

When do you expect to be in New York? Our Council is shrinking. By the middle of February the only staff executives who will remain will be Rabbi Unger, Selamith Schwartz, Blanche Shepard and probably myself. I do not have to tell you how I feel, particularly about Bill Kaufman. Bea Cohen and Ben-Horin are certain that they will settle somewhere.

You probably wonder how I have remained so long here. Well, Mr. Frisch was good to me and prevailed upon Dr. Goldmann to leave me alone for the time being. I must say that this was a great favor to me at this time. My only daughter, Ora, is dying of the same vicious disease that her mother went through four years ago. She takes all my earnings and I am going farther in debt weekly.

Excuse me please for bothering you with my personal problems.

Yours affectionately,



Arnold K. Isreeli

AKI:SR

Enc

January 31, 1950

Mr. Daniel Frisch, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York 17, New York

My dear Dan:

I received yesterday the trowel which you sent me in commemoration of the cornerstone laying of the ZOA House in Tel Aviv. I wish to thank you for your kindness and thoughtfulness in sending it to me. I hope that I shall have the pleasure of seeing the House when it is completed.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ARS:er

## ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

41 EAST 42<sup>ND</sup> STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 2-3203

DANIEL FRISCH  
PRESIDENT

February 9, 1950

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

As you may easily surmise, I have been thinking a great deal since the National Administrative Council meeting of last Sunday. I need hardly tell you of the distasteful feeling that was aroused in me by the Goldstein-Neumann-Miller-Forcznyer, etc. combination. I know they have been inciting you to overt acts against me. This makes me doubly thankful to you for supporting the resolution of confidence in me. I assure you that particularly as far as you personally are concerned, that confidence is well founded and well placed.


I am now at the cross-roads of life from many a point-of-view, especially so since I am plagued by a threat of a very serious organic deficiency which may take me to the hospital for a major operation (splenectomy) within a few days. You will therefore appreciate, my dear friend, that this letter is not written in a spirit of politics or with any extraneous objectives in mind.

I do harbor a great deal of love and admiration for you and if you recall, I said so at the close of Sunday's meeting, and believe me, these words come from my heart.

This is neither the time nor am I in the mood to go into a more factual discussion. I leave that to the near future when, God willing, I shall come through this ordeal, and we shall meet and, with the frankness characteristic of our friendship, discuss all matters in which we are both concerned.

May life be kind to you and yours always.

Affectionately,



Daniel Frisch

February 14, 1950

Mr. Daniel Frisch  
Khaler Hotel  
Rochester, Minnesota

My dear Dan:

I am very sorry to hear that you are not well and that you are at the Mayo Clinic for an examination. I trust that you will not have to have a major operation which you regard as a possibility. Should you have to go through with it, I hope that your recovery will be speedy and complete.

I appreciate very much the sentiments contained in your letter. I assure you that the opinions I expressed were not prompted by any ill will, but by a strong conviction that a serious mistake was being made. I am sure that that mistake can be corrected. I shall, of course, welcome the opportunity to sit down with you and to discuss all matters for the good of our cause.

In the meantime, the all-important thing is that you get well. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ADRA HILLEL SILVER

ANSter

# *The New Palestine*

*The American Zionist Publication Devoted to Jewish Affairs*

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

ERNEST E. BARBARASH, *Editor*

March 9, 1950

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

A goodly part of the forthcoming issue of *The New Palestine* will be devoted to a memorial to the late Daniel Frisch.

I wonder whether you could favor me with an article on the theme "Mr. Frisch, the Zionist." Of course, you are at liberty to choose for your topic any other aspect of his career.

The deadline for the next issue is March 17th.

Looking forward to hearing from you,  
I remain with kindest personal regards.

Very sincerely yours,



Ernest E. Barbarash

eeb/pm



## 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

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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CT, CA121 NL PD=CHICAGO ILL 8=

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

EAST 105 ST AN ANSEL RD CLEV E=

HAVE ARRANGED FOR SPECIAL MEMORIAL ISSUE OF CHICAGO JEWISH SENTINEL FOR NEXT WEEK DEDICATED TO OUR BELOVED LEADER DANIEL FRISCH. ISSUE WILL INCLUDE STATEMENTS OF TRIBUTE BY NATIONAL LEADERS. WOULD APPRECIATE ONE FROM YOU. PLEASE SEND AIR MAIL TO ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CHICAGO, 220 SOUTH STATE ST, CHICAGO, ILL=

MAX BRESSLER PRESIDENT..

March 9, 1950

Mr. Max Bressler, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
220 South State Street  
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Bressler:

Dr. Silver is at present out of the city and will not return until some time next week. It is, therefore, not possible for him to comply with the request mentioned in your telegram of this date.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

# AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE

• TELEPHONE MURRAY HILL 2-1160 •

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Cable Address: AMZIONIST

March 10, 1950

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

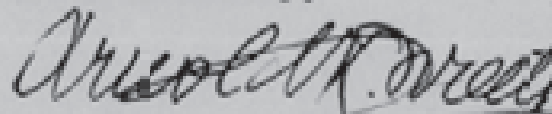
A few weeks before his death, Dan Frisch asked me to take over Dos Yiddishe Volk because of the illness of Dr. Bernstein.

I am now publishing an issue on Frisch. This is life! May I please ask you to dictate to your secretary a short article, which I will adapt into Yiddish, and say what you like about the deceased.

I know that he loved you as he never loved anyone outside of his family. By the way, I am writing an article for the New Palestine and for my paper, in which I stress his relationship to you. He made mistakes of course, but he had a remarkable attachment to the movement.

Hoping that you will forgive me for bothering you, and with sincere regards to you and to Mrs. Silver,

Affectionately,



Arnold K. Isacoli

AKI:EH

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## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America • Hashomer Hatzair • Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion  
Mizrachi Organization of America • United Zionist Labor Party (Achdut Avodah-Poale Zion) • Zionist Organization of America  
Zionists-Revisionists of America

# Proclamation

**P**owerful forces, with intent belying their professed motivation, are now seeking to render a death-blow to the State of Israel. Under the pretext of safeguarding the holy shrines, a world-wide movement has been launched to sever the Eternal City from Israel and thus tear out the very heart and soul of the fledgling state.

To deprive Israel of Jerusalem would be to cut off the life-blood of the new state, to undermine the very foundations of Israel established after two thousand years of Jewish homelessness.

Throughout untold generations of wandering, Jews have prayed for their return to Jerusalem which has been eternally linked with the prayer for the restoration of Zion. The present plan for the internationalization of the Holy City would again place Jerusalem under alien jurisdiction and bring to naught the blood poured out and the sacrifices made by its valiant population in defending the city against Arab aggressors.

Let there be internationalization of the holy sites—the Holy Places dear to the three great religions. But let not this be made the subterfuge to deal the infant state a mortal blow. For ninety per cent of the Holy Places are located in the Old City which is now ruled by the Arab Legion—the very same Legion which has with impunity and in the sight of the world, besieged and subjected Jerusalem to violent bombardment. The internationalization of new and old Jerusalem is tantamount to rewarding the aggressor and punishing the heroic Jewish people of Jerusalem who have with their very blood defended not only their homes but also the Holy Places of all faiths. Jerusalem and Israel are one and indivisible—they cannot and should not be separated.

American Zionists who have contributed so fully to the realization of Jewish statehood, must not and shall not stand by idly in this hour of great danger for the State of Israel.

The Zionist Organization of America, as the major instrumentality of American Zionism in all efforts in behalf of the Jewish State, hereby summons every Jew with pride in his heart and with a feeling of spiritual kinship with the Jewish people and Israel, to join its ranks and with united forces stand guard against this newest and mighty attempt to truncate Israel by robbing it of its spiritual core.

In behalf of the national administration of the ZOA, I call upon every Jew—man, woman and child—to assemble in their communities at a given day within the period of the next four weeks, to give expression to their passionate indignation, coupled with a resolve to stand by Israel and to repeat the hallowed oath, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning."

By such mass action, American Zionists will demonstrate to the world their unswerving determination to aid Israel in its fight to retain the Eternal City!

For the sake of Zion and Jerusalem, each and every one of us must stand up and be counted!



DANIEL FRISCH

President, Zionist Organization of America

[undated]

DANIEL FRISCH  
300 CENTRAL PARK WEST  
NEW YORK CITY

RECEIVED YOUR KIND NOTE. WISH YOU PLEASANT JOURNEY AND SUCCESS  
IN YOUR MISSION. DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT ELECTION EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
NEXT THURSDAY WHICH YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ATTEND. MILLER HAS  
EVERY REASON TO EXPECT WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT OF ZOA ADMINISTRATION.  
THE COMING OF ANOTHER ZOA COMPETITIVE CANDIDATE INTO THE FIELD IN  
THE PERSON OF LIPSKY MAKES OUR POSITION IN THE COUNCIL SOMEWHAT  
RIDICULOUS. INASMUCH AS YOU HAVE DESIGNATED LIPSKY A MEMBER OF  
THE ZOA DELEGATION I BELIEVE THAT YOU SHOULD ADVISE HIM THAT WE  
STAND COMMITTED TO MILLER. UNDERSTAND THAT THE SMALLER PARTIES  
WOULD VOTE FOR HIMMER IF THERE IS NO OTHER ZOA CANDIDATE. KINDEST  
REGARDS.

SILVER