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Zionist Organization of America, 1941.

MINUTES OF MEETING OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL, HELD ON SUNDAY, JUNE 22, 1941, 1:00 P.M., AT THE ZOA HEADQUARTERS, 1720 - 16th St., N.W. WASHINGTON, D. C.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal (in the Chair); Messrs. Samuel Berson, Maurice M. Boukstein, Abraham Goodman, Leo Guzik, Samuel Judenfreund, Samuel Karavogel, Emanuel Neumann, Moses Robinson, Robert Szold, David Tannenbaum, Leo Wilson — of Greater New York; Dr. Israel A. Abrams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Rabbi Leon Feuer, Toledo, Ohio; Harry E. Frankel, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. Moses Gellman, Baltimore, Md.; Albert Goldman, Rochester, N. Y.; Hyman Goldman, Washington, D. C.; Joseph Halbert, Atlantic City, N. J.; Isidore Horshfield, Washington, D. C.; Seymour R. Levine, Peekskill, N. Y.; Harry A. Rachlin, Buffalo, N. Y.; Robert M. Travis, Atlanta, Ga.; Mr. and Mrs. John Safer, Washington, D. C.; Nathan Savage, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Louis E. Spiegler, Washington, D. C.; Saul S. Spiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mrs. Raphael S. Turover, Washington, D. C.; Carl Alpert, Washington, D. C.; E. Barbarash, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Simon Bernstein, New York City, N. Y.; Zvi Levavy, Washington, D. C.; E. A. Schulson, Washington, D. C.; I. G. Simon, Pittsburgh, Pa.;

Excuses for Absence received from Ilie Berger, Providence, R. I.; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, Kingston, N. Y.; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio; Samuel Caploe, Dorchester, Mass.; Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Lawrence W. Crohn, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Israel Efros, Buffalo, N. Y.; Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Pittsburgh, Pa.; A. K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.; Alfred Fleishman, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.; Rabbi Israel Gersteins, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Jos. Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Benjamin E. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Ohio; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; I. M. Jaffe, Butler, Pa.; Max Kabatznick, Boston, Mass.; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Harry Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman, Brookline, Mass.; Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch, Birmingham, Ala.; I. H. Y. Muchnick, Boston, Mass.; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N. J.; Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Dr. Morton J. Robbins, Nashua, N. H.; H. Resenbaum, Plainfield, N. J.; Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Judge Jacob Schwolsky, Hartford, Conn.; Hon. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Chas T. Sitron, Utica, N. Y.; Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Calif.; Rabbi Sanders A. Telfield, Houston, Texas; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Maurice Gornhardt, S. J. Borowsky, Abraham H. Cohen, Mendel Fisher, Hyman Fliegel, Rabbi Joshua Goldberg, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Murray I. Gurfein, Jacob Ish-Kishor, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Julian W. Mack, Hon. Hyman J. Beit, Samuel J. Rothstein, Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Hon. Carl Sherman, Jacob Sincoff, Capt. Abraham Tulin and Dr. Stephen S. Wise — of Greater New York. Dr. Nehum Goldmann, Arthur Lourie, and Dr. Martin Rosenbluth.

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The meeting was called to order at 1:30 P. M., with Judge Louis E. Lovinthal in the Chair.

1. REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, RABBI ISADORE BRESLAU:

Rabbi Breslau reported briefly on the general membership situation, stating that the membership as of this date is about 40,000, some 1,000 below the membership total at the same time last year. He pointed out, however, that this time last year it was two weeks before the Convention and memberships were coming in with reports of the election of delegates. This year, in view of the postponement of the Convention, Districts are holding back their final membership reports until the end of June. Hence, the fact that last year at this time we had more members is not very disturbing. Rabbi Breslau was confident that at the Convention time the membership total would exceed that of last year. Some Regions, such as the Southeastern Region, have already reached their last year's goal and will end this year with a substantially increased membership. Detroit and the Upper Michigan Region will end the year with an increase in membership from 600 (last year) to over 1,000 this year. The rest of the country is holding its own and in several places there will be an increase of from five to ten per cent.

During the last few months — Rabbi Breslau continued — two factors contributed to the general membership situation. The first was the general uncertainty early in the year as to whether there would be an independent United Palestine Appeal or a joint United Jewish Appeal. The second factor was the War and the feeling of defeatism in many sections of the country. Many Districts, because of the course of events, or because of their own laxity, have concluded that membership is not the important thing, that the important thing now is to save Palestine. We have been hammering away, in one way or another, against this tendency, endeavoring to convince our own Zionists of the importance of Zionist membership. It appears, too, that the present economic uplift has found our Zionist leaders unprepared. Recently, at the Seaboard Regional Conference, the complaint was made that "we cannot get out the membership enrollment because we are all so busy today." This tendency is something we have to consider.

Rabbi Breslau recalled his statement at the very first meeting of the Executive, following the last Convention, that the ZOA could not very well assume responsibility for membership and organizational work throughout the country unless there was a certain amount of centralized control over the Regions and over the Regional leadership. His experience this year confirmed this view. We are engaged in a nationwide membership campaign, determined to enroll a large number of Zionists, but apparently we do not have the power to issue directions or expect them to be carried out by the Regions. Rabbi Breslau had sent monthly communications to the Regions, reviewing the membership situation and asking for suggestions as to how to improve it. Replies to such communications were usually received from only two or three Regions at the utmost, and when a follow-up letter was sent out it received even less attention. There we have a Director, such as in the Pittsburgh Region, whose salary the Z.O.A. shares with the Jewish National Fund, he accepts instructions on Z.O.A. matters as best he can; whereas, under the old system of regional control,

there is no cooperation between the Region and the Z.O.A. Unless we definitely decide upon national control of our Regions through our selection of the field men in the Regions, we will not be able to organize Zionist sentiment in the country; without such national responsibility, control, and authority to implement its plans, the Z.O.A. accomplishments will be negligible.

Rabbi Breslau then referred to a special "Report on Regions" prepared by Mr. Charles Bess, which was submitted to the last Convention. He expressed the belief that that report, which he considered very excellent, could, with modifications, be easily implemented at this time. The report in substance was accepted at the last Convention, but no specific authority was voted to implement it. Rabbi Breslau reiterated his belief that no concrete results would be forthcoming, unless the Convention instructs the national office definitely to begin the implementation of a specific Regional Program.

Rabbi Breslau suggested that the Chairman of the Administrative Council appoint a Committee to prepare, during the next two months, a plan of Regional reorganization, embodying, if necessary, amendments to the Constitution — to be presented to the next Convention for consideration and acceptance. He stressed that the Regional set-up is part of the whole scheme of organization, without which nothing will materialize. He pointed out that the question of financing the Regions must also be considered in any discussion of Regional reorganization. At present each Region retains \$1.00 from each membership dues, but the Region is unable to operate on that basis. It has been suggested that if we set up a plan of Regional organization under national control, the Regions could be financed through the dollar which they will retain, in addition to the national office sharing the administrative cost with the Region. The national office might assume half of the expense of maintaining the Regional office and the other half could be raised by the Regional field men.

Rabbi Breslau also called attention to the proposal to increase the regular membership dues. The Ohio Valley Region recommended an increase to \$6.00, while the Seaboard Region, at a recent meeting, voted against an increase. Others have recommended that the \$5.00 dues be reduced. Rabbi Breslau felt that we should be governed in this matter by our experience in the President's Chapter, and that if an appreciable number of Zionists could be enrolled at \$25.00 a year, we could be content with the present \$5.00 membership. The President's Chapter now has a little over 400 paid members, and dues are expected from an additional 113 pledgers. Rabbi Breslau felt that with intensified effort on the part of members of the Z.O.A. Executive, the Administrative Council, and the local Zionists generally, the President's Chapter could have enrolled a very large membership. Washington leads the other Districts with an enrollment of thirty-five members in the President's Chapter and at least fifty more members could be enrolled with the help of the local Zionists.

The Chairman called for a discussion and vote on Rabbi Breslau's proposal, formulated in the following motion:

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THAT A Committee of Five be appointed by the Chairman of the National Administrative Council, to study the question of Regional reorganization, and to implement such proposals as are deemed advisable, with recommendations to the Convention.

Mr. Harry Frankel of Cincinnati, Ohio urged that the smaller communities be given equal consideration with the large Jewish centers, in the matter of Regional organization.

Mr. Samuel Berson, of Brooklyn, N. Y., regarded the present method of Regional organization as an absolute failure. He firmly believed in centralized national control.

Mr. Louis E. Spiegler, of Washington, D. C., also favored a program of centralization, but maintained that the underlying difficulty in implementing such a program was in adequate funds. When the question of revenues will be solved, we will be able to solve the problem of national control. The ZOA cannot expect to control the Seaboard Region -- he pointed out -- as long as that Region finances itself.

Mr. Joseph Halbort, of Atlantic City, N. J., stated that Atlantic City, with a Jewish population of 10,000, and 800 Z.O.A. members, has no paid Director and also finances itself.

Mr. Samuel Kanarvogel, of Bronx, N. Y., suggested that one month out of every year be set aside for soliciting small donations, ranging in size from \$1.00 to \$10.00 for Z.O.A. purposes. He pointed out, in this connection, that many members do not attend District meetings from one year to the other, and that it would better serve the interests of the Z.O.A. if those members were regarded as contributors, rather than as members of the Z.O.A.

Mr. John Safer, of Washington, D. C., favored national supervision and control of the Regional Directors.

Rabbi Breslau's motion was finally seconded and unanimously carried.

The Chairman suggested that the members of the Committee of Five consider also the question of membership dues.

Rabbi Breslau submitted a number of communications addressed to Mr. Kaufmann and him, containing recommendations with regard to membership, organization, Regions, etc. It was decided to refer these communications to the Committee of Five.

The Chairman stated that the report of the Committee will be circulated among the members of the National Administrative Council, and published in The New Palestine before the Convention.

1. CONVENTION CITY:

Rabbi Breslau reported that the last meeting of the Executive, by a very close vote, recommended that the forthcoming Z.O.A. Convention be held in Cincinnati. Mr. Herbert B. Bernstein, Chairman of the Cincinnati Zionist District, has telegraphed the national office that a motion was unanimously passed to the effect that "the Cincinnati Zionist District feels honored to invite the Z.O.A.

to hold its Convention in Cincinnati in 1941." Rabbi James G. Heller had also advised Rabbi Breslau that the Cincinnati District would like to be host to the Z.O.A. Convention. The Ohio Valley Region and the Western New York State Region have also endorsed Cincinnati. The Long Island, N. Y. Region recommended that the Convention be held at a point nearer to the Eastern Seaboard than Cincinnati.

Another city suggested at the last Executive meeting was Atlantic City. Rabbi Breslau read a telegram from Mr. Ezra Z. Shapiro, of Cleveland, Ohio, endorsing Atlantic City and suggesting that the Administrative Council recommend to the Convention the increasing of the annual membership dues.

Mr. Harry Frankel stated that Cincinnati has adequate facilities to make the Convention worthwhile, and nothing will be left undone by Cincinnati to insure its success.

Mr. Joseph Halbert stated that, from the ^{point of} view of adequate hotel meeting-room accommodations, it would be very difficult to hold the Convention in Atlantic City on the date set.

Mr. Louis E. Spiegler moved,

THAT the 44th Annual Z.O.A. Convention be held in
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The motion was seconded.

Mr. Samuel Judenfreund, of New York City, pointed out that it was customary for the Executive to recommend three or four cities for the consideration of the Administrative Council.

The Chairman remarked that the Executive at times recommended two or three cities, and at other times, only one city.

Mr. Isadore Hershfield, of Washington, D. C., moved that the word "Cincinnati" in Mr. Spiegler's motion, be changed to "Atlantic City."

Mr. Leo Wilson, of Bronx, N. Y., preferred Atlantic City for the Convention, because (1) it is nearer to the center of Jewish population in the United States, and (2) the attendance from the Eastern states would be much larger.

Mr. John Safer thought that the Convention should be held in a section of the country where Zionism has not penetrated as thoroughly as in the East. He favored Cincinnati.

Mr. Spiegler's motion was put to a vote, and carried.

The meeting adjourned for fifteen minutes to hear the radio broadcast of Mr. Winston Churchill.

III. RULES FOR THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES
TO THE 44TH ANNUAL ZOA CONVENTION:

It was moved, seconded, and unanimously carried,

THAT the rules and regulations for the election of delegates to the Convention, (mailed to the Regions and Districts, which are substantially the same as those adopted prior to the last Convention, be applicable this year.

IV. REPORT ON PALESTINE AND THE WAR,
ZIONIST POLICY, POLITICAL ACTION, AND
PUBLIC RELATIONS:

Mr. Neumann reported that communications received here directly from the Executive and others in Palestine indicated that the spirit of the Yishuv was calm and firm. In America we have attempted to respond to an appeal for funds from Palestine, for defense purposes. Special action has been undertaken by the Vaad Bitachon, with the full support and endorsement of the ZOA. The funds have begun to come in. Hadassah has placed a special grant of \$50,000 at the disposal of the Jewish Agency for defense purposes. Poale Zion and Mizrachi have also promised assistance.

Mr. Neumann stated that now that the threat to Palestine had developed, the British Government indicated its readiness, first, to relax the principle of parity and to permit, therefore, a larger number of Jews to enter the services; and secondly, to utilize all Jewish supernumeraries in Palestine for training Jews for military services. The British have also proposed a Palestine defense force, the nucleus of which is to be Britons living in Palestine, plus some Jews and Arabs, as a Home Guard. The number of Jewish supernumeraries has actually been doubled to about 30,000, but these are only part-time members; the full-time members, who have arms, are less than 3,000. All the others have no arms, as far as we know, and the plea has repeatedly been made by the British that, apart from not wanting to irritate the Arabs, they were short of light and heavy equipment, and that this shortage made it difficult for them even to utilize for Home Defense purposes Jews who had been trained for supernumerary units. The position taken some time ago by the British still holds.

Referring to a recent speech of Anthony Eden, Mr. Neumann said that the omission in the speech of reference to Jewish Palestine had caused our people to wonder whether any commitments were being made which might affect the future of Palestine. It has been said that Mr. Eden's statement was designed possibly to safeguard Jewish interests in Palestine. Mr. Eden's remarks that "the Government would support any scheme which commanded general agreement", might be construed to mean that such a "scheme" might not be favored if one

important party, the Jews, were opposed to it. Mr. Neumann added that in official quarters here Mr. Eden's speech is regarded as more in the nature of a general propaganda address, directed to the Arabs, without proposing any concrete plan. It was thought unlikely that the British Government would attempt at this time to effect a reorganization in the Middle East, without indicating their intentions to the United States Government, which apparently has not heard of any such plan.

Reporting specifically upon the work of Public Relations, Mr. Neumann stated that several members of the American Palestine Committee had taken measures and acted in connection with some of the matters here discussed. He referred to a message in connection with the Jewish Army, sent by Mr. William Green to Mr. Bevin in London. Also, some of the senators have taken up the matter of sending arms and equipment to Palestine under the Lend-Lease Bill.

The Emergency Committee has been concerned with counteracting charges that the trouble in Iraq was due to the hostility of Jews in Palestine. Absurd as that may seem, this line of explanation was attempted in dispatches from London and also from German sources. We did our best to counteract such propaganda and to give a more accurate picture of the situation. Articles on our position have appeared in various papers. "PM" has devoted considerable space to the subject, and other journals have done so, and still others are preparing to do so. Mr. Neumann charged that this work has been hampered because the formation of Public Relations Committees in the various cities has not gone forward with the spirit and energy that was expected. Hadassah has been very active in this work. Some of the Public Relations Committees which have been formed were formed at the instance of, or under the stimulus of, Hadassah Chapters. Less than thirty Public Relations Committees throughout the country have thus far been organized. The national office of the Z.O.A. has written repeatedly to Z.O.A. districts to form such committees, but the more important communities have not really started this very important work. In the final analysis -- Mr. Neumann pointed out -- what will be accomplished in Public Relations work will depend upon the degree to which public opinion is made articulate in support of the Zionist cause. In hundreds of towns throughout the country, people can be most helpful, by means of the radio, the press, the Clergy, and public bodies, but we have not yet even begun a census of or utilized our resources. Even during the summer months, Zionists in the various communities can proceed with this important work. Mr. Kaufmann has sent a letter to all districts, together with a memorandum, explaining the purposes of Public Relations Committees and what they are expected to do, but these letters did not meet with much attention. It is obvious -- Mr. Neumann continued -- that we would like the Zionist groups everywhere to convert themselves into units of political propaganda in behalf of Palestine among the non-Jews. Of course, this has to be done with caution and discretion, but it must be done throughout the country, and it can be done. In Atlanta, Ga., the local Zionists did not wait for detailed instructions from us, but they set out on their own accord to enlist the most prominent non-Jews in their community as members of the American Palestine Committee. They interested leading Clergymen, editors of newspapers, presidents of Colleges, and they held a luncheon early this month, addressed by Dr. James G. Heller. This proved a most

successful effort. It would help immeasurably to have hundreds of such Public Relations Committees throughout the country.

Continuing his report, Mr. Neumann stated that the memorandum entitled "Palestine And The Near East" had been printed into the Congressional Record by one of the Congressmen, who had reprints made of it. Copies of the reprint are being mailed out. The Z.O.A. office is attending to its distribution through a large mailing list of Jews and non-Jews. The first memorandum was sent out also to a list of over 1100 Rabbis. A second memorandum has gone out on "Palestine And The Arab World", discussing the relation of Palestine to Arab countries. This work is being carried on from the center, as far as possible, but it is very important to have in every locality a committee which will constantly act and see the Clergymen, the editors, and other people, and carry on an educational campaign.

Mr. Neumann^{then} reported that Dr. Weizmann had felt very strongly that an attempt should be made again to create a united front, and, after consulting with various people, Dr. Weizmann decided that the best thing would be for him personally to invite a group of leading non-Zionists for an immediate talk, without any commitment on any side. Subsequently, a luncheon took place, attended by a fair-sized group of Zionists and non-Zionists. Dr. Weizmann suggested that a committee be appointed, half of whom would be Zionists, and half non-Zionists, to explore further the possibilities of Palestine with respect to the future. Such a committee has been appointed by Dr. Weizmann. Action has been deferred until his return from the Pacific Coast. In the meantime, Mr. Sol Stronck undertook to call a second such small meeting in his home, after Dr. Weizmann's return in July. The prevailing opinion in American Zionist circles is that the mistake should be avoided of trying to create an ad hoc body of individuals, and that an attempt should be made this time to create a council at a conference of representative Jewish bodies, who are interested in a common program for Palestine. If such a body were created, it would actually represent a force and be responsible for Jewish public opinion; whereas, as individuals, they might in the end prove a stumbling block. Dr. Weizmann has persevered in this direction and the attempt will be made to hold further discussions and conferences.

In conclusion, Mr. Neumann reported that the need had been felt in the Emergency Committee for attempting to clarify our post-war objectives. This discussion has begun, but has not reached a stage to warrant a general discussion among Zionists.

Supplementing Mr. Neumann's report, Mr. Robert Szold, of New York, stated that the military situation in Palestine seemed to overshadow everything else. Whatever could be done in this country has been done. Zionists were allied to the situation and did whatever was possible to be done. In this connection, Mr. Szold earnestly appealed to those present for their support of the Vaad Bitachon. At this particular moment, he knew of nothing which ~~would~~ should strike home more than the appeal to send money to Palestine for arms. The events of the last few days show that we have a little more time than we thought we had.

Mr. Szold subscribed to the statement that our aims for the future of Palestine can be formulated only by a Zionist Congress, and added that even preliminary drafts of aims cannot be formulated without consultation of the Actions Committee and the Executive in Palestine and in London. The turn of recent events abroad has made it humanly impossible now to formulate specific aims. At the moment, the chief aim of Zionists is to help the democracies win the war, and if there is anything we can do at this particular juncture, it is to remember this: Don't give away anything. It is so easy in a discussion of Zionist aims to say: "We will go into an Arab Confederation," or "we will take a part of Palestine." This is dangerous talk. We do not know what will be the situation at the time the articulation of our aims becomes important. Therefore, let us not now give away anything. Let us stick to our fundamental aims: A Jewish Palestine and all of Palestine. We must proceed on the old Zionist proposition: We want Palestine. It is unnecessary to become involved in all kinds of questions on the subject of our aims. We know what the Yishuv has done in the past few months, even under the gravest threat, and Zionists have realized that this movement of ours is something indestructible. We should go ahead in the formula that, for the time being, our objective is to vote for the maximum, and to give up nothing.

Reverting to the question of evacuation from Palestine, Mr. Szold recalled that there was a time when serious persons came to responsible bodies and said: We have got to be prepared to evacuate the children of Palestine. The attitude of the bodies in which that was discussed was sympathetic, but it was pointed out that the function of the Zionist Organization is to take posts in Palestine and not to evacuate them.

Speaking of the absorptive capacity of Palestine for a mass Jewish immigration, Mr. Szold's considered opinion -- based upon facts and a certain knowledge of life in Palestine and on twenty-five years of a most complete study of the subject -- was that Palestine, on both sides of the Jordan, can take care of millions of Jews in a comparatively few years. He added that, if any of the local communities were confronted with that argument, the facts were available to prove that mass immigration, in a very short period of time, is a practical matter in Palestine in the near future.

Mr. Saul Spiro, of Pittsburgh, Pa. suggested certain technical steps for securing a better response in behalf of the Vaad Bitachon.

V. Z. O. A. DELEGATION TO PALESTINE:

Mr. Maurice Boukstein, of New York City, recalled that, since the beginning of the war, there has been a constant stream of delegates coming to the United States from England and from Palestine, bringing to us their points of view, and endeavoring to influence Zionist opinion and general Jewish opinion in this country. Since the outbreak of the war, however, no official delegation from the United States has gone to Palestine. He emphasized the moral and political importance of having a

Zionist representation of three prominent Zionists, who are qualified as observers, to go to Palestine to bring greetings to the Yishuv from the Zionists of America, and to return in time to report to the Z.O.A. Convention. Mr. Boukstein moved,

THAT we recommend to the Executive and to the President of the Z.O.A. that a delegation of Zionists be commissioned to visit Palestine on our behalf, and to report back at the next Zionist Convention.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

VI. VAAD BITACHON:

Rabbi Breslau urged the Z.O.A. districts and Regions to support the Vaad Bitachon. An appeal for contributions to the Vaad Bitachon recently was made by the National Z.O.A. office in a direct communication signed by Mr. Kaufmann to all district chairmen and secretaries. We have heard frequent complaints — said Rabbi Breslau — that the Zionist districts have nothing to do, that they have no projects of their own. At this time, nothing should appeal more to Zionists for its immediate, as well as long-range importance than the Vaad-Bitachon. Mr. Kaufmann's letter to the districts, however, has found them unprepared or unwilling to help. We had to explain to the districts in a follow-up letter, that the Vaad Bitachon cannot be a large-scale public venture and that districts could not appeal to their welfare funds for the Vaad Bitachon. In some instances, it was suggested that appeals could properly be made in the synagogues. Rabbi Breslau asserted that it is the duty of the Z.O.A. districts to accept the Vaad Bitachon as an important assignment, and he urged the members present to see to it that their respective districts pursue this project with greater intensiveness. He said he was rather disappointed with the response thus far received, the majority stating that they were having other appeals now and will have to wait until next year to raise funds for the Vaad Bitachon.

In answer to Mr. Frankel's query as to why the raising of funds for the Vaad Bitachon has to be done quietly, the Chairman stated that this was necessitated under an agreement the Z.O.A. has with the U.P.A., under the U.J.A.

R.

MR. Halberstam stated that the Atlantic City District had contributed to the Vaad Bitachon each year. Last year they contributed \$500.00; this year they expect to make a much larger and more substantial contribution.

VII. THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND PROJECT
IN Z.O.A. DISTRICTS:

In the absence of Mr. Abraham H. Cohen, Chairman of the Jewish National Fund for the Z.O.A., who sent his regrets, Mr. E. A. Schulson reported that Mr. Cohen had personally contacted every district in the country to appoint a district liaison member for the Z.O.A. National J.N.F. Committee, but has received only about fifty replies. About 300 districts have not yet responded. He urged those present to see to it that active J.N.F. Committees are organized in their respective communities to enlist the services and support of all Zionists in the communities in the important task of Eulath Haaretz.

VIII. BEIN'S "THEODORE HERZL":

The Chairman, who had been instrumental in having the Jewish Publication Society publish Bein's Biography of Herzl, upon the assurance that the Z.O.A. and Hadassah would dispose of many thousands of copies, deplored the poor showing on the part of the districts to dispose of the books at the special price of \$1.25 per copy. He urged those present to see to it that when the chairmen of their respective districts receive communications from the national Z.O.A. office they should be effectively acted upon.

IX. UNITY IN ZIONIST RANKS:

Mr. Spiegler called attention to the inadequate attendance at the meeting and regretted the absence of the national leaders. He felt that those members of the Council who had come to the meeting at a sacrifice, should have had the opportunity of consulting with the Zionist leaders.

The Chairman explained that all of the leaders and many of the members who were not present had communicated the reasons for their absence and expressed their regrets. The Order Sons of Zion Convention, being held in Atlantic City simultaneously with this meeting, was another contributing factor to the small attendance.

Others present also criticized the absence of the national leaders, some viewing it as a lack of unity in the Z.O.A. and suggesting that, between now and the Convention, an effort be made to restore harmony within the Z.O.A.

Mr. Leon Gzik, of New York City, believed that the proper time and place to consider the question of harmony is the Zionist Convention.

Mr. Maurice Boukstein recalled that before the last Convention even sharper disharmony existed, and he reminded those present of the history of the conversations which preceded that Convention and which led to nothing, because there was a difference of opinion on fundamental principles. We ought to find out what are the facts behind the disharmony. The Zionist Organization of America, by design, is being deprived and shorn of any responsibility. The fund-raising organizations are not

responsible to the Z.O.A. A vigilant attempt is being made by this Administration of the Z.O.A. to bring back these activities to the Z.O.A. We believe that the fund-raising organizations should be responsible to the membership of the Z.O.A., and, if so, express themselves through the democratically and duly elected Convention of the Z.O.A., which names certain leadership at the head of the Z.O.A. to carry out the mandates of the Convention. It is the duty of the fund-raising agencies to submit to that leadership.

We have complete "hanker" within Zionist affairs in this country. This disharmony was created after the Pittsburgh Convention, when a certain group made attempts to circumvent the will of the Z.O.A., rather than submit to the will of the American Zionists. It is about time we had an Emergency Committee in this country managing Zionist affairs, who are responsible to the Zionist Organization of America. The members of the Emergency Committee were not appointed by the Z.O.A. and are not responsible to the Z.O.A., and cannot be removed by the Z.O.A. If they do things to which we object, there is nothing the Z.O.A. can do about it. We must eliminate these deplorable conditions.

Referring to the last meeting of the Keren Hayesod, which is in the hands of a Board of Directors, so-called "elected by the contributors", Mr. Boukstein stated that an attempt has even been made in the course of this year, which so far has not succeeded, to make impossible any change of control in the Keren Hayesod, by passing a by-law that "the present Directors must approve anyone who is to become a member of the Keren Hayesod".

If we want harmony in a democracy — Mr. Boukstein continued — it can only be expressed in one way: the minority must submit to the will of the majority. There is no sense in further appeasement. One cannot compromise on principle, and any attempt to bring to opposites together, where there is a fundamental disagreement in principle, must result in a compromise of principle. Zionism is a movement that exists and must continue to exist only if it will continue to hold fast to principles.

Mr. Spiegler observed that greater centralization and coordination are the basic requirements for unity and discipline in Zionist activities.

Mr. Szold stated that what Mr. Spiegler and others were seeking could be achieved in a variety of ways. Some Zionists believe the best way would be to have one organization in this country and that that "dictator" must be able to say: "Every Zionist must do thus and so." That solution, of course, is out of the question.

This problem is something which has to be dealt with carefully, Mr. Szold continued. The case has been made; the diagnosis has been assured; but the remedy must be found. The best cure — he maintained — is along the lines discussed at several meetings of the Z.O.A. Executive. Mindful of the fact that the Z.O.A. is a voluntary organization, without a police power, the program, carefully considered by the Executive, has in it the seeds of real benefit for the immediate future. The principle evolved at

the Executive meetings has been touched upon here before, namely, to bring back to the Zionist Organization the functions which it used to consider its own, — the fund-raising, the political and public relations, and the policy-making, etc. The bulk of whatever Zionist sentiment and forces exist in this country is, broadly speaking, within the Z.O.A.. The complaint has been made, however, that there is not only confusion and duplication of effort, but that the Z.O.A. has been demoted of its functions.

Without any attempt to eliminate the existing Zionist organizations in America — Mr. Szold continued — we should adopt a principle of responsibility. That principle can be brought about in a very practical way, i.e., by the ZOA Convention in September issuing a mandate, once and for all, that we insist upon coordination. Hence, if there is a Z.O.A. member on the J.N.F. Board of Directors, that member should be appointed by, hold his office at the discretion of, and be subject to removal by whatever Z.O.A. Executive exists at the time. The J.N.F. organization is, in legal terms, a membership corporation, under the Laws of the State of New York, and a majority of the Directors are appointed by the Z.O.A.. The Z.O.A. should be in the position to say that the members of the Z.O.A., who are Directors of the J.N.F., are responsible to the Z.O.A.; they are to be appointed by the Administration of the Z.O.A.; they are to report at every meeting of the administration of the Z.O.A.; their policy is to be prescribed by the administration; and they are to carry out that policy.

This year the Z.O.A. took advantage of its legal rights. Mr. Kaufmann was specifically empowered to appoint certain members on the Board of the J.N.F.. Those members function and they are getting certain reforms along the lines that have been mentioned. In other words, if we say that there should not be duplication of appeals, our members on the J.N.F. Board must see to it that there is no duplication. The same principle should be applied to the Keren Hayesod. The Keren Hayesod could have a by-law incorporated in its constitution which states very specifically that the majority of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod shall be appointed by the Z.O.A., responsible to the Z.O.A., etc., etc.

In this connection, Mr. Szold recalled that it was not until after the U.P.A. had already made its decision in the last campaign, that the Z.O.A. had been notified of such decision. The fact of the matter is that the decision of whether or not there should be a U.J.A. campaign this year was communicated to this body at a meeting in Philadelphia through an incidental report that the contract providing for a joint campaign had been signed. The representatives on the Keren Hayesod Board did not consider that they owed any allegiance whatsoever to the Z.O.A.; they took and continued to take the position that they are within their own rights as a self-perpetuating body. Later, the question arose whether there should be a joint U.J.A. campaign. The proper body to consider that question is the Executive of the Z.O.A.; then the Board of Directors of the U.P.A., knowing what the consensus of opinion of the Z.O.A. Executive is, can enforce its decision.

If we would, once and for all, establish that the members of the Z.O.A. owe their allegiance, and are responsible to the Z.O.A., all that has been said about unity and coordination would come to pass. We simply must do what a holding company does, i.e., elects its own officers in a subsidiary organization.

The Zionist Convention at Cincinnati will debate this subject and pass a resolution to the effect that members of the Z.O.A. owe their allegiance to the Z.O.A., must be responsible to the Z.O.A., etc., etc. The Administration of the Z.O.A. should not be subject to having its policy thwarted completely by members of its own organization, who contend that they do not have to comply with decisions of the Z.O.A. Administration. If the Cincinnati Convention takes a firm attitude on the matter, Zionist discipline will prevail and every member of the Z.O.A., who will take office on the Keren Hayesod or the J.N.F. Boards, will be responsible to the Z.O.A. and carry out the policy prescribed by the existing Administration of the Z.O.A. We will then have order instead of the present chaos which is the result of the present duplication of effort.

The Z.O.A. members on the Emergency Committee should also be subject to the principle of approval by, and responsibility to, the Z.O.A. The meetings of the Executive where the question of coordination was thrashed out, time and again, unanimously accepted this principle of responsibility. If we carry forward this principle and come prepared to take action finally at the Convention in Cincinnati, we will have taken a step forward in the direction of that coordination and order which we have been seeking.

Mr. Szold moved,

THAT we approve of the principle of responsibility of representatives of the Z.O.A. on the fund-raising bodies, the Emergency Committee, etc., as adopted unanimously by the Executive of the Z.O.A. on three different occasions.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

I. REPORT ON THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND:

The following is a summary of the written report on the work of the Jewish National Fund since the last meeting of the Administrative Council, submitted by Dr. Israel Goldsteins

"The income from our traditional collections for the period covering the first eight months of the current fiscal year was \$413,584.04, compared with \$381,841.11 for the same period last year. Our books for the month of June have not been closed yet, but in the first half of the month over \$55,000.00 was received in traditional collections. All indications point to the largest June month that the J.N.F. has had. That also was the case in the month of May.

"While we are glad to report an upswing in our traditional collections, the income from the U.P.A. for this period shows a decline. We received from the U.P.A. \$432,953.19, which compares with \$850,091.77 for the same period last year. Total J.N.F. income this year is \$846,537.23, compared with \$1,231,932.88 of last year.

"The remittances of the J.N.F. of America have continued throughout these months regularly. Our remittance for the month of June amounted to \$100,000.00.

"Although most of the districts have not acted on the Pittsburgh resolution which calls for a self-taxation of \$5.00 per member, there have been a number of districts which have responded rather well and have carried out the resolution. Among the communities outstanding in that respect is the Baltimore Zionist District. The Philadelphia Zionist District has also made a strong effort to impress upon its members the importance of increased participation in the J.N.F. program.

"A step in the right direction has been made by the Z.O.A. with a view to intensifying the activities of the Z.O.A. Districts for the Keren Kayemeth. We are indebted to President Kaufmann for his initiative, and to the national office of the Z.O.A. for their initiative in launching the plan for the formation of a National Z.O.A. Committee for the J.N.F. We wish to express our gratitude to Abraham H. Cohen, who, as Chairman of this Committee, has taken up this task with great earnestness.

"Indicative of the spirit which animates our fellow-Zionists is the action taken quite recently by the Annual Conferences of three Zionist Regions.

"The most gratifying commitment was that of the Ohio Valley Zionist Region, which has just met in Charleston, W.Va., The sum of \$50,000.00 for the establishment of a Nachlah was voted, to be raised in a period of three years. Mr. Daniel Frisch, the former President of the Region, was most helpful and Rabbi Samuel Cooper, the newly elected President has pledged to convert the pledge into cash.

"Thanks to the help of Sol Reiter and Rabbi Maurice Bloom of Newburgh, N.Y., a commitment of \$15,000.00 for the planting of ten thousand trees was voted at the Empire State Zionist Conference.

"Another conference was held in Rochester by the Western New York Zionist Region, where a commitment of \$25,000.00 for the establishment of a Nachlah, to be raised in a period of five years was voted. We wish to express our thanks to Mr. Harry Rachlin, who presided at that conference and who is the Chairman of the J.N.F., and to Mr. Bernard G. Radolph, member of the Executive of the Z.O.A."

XI. REPORT ON INTERFAITH COMMITTEE
FOR AID TO THE DEMOCRACIES:

The following is a summary of the written report on the progress made by the Jewish Section of the Interfaith Committee for Aid to the Democracies, submitted by Dr. Israel Goldstein:

"The resolution adopted by the Z.O.A. Executive sometime ago endorsing the program of British war relief and the establishment of the Jewish Section of the Interfaith Committee for Aid to the Democracies has given us an opportunity to approach Zionist groups throughout the country. The Z.O.A. office has been helpful in supplementing the resolution by a letter to the districts all over the country, over the signature of President Kaufmann.

"We have secured the cooperation of the Zionist Regional leaders who gave a place to the representatives of the Jewish Section of the Interfaith Committee for Aid to the Democracies to speak in the course of the Zionist Regional Conferences that have been held recently.

"The net results of these approaches through the written and spoken word have been thus far short of expectations. This is particularly regrettable because many of those who have taken leadership in the British war relief effort have done so not only as Americans and as Jews but also because they believe it to be important from the Zionist point of view as well.

"It is therefore of the utmost importance that Zionist groups give a good account of themselves in this effort.

"In a recent letter Lord Halifax highly praised the efforts of the Committee.

"The first \$25,000.00 children's nursing home which we established was named in honor of General Sir Archibald Wavell and the second was named in honor of Dr. Chaim Weizmann. The third of these units will be presented July 1st and will be named in honor of Dr. S. S. Wise.

"The total sums which have thus far been channeled by the Jewish Section of the Interfaith Committee amount to approximately \$350,000.00. A substantial portion of this amount should be credited to the American Jewish Congress. More recently other organizations have joined, such as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Synagogue Council of America, Rabbinical Assembly of America, and of course the Z.O.A., It is hoped that the response from the Z.O.A. may show a substantial upward swing in the near future. One cannot stress too much the importance of Zionist groups responding immediately and generously."

The meeting adjourned at 5:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING, HELD ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 3, 1941,
2:00 P. M. AT THE RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

PRESENT: Mr. E. I. Kaufmann (in the Chair); Robert M. Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Albert E. Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfeln, Emanuel Neumann, Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Simon Shetzer, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Mrs. David de Sola Pool (representing Hadassah); Seymour Melman (representing Avukah); Harry A. Takiff (representing Masada); Zvi Levavy, and H. A. Schulson.

Excuses for Absence were received from Jacob Fishman, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Cecil R. Gordon, Dr. James G. Heller, Dr. Edward L. Israel, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Aaron Riche, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Carl Sherman, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein (Hadassah); and Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

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The meeting was called to order at 2:30 P.M., with Mr. E. I. Kaufmann in the Chair.

I. CONVENTION PROGRAM:

In the absence of Dr. James G. Heller, Chairman of the Convention Committee, who sent his excuse and regrets for his inability to attend the meeting, Rabbi Breslau presented the tentative program of the 44th Annual Z.O.A. Convention, to be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 6, 7, 8 and 9, as proposed at a meeting of the Convention Program Committee, held earlier in the day. (The program is appended).

Discussion of Convention Program:

Mr. Robert Szold moved,

THAT the program, as presented, be approved.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Dr. Solomon Goldman observed that every important session of the Convention had been turned over to a non-Jew to speak for us. He said that, while he had no objection to a non-Jewish member of the U. S. Government giving an address, he seriously objected to non-Jews speaking for Jews at practically every session.

Speaking as a member of the Convention Program Committee, Dr. Brickner stated that it was not intended to load the program with non-Jews. The whole theme of Palestine and the World Crisis -- he pointed out -- involves not only Jews, but also American public opinion. Some of the members of the Committee felt it is important to have non-Jewish speakers on the program in connection with helping to shape intelligent public opinion in America. After all, we are very definitely related to the British, and the fact that the British Government may send a message to the Convention should not prevent us from speaking our minds.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone believed that the invitation should go to the British Embassy to designate their representative. He agreed with Dr. Brickner that it is advisable, at this time, to have a representative of the British Embassy at the Convention, to present greetings.

The Chairman urged that the Executive consider carefully the matter of having a representative of the British Government, as well as non-Jewish American leaders, address the Convention. While he concurred with the view expressed

by Dr. Goldman, he pointed out that we have a definite tie-up with the British Embassy.

Dr. Goldman felt that if it were at all possible to have Lord Halifax, personally, attend the Convention, it should be done; but, we should prefer just a message, rather than the presence of any Secretary of the Embassy.

Mr. Emanuel Neumann expressed the thought that it was the policy of the British Embassy for the time being, not to accept invitations for Zionist gatherings, because they would be expected to say something about Palestine, a subject which they felt it necessary to avoid. Our discussion here, therefore, is largely theoretical. They may send a message, wishing us Godspeed in our deliberations, but nothing more. He would rather have a non-official Englishman like Brailsford, who is an outspoken Zionist, address the Convention, he added.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone suggested that the Convention program include a presentation of Jewish post-war objectives in relation to Palestine and the Diaspora.

Dr. Goldman believed that the statement on Zionist peace aims properly belongs in the President's message to the Convention, which is part of the opening session on Sunday afternoon. The statement should appear in the press on Monday morning.

Mrs. Pool pointed out that anything the President will say in his address to the Convention will have to be something already endorsed by the World Zionist Organization. The President speaks for Zionism, and whatever he says must, of necessity, be an official and final statement. Mrs. Pool believed we are not yet ready to make such a final statement. We may be ready for a sound consideration of the question, but not for a public statement.

Mr. Frisch deplored the evasiveness of world Zionist leaders on the subject. The matter of peace aims - he thought - should be considered at the Convention, from which should go forth a strong statement on Herzlian Zionism.

Commenting on Mrs. Pool's observations, Mr. Stone maintained that the Z.O.A. has a right to express its views on the matter of post-war peace aims. It is unthinkable, he said, to have a national gathering of Zionists in 1941 — when a week may seem like a century — and not to clarify our position and to declare to the world our aims and objectives. Nor need we follow Mr. Frisch's practical trend of mind. Zionists are greatly concerned with clarifying their position now, in view of the statement made by Lord Halifax, to the effect that the Balfour Declaration has been already fulfilled; in view of Mr. Churchill's statement and in view of the Cairo Conference. Mr. Stone suggested that one session of the Convention be devoted, in whole or in part, to a presentation of the subject, and that a special committee be appointed now to prepare a Declaration, which may follow the Presidential address. The presentation of such a Declaration would not be inconsistent with the President's discussing our ultimate aims in Eretz Yisroel and in the Diaspora, and it should be adopted unanimously and in solemnity. No compromises should be made with regard to our peace aims. We must be maximalist in our demands.

Mr. Stone then presented for the record the following resolution, relative to Zionist peace aims, which was adopted unanimously by the New England Zionist Region at its 21st Annual Convention at the Hotel Bradford, in Boston, Mass., on July 13, 1941:

RESOLVED, that it is imperative that a united Jewish leadership should represent American Jewry at the coming Peace Conference which will be dominated by the Democracies; and that the program to be presented by American Jewry should deal with Eretz Israel and the Diaspora and should contain the following basic demands:

1. The reconstitution of Jewish national sovereign life by the creation of such economic, civic and political conditions in Palestine as will assure the establishment of a Jewish State within the historic boundaries of Eretz Israel;

2. That Transjordan be included and made into an integral part of the proposed Jewish State;

3. That the Jewish State or Commonwealth so established be given a status of complete sovereignty, equality, and dignity among the nations of the world;

4. That the Jewish problem is a part of the world problem, and its solution is and must be the practical concern of those Powers that will dominate the coming Peace Conference;

5. That an international financial institution be created by the successor of the present League of Nations to assist economically in the establishment and maintenance of a free and sovereign Jewish State in Palestine;

this financial institution should also deal with the problems of aiding materially in the rehabilitation of the millions of Jews whom the war rendered destitute, wherever they might be;

6. That there should be no involuntary evacuation of Jews from any country;

7. That the return of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel should be a matter of free choice and not compulsion;

8. That the Jewish people in every land be guaranteed complete civil and political equality and complete freedom for "LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS";

9. That in the reconstituted countries of Central and Eastern Europe autonomous cultural rights be granted to the Jewish people, together with complete freedom for national and religious self-expression; and

10. That the execution of these rights be effectively guaranteed in a manner that will make the repetition of the past tragic Jewish experiences, since the last world War, in any of the European countries impossible.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of these resolutions be forwarded by the President of the Region to the officers of the Z.O.A. and the members of the Executive Committee and the Administrative Council of the Z. O. A.

It was moved by Mr. Shetzer,

THAT the President appoint a Committee of Three or Five, to which the Resolution of the New England Zionist Region, relative to peace objectives, shall be referred;

THAT the Committee be charged with drafting a statement, to be circularized among the members of the Z.O.A. Executive not later than a week prior to the forthcoming Convention, in order that the Executive may come prepared to address itself to that statement at its final meeting before the Convention, to be held on Friday, September 5th, at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Mr. Szold made the observation that if the proposed Committee is to function, it will be forced to take into account the fact that any discussion about peace aims -- that is, other than a restatement in Herzlian terms of our aims -- will immediately involve us in certain political considerations, namely, do we or do we not want to discuss Arab Confederation, Near East Confederation, or bi-nationalism. A big release, passed by the censor, coming from Dr. Judah Magnes, definitely recommended bi-nationalism. There may be something said in a discussion about peace aims, which may be misinterpreted by our Government and by the British, as interfering with the

war effort. We cannot refer this to the Committee for its decision, Mr. Szold reiterated, without having some very important discussion on the matter.

The Chairman felt that there should be no discussion on this matter at the Convention.

Mr. Epstein concurred with the President's view. We can, however -- he pointed out -- adopt a resolution that we aim to bring three million Jews into Palestine in the next ten years, but we cannot discuss the modus operandi at this time.

The Chairman stated that the persons who will draft the Resolution will be very carefully selected. The Resolution will be submitted for consideration and discussion at the September 5th meeting of the Executive, but will not be discussed at the Convention sessions.

Judge Ellenbogen regarded as unnecessary the appointment of a Committee, pointing out that unless the proposed Resolution will include details, it will be necessary to have a discussion at the Convention. While sharing the view that there should be no discussion at the Convention, he felt that any discussion on peace aims at this time is premature.

Mr. Gurfein also considered it premature at this time, and did not think we should be bound by a resolution.

Dr. Goldman stated that we are meeting at a Zionist Convention at the end of a year's history. During this year, many attempts have been made to obtain a statement from the British Government on its attitude toward Palestine, but no such statement has been forthcoming. Quite the contrary; most of the statements that have come out of England have been either negative or evasive. The Zionists in America, assembled in Convention, cannot let this year of effort on our part, and the evasion on the part of the British, go by unheeded. The time may not be appropriate for a discussion of those details suggested by Mr. Szold, but the time is urgent for a repetition of Zionist aims to make the world understand that the evasion of the British has made no difference in our stubborn resolve to possess Zion.

Rabbi Breslau believed that no resolution is required for that.

Dr. Goldman stated that, because of the atmosphere in which we are meeting, extra solemnity is required.

The Chairman remarked that it may be that the Committee that the Chairman will appoint will not have anything ready by the time of the Convention.

Dr. Brickner declared that, with the world going through the most cataclysmic change that it has ever experienced, the Zionists cannot come to a Convention of the Zionist Organization of America -- the only free country where Jews can speak -- and reiterate something that was proclaimed in Basle. We are a political movement, we are even a political party; we have to have a line to use in connection with the changing circumstances of political life in America. We have an Emergency Committee which deals almost exclusively with the nuances of that problem. The delegates must come to this Convention

and hear from it an utterance that expresses the line of thought of Zionist philosophy in this revolutionary time. The Executive can accept or modify the line that will be prepared by the Committee. It must be submitted to the Convention for discussion. It may be so finely formulated that it will be adopted unanimously. If it is not carried unanimously, then discussion must be permitted. The Convention Program Committee felt that that discussion should be in Executive session, and if anything is adopted at the Executive session, it should go out to the Zionist world.

In line with Dr. Brickner's remarks, Dr. Goldman took occasion to report on a meeting held four months ago, when certain gentlemen who stand close to the Government, were questioned as to the advisability of stating peace aims and objectives, etc. The final word was that it was one thing for us to deliberate, to study, and to come to an agreement even, in an intimate group, and it is another thing for us to reveal all that we have in mind on a public platform, just because we are a political movement — as Dr. Brickner stressed — and we have to consider the exigencies of the times in which we labor and in which we think. The other Governments of the world are not broadcasting what is in their minds, and there are probably committees somewhere doing the thinking and preparing objectives or aims of their respective Governments. In any statement of objectives we may give to the world today — Dr. Goldman continued — there will be some weak spots that our enemies and our opponents could utilize between now and the time when the final peace aims will be presented. Zionism is not only a political movement; it is also a Messianic movement, and Messianism lends itself to repetition. As to whether that Messianic hope can or should be fragmentized for public debate on bi-nationalism, Confederation, etc., is, in the first place, too soon to know, and in the second place, most impolitic.

Dr. Brickner maintained that some guidance must be given to the delegates at the forthcoming Convention.

Dr. Goldman stated that the President, in naming the Committee, will go beyond the immediate Executive and beyond the immediate Emergency Committee, and when we come to our next Executive meeting, we will have a resolution before us.

Mr. Stone contended that if the forthcoming Z.O.A. Convention did not issue a clear, concrete, and direct statement of the Zionist position and aims, it would be guilty of a crime against posterity. The Basle Program was prepared in 1896. The Committee to be named by the President should formulate a Resolution which should be concrete and direct, and in line with the realities of 1941.

Mr. Shetzer's motion was finally seconded and unanimously adopted.

II. EXPENSES OF MEMBERS OF ZOA EXECUTIVE TO FORTHCOMING CONVENTION:

It was the consensus of opinion that the members of the Z.O.A. Executive should not receive their expenses to the forthcoming Annual Z.O.A. Convention to be held in Cincinnati, Ohio.

III. REPORT OF EMANUEL NEUMANN:

Mr. Neumann reported briefly on meetings between the Emergency Committee and some of the members of the Actions Committee and Dr. Weizmann. The last meeting before Dr. Weizmann left was devoted to an attempt to clarify some of the questions touched upon at this Executive meeting. There is a vast difference between clarifying the position among ourselves, and a thought-out presentation for public opinion. We have been endeavoring to clarify certain things for ourselves. There were several attempts in the Emergency Committee to do so. Dr. Weizmann presented several suggestions or ideas at the last meeting; he thought it would be advisable to hold, sometime during the coming year, a conference which would be fairly representative of Zionist opinion today, for the purpose of attempting to reach an agreement with regard to aims and objectives. This is the so-called "Naiditch" plan. There are various forms which this idea could take. A Zionist Congress is out of the question at this time. As matters were finally left, Dr. Weizmann was to take up the question with the Executive in London and with the Palestine Executive, and to communicate to us their decision, after he has presented the proposal that such a conference should take place in America some time during the coming winter. He also thought that such a conference might adopt a declaration in behalf of the whole Zionist movement, if by that time we thought we were ready. We are now waiting for a statement from the Executive as to what their views are. At the same time a plenary meeting of the Emergency Committee is being called this week, to discuss the question as to whether a conference could or should be held, and what kind of a conference. It was understood that the various American Zionist organizations would discuss the question at their own meetings. This Executive should now discuss whether it favors calling a conference which will be attended by representatives of American Zionism, by Western Hemisphere Zionists, and also by Zionists from Palestine, and perhaps from various countries of the British Empire.

Mr. Neumann said he had been requested to sound out the U. S. Government as to their attitude, for obviously such a conference would involve securing permission for people to come here. He had discussed this with the Acting Secretary of State. Mr. Neumann presumed that not more than twenty-five or thirty people would come to the United States to attend the conference. The Acting Secretary of State said he would handle the matter and see to it that the visas are granted; and thought that, at the same time, we ought to give consideration to the question of whether the holding of such a conference, with the wide publicity which it would receive, might have repercussions in the Near East, where the unfavorable situation was giving concern. Mr. Neumann assured him that the question would be given consideration.

Referring to the question of the formation of a Jewish military force, Mr. Neumann said that Dr. Weizmann had been told in March that the plan for a Jewish army would have to be deferred for four to six months. Four months have now elapsed and Dr. Weizmann thought that the question should now be taken up once more. The argument of shortage of equipment may not now have as much force as it had previously.

The Emergency Committee is concerned about another aspect --- Mr. Neumann continued --- and that is the various indications which have come recently that the British Government may be considering steps which may lead to political changes in the Middle East. There was an editorial in the London Times, proposing the union of Syria and Palestine. There was an editorial in the Manchester Guardian, saying that an Arab Confederation was not incompatible with a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. There is the dispatch of Lyttleton to Cairo, and conversations which he has been carrying on there. There is the statement from Dr. Magnes. And there has been a request from the Executive in London that a prominent American Zionist come to England for a prolonged stay, in order to act as a liaison officer between us and the London Executive. That, perhaps, was the most serious indication of important developments in the offing. We do not know, of course, what it is that they have in mind. We can only guess. For one thing, there are indications that the British consider the present a favorable moment for bringing about a change in the status of Syria as well as of Palestine. It is possible that a formula of Arab confederation may promote British Imperial interests and consolidate the whole region under British protection.

Some of us fear, more than anything else, the possible creation of accomplished facts, which would prejudice the situation at the Peace Conference. Mr. Neumann, personally, feared that an attempt might be made to force a premature agreement between the British Government and the Zionist movement under the stress of war. The Arab "nuisance" value is very high just now, while our position is still very weak; and once commitments are made, they are very difficult to unmake. From that point of view, representatives of the Emergency Committee had discussions with high American officials in Washington on two separate occasions, and after Anthony Eden's speech, we asked our Government whether it was conceivable that the British Government would make important political changes in the Near East, without first consulting the American Government; and secondly, whether the American Government would take a position with respect to Palestine before the views of American Zionism had been heard. The opinion expressed to us was that the British Government would not attempt such changes, without consulting the American Government, and, of course, the American Government would take no position without giving us the information and full opportunity for expressing our views. But the multiplication of signs in the last few weeks that something was brewing has caused us uneasiness.

Continuing, Mr. Neumann said he had asked a high official of the American Government last week whether it was possible for the American Government to address itself to the British Government and ask for assurance that there would be no basic changes or commitments affecting Palestine, without previous consultation with the American Government. The reply was entirely satisfactory. Mr. Neumann had suggested that no step be taken before we discussed the matter further, and that we might wish to submit a memorandum on the matter, before official action was taken by the Government. The submission of such a memorandum was now under consideration.

With regard to Dr. Magnes' statement, Mr. Neumann said it looked rather innocent to the uninitiated. Dr. Magnes spoke of a bi-national state. Mr. Neumann said he had heard from friends of our cause that they thought the statement of Dr. Magnes was rather helpful. However, this proposal considering its source (Dr. Magnes) and the circumstances, really means an Arab State, with a Jewish

minority. To the pan-Arabs it also means, Mr. Neumann thought, the union of Syria and Palestine, the separation of which they had never fully accepted. Therein, of course, also lies a very grave danger.

Mr. Neumann added that, while it is premature to make any public statement with regard to our peace aims, we must be on guard against the creation of difficulties, from which we will not be able to extricate ourselves later. It happened in the first World War. It would be very unfortunate if, for lack of alertness on our part the situation becomes complicated once more, instead of being kept clear.

Mr. Neumann said further that at a full meeting of the members of the Emergency Committee and of members of the Actions Committee, drafts of formulation of peace aims had been discussed, but none adopted.

Mr. Neumann reported that at the last meeting held with Dr. Weizmann, he referred to the possible inclusion of Palestine in a Confederation. Secondly, Dr. Weizmann spoke of the Peel Report as a possible basis, but not with those boundaries.. Thirdly, Dr. Weizmann seemed to feel that we could not raise the question of changing the political status of Transjordan.

The discussion at that meeting — continued — Mr. Neumann — revealed some divergencies of views. On the whole, the consensus of opinion as represented by those who participated in the discussion seemed to be against rather than in favor of the inclusion of Palestine in a federation and also against reverting to partition. There were several who spoke in favor of our raising the issue of Transjordan. There was a large measure of agreement that some kind of conference would be useful, although there was no agreement as to what kind of a conference it should be.

Mr. Neumann doubted whether the time had come for us to make public a binding statement of our post-war aims in detailed form. We have been considering ways of bringing the Zionist issue generally to the fore again. November 2nd is the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, and it was thought that this was the time when we should carry on a country-wide campaign of education; by public meetings, radio addresses, etc., and the line to be taken at such meetings would be solidarity with Great Britain in her war efforts, celebrating the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, declaring that the Balfour Declaration has not yet been fulfilled, (Lord Halifax statement to the contrary notwithstanding) and that we expect its complete fulfillment.

In conclusion, Mr. Neumann suggested that the Z.O.A. Executive adopt an attitude on (1) the matter of the conference; and (2) any matters in connection with the political report.

IV. DISCUSSION ON PROPOSAL FOR CONFERENCE:

A discussion ensued on the proposal set forth in Mr. Neumann's report, regarding the convening of a conference in the United States, representative of the Zionist world.

Mr. Daniel Frisch thought a conference at this time would be premature and undesirable, and suggested that the desired results could be achieved by having a small committee or commission visit the Jewish communities in various countries throughout the world, wherever possible.

Dr. Goldman said that he did not, at this moment, see either the need, the wisdom, or the benefit of the type of conference suggested. Analyzing the existing situation of the Jewries throughout the world, he observed that a world conference at this time would mean the submission of United States Jewry to the thinking of a few small minority countries. He maintained that those who would come to the conference would not altogether represent the thinking of Palestine. He offered a counter-proposal, which he believed is more practical, namely, that the Jews of the United States — because of the responsibility they should have and the part they should play — name a commission to visit that part of the Jewish world where admission is possible, for the purpose of consulting with the leaders, studying at first hand, Jewish conditions there, and ascertaining the thoughts and feelings of those Jewries. The send-off of the commission should be dramatized. On the basis of the commission's report, the Zionists of America might invite people from Palestine — not necessarily of the Executive — and people from London, to the United States, for serious consideration and study. On the basis of such conference, we will be in a better position to speak to American Jewry, and to speak to the American Government, regarding Palestine and the general situation. In brief, a conference in the United States should be rooted in the realities of the present Palestine and general Jewish situation, as American Jews see it, through American Jewish experts.

Mr. A. K. Epstein called attention to the "nuisance" value that would be created through the convening of such a conference.

The Chairman wondered whether the time was propitious for creating such "nuisance" value.

Dr. Brickner concurred in the view that the proposed conference would have tremendous "nuisance" value. Furthermore, the conference would set up a provisional Jewish government with one objective — Palestine. He urged the value of immediate action, rather than post-war action.

Mr. Robert M. Bernstein observed that the difficulty is that unless we take a position now, certain things may be fixed, which it will be impossible later to unfix or undo. Post-war action may be too late as far as our demands upon the British Government are concerned. He was not convinced, he said, as to the necessity of having a conference. He believed that the Z.C.A. Convention in September, if carefully planned, could accomplish almost as much as any conference. The American Government will eventually play a great part in the solution of the problem of minorities throughout the world. He doubted whether the American Government would be impressed any more by a conference attended by a few representatives from South American countries, from Palestine, England, and South Africa. The American Jew must do the talking. If we, at the Zionist Convention, put forth a strong position, so that the American Government will be convinced as to the seriousness of our situation, we will, for the time being, accomplish as much as any conference could accomplish.

Dr. Goldman's proposal to send a commission to Palestine has certain weaknesses, Mr. Bernstein continued. Firstly, there is the matter of expense. Secondly, if the commission spends a week or two in Palestine and in the other countries, it can, at best, make only a cursory study, rather than a complete and intensive study.

Mrs. Pool believed that if a conference were called by a Jewish Agency of Zionists and non-Zionists, for common action by American Jewry on behalf of Palestine, constructive results could be obtained. As for the proposed commission, she believed that Palestine would welcome the visit of a group of Americans at this time.

Mr. Neumann doubted the wisdom of sending a commission into all the countries open to us, but thought that a visit by an American delegation to Palestine would be desirable. It would give the Yishuv a great "lift" and they need it. They feel that it would be helpful if there were some American Zionist leaders in Palestine, sharing the responsibilities of the Yishuv. As for the holding of a conference, Mr. Neumann pointed to the fact that the political situation in the Near East is apparently now beginning to assume dynamic aspects, and therefore a round-table conference of the various sections of the movement would be very desirable. We don't know how long it will take before we will reach an agreement with the non-Zionists regarding the Jewish Agency; but there is a Zionist movement, and we certainly have a great responsibility toward the worldwide Zionist organization, which has been greatly weakened by the war. It becomes necessary for the American Zionists to play the part of host to other parts of the movement, and we can hold some kind of a conference which will be attended by outstanding Zionists from other countries. As an American Zionist, Mr. Neumann said, he would seize the opportunity of having a conference even if it did not have statutory powers. It would have considerable moral authority. Such a conference would serve as a means of strengthening the Movement and provide an authoritative forum, constituted with the knowledge and approval of the World Zionist Executive, for the purpose of shaping Zionist policy. The views expressed by such a conference could, of course, not be ignored by the Executive.

Mr. Stone called attention to the fact that any decision made now is subject to change owing to emergencies which may arise. He said that although he was opposed to the idea of commissions, because of our experiences in the past, a great deal depends upon the composition of the commission. Since the recommendation to call a conference has come from the President of the World Zionist Organization, he regarded it in the interest of the Zionist movement not to treat the proposal lightly, but, with clear conscience, endorse it. The details can be considered later.

Answering some of the points touched upon in this discussion, Dr. Goldman stated: (1) the convening of the proposed conference would be less expensive than a Zionist Congress; (2) There is no limitation as to the time the commission will spend in Palestine or elsewhere; (3) There is no intention to slap the face of the Executive; we want to know the situation in Palestine at first hand, as well as the situation with regard to European Jewry.

Dr. Goldman felt that the preparation for the conference should be conducted very carefully and very slowly. The conference must have legal status. He disagreed with Mr. Neumann's view that a conference, without legal status, could be important. He added that he was opposed to the present Emergency Committee because it has no legal status. Dr. Goldman referred briefly to the Provisional Committee for Zionist Affairs, created in the United States in 1917, which was the body that spoke for the Zionists of the world. In those years, he pointed out, there was no duly elected Zionist Executive that could get together. Palestine was out of the picture. Today, the strength of the Executive is not in London, but in Palestine. The Palestine Executive will not recognize the decisions of a good-will conference, if it is in opposition to it.

A world conference, if it is to be held -- Dr. Goldman continued -- must be preceded by the following three steps: (1) An American commission consulting Zionist leaders and Zionist bodies in communities throughout the world, wherever possible. (2) While we cannot have a Congress on a large scale, we can have a Congress on a small scale, that is, a Congress with legal status. The World Zionist Executive should invite Jewry the world over to send one delegate for every 20,000 members, and to prepare a formula on the basis of which the conference can have legal status. (3) Conversations with non-Zionists, with whom we hope to have a united front, should take place simultaneously, even with respect to this conference. While we Zionists are not going to have our policies moulded by non-Zionist thinking, we should inform them what we have in mind and what we plan to do. It is not our prerogative, and it should not ^{be} our desire, to prepare the agenda for the conference. The agenda should be prepared by the Executive, but the conference should have the legal power, Dr. Goldman reiterated.

Commission to Palestine and
Other Zionist Organizations:

Dr. Solomon Goldman moved,

THAT the Zionist Organization of America, in consultation with other Zionist bodies, send a Commission to make contact with Zionist organizations in the Jewish communities throughout the world, wherever possible.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Proposal for an International Meeting:

Dr. Goldman then made the following motion:

THAT the Zionist Organization of America endorses the proposal of Dr. Chaim Weizmann for a world Zionist conference, to be held in the United States sometime in mid-winter, or in the near future, provided this conference secures legal status.

Discussing Dr. Goldman's second motion, Mr. Neumann pointed out that the proposal which Dr. Weizmann had made was not the calling of a Congress, but rather the holding of a conference whose main purpose would be to deal with major policy, and whose voice would be authoritative. Dr. Weizmann had in mind a conference which had powers, not necessarily all the powers of a Congress, and had in fact suggested that the conference should name a "negotiating committee" and collaborate with Dr. Weizmann. If we do not want to involve the situation too much, Mr. Neumann suggested, the thing to do is to declare at this stage that we approve the idea of a conference, provided it is understood that this conference will have certain powers.

Dr. Goldman maintained that he wanted the conference to have legal status, that is, such powers as would bind the Executive. The other safeguard he sought was that the Jewries in the various countries elect their own representatives to the conference.

Mrs. Pool believed that the Executive has the right to establish the formula for the election of delegates to the Congress, and other rights which would give full legal status to the conference.

Mr. Bernstein suggested that it be called a Conference of World Zionists, to be held in the United States.

Mr. Neumann suggested the amendment; **PROVIDED** that the decisions of the conference, within the range of the agenda provided for the conference, shall be binding upon the Executive. He pointed out that a Congress implies the power to elect an Executive and to elect all the other organs of the movement. That may be desirable, Mr. Neumann said, but if such a proposal were made, nothing would come of it. On the other hand, there are other things of major importance which we should not forego, particularly, the formulation of Zionist policy.

Dr. Goldman agreed with Mr. Neumann insofar as he pointed out that there are matters which have to be discussed and can be discussed at a conference, and there are matters which only a Congress can discuss, and we need not have such a Congress at this moment. However, if the delegates to the Conference are to be appointed by the Executive, then the conference has no meaning.

Mr. Robert Szold thereupon moved the following substitute motion:

THAT the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America has heard with favor the proposal for an international meeting, to be held within the near future, at a time that will be later found to be appropriate, and under safeguards that will provide that it shall be truly representative and that its decisions shall be binding upon the World Zionist Executive. The Executive further requests that any concrete proposals for such an international meeting be submitted to the next meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive.

The substitute motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

V. CELEBRATION OF 24TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION:

Mr. Neumann moved,

THAT we approve the proposal for the observance of the 24th Anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, on November 2nd, by public meetings, demonstrations, etc., in cooperation with other Zionist bodies and groups.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

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VI. REQUEST FOR Z.O.A. DESIGNEES TO EMERGENCY COMMITTEE:

Mr. Szold moved,

THAT the matter of the request for Z.O.A. designees to the Emergency Committee be deferred until after the Convention.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

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VII. COMMITTEE TO PREPARE BUDGETARY RECOMMENDATIONS:

It was duly moved, seconded, and unanimously carried,

THAT the President be authorized to appoint a Committee to prepare budgetary recommendations for presentation to the next meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive, to be held on Friday, September 5th, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

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VIII. DR. WISE'S LECTER ON WELFARE FUNDS:

It was moved by Mr. Daniel Frisch, and seconded by Dr. Solomon Goldman,

THAT discussion on Dr. Wise's letter on Welfare Funds be referred to the incoming Administration of the Z.O.A.

The motion was unanimously carried.

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IX. SHEKEL CAMPAIGN:

Dr. Solomon Goldman, moved,

THAT the consideration of a Shekel Campaign be
deferred until after consideration of the proposal
for an International Zionist Meeting.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The meeting adjourned at 6:15 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,



TEMTATIVE DRAFT OF CONVENTION PROGRAM

P R O G R A M
OF THE
FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE ZIONIST ORGA IZATION OF AMERICA

CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS: GIBSON HOTEL, CINCINNATI, OHIO

FRIDAY AFTERNOON - SEPTEMBER 5, 1941

Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING -- GIBSON HOTEL -- 2:00 P.M.

SABBATH SERVICES AT THE FOLLOWING TEMPLES ON FRIDAY EVENING AND ON
SATURDAY MORNING:

FRIDAY EVENING -- S.E. CORNER 8th and PLUM STREETS

SATURDAY MORNING -- S.E. CORNER 8th and PLUM STREETS

CONGREGATION B'NAI ISRAEL -- 270 McGregor Avenue

ADATH ISRAEL -- Lexington Avenue and Reading Road

THE RABBIS OF THESE TEMPLES HAVE BEEN INVITED BY DR. HELLER TO INVITE
CERTAIN RABBIS TO ADDRESS THEIR TEMPLE SERVICES.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 6, 1941

ONEG SHABBAT -- GIBSON HOTEL -- 3:00 P.M.

To be arranged by local committee and Dr. Samuel Blumenfield, Director,
Z.O.A. Department of Youth and Education. Program to include:

1. Brief greetings and comments from officers and leaders
of Cincinnati Zionists, including the Rabbinate, Jewish
educators, etc.
 2. Songs and dramatic readings furnished by Zionist Youth groups.
 3. Refreshments
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SATURDAY EVENING

M'LAVEH MALKA -- GIBSON HOTEL -- 8:30 P.M.

Auspices of Histadruth Ivrit

To be arranged jointly by Menahem Ribalow
and Dr. Samuel Blumenfield.

The M'lavoh Malka will be devoted to problems of Hebrew culture; the program to consist of

1. Brief Havdalah ceremony by Cincinnati Young Judaea
2. (a) A summary of the most important Hebrew creations of the year, and
(b) An evaluation of outstanding personalities whose anniversaries have been observed during the course of the year, particularly that of Yehudah Halevi.
3. Musical numbers by the Cincinnati Choral group.

SATURDAY EVENING

REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES -- 9:00 P.M. -- HOTEL GIBSON

MEETING OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL -- 9:00 P.M. -- HOTEL GIBSON
(Attendance limited to members of Council only)

SUNDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 7, 1941

REGISTRATION OF DELEGATES (continued) -- HOTEL GIBSON

FIRST SESSION -- 10:00 A.M.

1. Convention called to order by Dr. James G. Heller, Chairman of Program Committee
2. National Anthem
3. Greetings from Cincinnati Community, by Mr. Rosenberg, Chairman of Cincinnati Community Coun.
4. Submission of Administration Report
5. Announcement of Committee on Committees (to be approved by Convention)
6. Election of Praesidium
7. Reports by
 - (a) United Palestine Appeal
 - (b) Jewish National Fund
 - (c) Keren Hayesod
8. Greetings by
 - (a) Hadassah
 - (b) Order Sons of Zion -- Harry Grayer
 - (c) Mizrahi
 - (d) Poale Zion
 - (e) English Zionists -- Lavi Bakstansky
 - (f) Keren Hayesod Executive -- Dr. Kurt Blumenfeld

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 7, 1941

SECOND SESSION -- 2:00 P.M.

1. Greetings by Mayor of Cincinnati
2. Presidential address -- E. I. Kaufmann
3. Addresses on "Palestine and the World Scene" --(by a few prominent speakers)

SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 7, 1941

THIRD SESSION -- 7:00 P.M.

BAUQUET (kosher food)

1. Invocation
2. Addresses-- (by a few prominent speakers)
3. Musical Selections
4. Benediction

MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 8, 1941

FOURTH SESSION -- 9:30 A.M.

1. Meetings of Standing Committees:

- (a) Committee on Credentials
- (b) Committee on Nominations
- (c) Committee on Resolutions
- (d) Committee on Publications
- (e) Committee on Finance
- (f) Committee on Youth and Education (will meet with symposium)
- (g) Committee on Public Relations and Political Affairs (will meet with symposium)
- (h) Committee on Regional Reorganization and Membership
- (i) Committee on Palestine and its Economic Problems (will meet with symposium)
- (j) Committee on Palestine Funds

2. Symposia:

- (a) Youth and Education -- Herman L. Weisman, Chairman of Zionist Youth Commission, presiding
Papers: "Zionist Education of the Child" -- Dr. Emanuel Gamoran
"Zionist Education of the Youth" -- Dr. Shlomo Bardin
"Zionist Education of the Adult" -- Dr. Israel Goldman
Discussion
- (b) Political and Public Relations -- Murray I. Garfein, presiding
Papers -- by Robert M. Bernstein, Emanuel Neumann, and
Dr. Barnett R. Brickner
Discussion

- (c) Projects for the Districts -- Rabbi Morton Berman, presiding
Papers -- "Aid to Britain" -- Rabbi Maurice Perlzweig
"Jewish National Fund" -- Abraham H. Cohen
"Vaad B'tachon" -- Louis P. Rucker
"Hechalutz" -- Mordecai Konowitz
"President's Chapter" -- Rabbi Samuel Cooper

Discussion

- (d) Economic Problems in Palestine -- A. K. Epstein, presiding
Papers -- by Maurice M. Boukstein, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt,
Discussion

(Each symposium is to have a chairman and secretary. At the conclusion of each symposium, an appointed committee will prepare a report, to be presented to the Convention at the concluding session on Tuesday, and, if adopted, to be distributed to Districts and written up in The New Palestine)

MONDAY NOON -- SEPTEMBER 8, 1941

FIFTH SESSION -- LUNCHEON

12:30

(Two prominent speakers)

MONDAY AFTERNOON -- 2:00 P.M.

SIXTH SESSION

"COORDINATION: The Z.O.A. and
Its Relationship to Other Zionist Bodies and
Fund-Raising Organization"

Continuation of meetings of
Standing Committees

MONDAY EVENING -- 7:30 P.M. -- SEVENTH SESSION

Continuation of business of the afternoon session

Report of Resolutions Committee

Discussion

Adoption of Resolutions

Report of Nominations Committee

Elections

TUESDAY MORNING -- SEPTEMBER 9, 1941

EIGHTH SESSION -- 9:30 A.M.

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

Submission of reports of Symposia by respective secretaries

Discussion. Ample time to be allowed, and to be followed by action on specific resolutions formulating Z.O.A. policy and method of implementation.

Adoption of Resolutions.

-- Continuation of meetings of Standing Committees --

TUESDAY NOON -- ZIONIST YOUTH LUNCHEON -- 12:30 P.M.

NINTH SESSION

To consist of brief discussions by young people representing AVUKAH, MASADA, YOUNG JUDADA, and JUNIOR HADASSAH, on "Problems Facing American Zionism". The four representatives will be selected from the Summer Camp Institute being conducted at Amherst, N.H. Also, Exhibit of materials pertaining to Zionist cultural activities and youth programs.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS -- TENTH SESSION -- TUESDAY AFTERNOON -- 2:00 P.M.

MINUTES OF Z.O.A. EXECUTIVE MEETING, HELD ON MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1941,
10 A.M., AT THE RITZ-CARLTON HOTEL, BROAD AND WALNUT STS. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal (in the Chair), Robert M. Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Jacob Fishman, Daniel Frisch, Abraham Goldberg, Cecil R. Gordon, Dr. James G. Heller, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Mordecai Konowitz, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Bernard G. Rudolph, Simon Shetzer, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Louis E. Spiegler, Robert Szold; Mrs. Oscar Bender (representing Hadassah); Harry Takiff (Masada); and H. A. Schulson.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE were received from Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Albert K. Epstein, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfein, Dr. Edward L. Israel, Dr. Israel E. Levinthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Louis P. Rucker, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Dewey D. Stone, Elihu D. Stone, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Tamar de Sola Pool.

The President reported that immediately after the adjournment of the Convention, and after an informal luncheon meeting with those members of the Executive Committee still in Cincinnati, he visited Chicago and Detroit and found in both communities evidences of a revival of Zionist enthusiasm. The President also referred to the many messages he received from all parts of the world and read the cables from Dr. Weizmann and the Vaad Leumi in reply to his greetings to them.

I. MEETING OF ZIONISTS AND NON-ZIONISTS
TO BE HELD ON SEPTEMBER 25TH, 5 P.M.,
AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY.

It was decided that Judge Levinthal accept an invitation to represent the Z.O.A. at a meeting of Zionist and non-Zionist leaders, on September 25, 5 P.M., at the Hotel Astor, in New York City. This meeting is the outgrowth of the recent efforts of Dr. Chaim Weizmann to enlist the cooperation of American non-Zionists, with a view to arriving at some modus operandi for a common platform for our post-war demands.

II. FUTURE MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE.

A letter will be sent to all members of the Executive to ascertain the dates most convenient to the majority for the holding of future Executive meetings.

III. SHEKEL CAMPAIGN.

Judge Levinthal appointed Abraham Goodman, Samuel Rothstein, Mordecai Konowitz, and Dr. David Tannenbaum, of New York, to represent the Z.O.A. at a meeting of a tentative committee of the Shekel Board, representing

the various Zionist groups, on Wednesday, September 17th, at 5:30 P.M., at the offices of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

IV. INTERNATIONAL ZIONIST CONFERENCE.

It was decided that Judge Levinthal appoint a committee, to be composed of the members of the Z.O.A. Executive, who are members of the Emergency Committee, to consider the advisability of calling a special meeting in the United States of the Actions Committee, and also to consider, as an additional or alternative proposal, the advisability of calling, in the United States, a conference of representatives of all Zionist parties in America.

This Committee was requested to submit a report to the next meeting of the Executive before any commitment be made or final action taken.

V. CONVENTION RESOLUTION ON COORDINATION.

It was decided that Judge Levinthal appoint a special committee of the Z.O.A., to formulate a plan to implement the Convention resolution on coordination, and to submit a report at the next meeting of the Executive. In the formulation of its plan, the Committee is authorized to engage in fact-finding, to communicate and negotiate with the officers of the Keren Hayesod, the J.N.F., the U.P.A., the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

VI. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

Judge Levinthal was authorized to retain an Executive Director of the Z.O.A., at a salary to be mutually agreed upon, to succeed Rabbi Isadore Breslau, who has tendered his resignation.

VII. LIQUIDATION OF DEFICIT.

Judge Levinthal was authorized to appoint a Committee to formulate plans for the liquidation of the deficit.

VIII. PROCLAMATION OF THE 44TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE Z.O.A.

The Executive authorized Judge Levinthal to appoint a Committee to revise and shorten the Proclamation of the 44th Annual Convention, without impairing its substance. This Proclamation and President Roosevelt's letter should be adequately publicized and widely distributed.

IX. BUDGET ALLOCATIONS.

The Executive authorized Judge Levinthal to appoint a Committee to prepare a budget making allocations for the various departments in the Z.O.A., within the budget of \$200,000 approved by the Convention, the said budget to include provision for the liquidation of the deficit.

X. CELEBRATION OF THE 24TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION.

The Executive approved the proposal of the President to issue a proclamation calling for the observance of the 24th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, on November 2nd, by public meetings and demonstrations throughout the land.

XI. POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

A motion was unanimously carried that Emanuel Neumann, with the advice of the members of the Executive who are also members of the Emergency Committee, submit to the Executive at its next meeting a draft of a complete program of all political and public relations activities to be undertaken by the Z.O.A. as projects for the Districts, and to submit a budget for one year's activities in accordance with such program.

This Committee was also instructed to contact the Keren Hayesod, the J.N.F., and the U.P.A. to request the Jewish Agency that funds, in addition to what may be raised and contributed by the American Zionist bodies, be appropriated for the carrying on of political and public relations work in America.

XII. JEWISH RADIO PROGRAMS.

It was reported that unfair control of Jewish religious national radio broadcasting programs is wielded by anti-Zionists.

Judge Levinthal was authorized to appoint a Committee to investigate these charges. If the charges be substantiated, the Committee is instructed to call upon the representatives of the three large broadcasting systems, to urge them to grant an opportunity for the presentation of the Zionist point of view to the radio audiences in this country. The President referred this matter to the Public Relations Committee.

XIII. EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR AND ZIONIST YOUTH COMMISSION.

Judge Levinthal was authorized to appoint a Committee to meet with the Hadassah representatives, to formulate plans for the carrying on of our joint Zionist Youth program, and to recommend the engagement of a Director of Youth and Education to succeed Dr. Samuel M. Blumenfield, who resigned.

XIV. Z.O.A. CONTRACT WITH THE ORDER SONS OF ZION.

Judge Levinthal was authorized to appoint a Committee to commence negotiations for the renewal of the Z.O.A. contract with the Order Sons of Zion.

XV. NEXT ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL MEETING.

It was decided that the first meeting of the newly elected Administrative Council be held at the Z.O.A. headquarters in Washington, D. C., on Sunday, September 28th, at 1:00 P.M.

XVI. STANDING COMMITTEES:

Judge Levinthal was authorized to appoint the following Committees:

- 1) Budget and Office Management
- 2) Finance and Revenue
- 3) Membership
- 4) Publications
- 5) Youth Work
- 6) Education and Propaganda
- 7) Political Affairs and Public Relations
- 8) Economic Problems in Palestine
- 9) Palestine Funds and Special Funds Projects
 - (a) Jewish National Fund
 - (b) Keren Hayesod
 - (c) Vaad Bitachon
 - (d) Hechalutz
 - (e) Aid-to-Britain
 - Etc.

XVII. DEFENSE SAVINGS BONDS.

Judge Levinthal referred to the correspondence of the United States Treasury Department with regard to Defense Savings Bonds. The Executive Director was instructed to call the attention of all Z. O. A. Districts to the resolution of Convention dealing with this matter.

XVIII. AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS - INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH AFFAIRS.

Judge Levinthal referred to the request of the American Jewish Congress for a Z. O. A. subvention for its Institute for Jewish Affairs. It was resolved that in view of the financial status of the Z. O. A., the request must regretfully be denied.

XIX. JUDGE GOLDEN COLONY - J.N.F.:

Judge Levinthal referred to the correspondence regarding the proposed Judge Golden Colony of the J.N.F. This matter was referred to the Special Committee of the Jewish National Fund for consideration.

The meeting adjourned at 6:00 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

Isadore Breslau

MINUTES OF MEETING OF NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL, HELD
ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 28th, 1941, 1:00 P.M., AT THE ZOA
HEADQUARTERS, 1720-16th STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C.

PRESENT: Dr. James G. Heller (in the Chair): Messrs. Marcus Abramsen, Maurice Bernhardt, Samuel Berson, Samuel J. Borowsky, Maurice M. Boukstein, Julius M. Cantor, Sol Cohen, Rabbi Joshua L. Goldberg, Abraham Goodman, Judge Emanuel Greenberg, Ralph Huberman, Isaac Imber, Jacob Ish-Kishor, Samuel Judenfreund, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Harry J. Moskowitz, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Jonathan I. Rudavsky, Albert D. Schanzer, Abraham Spicehandler, Robert Szold, David Tannenbaum, Herman L. Weisman, ---of Greater New York; Dr. Israel A. Abrams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Oscar H. Altshuler, Youngstown, Ohio; Judge Samuel Barnet, New Bedford, Mass.; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D.C.; Walter Burke, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Bernard Danzansky, Washington, D. C.; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Joseph L. Foster, Leominster, Mass.; Harry H. Frankel, Cincinnati, Ohio; Albert Goldman, Rochester, N.Y.; Hymen Goldman, Washington, D. C.; Louis Gordon, Harrisburg, Pa.; Benjamin R. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; Charles J. Levin, Uniontown, Pa.; Louis Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Seymour R. Levine, Peekskill, N.Y.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia Pa.; Jacob G. Lukashok, New Rochelle, N.Y.; Charles A. Rome, Newton, Mass.; Henry Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N.J.; Mrs. John D. Safer, Washington, D. C.; Simon Shetzer, Detroit, Mich.; Louis E. Spiegler, Washington, D.C.; Saul S. Spiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Mark Sugarman, South Coatesville, Pa.; William H. Sylk, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Raphael Tourover, Washington, D.C. and Miss Juliet N. Benjamin, New York representing Hadassah; Matthew Huttner, New York representing Masada; - By Invitation: Carl Alpert, Washington, D.C.; L. Bakstansky, London, Eng.; E. Barbarash, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Simon Bernstein, New York; Dr. Joseph Cohn, New York; Nathan Elkin, New York, Elias Goodstein, Uniontown, Pa; Arnold Heicklen, Rochester, N. Y.; Zvi Levavy, Washington, D.C.; Morris Margulies, Washington, D.C.; Hyman A. Schulson, Washington, D.C.; A. Shachnai, New York; I. C. Simon, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Excuses for Absence received from Messrs. Rabbi Morris Adler, Detroit, Mich.; Philip Barron, Malden, Mass.; Charles Bender, Breckenridge, Tex.; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R.I.; Rabbi Morton Berman, Chicago, Ill.; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom, Kingston, N.Y.; Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom, Newburgh, N.Y.; Judge Jacob M. Braude, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio; Louis E. Brown, Dorchester, Mass.; Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N.Y.; Jesse B. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; Judge Oscar Caplan, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Caploe, Jamaica Plains, Mass.; Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, Charleston, S. Va.; Lawrence W. Crohn, Detroit, Mich.; Rabbi William Drazin, Savannah, Ga.; A. K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Fred M. Falkman, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. David Feldman, Atlantic City, N.J.; M. B. Finkelstein, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Alfred Fleishman, St. Louis, Mo.; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.; Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis, Ind.; David Geffen, Utica, N.Y.; Dr. Moses Gellman, Baltimore, Md.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Toledo, Ohio; Dr. I. M. Goldman, Providence, R. I.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.; Gustave B. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif.; Cecil R. Gordon, W. Newton, Mass.; Rabbi Emanuel Green, Aurora, Ill.; Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi William Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; Joseph Halbert, Atlantic City, N.J.; Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn,

Poughkeepsie, N.Y.; Joseph L. Hecht, Norfolk, Va.; Alex Himmelman, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Rabbi Edward L. Israel, Baltimore, Md.; I. M. Jaffe, Butler, Pa.; Max Kabatznick, Boston, Mass.; I. L. Kenon, So. Euclid, Ohio; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Louis I. Lovenson, Atlantic City, N.J.; Harry Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Dr. Louis Levy, Memphis, Tenn.; Morris Mallove, New London, Conn.; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch, Birmingham, Ala.; William Nimelman, Niagara Falls, N.Y.; J. Novy, Austin, Tex.; Louis J. Perlman, St. Paul, Minn.; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N.J.; Dr. Joachim Prinz, Newark, N.J.; Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.; Harry A. Rachlin, Buffalo, N.Y.; Max Rattner, Rock Island, Ill.; Samuel Raucher, Norwich, Conn.; Sol Reiter, Newburgh, N.Y.; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rabbi Rudolph M. Rosenthal, Cleveland, Ohio; Bernard G. Rudolph, Syracuse, N.Y.; Leon Sager, Joliet, Ill.; Nathan Savage, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Albert Schiff, Columbus, Ohio; Judge Jacob Schowlsky, Hartford, Conn.; Hon. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio; Rabbi A. H. Silver, Cleveland, Ohio; Ben Sobel, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseph M. Spector, Baltimore, Md.; Dewey D. Stone, Brockton, Mass.; Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Calif.; Harry Tekiff, Philadelphia, Pa.; Elvin Teitelbaum, Johnstown, Pa.; Robert M. Travis, Atlanta, Ga.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Abraham I. Uslender, Elizabeth, N.J.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Senator Jacob Weiss, Indianapolis, Ind.; Samuel Wolberg, Wilmette, Ill.; Joseph Zox, Des Moines, Ia.; Dr. Kurt Blumenfeld, Abraham H. Cohen, Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Jacob Fishman, Hyman Fliegel, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfein, Leo Guzik, Mordecai Konowitz, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Rabbi Israel E. Levinthal, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Arthur Lourie, Judge Julian V. Mack, Samuel J. Perry, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Herman Zvi Quittman, Abraham A. Redelheim, Hon. Hyman J. Reit, Louis P. Rucker, Hon. Morris Rothenberg, Samuel J. Rothstein, Moses Robinson, Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Leon Savage, Joseph J. Schickler, Hon. Carl Sherman, Abe Sindel, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Harry F. Wechsler, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise ---of Greater New York. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mendel M. Fisher, Henry Kontor and Dr. Martin Rosenbluth.

The meeting was called to order at 1:30 P.M. by Dr. James G. Heller, Chairman of the A. C.

The Chairman welcomed the members present, extending a G'mar Chasimah Tovah to them and to the Yishuv.

He then introduced the newly elected president.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal: "When I assumed the office of president of the ZOA, I realized of course what a difficult job it was going to be. I had been chairman of this A. C. for more than 2½ years and I think I have a fairly good idea of the many complicated problems confronting the organization. I have been tremendously encouraged and heartened by the spirit that seems to be expressed by all Zionists throughout the land. All are aware of the crisis through which we are now passing and they want to have unity. There must be an end to all partisanship and factionalism.

The first Executive meeting of the new Administration, which met in Philadelphia, Monday, September 15, 1941, was the best attended meeting in

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years. You have received the minutes of that meeting. We considered that it would be wiser to distribute to the AC and chairmen of Regions and Districts the resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee rather than to circulate edited and sometimes distorted quotations of the discussions by members of the Committee. Every resolution adopted by the Executive Committee at its first meeting was carried unanimously.

Fortunately, my judicial duties have not taken as much of my time as I thought they would. Since the Convention, I was able to attend many meetings in New York of affiliated Zionist bodies, such as the U.P.A., the Emergency Committee, and Hadassah. It was an inspiring experience for me to meet for an hour and a half with the ladies of Hadassah. There is a great possibility of making coordination in Zionist affairs more than merely a word to be talked about. Coordination between Hadassah and ZOA has already been implemented in the Youth Commission.

"We have many problems in our organization; a very important one is — membership — numbers of members and quality of members. We do not want the members to represent merely one group in the community. We want the Z.O.A. to be as representative in every community as is possible. We must increase our numbers. In order to grow, we must be an active organization, with every Zionist caring about the movement.

"It is with sincere regret that we accepted the resignation of Dr. Samuel M. Blumenfield as Educational Director of the Z.O.A. His service to the organization, though of short duration, has been most valuable and we hope that many of his constructive plans will be realized in the not too distant future.

"Our major activity must be education. Local Youth Commissions must be organized to take care of Youth education and Youth work. We must also look after the Adult Zionist education of the Jewish and non-Jewish community.

"There is no real intelligent opposition to our cause. There are prejudices, biases, but no intelligent objections. Non-Zionist have to admit that Palestine is necessary for the Jewish people. They have to admit that the Jews have proven that they can build up Palestine. We can overcome their prejudices and win over to our cause the non-Zionist Jews of America, and we must enlighten liberal non-Jewish public opinion as to the objectives of our cause. The American Palestine Committee, with its 700 members, is a splendid beginning. Let us also organize local American Palestine Committees.

"At the Convention, we unanimously adopted the resolution on Coordination. The Executive resolved that a committee be appointed to implement that resolution. The Committee has begun to function with Robert Szold as chairman. I have high hopes of the implementation of the coordination resolution. It is absolutely necessary. Hersl said at the first Zionist Congress, 'The Organization is the common sense of the movement.' Our movement has good common sense, but our organization, for many reasons, lacks good common sense. There is duplication and lack of responsibility. By intelligent implementation of the coordination resolution, we will accomplish some of our objectives. With men of good will, caring for Zionism and Palestine, and not worrying about partisanship or factionalism, we will get results.

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"My first official act as President was to issue a Proclamation calling for the observance of the 24th Anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2nd. A copy of this Proclamation, was mailed to you recently. This proclamation together with a covering letter of instructions and suggestions will be sent to every District and Region of the ZOA. Letters also will be sent to our affiliated and constituent organizations, Hadassah, Poale Zion, Mizrachi, Masada, Avukah, Young Judaea, etc., and also to other Jewish bodies such as B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, etc., calling upon all American Jews and all friends of Palestine to observe the 24th Anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. I urge you all to do everything in your power to organize impressive observances of this Anniversary.

"The Convention referred the matter of Regional Reorganization to the A. C., and to consider Plan "A" and Plan "B", which has been mailed to you. I sincerely trust that the Plan of Regional Reorganization you adopt will have in mind the need of bringing 'common sense' into the ZOA.

"At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, it was unanimously resolved that I tender to Simon Shetzer of Detroit, the position of Executive Director of the Z.O.A. to succeed Rabbi Isadore Breslau who has, to our regret, tendered his resignation. I am happy that today I can for the first time publicly announce that Mr. Shetzer has agreed to serve as Executive Director of the Z.O.A."

Dr. Heller called on Simon Shetzer, the newly appointed Executive Director, for a few brief remarks.

Mr. Simon Shetzer:

"Dr. Heller, Judge Levinthal, fellow Zionists: Dr. Heller, in his opening remarks, indicated the desirability of few and brief speeches. Though I am tempted to make a speech, I shall keep within the limitations set forth by Dr. Heller. It was not an easy decision to make up my mind to accept the post tendered by the Executive of the Z.O.A. It was not easy to give up my amateur status and to take on professional status. I am happy in the decision I have made. I hope to be able to render real and genuine service to the Z.O.A. It will depend largely upon the confidence which you will have in me, in my integrity, and my devotion to the movement, and upon the good will and cooperation which should be given, as a matter of right, to any one taking this post. I am not in a position now to give you an idea of plans. I want to familiarize myself with the machinery of the organization, before I begin to make plans or proposals."

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Dr. Heller expressed regret on the resignation of Rabbi Breslau, and asked him for a report.

Rabbi Breslau:

"Mr. Chairman and members of the Council, I really have no formal report to present to this meeting. The last report of the condition of the organization I presented at the last meeting of the Council at the Convention.

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"The decision to observe the 24th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration to which Judge Levinthal referred, has not been taken lightly or hastily, but is the outcome of serious consideration by the Emergency Committee, by Dr. Weizmann and the ZOA Executive. In New York a public meeting will be held at Carnegie Hall and will be addressed by important Jews and non-Jews. We have prepared material for the use of Zionist groups throughout the country, editorials for the press, interviews, radio talks, etc. The occasion is intended not merely as a celebration of the Balfour Declaration but as a political demonstration to put forward our immediate demands.

"Another piece of work which must be undertaken throughout the country is the organization of local chapters of the American Palestine Committee, following the precedent set by Atlanta. After a considerable number of such chapters have been established, we may hold a national conference of Christian friends of Zionism.

"To do these and other things it is essential that Public Relations Committees be established everywhere on an interparty basis. There is a very small budget with which to undertake all our political efforts. This deplorable condition will have to be remedied quickly. If we can raise for Palestine four to five million dollars a year, as we are doing through our own various agencies, it would be the height of folly to be niggardly in providing the equivalent of a small fraction of our total collections in order to finance political action and public relations work on a scale commensurate with our responsibility and our opportunity."

Dr. Heller called on Mr. Lavy Bakstansky of England to address the A.C. Mr. Bakstansky briefly greeted the A. C. and stated that the information which has reached him confirmed the first part of Mr. Neumann's report. He urged American Zionists not to turn down any offer regarding Palestine guaranteeing an "indisputable minimum". "Let us not without compromise always adopt a negative view in regard to a solution which may emerge during the war; we may miss the boat."

Dr. Heller thanked Mr. Bakstansky and asked him to carry back to England the message that when the moment arrives, we would insist upon an "indisputable minimum."

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The Chairman called for discussion of Plan A and Plan B on Regional Reorganization.

Mr. Borowsky moved that the A. C. request the Executive Committee and its special committee appointed by the President to formulate a plan to implement the Convention Resolution on Coordination, to report to the A. C. before any action be taken.

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt moved that Mr. Borowsky's motion be tabled.

Mr. Borowsky's motion was tabled.

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At this moment as we begin the New Year, we stand in a somewhat stronger position in relationship to membership. We are not so much concerned now with what was, but what is to be. Judge Levinthal reported to you the action taken by the Executive at its first meeting. I wish to express to Simon Shetzer my personal word of satisfaction and deep joy in accepting the post which I have been privileged to hold for many months. I would like to report on the matter of Regional Reorganization. The Convention adjourned on Tuesday morning empowering this body to act on the matter of Regional Reorganization. Having been in close touch for some time with Regional and District organizations - I would not venture to urge Mr. Shetzer to assume his post unless the structure of the Z.O.A. be so organized that the Executive Director may have authority and power to really do a first rate organizational job.

"I don't want to take the time to speak of my personal relationship. I am thankful to the Z.O.A. for the privilege it has given me and I pledge to the new administration and all of you my continued active participation in the work."

Dr. Heller called on Mr. Emanuel Neumann for a statement on the political situation.

Mr. Neumann:

"I rendered a detailed political report to the Executive Committee at its last meeting, and will limit myself now only to a brief summary. A fortnight ago America advanced in the evolution of her foreign policy from the status of non-belligerency to what is substantially limited belligerency. This development carries vast implications both for the world and for us as Jews and Zionists. The influence of America and of American public opinion will grow greater daily and may be decisive in the post-war settlement. It is a bitter reflection that though two years have passed since the beginning of this war, we have not yet fully mobilized our forces and resources in the political field. Internal dissensions have been largely responsible. We are beginning a new year under happier auspices, having achieved unity in Zionist ranks.

"Meanwhile signs of danger have been increasing. There are indications that during the progress of the war, things might be done which may prejudice the final-post-war solution of the Palestine problem in a manner adverse to the interests of the Jewish people. We have reason to fear that commitments may be made and steps taken which it would be difficult to undo after the war. The Emergency Committee has been directing its efforts of late to forestall such dangers and to prevent any change in the status quo of Palestine during the war. We have tried to find allies among various groups, with some measure of success. I mention two such groups because they have somewhat parallel interests: the Lebanese and Free French in this country. Both of them have taken action conducive to the same end which we are seeking. On the other hand, we have indications of a desire and perhaps an effort on the part of the British Foreign Office and Colonial Office to deflect the attention of American Jews from Palestine as a solution to the problem of European Jewry after the war; but they are not likely to succeed if we continue to cultivate American public opinion and build up our political strength.

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The Chairman called on Mr. Seymour R. Levine, chairman of the Committee on Regional Reorganization, appointed by the Chairman of the A.C. prior to the Convention.

Mr. Seymour R. Levine, briefly summarized Plan A, providing that the direction of the Regions shall be primarily vested in the National Office; that directors or field men for the Regions shall be chosen by the National Office; that Regions should be redistributed on a practicable geographical basis, and, that the \$1.00 which has heretofore been remitted to the Regions should be paid directly to the National Office to be used for the payment of field workers. Plan B, which is the report of the Convention Committee on Regional Reorganization, in substance provided that regional areas should not be changed without consultation and consent of existing Regions and Districts; that Regional directors be appointed only after consultation with and acceptance by the new Regional areas; that the Regional Director be subject to removal at the request of the Region; and that the Regions continue the practice of retaining the \$1.00 until some other arrangements are agreed upon. The decision of the Convention with respect to the two plans was that the whole matter be referred to the incoming A. C. with power to act.

Mr. Spiro urged that a plan for Regional Reorganization be formulated upon the basis of a scientific study of the whole question. He said that there was no doubt that we must reorganize our Districts and our Regions. He opposed Plan A on the grounds that it is not workable and deprives the Region of the \$1.00 needed to maintain its Regional office. He moved the adoption of Plan B with instructions to the incoming Executive Director to make a careful study of Regional problems.

Mr. Spiro's motion was seconded.

Mr. Seymour Levine, in speaking against the motion, reminded the A. C. of the numerous reports on Regional Reorganization made by Mr. Charles Resa, Judge Harry M. Fisher and a number of other reports based on study, investigations, and conferences. All reports basically agree that the Region must act as the administrative arm of the National Organization. This can best be accomplished by giving funds to the National Office to hire field men. Regions have no constitutional right to keep the \$1.00. All funds from dues are the sole property of the ZOA.

Rabbi Breslau reported that in preparing Plan A, careful study was made of the present Regional and District organization and was based on discussion and conference with District and Regional leaders, present field men, the personnel of the National office, and experience with these problems. As a result of all this direct contact, discussion, and deliberation, we tried to evolve a workable plan to authorize the National office to engage field men, to serve every District

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and Region and to set up a reasonable geographical plan of Regions for the whole country. In assuming this responsibility, the National office must withhold the \$1.00. He opposed the motion for adoption of Plan B.

Mr. Marcus Abramson opposed Plan A in that it made the ZOA a holding company.

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Mr. Harry Frankel supported Plan A, pointing out that Plan B was not much different from what had existed all these years. He advocated giving the National Office a maximum of responsibility.

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Mr. Samuel Judenfreund opposed Plan A on the ground that it centralized authority too much in the National office and feared that it would result in making too many leaders and too few workers. He reported that Bronx Region voted unanimously against Plan A because it centralized too many powers in the National office. He urged the adoption of Plan B.

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Miss Juliet Benjamin, chairman of the committee on Regions for Hadassah, outlined Hadassah's present plan of Regional organization. Every chapter of Hadassah in the United States upon its organization is automatically included in a Region. A chapter has no discretion as to whether it will become part of a Region. All dues collected by a chapter is sent directly to the National office with exception of \$1.25 retained by the chapter. When it is necessary, Regions prepare budgets and submit them to the National organization committee for approval. Hadassah felt that the Region had a very important part and place to serve in its organization and was necessary to build up prestige within the organization. Every president of a Hadassah Region in the United States automatically is a member of the National board of Hadassah. The Regional president remains a member of the National board for as long as she holds office. Hadassah's constitution provides for rotation of office. In addition, Hadassah found that it was of the utmost value to get the Regional President to build up her organization. Regional conferences which are miniature conventions, are held to which the general membership of the Regions comes and participates to a much larger degree than at the National Convention. A member feels much more of a direct contact. It is very difficult to try to lay down any absolute rules for the geographical division of the country. Hadassah found it necessary to reallocate certain chapters because they were nearer or worked better with other chapters. It should be done by a small committee who know conditions. If we can have the kind of cooperation between Hadassah and the ZOA that the National board would like to feel, Miss Benjamin suggested that, wherever it might be possible, we should try to follow Hadassah's geographic distribution. Out of the administrative fund that the chapter keeps, i. e., the \$1.25, each Hadassah chapter pays a sum of money as dues to the Region in order that the Chapter should feel bound to the Region, the point being, not the actual payment of the fee, but the feeling that they are contributing to the fund."

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Mr. Marcus Abramson asked whether or not Hadassah has field workers or Executive Directors.

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Miss Benjamin replied that there are no paid workers in Hadassah. All are volunteers except where it may be necessary to employ stenographic or clerical help.

Miss Benjamin was asked whether the National Board of Hadassah compares to the Z.O.A. A. C. or Executive Committee.

Miss Benjamin replied that the National Board has 36 members and that Hadassah does not have anything that compares to our Administrative Council. The day by day work of Hadassah is done by an office Executive committee plus three elected members who live in the city. Hadassah has 16 Regions.

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Mr. Marcus Abramson said that he was very much enlightened by the presentation from Hadassah, but pointed out that the success which Hadassah can claim is due not alone to its Regional organization. He hesitated, however, to adopt Hadassah's organization's plan merely because it has proved successful for Hadassah. He pointed out that Plan A and Plan B are not so far apart. Fundamentally, both contemplate designation of Regional directors. He stated he was not against appointment of Regional directors, but before doing so, we must find out whether a particular Region needs it. He moved the adoption of Plan B.

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Mr. Lipsky:

"I did not want to enter into this discussion except by way of reminiscence. There are two trends of thought operating from different sources. I remember the first time I heard of decentralization. It came from our good friend Jacob de Haas. It was premature, but had the essence of the thought of growth of the Zionist movement. The illustration he always used was B'nai B'rith. B'nai B'rith has become a tremendous power by reason of decentralization. It is a confederation of Districts, through the fact that it has responsibility by its own Districts. General control of B'nai B'rith is very specific. No District can engage any political work, but outside of these limitations, the Districts are free agents. The Regions grew larger spasmodically in response to that demand and gradually they occupied pretty firm positions in their communities. It is wrong to go on the theory of centralization, you create among far off Regions the sense of dependency on the National office. We must create local autonomous responsibility. This Council must decide what is the best policy to pursue. Is it to build up national office which will control all the activities of the Districts, or to create National office which should be autonomous? Pending the creation of an adequate Regional organization on the Pacific Coast which will be autonomous, and the engagement of whatever men might be necessary, the National office is responsible. It is very important for your own thinking to have in mind what you are doing. Plan A may not be centralization ultimately. If your business is to centralize, proceed in one line, or if

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decentralization, go in another line."

Mr. Jochanon I. Radavsky stated that he did not like either plan, and urged that both be tabled.

It was moved and seconded that the remainder of speakers be limited to three minutes.

Mr. Abraham Goodman urged the adoption of Plan A pointing out that enlarged membership can better be attained by hiring field men under the control of the National office.

Mr. Albert Goldman favored Plan B. He thought that Plan A would take away the individual member's initiative to work because he would feel that the field men ought to do the work for the District or Region.

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Mr. Simon Shetzer remarked that he was glad Mr. Lipsky referred to the ZOA as a confederation of Regions. "It is precisely that. Basically, a man by payment of \$5.00 becomes a member of the Z.O.A. and then finds himself affiliated with a local District and then with a Region. If this is a National organization, the first affiliation of the member is with the National organization. Then we proceed to break down the National organization into Districts and Regions for the purpose of implementing Zionist program. We ought to recognize that what we are trying to do is to create effective units." Mr. Shetzer deplored the attitude of Zionists who say, my District is different than any other District in the country. "Each of us is faced with the same problems: we each have the same objections. Zionists are heir to the same difficulties that have beset the U.P.A., Hadassah, etc." He pointed out that Plan A is not a mandatory program. "What we want to do here is to give the effect to the mandate of the convention, to proceed forthwith, with the full consultation of all effective parties. I have no hesitation to approve Plan A."

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Mr. Louis Speigler stated that he had no fears that the District or Region would be solely controlled from the National office. He advocated the adoption of Plan A on the ground that his experience as President of a Region and former president of a large District shows that it is a sound workable plan. It is the best plan by which an Executive Director can implement the Z.O.A. program.

Mr. Samuel J. Borowsky stated that he was dissatisfied with both plan A and B because they are not clear and coordinated. He felt, however, that Plan B is the least evil. As a basis of action, Plan B is feasible. Plan A has too much of the spirit of coercion and the power to dictate. Plan B presents to us two fundamental procedures: (1) The initiative for Zionist work for the locality lies in the locality; (2) There can be no initiative and any sort of supervision of an Executive Director unless you have control over the budget. If the \$1.00 is taken away from the Region, it will neither have a basis for the local budget, nor control over the field man. The new Administration should not ask for too much power.

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Mr. Hyman Goldman urged the Z.O.A. to adopt the principles of organizational control, adopted by large business concerns who are successful, instead of organizations, who, year after year, struggle to exist. He urged the adoption of Plan A.

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Dr. Heller suggested that the A. C. appoint a special committee to consult with members of Regions in the United States where they exist and to try to ascertain their wishes and to report to the next meeting of the A. C., and that another committee be appointed to cooperate with the Coordination Committee of the Executive in formulating a plan for securing funds to hire field men.

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Mr. Albert D. Schanzer stated that the Brooklyn Region voted against Plan A. He urged that it would be a sounder thing to adopt Plan B and proceed to reorganize on that basis.

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Rabbi Irving Miller moved a substitute motion that two sub-committees be appointed, one to deal with geographic survey and one to deal with problem of setting up directors and financing them.

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Mr. Maurice Boukstein argued against delaying action on this issue by appointing another committee. Plan A is very clear and can be voted on. He urged the adoption of Plan A with the understanding that geographical limitations be left to National office.

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Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt said he would like to know what the President of the Z.O.A. thinks about the Plans.

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Judge Levinthal read some correspondence from the following absentee members of the Council: Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom of Newburg, N. Y., Rabbi Samuel Cooper of Charleston, W. Va., Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind., Gustave L. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif., and Sol Reiter, Newburgh, N. Y. Some favored Plan A and some Plan B. "I personally feel that we ought to adopt Plan A, but only if it meets with your approval. It stands to reason that the Z.C.A. cannot possibly force anything that is not desired on local groups. Plan B reaffirms the present position. You don't need to adopt Plan B because that Plan is now in effect. Plan A gives us a mandate, which is the will of the Z.O.A., that something be done in the line of Regional reorganization. Show confidence in Mr. Shetzer and myself, that knowing all of the objections raised he will work out the Plan fairly. Of course, a great deal will depend on the implementation of the Coordination Resolution. Give Mr. Shetzer the authority to do something. Every local group is represented on the A. C. which has control at all times of any action we take now, and which can always rescind our action. In the implementation of that Plan, before the A. C. or before the Executive Committee, the matter will receive fair consideration. The trouble with the substitute motion is that you are going to postpone this matter to the next meeting of the A. C. It is unfair to the new Director."

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The Chairman called attention to the fact that there were two motions on the floor. The first motion was that we approve Plan A. or Plan B, and the substitute motion made by Rabbi Irving Miller. Rabbi Miller withdrew his substitute motion. A vote was taken and the majority adopted Plan A.

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Mr. Abraham Spicehandler moved that there be six meetings of the A. C. during the year and that every standing committee of the Executive should also include several members of the A. C.

It was moved and seconded that the A. C. have at least six meetings a year although the constitution calls for four. The motion was defeated. The A. C. will continue with the scheduled four meetings per year.

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The Chairman put forth the motion by Mr. Spicehandler that the Executive Committee be requested to include members of the A. C. on its standing committees.

The motion to request the Executive Committee to include members of the A. C. on its standing committees was seconded and unanimously carried.

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Mr. Samuel J. Borowsky asked the Chairman to arrange for some sort of procedure whereby the minutes of the A. C. are taken down and presented to the Districts as fully as possible. He moved that the next meeting of the A. C. be held in New York the first part of December.

Rabbi Breslau replied to Mr. Borowsky, stating that for the past year Miss Willner had endeavored to report the minutes exactly as possible. If some corrections were made, it was solely because of certain grammatical changes.

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It was decided to hold the next meeting of the A. C. in New York City on December 14th, 1941; a morning session at 10:30 A. M. and an afternoon session to discuss Zionist policy.

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Mr. Abraham Spicehandler stated that the Z.O.A. was limited in its activities because of lack of money. He urged that some effort should be made to raise money, and recommended that the U.P.A. should be requested at least to enlarge the sums allocated to the Z.O.A.

Mr. Robert Szold said he recognized the merit of Mr. Spicehandler's general suggestion and asked that the Executive in connection with the general plan and problem of coordination, consider and recommend ways and means of securing an added contribution from the U. P. A. for the needs of the Z.O.A.

The suggestion was unanimously approved.

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Admin. Council 9/28/41

Judge Levinthal reported that during the Convention in Cincinnati, Dr. Goldman, Mr. Kaufmann, and several others met with a group of delegates and about \$17,000 to \$18,000 was contributed to the deficit of the Z.O.A. In accordance with the resolution unanimously adopted by the National Executive Committee, he will appoint a committee to be known as the Committee on Finance and Revenue, made up of outstanding men of affairs in the Zionist movement. Judge Levinthal reported the receipt of some very substantial contributions. He urged every member of the A. C. to contribute personally to the fund to liquidate the deficit, if he is able to do so. This burden must be lifted from the shoulders of the new Administration. Mr. Kaufmann promised that he would continue his efforts to increase, perhaps quadruple, the number enrolled in the President's Chapter. Mr. Kaufmann accepted the chairmanship of the National Committee on Finance and Revenue.

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Mr. Saul Spiro reported that the Hadassah and Z.O.A. chapters in the Tri-State Region recently met to form a Zionist Youth Commission and relied upon the \$1.00 returned heretofore by the Region to proceed with their work. In view of the A. C.'s action in withholding the \$1.00, he asked for advice as to how to proceed with their plan for the establishment of a Youth Commission.

Mr. Spiro was told to communicate with the National office in Washington for advice regarding this work and for proper direction.

The meeting adjourned at 5:07 P. M.

Respectfully submitted.

החברות הציוניות של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



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

EDMUND I. KAUFMANN
President

September 29, 1941

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD
JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK
Hon. Vice-Presidents

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG
DR. ABRAHAM SILVER
ROBERT SODIN
DR. STEPHEN S. WINE
Vice-Presidents

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

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Treasurer

IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ
Chairman, Finance Committee

RABBI ISIDORE BRESLAU
Executive Director

EXECUTIVE

ROBERT M. BERNSTEIN
DR. BARNETT K. BRICKNER
ISRAEL B. BRODE
JUDGE HENRY ELLENBOGEN
ALBERT K. EPSTEIN
JUDGE HARRY M. FISHER
JACOB FISHERMAN
DANIEL FRISCH
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
CECIL R. GORDON
MURRAY I. GUTTEN
DR. JAMES G. HELLER
DR. EDWARD L. ISRAEL
MORDECAI KENNEDY
DR. HARRY J. LEVINE
DR. ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
EMANUEL NEUMANN
ABRAHAM RICH
CHARLES ROSENBLUM
BERNARD G. RUDOLPH
EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
CARL SHERMAN
SIMON SHETTER
ELIHU D. STONE

Associate Members

MRS. MORIS F. EPSTEIN
ALFRED J. KAHN
NATHAN COHEN
HARRY GRANT

TO THE CHAIRMEN OF REGIONS AND DISTRICTS:

Dear Friend:

CALL FOR OBSERVANCE OF BALFOUR DECLARATION ANNIVERSARY

You are no doubt aware that November 2, 1941, marks the 24th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, and it is the considered opinion of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America that the occasion should be observed by all American Jews, and particularly the Zionist local and regional groups throughout the country. It is felt that the present political situation requires such observance for the purpose of bringing to the attention of the American people:

- a. The historic importance of the Declaration.
- b. The progress the Jews have made in the establishment of the National Home.
- c. The dominant importance of the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth for the solution of the problem of Jewish homelessness after the war.

You will be interested to know that the American Palestine Committee will take note of the anniversary, and that Senator Robert F. Wagner, the Chairman, is issuing a call to the 700 members of the Committee to participate in the commemoration of the issuance of the Declaration.

Detailed suggestions for the manner in which the Anniversary may be observed are enclosed herewith, and other suggestions and materials will be forwarded to you very shortly, but it is very important that, for the best interests of the cause, the spirit in which you carry out the suggestions and the nature of the propaganda that you conduct should be in keeping with the requirements of the present moment. The occasion

should not take on the character of a protest against Great Britain nor should it be observed in a spirit of jubilation. We use the occasion for calling attention to the achievements of Jewish enterprise in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration and to what Palestine means to the Jewish people after the war. We call attention to the fact that the Declaration has not yet been fulfilled, that only a beginning has been made towards fulfillment, and that we look forward to complete fulfillment after the war. In view of the seriousness of the moment and the great distance that must still be travelled in the realization of our goal, we observe the Anniversary in a spirit of sober earnestness and resolute self-dedication to the completion of the task.

We cannot repeat too often that a favorable public opinion in America is one of the principal assets of our movement. The Balfour Declaration Anniversary gives us an exceptional opportunity in this respect, and we shall be glad to hear from you that you are taking prompt action in line with this communication.

With Zion's greetings,

Very sincerely yours,

Louis E. Levinthal
Louis E. Levinthal

Encs.
LEL:bgn

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



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

EDMUND I. KAUFMANN
President

October 5th, 1941

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD
JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK
Hon. Vice-Presidents

TO THE CHAIRMEN OF Z.O.A.
REGIONS AND DISTRICTS:

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
JUDGE MORRIS ROYENBERG
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ROBERT SZOLD
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
Vice-Presidents

Dear Friend:

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

On September 29th, Judge Levinthal issued a Proclamation for the observance of the 24th Anniversary Celebration of the Balfour Declaration on November 2nd, 1941, and sent you suggestions for its observance. Kindly advise me what steps you have taken to answer this call.

LOUIS P. ROCKER
Treasurer

Enclosed herewith please find the following:

IRVING D. LIFKOWITZ
Chairman, Finance Committee

RABBI ISADORE BRESLAU
Executive Director

1. Resolution suggested for adoption at public meetings in observance of the 24th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration.
2. An editorial for local non-Jewish newspapers.
3. An interview for radio and local non-Jewish newspapers.
4. A radio speech for local broadcasting.

We intend to send you also, as soon as possible, an additional editorial, radio speech and a statement on the Balfour Declaration as background material for clergymen, editors, etc.

Please take prompt action to ensure an impressive observance of the 24th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. I suggest that your Regional and District officers issue, as soon as possible, a call for the observance of the 24th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. We shall be glad to furnish all the additional help we can.

With Zion's Greetings,

Cordially yours,

Isadore Breslau

EXECUTIVE

ROBERT M. BERNSTEIN
DR. BARNETT R. BRINKNER
ISRAEL B. BROTH
JUDGE HENRY ELLENBOGEN
ALBERT K. EPSTEIN
JUDGE HARRY M. FISHER
JACOB FISHERMAN
DANIEL FISCH
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN
Cecil R. GORDON
MURRAY I. GURFELN
DR. JAMES G. HELLER
DR. EDWARD L. ISRAEL
MORDECAI KONDOWITZ
DR. HARRY J. LEVINE
DR. ISRAEL H. LEVINTHAL
EMANUEL NEUMANN
AMON RICKE
CHARLES ROSENBLUM
BERNARD G. RUDOLPH
EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
CARL SHERMAN
SIMON SHETZER
ELISHA D. STONE

Associate Members

MRS. MOSES F. EPSTEIN
ALFRED J. KAHN
NATANIEL COHEN
HARRY GRAYER

IB:SGN

Free Synagogue
NEW YORK

Synagogue House
40 WEST 68 STREET
NEAR CENTRAL PARK

October 17, 1941.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 106 Street
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Silver:

I have been thinking about you much of the day, devoutly hoping that our wishes may be granted by the Allocations Committee. I suppose I will have some report about it from Montor.

As for the letter to Breslau dealing with the matter and the earlier telegram, I shall enclose them. President Levinthal shared my resentment over what had happened, and felt particularly strong about it because nothing had been said to him about the statement, although he was in Washington when it was given out.

I hope you will be at the next meeting of the Executive of the Z.O.A. where I know I shall have your support.

Yours,

SSW:78

Abba Hillel Silver

original

Here is the ~~telegram~~ sent out by the Z.O.A., of which Breslau said that it was written by Goldman and Barbarosh.

Although Mack was one of the victims of Goldman, he still writes to me, "The sentences that you understored in your letter to Breslau certainly deserve all that you say to him."

APPENDIX "B"

STATEMENT IN MEMORY OF THE LATE JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
PREPARED AND READ BY DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
AND
ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZOA, ON OCT. 22, 1941
AT THE HOTEL ASTOR - NEW YORK CITY.

The Zionist Organization of America finds it impossible to express in formal and conventional terms its sense of sorrow over the passing of Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Follower and supporter of our common cause since 1913, honored and cherished friend of many of the leaders of our Organization, counsellor upon whose wisdom in judgement we relied, leader-statesman, whom the Zionists of America and many non-American Zionists followed with joy and pride, great American, great Jew - we are deeply bereft by the passing of one of the loftiest stature in American life, uniquely beloved and revered throughout the Jewish world. Our sense of loss is so deep that we are, alas, moved to express our sense of bereavement in the words "There is no Louis Brandeis left to die." The annals of Jewish and Zionist history will alone suffice to do fitting honor to the memory of him who brought to Zionism something rich and strange; the viewpoint of one previously unconcerned with Jewish problems and precedents, yet destined to leave the clearest impress upon the thought and aspiration of American Jews and Jews throughout the world. His support of Zionism, like that of Herzl's, was predicated upon his faith in the moral and spiritual capacity of the Jewish people. For them, his brother-Jews, he sought the highest, and felt that they could not rise to the highest possibilities of their being unless they gave the most, and were the best, that the Jews could give and be.

Zion was not an end nor goal in his sight, but the instrument through which Jews could again express themselves in the terms of deepest self-reverence.

more

For the Jew he coveted not place nor power, any more than for himself. For the Jew he sought such status as would arise from and in turn deepen the Jews' sense of self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control. For the ghetto, whether built from without or within, he eagerly, withal wisely, sought to substitute that Jewish National Home, wherein Jews could again be themselves, again become ethical and spiritual factors and even leaders in the world of tomorrow.

The going of Justice Brandeis leaves not a few of us poor indeed. A meeting with Justice Brandeis in his study became for some of us a pilgrimage after which we felt refreshed and renewed for the heat and burden of the days. But the wisdom of his counsel and the radiance of his presence were reserved not for a few of the elect. These went out and irradiated and even exalted the life of the humblest of his fellow-Americans and fellow-Jews. Americans, who knew little or nothing of Jewish tradition, and Jews, many of whom were comparative strangers to American life, were at one in their estimate of the prophetic quality and the moral genius of the man. Mr. Brandeis was what an American Jew ought to be - an ethical being, bent upon the highest ends of his country, and loyal withal to the great Jewish tradition, which he exalted and glorified anew.

To Mrs. Brandeis and their children we offer the homage of our deepest, truest sympathy, to which we add the assurance that, even though we cannot stand where he stood, we shall stand as he stood, firmly and unbendingly upright for the highest ends of our country and people's life; with reverence for a great past, with readiness to share the burdens of the present, and resolute as Americans to help our brother-Jews to recreate Zion as a Jewish center, which shall be a source of upliftment and benediction to Jew and non-Jew throughout the world.

10/27/41

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA HELD AT
THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY ON
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1941
AT 7:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding: Messrs. Dr. Shlomo Bardin, Maurice M. Boukstein, Albert K. Epstein, Jacob Fishman, Daniel Frisch, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Cecil R. Gordon, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfein, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Dr. A. Kessler, Mordecai Konowitz, Zvi Levavy, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Dr. Israel H. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Seymour Melman, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Maurice Perlzweig, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Bernard G. Rudolph, H. A. Schulson, Simon Shetzer, Louis E. Spiegler, Deway D. Stone, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Herman L. Weisman, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

EXCUSES for Absence were received from: Messrs. Robert M. Bernstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Dr. Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. James G. Heller, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Judge Julian W. Mack, Louis P. Rocker, Charles Rosenbloom, Ezra Z. Shapiro, and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

I. TRIBUTE IN MEMORY OF MENACHEM USSISHKIN:

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: "Since our last meeting, we all know to our sorrow that we have sustained three very serious losses. I have asked Dr. Israel Goldstein to say a few brief words about the first of these three gaps in the leadership of our movement, Menachem Ussishkin."

DR. GOLDSTEIN: "Mr. President and colleagues. For more than half a century Menachem Ussishkin's voice and presence were felt in the Zionist movement. He stood at the cradle of modern Zionism as one of the early Poale Zion. He stood at the side of Theodor Herzl. He pioneered in the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. For a whole generation he guided and moulded the Keren Kayemeth. There are few men among our people who have held the unwavering respect of the Jewish people over so long a span of time, and there are few men who deserved to have that respect as Ussishkin deserved it.

"He was a dissenter in every major battle in the Zionist movement, in the controversies within Zionism and between Zionists and others. But always he fought and therefore he was respected by friend and foe alike.

"His was a simple faith in Israel and in Eretz Israel. Yet no man's faith was more profound. So deeply rooted was that faith that no storms could uproot it, not even shake it. It is impossible to estimate what he meant to the Keren Kayemeth itself. The least that might be said is that he was the Keren Kayemeth of the Keren Kayemeth. Those of us who saw him at the last Zionist Congress admired the undimmed vigor of the man who bore the strenuous burdens of the Congress in which he took a leading part, as men even half his age could scarcely do.

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"And so we were shocked when we heard that he was no longer in the land of the living. Just a week or two before his death he took occasion as the head of the Actions Committee to sound a note of hope and cheer to the Yishuv, in which he said, 'The modern Sennacherib has confused the world, but he has not disturbed our faith. Don't despair. Freedom will triumph. Zion will be redeemed.' This was his last testament to his people, and this testament is our mandate and our comfort. He was in his lifetime a true 'Menachem' to his people and his memory remains our consolation. His name and his lifetime of achievements will be bound up in the eternal bond of eternal Israel, even as his soul we pray is bound up in life beyond life."

II. TRIBUTE IN MEMORY OF DR. EDWARD L. ISRAEL:

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: "I invited Dr. Wise to speak to us briefly on the late Justice Louis Brandeis, but he informed me last night that he would be detained and asked me to defer the memorial on Justice Brandeis until he could be here."

"We all know that our bereavement became nigh overwhelming when we read only the other day of the sudden passing of our own colleague and member of this Executive Committee, Dr. Edward L. Israel. I have asked Dr. Solomon Goldman to speak about him."

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN: "I am sure that appropriate memorials will be held for Rabbi Edward L. Israel throughout the country. Here we are only bowing our heads in grief over the passing of one of our members and co-workers. Edward Israel was born and raised in what was perhaps the center of anti-Zionism in this country. He emerged, nevertheless, a passionate, devoted Zionist. He sought in his life and in the rabbinate to represent and embody the noblest of Jewish idealism. It is no exaggeration to state that Edward Israel wrestled with himself to live and act in the spirit of prophetic Judaism."

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: "It is but appropriate that we all rise in tribute to the memory of Menachem Ussishkin and Dr. Edward L. Israel."

(The members arose and observed a few moments of silence.)

Judge Levinthal announced that Rabbi Isadore Breslau, our Executive Director, was ill and ordered by his doctor to stay at home. Rabbi Breslau presented a report at the last meeting of the National Administrative Council.

III. THE BUDGET

In the absence of Irving D. Lipkowitz, chairman of the Budget Committee, Zvi Levavy, the comptroller of the Z.O.A. presented two reports. Appendix A, attached herewith,

Mr. Elihu D. Stone and Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal opposed the decrease of the Z.O.A. subsidy to the Hadoar and the Histadruth Ivrit.

Mr. Maurice Boukstein stated that \$7,500 was the maximum which could be allotted for Hebrew culture, including Hadoar, Histadruth Ivrit,

and Bitzaron because no funds were available in excess of the estimated basis of last year's income and because of the Convention resolution not to exceed \$200,000. The Budget Committee decided that a sub-committee which dealt with the matter last year should obtain certain information from all these organizations before deciding on the individual allotments and that no payment on account be made until decisions on specific amounts were reached.

Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal objected to withholding subsidies to Hadoar and the Histadruth Ivrit until the committee concluded its investigations on the ground that these organizations have certain obligations to meet and could not conduct their work. He opposed reduction of subsidies to Hadoar and Histadruth Ivrit in order to help a new venture like the Bitzaron, which he also thought was worthy of support.

moved

Mr. Elihu D. Stone/and Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal seconded his motion that the subsidies of Hadoar and Histadruth Ivrit, namely \$5,000 and \$2,500 respectively should be restored.

In answer to an inquiry by Mr. Louis Lipsky whether the Bureau of Education was to be dissolved under the new budget, Mr. Maurice Boukstein replied that the Department of Education was not to be abolished. This year it is proposed to separate the two functions of Youth and Education. The Department of Education remains within the ZOA, and the item "Education and Public Relations Department" on Page 2 of the Budget provides for it. Youth activity this year is separated from the Department of Education and will be carried on by the Youth Commission consisting of the ZOA and Hadassah representatives.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann inquired whether provision was made for the payment of the Shekel monies owed by the ZOA.

Judge Levinthal replied that \$17,000 has been paid and the remainder due is accounted for in the deficit and will be paid when the money is available.

Daniel Frisch opposed the cutting of the budget of Dos Yiddishe Folk and the Palestine Bureau and changing Dos Yiddishe Folk from a bi-weekly to a monthly. He moved and Mr. Elihu D. Stone seconded the motion that the Executive Committee accept Dr. Simon Bernstein's recommendation to cut the combined Budget of Dos Yiddishe Folk and the Palestine Office to \$10,000 instead of to \$18,000 and empower Dr. Bernstein to arrange the affairs of Dos Yiddishe Folk so as to be able to issue a bi-weekly.

Rabbi Irving Miller called the Executive's attention to the proposal to save on the printing cost of the New Palestine a little more than \$13,000 and inquired as to how this was to be accomplished.

Mr. Maurice Boukstein replied that this would be accomplished by only printing 18 issues as against 36 last year and in effect making the New Palestine a bi-weekly.

Mr. Robert Szold moved and Mr. Maurice Boukstein seconded the motion that in conformity with the Convention resolution, the budget include a provision of \$25,000 to apply to the liquidation of the deficit of \$77,000. This motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Abe Goldberg pointed out that in view of our increased needs, we should send back the budget to the Budget Committee with instructions to draft a new budget adequately to provide for our increased needs and to find money to pay for them.

Judge Levinthal pointed out to Mr. Goldberg that the Convention gave a mandate to the Executive Committee that the budget should not exceed \$200,000. To increase the budget, a special convention must be called and a mandate to increase the budget secured.

Rabbi Solomon Goldman urged the Executive to do everything within its power to liquidate the deficit immediately. When the deficit is liquidated, we will be able to find means of expanding the budget.

Rabbi Irving Miller expressed great concern about the intention to publish the New Palestine as a bi-weekly instead of a weekly. If we must curtail the New Palestine issues, he suggested that we put out an outstanding literary monthly rather than a bi-weekly and so moved - Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal seconded Rabbi Miller's motion.

Judge Levinthal introduced Simon Shetzer, the new Executive Director of the ZOA, who commences his duties on November 1st. (applause)

MR. SIMON SHETZER: "Mr. President and fellow members of the Executive; I don't know if the occasion calls for any speech on my part. I haven't been able to enter upon my duties as yet and can't, as I explained to the President at the time he offered the post to me, until November 1st. Meanwhile I have been travelling between Detroit, Washington and New York trying to pick up some of the threads, and I hope soon to have them sufficiently well in hand so that after November 1st I can enter upon my duties and attempt to serve you and the organization to the best of my ability.

"I want to make an observation about the budget, because it is of extremely vital importance, not only to the organization but to myself in the position I am about to undertake. I enter upon this post facing a much larger deficit than was announced to all of us at the Convention. At that time we knew it was \$58,000 but it is now approaching the figure of \$77,000. This deficit has accumulated during several administrations. There is no question here of blame or censure. The monies that were spent were authorized by the Executive or by its proper subsidiary bodies. The fact is that we have this deficit and that is a tremendous burden upon your staff to have to operate with this additional load.

"I want to say that I think the Budget Committee has done a pretty good job under the circumstances. It is not easy to prepare a budget, to have to cut down any of the items or to accommodate the operations to the limited amount of money available. I heartily endorse the motion made by Mr. Szold to include a provision in the budget for amortization of the deficit in the sum of at least \$25,000 this year. I think his motion contemplates complete amortization of the whole deficit within a period of three

years, and we ought to plan to do it. We ought not to let this deficit drag on further, without making a serious effort to liquidate it.

"And I want to say also, with reference to an observation on which Mr. Abe Goldberg made, that while we will address ourselves to the task of finding new sources of income, to increasing our membership, including a larger enrollment of \$25. members, funds looking specifically to the reduction of the deficit, the budget can be built only on and will seek anticipated income based upon past experience. I am informed that our income in the last two years has averaged \$185,000 annually. We cannot expect the Budget Committee to present us with a budget which contemplates an expenditure of more than \$185,000. We will have to curtail some of our services in recognition of that limitation of \$185,000. If, as, and when new sources of income are tapped and opened to us, we can then revise our budgetary estimates for the balance of the year. I think no action ought to be taken here calculated to increase the deficit by increasing any of the appropriations now included within the proposed budget. "

Mr. Maurice Boukstein told the Executive Committee that the Budget Committee took every fact into consideration and had a limited sum of money to deal with on the basis of last year's income. A sound budget can only be built on realities. He warned against increasing subsidies unless the money was first raised for this purpose. Meanwhile, we must proceed upon what monies we know we will have.

It was unanimously agreed by the Executive that the motions above referred to with regard to the Hadar, the Histadruth Ivrit, the Bitzaron be referred to the Budget Committee for further consideration and a report of its decision be presented at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee approved the Budget, with the exception of the items relating to subsidies to the Hadar, Histadruth Ivrit, Bitzaron and Dos Yiddishe Folk, the Palestine Office, and the New Palestine which were referred back to the Budget Committee.

IV. REPORT OF THE YOUTH COMMISSION:

The Chairman then introduced Mr. Herman L. Weisman, Chairman of the American Zionist Youth Commission who reported on the work of the Commission as follows:

"The Z.O.A. Committee recently appointed by Judge Levinthal to meet the Hadassah Committee concerning the joint youth work was not appointed to start a new venture, but to continue one that had been started in 1940 on the basis of resolutions authorizing such action on the part of both the Z.O.A. and Hadassah.

"The general resolution of 1940 gave us jurisdiction over the four youth bodies in General Zionism - namely, Masada, Avukah, Young Judaea, and Junior Hadassah. Masada has a membership of young men and women of some 1,200 distributed over 60 chapters. Avukah has a membership of collegiate youth - boys and girls - of about 1,800 distributed over 30 chapters. Young Judaea, embracing boys and girls from ten to eighteen years old, has a membership of some 12,000 to 15,000 in 42 states and in some 300 cities. In addition to these, there are those who get literature, but are not enrolled as members,

numbering from 6,000 to 8,000. Junior Hadassah has a membership of 15,000 scattered in approximately the same places that Senior Hadassah has its chapters. Naturally, these youth bodies presented a number of similar problems, but many that were quite different. In the matter of budgets, all except Junior Hadassah depended on subsidies from various sources, mostly Z.O.A. There was, therefore, in the beginning an historical inequality in the partnership with Hadassah so far as financial commitments to youth bodies were concerned.

"Perhaps, I should mention at the outset that there developed very naturally during the year a better and clearer conception of what the Z.O.A. partnership with Hadassah in youth work really meant. In terms of money, it meant equal financial commitments to youth work. It meant a sustained and constructive interest in the needs, problems and accomplishments of the youth organizations. The net result was a recognition by Hadassah representatives that it should earmark \$20,000 for youth work instead of approximately half that amount which was the practice until now. We, of the Z.O.A., regard that as indicative of a very substantial improvement in the relationship of Z.O.A. with Hadassah.

"From the very beginning, we found it best to have direct contact with the various youth organizations. We had a mixed reception. They were quite willing to deal with the Commission on their money troubles. We were let into all their financial secrets quite willingly. Not quite as readily were we let into their other problems. I say, not by way of criticizing the youth organizations or their leadership, that we were received with some fears and suspicions that the establishment of this Youth Commission and the activities of the Youth and Education Department would mean a curtailment of their autonomy and limitation of their freedom of expression and action.

"Some mistakes were made, some by the youth organizations and some by others. I think of those who made the mistakes, the lay members of the Youth Commission may be said to have made the least. Our job was to convince the youth organizations that we were not set up to curtail their powers but to help them. While that took a little persuasion and much patience I think now, (and the rest of the Commission is also quite satisfied), that a working basis of cooperation has been achieved and will bear fruit in greater measure in the coming year.

"The Commission found a very important job to do, a job which it could not tackle alone. It must have the help of the American Zionist world. That job is the training of youth leadership. We found that the success of the youth organizations in a particular region varies directly with the ability, the training, the knowledge and the zeal of the leaders in that particular spot. Furthermore, care must be taken not to discount the value of money in doing youth work, both by the Youth Commission and by the youth organizations themselves. Some limitations are imposed upon the youth organizations, for example, in not being able to open new chapters or to increase their membership through lack of money with which to employ field workers. On the other hand, we find that if we had plenty of money to employ field workers, we would have the greatest difficulty in finding field workers that we would deem possessed of the ideal qualifications for those posts.

"We tried to educate the youth organizations and their leadership to a realization of their responsibilities to the parent organizations. At the same time we wanted them to be, within their own organizational functions, more

responsive to their own youth membership. There was a tendency in these youth organizations to impose upon the youth - self-imposed in the beginning and later on perhaps not so self-imposed - adult groups which simply stayed on, lingered on - and most of them not even members of the Z.O.A. Despite their good intentions somehow or other they effectively insulated and diverted youth organizations from the things that youth wanted to do. When the Commission began to work, we also found that these adults tried to act as intermediaries or insulators between the youth in the youth organizations and the Commission.

"Now, of course, in that respect the point of view of the Commission was promptly welcomed by the youth organizations, because they do want to represent the youth as directly and as fully as possible. We feel that they can accomplish this objective and still realize their responsibilities to the parent organizations. We also endeavored, and are still continuing, to improve their organizational techniques and their organizational appeal, without stepping beyond what can be ordinarily spoken of as general Zionism. Our job, as we conceive it, was also to integrate the programs of these various youth organizations, to streamline them, to avoid duplication, to take a look at their publications before they go out, not by way of censorship but by way of helping them with such information as our professional advisors and others in the Commission may have.

"And finally there is the question of centralizing their budget-making not by way of blue-pencilling their budget items. We haven't done that. We simply believe that one organization should be aware of what the demands and the needs of the other organizations are, and that the needs of all should be adjusted within the compass of our financial means.

"I want to say a brief word as to our achievements. I mentioned the achievement in respect to the money partnership with Hadassah first, because it is important, but I don't think it belongs first. We did pave the way to a real partnership, which I hope will spread from youth work to other spheres of Zionist activity, and I think that has been mentioned also during the Convention in Cincinnati. I want now to stress another tangible achievement.

"We made a real beginning in this matter of training youth leadership. We had an opportunity with very little money, (which we raised apart from the moneys received from the Z.O.A.) to start a summer camp institute this summer. We did it with \$4,000. We were able to do it with \$4,000 because some other Zionists in New England - the Levine Brothers and others - spent close to \$30,000 equipping a camp for Young Judaea at Amherst, New Hampshire.

"We were offered the opportunity if we could raise money on our own, which we did, to have the entire month of July for the purpose of carrying on a camp program under the jurisdiction of the Youth Commission. We have a report on that which I will summarize very briefly. Dr. Bardin wrote it up in some detail, and I now hand his report to the President.

"We attracted some 50 young people from 16 to 28 years of age. We tried to get all the youth groups represented. I think we succeeded. They came from some 33 cities and some 17 different states. They were there an entire month. They were put to pretty hard work and at the beginning didn't like it, but toward the end they were very enthusiastic about it. I am not referring merely to the fact that they didn't like some of the manual work that fell upon them on this cooperative basis, but to the fact that there were courses and lectures for a good part of every day and that Dr. Bardin was not too easy-going in the matter

of letting them stay out all hours of the night, not because he didn't want them to have a good time, but because he didn't want them to sleep during the nine o'clock morning class.

"Some of the lecturers who came were Professor Kallin, Dr. Ira Eisenstein, Dr. Eugene Kohn, Rabbi Maurice Pekar, Samuel Dinin, Dr. Henry Rosenthal, Rabbi Blumenfeld, Professor Mordecai Kaplan, Kurt Blumenfeld, Judith Epstein, etc.

"The report is very significant because it contains excerpts from a great many letters that have been coming in, and in short we believe that we made a good beginning and that we have found a method for utilizing the summer months, which doesn't involve any sacrifice by these youngsters of time devoted to others, more practical matters - careers, for instance. We found a method of devoting the summer and an opportunity of obtaining access to these eligible young people for a solid month, and the result of that we are already feeling, because they have gone back to these 33 cities not merely better Zionists, but full of zeal and pep and devotion, and what is more, of information and purpose. They are informed Zionists. We think so much of this summer camp institute that we are devoting now considerable time for a discussion not merely of repeating that experience at Amherst, but of doing it on a larger scale in several other places during the coming summer.

"We didn't select these youngsters at random. We tried to get the best qualified. In that connection this Executive Committee, the Administrative Council, the regions and their presidents can be very helpful to us. We would like to have suggestions from time to time because we want to establish a registry of able and interested young people. All we need is their names and whatever you know about them. We will do the rest in finding out who they are and in trying to give them a place in one of the summer camps, if we have more than one.

"Towards the end of the year we came to the resolve to cut out this business of begging on the part of the various youth organizations. Without any responsibility for money, the Youth Commission can only make suggestions and be listened to perhaps politely, but not too closely. But we didn't come to this view in order to get hold of the purse-strings. Some people may interpret the move as being only that. We wanted to eliminate the pressure by the youth organizations on various groups, including this group, including the President of the Z.O.A., for instance, and the management of the P.E.F., etc. and we believe also that they should worry about their budget only at the beginning of the year and then devote the rest of their time to carrying out the purpose for which these budgets are raised. Therefore, we recommended, that these subsidies be eliminated, that some sum be arrived at which would be given in an equal amount by the Hadassah and by the Z.O.A., and that the proceeds of both contributions be given to this Commission which is composed of an equal number of members of this body and an equal number of members from Hadassah for administration.

"Then we had another practical problem which has to do with money. When the Youth Commission was created, we were brought into being, as it were, by the Department of Youth and Education which was created first, and then the creator sort of said that the Youth Commission had jurisdiction over that part of the Department which was not an education department. That caused many troubles which we kept sub-surface. There were no arguments, no angry words, but there were problems. The department of education had control over certain

funds which the Youth organizations could not have without approval from the Department. Most of the time the department said 'yes, you can have them.' I think it was only once when they said 'no.' Yet, the Youth Commission reaped the criticism, although they weren't consulted, and we properly weren't consulted because we had nothing to do with it.

"Now those practical difficulties coincided with the fact that Rabbi Blumenfield was retiring as the head of the Department of Youth and Education and with the fact that so far as youth work is concerned, the Youth Commission was convinced that as a practical matter, we didn't need a successor to Dr. Blumenfield if we had the means with which to retain Dr. Shlomo Bardin as the professional advisor and the executive arm, the administrative arm of the Youth Commission. It was on that basis that we suggested, and the Executive Committee I understood, agreed (I wasn't present at the meetings, but I understood before the Convention and after the Convention, the suggestion accepted) that the part of what had been called the Youth and Education Department which concerned itself with adult education, would be divorced not only for budget purposes, but actually, physically from the part which was concerned solely with youth work, so that the Youth Commission would have a simple relationship with its Executive Director, Dr. Shlomo Bardin, or any successor chosen.

"In that connection the suggestion we made happens to save money, not because we started out to save money, but it just happens to, and we think that for that reason some of our ideas found quick acceptance. The sum total of what we expect now, the \$20,000 from the Z.O.A. is going to be matched by another \$20,000 from Hadassah subject to approval next week at its Convention. With this \$40,000 we are going to take care of the office budget that Dr. Shlomo Bardin needs for his stenographers and rent and publication expenses, research expenses and that kind of thing, and all of the subsidies and requirement of the youth groups which heretofore had to be obtained directly from Z.O.A., Hadassah, other groups and individuals.

"In addition to that, the youth organizations will, of course, continue to derive independent income through membership and through sale of literature, just as they have been doing in the past. We think that is a streamlined, effective and efficient method of carrying on that work, and I respectfully now- this is the first opportunity I have had - ask for your endorsement of that method of procedure."

Mr. Elihu D. Stone made a point of correction with reference to that camp in Amherst, New Hampshire. He was a member of the Board of Directors of that camp. That camp was conceived and initiated by the New England Zionist Region for Young Judaea and such other youth activities. The Levine Brothers were generous; they advanced money. He expressed the hope that they will get part of it back from the Region.

Mr. Weisman's report was unanimously accepted.

V. REPORT ON THE COMMITTEE ON COORDINATION:

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Robert Szold to report on behalf of the sub-Committee on Coordination.

Mr. Szold reported on behalf of the Sub-Committee on Coordination. The Sub-Committee recommended amendments to the constitution of the Keren Hayesod in accordance with by-law provisions which Mr. Szold read as follows:

"The membership of the Corporation shall consist of the Zionist Organization of America, the Hadassah, the Zionist Women's Organization of America, the Mizrahi Organization of America, and the Poale Zion Party of America. Each of the said four members shall elect or appoint delegates or representatives to act for it at any annual and special meeting of the Corporation. Such delegates or representatives, when assembled as directed by the by-laws of the corporation, shall have and may exercise all the powers, rights and privileges of members at an annual meeting. The number of such delegates or representatives which each of the said organizations shall elect or appoint to each annual or special meeting of the corporation or for the purpose of taking any other action shall be as follows:

The Zionist Organization of America	51.
The Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America	8.
The Mizrahi Organization of America	8.
The Poale Zion Party of America.	8.

Each such elected or appointed delegate or representative shall have one vote".

"The Board of Directors shall consist of not less than three(3) nor more than one hundred twenty-five (125) directors who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Corporation, to serve until the next annual meeting and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

If the delegates or representatives of the members at an annual meeting shall elect a board consisting of more than one hundred (100) members, they shall provide ways and means for the election of fifteen (15) directors to represent contributors to the corporation or to any fund of which the corporation shall be a beneficiary who are not affiliated with the members of the corporation upon the nomination of the American Non-Zionist members of the Administration Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Directors need not be members of the corporation".

Mr. Szold moved that the recommendations of the Sub-Committee be approved.

Mr. Lipsky thought that there should be a fifth class of members, namely, representatives of contributors as a class. Mr. Neumann, Dr. Goldstein, Judge Rothenberg, Dr. Goldman and Mr. Frisch spoke against Mr. Lipsky's recommendation.

During the extended discussion on the report of the Committee on Coordination an amendment was suggested and it was agreed, to strike out in the clauses dealing with election of directors, the words, "upon the nomination of the American non-Zionist members of the Administrative Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine". By general consent it was agreed to omit this clause.

During the discussion it was agreed that a minute be made of the statements that representation of the Order Sons of Zion should be not by way of constitutional amendment to the K.H. but by way of annual contract between the Z.O.A. and the Order Sons of Zion.

Whereupon, it was regularly moved and seconded that the report of the Sub-Committee on Coordination be adopted; that the proposed amendments to the constitution, by-laws, and certificate of incorporation of the K.H. above set forth (with the consented deletion of the words above quoted) be approved. The motion was put and carried with one negative vote.

Mr. Lipsky said: "I wish to be recorded as voting no on the ground that I think it is very important for the interests of the Zionist Movement that contributors to the K.H. be identified in the structure of the corporation."

Mr. Szold moved that the President of the Z.O.A. be empowered to nominate the representatives of the Z.O.A. to appear at the annual meeting of the K.H. if, as and when amendments are adopted by the K.H. in accordance with the motion just carried, it being understood that the President's nominations would be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. The motion was regularly seconded and unanimously adopted.

VI. STATEMENT IN MEMORY OF THE LATE JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS:

Judge Levinthal asked Dr. Wise to express the sentiment of the Z.O.A. Executive Committee as a tribute to the memory of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis.

Dr. Wise read the statement attached hereto as Appendix "B"

The statement as prepared and read by Dr. Stephen S. Wise was unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee.

The members arose and observed a few moments of silence.

VII. THE BRANDEIS MEMORIAL:

Dr. Wise reported that the Committee on the Brandeis Memorial has not been able to meet because of the passing of our beloved friend, Edward L. Israel. Mrs. Pool, as President of Hadassah, appointed a parallel committee. The committees of all Zionist organizations will meet in the near future in order to consider, work out, and submit, final plans for the establishment of a Louis D. Brandeis Memorial.

Dr. Wise pointed out that two things must be borne in mind. We must not have 50 memorials, because 50 memorials will mean no abiding, significant, and worthwhile memorial. Palestine already has proposed a half a dozen memorials. One of the first things we ought to do is to urge Palestine not to decide upon any final form of memorial until the Zionists of America shall have reached a decision.

Dr. Golistein apprised the Executive Committee of what is in the minds of our friends in Palestine. A series of cables have been received from Palestine by the ZOA, UPA, JNF and Hadassah. One cable from the Actions Committee referred to memorial projects both for Ussishkin and Brandeis in terms of

areas of land in Palestine to be dedicated to them; for Ussishkin land in the northern part of Palestine, and for Brandeis in the southern part of Palestine.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the J.N.F. held about a week ago, these communications were read and they had no alternative but to approve the recommendations which they received from their own headquarters, the Keren Kayemeth, as well as from the Actions Committee. The J.N.F. felt obliged to take cognizance of these instructions and to enter their approval upon their minutes. Realizing, however, that there was some discussions going on with reference to another type of memorial, they decided not to proceed with the implementation of this resolution until there had been consultation with the Z.O.A. and the other Zionist bodies.

Mr. Emanuel Neumann urged that whatever action we may desire to take obviously ought to be taken with the utmost speed. If there is a special interest in this matter, this interest would inevitably grow weaker as time elapses. Mr. Neumann proposed that a sub-committee of this committee meet at once and thrash out all aspects of that question.

Judge Morris Rothenberg proposed that the committee should meet within forty-eight hours and be authorized to communicate with Palestine with regard to the memorial, so that there may be coordination of any plans adopted.

Dr. Wise felt that the memorial planned to purchase land would not be supremely expressive of Mr. Brandeis' interest and concern. We must explore the field. We know that Mr. Brandeis believed in land purchase as much as Ussishkin or any living Zionist, but we ought to face the question from the American point of view. For example, there are many non-Zionists and non-Jews who will be ready to associate themselves with a great memorial foundation to associate with the name of Mr. Brandeis.

Judge Levinthal read the following cable which arrived from Jerusalem:

OCTOBER 21, 1941

"DECIDED TRIBUTE USSISHKIN BRANDEIS BY MEANS SPECIAL CAMPAIGN
OUTSIDE HAYESOD KAYEMETH EXCLUSIVELY FOR LAND SETTLEMENT PROJECT
IN MEMORY THESE TWO GREAT MEN STOP SEVERAL COUNTRIES BEGUN IMPL-
MENTING DECISION INCLUDING ENGLAND CANADA PALESTINE ETCETERA CONFIDENT
UNITED STATES WILL PARTICIPATE APPROPRIATELY STOP APPRECIATING UJA
AGREEMENT PLEASE CABLE URGENTLY CONSIDERED RECOMMENDATIONS STOP
COMMUNICATE WITH HAYESOD AND KAYEMETH WE CABLING UJA AND HADASSAH
EXECUTIVE

KAYEMETH- HAYESOD "

Mrs. Pool informed the Executive of a cable Hadassah received, signed by Shmerak of the Executive, advising Hadassah that they are planning an extension of vocational and educational work but are lacking in means and suggested that Hadassah turn over the Brandeis bequest for that purpose.

Rabbi Solomon Goldman pointed out that we, in the instance of Justice Brandeis, should distinguish between a memorial in Palestine and a memorial in the United States. He felt that the name of the Justice and his career, have a special purpose and function to perform for American Israel. We must not lose sight of that opportunity. There are today already memorials in

Palestine in the form of two colonies. There will be other memorials in Palestine. To the extent to which we can help in those memorials, we will do it, but there is great need for perpetuating the Zionist career of Justice Brandeis in the United States, a name that through the ages will be the answer to the challenge that we have faced repeatedly from non-Zionists. We should give special attention to this phase of the memorial. If it is proposed to establish an institute in Jerusalem or a chair at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, that will not meet our needs in the future in this country.

Dr. Wise suggested that we communicate with the U.P.A. at once. If we begin a campaign for land purchase, whether for Ussishkin or Brandeis, we will at once be in hopeless conflict with the 1942 U.J.A. After consultation, our committee should send a cable to Palestine advising them of our views on the Brandeis memorial.

Dr. Wise asked Dr. Nahum Goldmann as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency here, for his opinion.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann: "As far as the campaign for a memorial for Brandeis in other countries is concerned, I think the only way to get money from these countries is for a memorial in Palestine. You won't get Great Britain or South Africa or Argentina to give you money for a memorial for Brandeis in the United States. As far as the action of the American Jewry is concerned, Palestine is not alone in deciding, and I think you should cable them that we are perfectly agreed to a memorial for Brandeis in Palestine and their action in other countries. As far as the action of the Zionists in this country is concerned, a special committee of all the Zionist organizations should consider it, and advise them of your recommendations."

Dr. Israel Goldstein defended the Keren Kayesed, Keren Kayemeth and the Executive of the Agency. In the first place, he believed that they felt that we should respect the feeling that Brandeis belonged to them as much as to us. If anything, that is a tribute, and not a derogation to Justice Brandeis. In the second place, they undoubtedly believe that the most permanent form of memorial could only be in Palestine, that no matter what might be devised here, and how auspicious the device may be, he doubted whether our memorial in Palestine would not be more permanent than anything we could here arrange. They may be thinking of it in long-range terms and without the slightest intention to conflict with anything we may have in mind here.

On a motion of Judge Rothenberg, seconded by Rabbi Levinthal it was unanimously agreed that the President appoint a committee with power to act and report back to the Executive plans for a Brandeis memorial and to reply to the several Palestine cables that said — Committee with consultation of other Committees of Zionist bodies is considering an appropriate American project for Zionist purposes and therefore cannot adopt their suggestions as to the American effort.

Judge Levinthal appointed the following on said Committee: Dr. Wise, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Judge Morris Rothenberg, E. I. Kaufmann, Robert Szold, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Emanuel Neumann and himself.

VIII. INTERNATIONAL ZIONIST CONFERENCE:

Judge Levinthal reported that the Committee on the International Zionist Conference did not meet because of the funeral of Dr. Israel.

IX. ZOA CONTRACT WITH THE ORDER SONS OF ZION:

Mr. Maurice Boukstein reported that the committee of the ZOA and the Order Sons of Zion agreed on all details and text of their agreement with the Order which is substantially the same as last year's contract.

The President of the ZOA was unanimously authorized by the Executive to conclude the agreement with the Order Sons of Zion.

X. FUNDS AND AFFIDAVITS FOR NEEDY ZIONISTS:

Judge Levinthal presented various requests for funds and immigration affidavits for needy Zionists.

The Executive unanimously empowered the President to appoint a special committee to raise funds and secure immigration affidavits for the relief of needy Zionists.

XI. REPORT ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UPA AND JDC:

Judge Levinthal reported on negotiations of the UPA and the JDC. The UPA has been trying to arrange a meeting with the JDC. A letter was sent by the N.R.S. to both the J.D.C. and U.P.A. insisting that the N.R.S. be a party to any negotiations and that it be a partner and not merely a beneficiary. There has also been a communication from the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds to both the U.P.A. and J.D.C. asking that it be officially represented in the carrying on of the negotiations. Judge Levinthal felt that this Executive Committee might very properly consider what position we want to take in these negotiations, if any. Do we want to have a committee appointed to represent the Zionists, or to ask the U.P.A. to see that representation is given to the Z.O.A. Executive Committee in its negotiations?

Mr. Lipsky said that he had no doubt that the U.P.A. or Dr. Silver will, in the appointment of the committee, take into consideration any names that may be suggested by the Z.O.A. in the negotiations.

Judge Levinthal reported that the Allotment Committee has made the following decision with respect to the allocations for 1941. They acted on the basis of \$2,800,000 estimated to be available for distribution from the 1941 proceeds of the U.J.A., above the \$8,800,000 distributed by the original agreement constituting the U.J.A. The Allotment Committee voted the following: to the U.P.A., \$800,000; to the J.D.C., \$1,275,000; to the N.R.S., \$725,000. The grant to the N.R.S. includes \$50,000 especially earmarked for the transportation of refugees from Cuba. If the State Department does not grant permits to this particular project, the money will be turned back to the Allotment Committee for redistribution. With this allotment of \$800,000 the U.P.A. will have received a total of allotments of \$3,325,000, out of the 1941 U.J.A. To this there must be added the expected net income from the traditional collections of the J.N.F. of \$500,000. Thus the anticipated receipts from the 1941 campaign for the U.P.A. will be \$3,825,000, which will be over \$500,000 in excess of what was to be obtained by the U.P.A. in 1940. (Applause).

XII. SOCIAL SECURITY FOR ZOA EMPLOYEES:

Judge Levinthal reported that at the last meeting of the Administrative Council of the U.P.A., it was decided to appoint a special committee to deal

with the social security of the employees of the U.P.A. It was then decided that a parallel committee be appointed by the Z.O.A. to meet with the committee appointed by the U.P.A. so that uniform regulations may be adopted for all.

The Z.O.A. Executive Committee unanimously empowered the sub-committee of the Budget Committee to meet with the U.P.A. committee for the purpose of adopting uniform regulations concerning the social security of employees of the U.P.A. and Z.O.A.

XII. STATUS OF POSITION OF MORRIS MARGULIES:

Judge Levinthal reported that he had several conferences with Morris Margulies, who last year was the Director of Membership. They had agreed that he is to retire from the service of the Z.O.A. as Membership Director. Since the major function of the Executive Director of the organization is that of directing membership, Mr. Margulies and he agreed that it would be a duplication of work to employ Mr. Margulies as the Membership Director in addition to Mr. Shetzer as the Executive Director. Judge Levinthal stated that he offered Mr. Margulies a position as regional director in some region at a reduced salary, but Mr. Margulies said he would not consider serving as a regional director and that under the circumstances he felt that he would retire. Judge Levinthal stated that he told Mr. Margulies it was his intention to report to the Executive Committee his conversation and that it was his recommendation, in view of Mr. Margulies' refusal to accept a regional directorship at a reduced salary, that he terminate his services with the organization as of the end of this month, and that suitable retirement compensation would be provided for him in accordance with the established practice in Zionist bodies.

After considerable discussion by Mr. Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mr. Jacob Fishman, Dr. Wise, Mr. Kaufmann, Mr. Daniel Frisch and Mr. Louis E. Spiegler, a motion by Dr. Wise, seconded by Rabbi Irving Miller was carried that the President appoint a committee with full power to act to consult with and ascertain from Mr. Margulies his wishes with regard to serving as a director of a Region at a reduced salary to be agreed upon by the Committee and Mr. Margulies. In the event Mr. Margulies refused such a position, suitable retirement compensation as recommended by the Committee should be provided for him in accordance with the practice in Zionist bodies.

The President respectively appointed Mr. Louis E. Spiegler, Chairman, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Irving D. Lipkowitz and himself, ex-officio..

XIV. ZOA RELATIONS WITH THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE:

It was agreed to postpone the discussion of the ZOA relationship to the Emergency Committee until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

Dr. Wise stated that he wanted to raise a question of high personal privilege but in view of the character of the meeting postponed the question until the next meeting of the Executive.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:20 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Simon Shetzer

P R O C L A M A T I O N

WHEREAS, on November 2nd, 1917, the Government of Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration pledging to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, said Declaration having been hailed by enlightened public opinion throughout the world as the long delayed recognition of the historic claims of the Jewish people to Palestine; and on April 24, 1920 the said Declaration was ratified in a special treaty at a conference of the principal Allied Powers at San Remo; and on July 24th, 1922 the pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration was incorporated by the League of Nations in the Mandate entrusted to Great Britain for the administration of Palestine, the said Declaration and Mandate having been endorsed by the signatories of 52 nations; and on June 30th, 1922, the Declaration was unanimously approved in a joint Resolution of the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, relying on the solemn promise of the British Government contained in the Balfour Declaration, the Jewish people have poured into Palestine their resources and manpower and have built up a model community of 550,000 Jews, so that today Palestine provides the major practical solution to the problem of Jewish homelessness; and

WHEREAS, the Yishuv of Palestine has brought, countless blessings to all inhabitants of the land regardless of race or creed; and

WHEREAS, at this crucial juncture in world history, "the threat to Palestine," in the words of President Roosevelt, "does not differ in essence from the threat to this country," so that as Americans and as Jews we are vitally concerned with the security and the unimpeded development of Palestine, now

THEREFORE, as President of the Zionist Organization of America, I call upon Jews and all the friends of Palestine throughout America to observe on November 2nd, 1941, the twenty-fourth anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and to dedicate themselves anew to the task of extending increased support to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

ANNIVERSARY OF BALFOUR DECLARATION

November 2nd, 1941

SUGGESTIONS FOR OBSERVANCE BY LOCAL AND REGIONAL COMMITTEES.

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The Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, urges all American Jews and particularly the Zionist local and regional groups throughout the country, to organize impressive observances of the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. The occasion offers an excellent opportunity for bringing to public attention:

- (a) Jewish achievements in Palestine;
- (b) The capacity of Palestine to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness after the war; and
- (c) The expectation of the Jews and the liberal and democratic forces of the world that the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration will be fully carried out after the war.

The following suggestions for the observance of the anniversary are offered to local communities:

I. PUBLIC MEETINGS.

- (a) Such meetings may be arranged either under Zionist auspices or as community gatherings. In any case all Zionist groups should collaborate in the undertaking.
- (b) The speakers at the meeting should be prominent non-Jews as well as Jews. Local members of the American Palestine Committee should be invited to participate.
- (c) An appropriate resolution should be adopted by the meeting.
- (d) Your local newspapers should be kept informed well in advance of the meeting of the progress in arrangements, names of the speakers, etc. A report of the meeting, including the full text of the resolution, should of course appear in the papers.
- (e) Arrangements should be made for local radio stations to broadcast, at least, the principal address to be delivered at the meeting.

-more-

II. THE PULPIT.

The leading Rabbis and Christian Ministers in the community should be contacted, preferably by personal visit, and urged to devote their sermons, on the previous Saturday and Sunday, to Palestine with special reference to the Balfour Declaration.

III. THE PRESS.

In addition to the announcements and reports of the public meeting, local newspapers should be asked to carry other material on the Balfour Declaration, including editorials, interviews, and feature stories.

IV. RADIO BROADCASTS.

It should be possible to arrange for radio programs at local stations in addition to the broadcast of the public meetings. Such programs should include brief addresses by prominent non-Jews, preferably, members of the American Palestine Committee.

V. DELEGATION TO GOVERNOR:

For State regional committees, especially, in states of which the Governor is a member of the American Palestine Committee, it is suggested that arrangements be made for a visit to the Governor by a representative delegation.

Please keep this office informed of important steps you take; meetings, delegations, radio programs, etc. You will receive shortly a kit containing specially prepared material. We shall be glad to furnish all the additional help we can.

A G E N D A

Z.O.A. Executive Committee meeting, Wednesday, November 12th,
at 5:00 P.M., at the Locust Club, 1300 Spruce Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

- 1 - Report of the Executive Director.
- 2 - Report of Committee on Brandeis Memorial - Dr. Stephen S. Wise.
- 3 - Report of the Committee on Coordination - Robert Szold.
- 4 - Hechalutz - Mordecai Konowitz.
- 5 - Report of the U.P.A. negotiations for the 1942 U.J.A.
Campaign - Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.
- 6 - Report on the Emergency Committee and Political Affairs.
- 7 - Report of the Committee's negotiations with the Membership Director.
- 8 - Report of the Budget Committee.
 - (a) New Palestine
 - (b) Dos Yiddishe Folk
 - (c) Palestine Office
 - (d) Hebrew Culture subsidies: Hadoar, Histadruth Ivriah, Bitzaron
 - (e) Library and Archives
- 9 - Report of the Committee on International Zionist Conference -
Dr. Solomon Goldman.
- 10- Shovel Campaign.
- 11- President's Chapter Membership.

MINUTES OF Z. O. A. EXECUTIVE MEETING HELD ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1941
5:25 P. M., AT LOCUST CLUB, 13TH & SPRUCE STREETS, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal (in the Chair), Carl Alpert, Robert Bernstein, Maurice M. Benkstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, A. K. Epstein, Jacob Fishman, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Harry Grayer, Murray Gurfein, Dr. James G. Heller, Mordecai Konowitz, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, B. G. Rudolph, Hyman Schulsen, Miss Shulamith Shapiro, Simon Shetzer, Louis E. Spiegler, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and Zvi Levavy.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE RECEIVED FROM: Dr. H. Friedenwald, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Judge Julian W. Mack, Ezra Shapiro, and Dewey D. Stone.

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The meeting was called to order at 5:25 P. M., with Judge Louis E. Levinthal in the Chair.

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I. REPORT BY THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR - Mr. Simon Shetzer.

"Mr. President and members of the Executive, my first report will necessarily be brief. We are beginning to implement the program of Regional Reorganization adopted at the Convention and subsequently at the first meeting of the A. C. It is obvious at the very beginning of the implementation of this program that we will have considerable difficulties. The program approved by the A. C. is sketchy and general and it faces manifold ramifications. From the correspondence accumulated in the office, it appears that some of the Districts and Regions feel strongly against it. We are beginning with a letter that is going out this week to some 20 Districts which never have been affiliated with Regions, advising them that the portion of the dues which they have heretofore retained as a regional refund will no longer be available to them. Some of our larger Districts have been in the habit of retaining as much as \$2.50 to \$2.75. There is no longer justification for this practice. Districts hereafter will be expected to remit the \$5.00 dues to the National Office, after which Districts will be given a refund of no more than \$1.00.

"We are now engaged in preparing plans for the Brandeis Memorial Membership Campaign. We should like that every member of the Executive give us at least two or three days during the months of December and January to address Zionist Districts specifically on membership.

"The President has appointed a special committee to enroll a larger membership in the President's Chapter. It would be very helpful if those of the Executive who can afford to join the President's Chapter, would do so. It will set the example for other Zionists to follow. The Executive must decide what proportion of the \$25.00 dues derived from the President's Chapter membership should be refunded to the District."

II. REPORT OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS by Mr. Emanuel Neumann.

"First a word regarding the discussions which have been going on between us and the non-Zionists. The non-Zionists have repeatedly insisted that these meetings are purely exploratory, unofficial, informal, and strictly confidential. I must therefore request you to treat my report as strictly confidential. Briefly, the last two sessions which were attended by about 25 people, Zionist and non-Zionists, were devoted to a discussion of the post war problems with a view to discovering common ground. At the former session, we were asked to make a presentation of our views both on Galut problems and Palestine. Dr. Nahum Goldmann made such a presentation. With regard to the Galut, he presented a formula that we demand first, equality of rights and status for Jews as individuals, and in addition such collective rights as may be accorded to groups in certain countries, provided the Jews in those countries desired to be accorded the same collective rights. With regard to Palestine, he presented our current Zionist program. Among non-Zionists, it was quite evident, there was no single united viewpoint. The views expressed ranged from almost complete negation to virtual acceptance of our position. We then proposed that the non-Zionists should be requested to make a presentation of their post-war program. At the second meeting, such a presentation was made by Dr. Solomon Lowenstein, who stated, however, that he did not speak for all of his associates. It was noteworthy that on the two major aspects of the problem, he did not raise any serious objections to our formulation, including a Jewish Commonwealth either independent or as part of a Confederation of States. On the whole, he was apparently prepared to accept the Zionist position. But one must not be too hasty in drawing optimistic conclusions. Discussion followed on the meaning of Jewish National Home, and the relation of American Jews thereto. I pointed out that the whole subject, including the nature of nation and nationality, had been fully and ably discussed by a great American and a great jurist. Mr. Wertheim suggested that Brandeis' statement on the "Jewish Problem and How to Solve It" should be circulated among members participating. It was agreed that future sessions should deal with specific questions, such as economic rehabilitation of European Jews, the Arab question in Palestine, etc. The next meeting will take place at the end of this month on November 27th. It is too early to draw any conclusions about the probable outcome of our conferences. There is no doubt that the point of view of logical and integrated thinking we have the better of it. But that is not decisive. They were particularly anxious to "nail" us as to where we stood on the question of assistance for those Jews who will remain in Europe. What was our constructive program for European Jewry, apart from Palestine? They did not come as representatives of any group nor did we, officially. Actually, they represent the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee which is now represented by 4 or 5, persons designated by the committee. At the same time, our people have been designated by us. Mr. Maurice Wertheim acts as co-Chairman with Dr. Wise and they preside at alternate meetings."

Mr. Maurice M. Boukstein asked Mr. Neumann what was the position taken with regard to Palestine.

Mr. Neumann replied: "We spoke of our purpose to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth with complete autonomy in immigration, colonization, finance, and cultural life; that was the core of what we meant by Jewish Common-

wealth. We took no position as to whether Palestine would be tied up with Britain or with a Confederation of the Near East. When asked what we meant by a Jewish National Home, I used a descriptive expression once used by Herzl — 'a self-governing Jewish society in Palestine.' Mr. Wertheim was very much taken up with this phrase and privately asked some people to subscribe in writing to this formulation, which avoids the words 'State', 'Commonwealth' and 'National'. We spoke of course of a Jewish State or Jewish Commonwealth on both sides of the Jordan.

"With regard to the Balfour Day observances throughout the country, you know of the successful meeting at Carnegie Hall, addressed by Dr. Wise, Masaryk, Barkley, Angell, Judge Levinthal, etc. Senator Barkley was extremely pleased with the tremendous reception he received. I took occasion to discuss with him the possibility of observing next spring the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the pro-Zionist Resolution by Congress and utilizing it to strengthen the political position. He promised to cooperate.

"In many large communities Balfour Day observances have been held, reports are now pouring in including editorials in newspapers, (which we have prepared). There will be a summary report in The New Palestine. Considerable material was prepared and sent to all Districts. A Call issued by Senator Wagner to the members of the American Palestine Committee elicited a good response. Dr. Wise issued a call to 700 liberal Christian clergymen to deliver sermons. We also have prepared a statement which has been signed by fifty prominent educators and publicized. At the same time, the Balfour Day observance has given impetus to the formation of local chapters of the American Palestine Committee. All these activities have served a very useful purpose apart from bringing our demands to the attention of the public. It has given Zionists a much needed exercise in this kind of work and roused their interest in such activity. We ought to plan other occasions of a similar character drawing even larger circles into our propaganda. The resolutions adopted at the meetings should be forwarded to our own government and the British Embassy. The British Press Service has asked us for a complete set of clippings, especially items dealing with British policy in Palestine. The statement of Lord Halifax at Detroit was bad insofar as it was not evasive and evasive insofar as it was not bad.

"The situation with regard to a Jewish military force has reached a climax with a negative decision on the part of the British Government. My own belief is that it is not possible as yet to move the American Government to intervene effectively in this matter. Britain is waging the war; and America will not dictate to England on a military question. At least that is the present attitude. We must carry on public agitation. I would like to have speeches made in both Houses of Congress on the matter of the Jewish army and to publicize them. I plan also to utilize the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the launching of the Jewish Legion during the World War. We have had repeated requests from ex-Legionnaires to utilize their services.

"Recently, Dr. Wise and Dr. Nathan Goldman saw Undersecretary Sumner Welles. Welles presented a viewpoint which has to be met. He expressed the thought that after the war there would be need for resettlement of some five million European Jews. Obviously Palestine could not absorb that number. It

was, therefore, impossible to solve the problem in Palestine alone. An immediate reply made to him was that the figure of five million Jews to be resettled was a great exaggeration. There won't be as many Jews left in Europe after the war as there were, a considerable part is being destroyed. Of the remainder there will be, perhaps one and a half to two million to be resettled. As a result of that interview, the Emergency Committee felt that there should be presented to Mr. Welles two Memoranda: (1) On the statistical question, i. e. the number of European Jews who may wish or can emigrate. (2) The absorptive capacity of Palestine. These two memoranda are now in preparation. To be sure that is not sufficient. A great deal of work must be done to produce a different attitude in government circles.

"What steps could be taken now in view of the British Government's turning down the proposal for a Jewish army? We have had again recently first hand confirmation that Churchill is friendly to Zionism, but the British Government has been behaving badly. What can be done to improve situation today? One positive idea has been put forward: that we endeavor to get one or two Americans sent to Palestine as official emissaries of the President of the United States for the purpose of looking into the situation and reporting back to him. An official of the Economic Defense Board, which is vitally interested in war-time economic questions in various parts of the world, thinks the Board might respond to the suggestion that it send some one to Palestine and the Near East. If that could be arranged it might be possible to have another emissary sent to look into political problems as well, though that would meet with resistance on the part of the State Department.

"There are many political scientists employed by the Government. Despite 40 years of our Zionist activity, we cannot point to a single political scientist who is a staunch pro-Zionist. I have recently arranged for two surveys to be made. Dr. A. L. Sachar of the Hillel Foundation has agreed to make a survey in the leading universities of political scientists, who are at work on post-war problems so that we may know with whom to establish contact. Another gentleman, in government service, is also preparing a list of prominent people in that field. After we receive this information, the problem will remain how to proceed. We should create a special committee and special personnel to deal with this whole field. It has been repeatedly suggested that we publish a journal of distinction edited and written by specialists, devoted to Palestine and the Near East to be circulated particularly among people who are thinking on international problems. This project can be realized; the men are available; but funds must be provided.

"A minimum budget of \$10,000 is necessary for five issues a year.

"We have begun to carry on a modest bit of research work on conditions in Arab countries; a comparative study of the social and economic condition of Palestine Arabs and Arabs of other countries; and on the problem of political representation and self-government in undeveloped countries.

"Two months ago when I addressed the Executive Committee, I pointed out that America had passed from the state of non-belligerency to limited belligerency. We are evidently on the point of reaching a status of full

belligerency which carries far-reaching implications for us. In the Battle for Palestine, which is our special struggle, America will be the chief battleground. Dr. Weizmann, as you know, made a statement the other day, showing signs of exasperation, over the negative attitude of the British Government. He is coming to America. Evidently there is not much to be accomplished in England at the moment. He feels that the scene of action is America. But are we ready? Have we adjusted ourselves to our new responsibilities?

"It is a shocking situation that while America sends to Palestine some \$5,000,000 a year barely one per cent of that amount is expended for carrying on political activity in this country. In our Zionist life, we are still going along with "business as usual". We have made no adequate provision for the political struggle. There are countless opportunities, which are not being utilized, simply because there are no arrangements for people to do this work. I was asked to prepare an outline for an enlarged budget for political work at the last meeting. I prepared the budget and sent it out to a few members of this committee. We have had no occasion to deal with it. I would like to move that a small committee be appointed now to meet during the recess and continue to meet until it is prepared to submit recommendations as to how political effort should be extended^{and} financed. This session of the Executive Committee must not adjourn until we have reached a decision."

Dr. Heller referred Mr. Neumann to a resolution passed by the Executive Committee on September 15th wherein the president appointed members of the Z.O.A. Executive who were members of the Emergency Committee to draft a complete program of all political work and public relations activities to be undertaken by the ZOA as projects for the Districts, and to submit a budget for one year's activities in accordance with such a program. The committee was also instructed to contact the K. H., J.N.F., U.P.A., to request the Agency that such funds be appropriated. Dr. Heller wanted to know what was done about it.

Mr. Neumann replied: "The Emergency Committee has dealt with the subject and as the first step, it proposed that \$100,000 should be provided by Zionist funds, namely by the U.P.A., the Keren Hayesod, or the Keren Kayemeth. We sent a cable to the Jewish Agency signed by a number of our leaders, informing them of our decision, to which there was no reply. The matter was taken up with the U.P.A., but with inconclusive results. The J.N.F. and K.H. have just advanced \$25,000 on the assumption that the matter would be dealt with further by the Palestine Executive or whoever has the final word. We have also discussed whether to get other funds from Zionist groups in this country. I recall, however, that we did decide that the Z.O.A. Executive Committee itself should also deal with the question."

Mr. Lipsky said that Mr. Neumann's explanation of the situation does not quite accurately describe what was the state of affairs at that time. The Executive Committee should express its view that the funds should be gotten from the national funds collected in the United States, whether the Executive in Jerusalem or in London agree to the proposition or not. This position was urged most strongly by Dr. Silver and supported by every person present at that meeting.

The decision of policy adopted by this body was that, regardless of the attitude of the Executive, we stand for the idea that political work conducted in the United States for national interests, should be met out of the national funds. This policy was then presented to the Emergency Committee. A cablegram was sent and signed by every party concerned. All associated themselves and made it clear that we regarded the appropriation of \$100,000 for political work in the United States as being imperative and we asked their advice. All parties concerned should cooperate and see to it that the Emergency Committee should be given funds. We should agree that this is a policy we want to have carried through. We may be able to persuade Executive in Jerusalem or London or both places. The committee should feel, and all those general Zionists on the Emergency Committee should regard themselves as members of the committee for that purpose."

Judge Levinthal said: "The Executive assumed that if a cable signed by all of us showing no division of opinion, addressed to the World Zionist Executive, we would receive permission. We sent cable; the permission did not come. We could not have anticipated that a cable sent by all Zionists would not be answered."

Dr. Israel Goldstein pointed out that the original formula was a budget of \$250,000. \$100,000 should be sought from the national funds, the remainder should be raised from other sources. In regard to the first part, the J.N.F. and K. H. contributed \$25,000. We ought not to burden the national funds with the entire amounts necessary. There are ways of securing additional revenue.

Rabbi Barnett Brickner said, when the question was raised at the meeting of the U. P. A. Administrative Council, Dr. Silver pointed out that the U. P. A. was only a fund collecting agency and had no power to make allocations other than to the two constituent agencies. It required sanction of the two agencies before it could make allocations.

Dr. Brickner said: "We must make it clear to ourselves: either, the U. P. A. is a collection agency-or policy forming organization, and therefore, has authority. Any hope for raising of a political fund of \$150,000 is utopian. Moreover, the U. P. A. would be against this interference with its campaign and Zionists could not be expected to give twice or three times. Unless we have a successful political effort in America, Palestine will be reduced to a colony of 500,000 Jews minority. America is the battleground. It is important that the Executive should go on record not to find means to raise \$150,000 but asking, yes demanding, from the U.P.A. and from those who can give it the power for the total sum necessary to carry on this work."

Dr. Nahum Goldmann said: "The reply from Jerusalem did not come because we did not ask for a reply. We must send another cable to Jerusalem. As to the other \$150,000, we must get it from other sources than the U.P.A. Why should not Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrahi, contribute funds to political work?"

Mrs. de Sola Pool reported that of Hadassah's \$2,250,000 raised for Palestine, it cannot touch the money for this purpose because of the 100% clause in its constitution. The Keren Kayemeth is in a different category; it has a budget of \$115,000 which they deduct from collections. Out of \$1.50 per capita for membership for the national administration of Hadassah, Hadassah sends the shekel, \$40,000 a year to the World Organization. If you could get the World Executive to consent that the shekel money usually sent to Palestine, and which is purely money used for political purposes, should be used for political work in this country, I will recommend it to my Board.

Mr. Neumann asked Mrs. Pool whether it was not feasible for Hadassah, which raises \$2,250,000 for Palestine, to raise another \$25,000 or \$50,000 for political purposes?

Mrs. Pool replied that this was not impossible, but thought it would be unwise to raise by a special fund, but only from existing funds.

Dr. Heller: "This question is serious. It is a question of Zionist discipline and a splendid illustration of the present status of the movement. I cannot understand why only one cable was sent. That cablegram should have been followed up at regular intervals until an answer was secured. It seems to me that it is a tempest in a teapot, in the light of the fact that the money is not coming from Palestine, but money going to Palestine. In the second place, I believe it is proper that representation should be made to Hadassah, contrary to the point of view presented by Mrs. Pool; because Zionist Organization must be made to realize that all of the monies they collect will be a complete waste of effort, if there will be no Palestine to spend it on in the years to come. We must make energetic representations to them and to all other Zionist groups."

Dr. Solomon Goldman pointed out as follows: "This problem was discussed at a former meeting of the Executive which took two hours. It was discussed at one or two meetings of the Emergency Committee, the U.P.A., J.N.F., and now it is back here again. There is evidently something wrong that these questions have to be discussed by 4 or 5 different bodies before American Zionists can act. Furthermore, with regard to the cable that went to the Agency, why should organizations that have had no difficulty in voting rather substantial budgets in the United States, have to turn to Palestine for the \$100,000. The political work is tied up with the work for Palestine."

Dr. Heller moved:

1. That whatever group should be vested with that task should follow up the cable to Jerusalem or to the Agency, until a definite reply is secured.
2. That a special committee be appointed by the President to collect whatever money can be collected for political purposes, similar to the type of appeal made by the Vaad Bitachon.

3. That a special group should be appointed to make representations to Hadassah and to the other Zionist organizations that they, for their part, should also contribute funds for the political budget.

Dr. Goldman seconded Dr. Heller's motion.

It was unanimously agreed that the following cable be sent to the Jewish Agency and signed by the representatives of the various Zionist Bodies and funds, including the chairmen of the K. K., K. H. and U. P. A.

"Following earlier cable American Zionists viewing emergency unanimously convinced imperative expenditure our part minimum \$100,000 for public relations drawn here against both National funds."

It was also agreed that absence of a reply in a week or ten days should be construed as agreement on the part of the Palestine Executive.

Judge Levinthal said that after the last meeting of the Executive Committee, he communicated with our Regional and District chairmen about the Balfour Day observance and also pointed out to them that action should be taken on the Jewish army.

Mr. Abraham Goldberg urged a campaign of sharp criticism of the British Government.

Dr. Wise said the following regarding Dr. Weizmann's recent statement: "I think it well to make an explanation to those who have participated in the discussion on Dr. Weizmann's statement, for many years I was one of the sharpest of Dr. Weizmann's critics. We have criticized him for many years. This statement of Dr. Weizmann's is of the first importance. If he had to speak, we are happy that he spoke out as he did. The matter is only 48 hours old. The gravity of Weizmann's own statement is a challenge and a command to us. He has spoken, now it is for us to continue to make known to Lord Halifax and the British Government that we stand with Dr. Weizmann and that we feel a sense of denial to the youth of Palestine of the right to fight."

Judge Levinthal asked whether any one could authoritatively say whether the news received is a correct report.

Dr. Heller agreed with the president that it was practically impossible to devote adequate discussion to this subject at this time. Instead of indulging in plans which are necessarily vague, he recommended that the Emergency Committee draw up a definite strategy regarding this matter. The position in general in relation to war aims is very bad. We could cooperate with other people in this country on the definition of war aims. It is part of the general problem. A statesmanlike approach on our part, realistic and calculated to the present moment, is necessary.

III. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COORDINATION - Robert Szold.

Judge Levinthal reported that he had met with the national board of Mizrachi and informed them of our recommended amendments to the by-laws, constitution, and certificate of incorporation of the K.H. He received a long letter from the Mizrachi in which they very politely but firmly refused to concur. Their arguments were very unreasonable. The Z.O.A. offered them 8 representatives out of 75, whereas they now have 8 out of 125. Mr. Wertheim of Poale Zion had informed Judge Levinthal that it was not even necessary for him to discuss the matter, since the Poale Zion refused to recognize that the general Zionists should exert a majority control over the K.H.

Mr. Szold in reporting for the Committee on Coordination, said that the annual meeting of the K.H. had been postponed. We ought now to request that that meeting be held as soon as possible, that our Resolutions be presented, and that all general Zionists, in accordance with the Cincinnati Convention Coordination Resolution, be requested to use their best efforts to put our proposed recommended amendments through.

Dr. Heller moved that in accordance with the Coordination Resolution adopted at the Convention in Cincinnati, we instruct all these general Zionists who are on the Board of the K.H., at the forthcoming annual meeting to vote for the plan adopted by this Executive.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the K.H. is a New York corporation with by-laws and a constitution of its own. These members of the corporation are summoned to the meeting on the theory that they are contributors. What instructions can you give contributors who are to be invited as members--who happen to be members of the Z.O.A.? At this K.H. meeting there will be Z.O.A., Hadassah, Poale Zion, Mizrachi and some non-Zionists, but all of them can come on the theory that they are members of the corporation. The matter is a very difficult one. It should be approached not from the point of view of issuing orders, but from the point of view of not arousing ill-will or friction. The procedure must be one of winning by persuasion. The Executive of the Z.O.A. should take into consideration certain Zionists who are contributors. We must allow them to elect certain numbers. The procedure must be one of conciliation and not of dominance.

Judge Levinthal stated that he invited Mr. Ross to this meeting. Mr. Ross wrote that he was opposed to the Z.O.A.'s recommended changes. Judge Levinthal said he would be perfectly willing to meet with a group representing the K.H. with reference to the ticket to be presented to the K.H.

Dr. Goldstein suggested that in designating the Z.O.A. representatives to the J.N.F., there should be consultation between the President of the Z.O.A. and the President of the J.N.F.

Mr. Neumann suggested that prior to the general meeting of the K.H., a private meeting be held of all members of the Board of the K.H. who are general Zionists and a frank discussion had with them.

The following substitute motion of Mr. Szold was moved, seconded and adopted, Louis Lipsky dissenting:

Resolved:

1. That the Resolution on the Keren Hayesod adopted by the Executive at its meeting on October 22nd

be reaffirmed.

2. That the President be authorized to make any changes in said Resolution in his discretion.
3. That the President in his discretion be authorized to approve the form of by-laws of the Keren Hayesod, its constitution and certificate of incorporation, and all matters of procedure or substance necessary or desirable in carrying out this Resolution.
4. That all members of the Z.O.A., particularly those members of the Z.O.A. who are directors or officers of the K.H., be requested affirmatively to cooperate and to do any and all things necessary and desirable to carry out this Resolution.

IV. REPORT ON HECHALUTZ-- Mr. Mordecai Konowitz.

Some months ago a request was received in this country from the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem to undertake an enlarged program of training and preparing chalutzim for the work of defense and reconstruction. It was explained that this became necessary because the Hechalutz activities abroad had become ineffective because of war conditions, and America was the only large recruiting ground where the Hechalutz work could be carried on. Two representatives came from Palestine to assist in the organization of this larger program. Until then, Hechalutz in America was supported and maintained largely by the Labor Zionists. It was clear that the enlarged program could not be carried out unless the general Zionists undertook the major share of the responsibility. The Administrative Council and the Executive of the Z.O.A. passed resolutions in support of the Hechalutz program. This was ratified by the Convention in Cincinnati.

An enlarged program was undertaken involving a budget of approximately \$60,000.00 for the current year. Training farms are maintained at Creamridge and Hightstown in New Jersey and a number of units of young men and women are being trained along vocational lines in various parts of the country. The Labor Zionists have thus far contributed approximately \$15,000.00 toward this budget. In addition, \$3,500.00 was raised in Chicago, and perhaps another \$6,000.00 or \$7,000.00 in other communities, from general Zionists. Unless additional sums are raised, Hechalutz is faced with a deficit of approximately \$35,000.00. The crisis is severe and unless something is done at once, it may be necessary to close one of the farms for winter because lack of funds make its facilities unsuitable for winter use. There is a stringency in the payment of office salaries. The prospect of raising funds from general Zionists is impaired because of the ruinous competition between Hechalutz, Vaad Bitachon, Red Mogen David, Hebrew University, etc. This situation is largely due to the fact that there has never been a full discussion by this Executive on the subject of Hechalutz. The time has come to determine the policy of the general Zionists in the matter.

The amount needed for an effective Hechalutz program is approximately \$125,000.00 a year. The minimal budget for a satisfactory program is \$100,000.00 a year. We are now operating under a skeleton budget. How shall these larger sums be raised? It seems to me that the Hechalutz work is of such a nature as to be a proper charge upon the monies raised in this country for the Keren Hayesod. The World Executive has in the past subsidized the Hechalutz program in Europe.

There is no reason why that should not be done in this country. It may be improper and inadvisable that the whole budget should be paid by the Keren Hayesod. At least half of the requirements, however, should be met by the Keren Hayesod. The Gevekschaften could be expected to contribute approximately \$10,000.00. On a budget of \$100,000.00 it would then be necessary to raise only \$35,000.00 to \$40,000.00 by private campaigns. That would be practicable and have educational value.

It should be remembered that the members of Hechalutz are in large measure drawn from the general Zionist youth groups. At a recent rally in New York attended by about 600 youths, 270 registered for Hechalutz work, and by far the larger number of them were general Zionists.

Mr. A. K. Epstein moved that a committee be appointed by the President, to include the members of the Executive who are also members of the Board of Directors of Keren Hayesod, to make a study of the financial needs of Hechalutz and to report at the next meeting of the Executive as to the amount which could properly be expected to be contributed by Keren Hayesod toward meeting the budget of Hechalutz in this country. Mr. Konowitz pointed out that this is not adequate because of the immediate stringency and the present need of funds to meet current requirements.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann stated that delay of any support would put Hechalutz in a very serious position and that money was needed immediately. He suggested that a request for money to meet the urgent requirements should be promptly addressed to the Keren Hayesod.

Mr. Neumann moved to amend Mr. Epstein's motion so that it shall provide that pending the organization of the committee and its discussion and report, the Keren Hayesod shall be requested to appropriate for this work an amount equivalent approximately to what has already been raised in this country from other sources during this year. Judge Levinthal pointed out that such monies so given would be credited to whatever amount the committee should determine is the proper amount of the subsidy.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that the chalutz work should be combined with the refugee situation, so that refugees in this country might be trained for settlement in Palestine. This would not make it a purely American enterprise and would be an added reason for the Executive in Palestine to make a larger contribution because it would serve an international need. He said that we must create a more realistic situation in which the chalutz work shall be done.

Mr. Boukstein suggested that more important than agricultural training was the training in this country of technicians in the industrial field who would later go to Palestine to train refugees. He thought, however, that our first duty is to cover the deficit of the Z.O.A.

It was thereupon MOVED:

"THAT the Keren Hayesod be promptly requested to appropriate for the Hechalutz work in this country an amount equivalent to what has already been raised in this country this year from other sources, and that a committee be appointed by the President, to include members of the Executive who are

now on the Board of Directors of Keren Hayesod, to make a study of the financial needs of Hechalutz and the proper subsidy to be given by the Keren Hayesod, and report to the next meeting of the Executive."

V. REPORT OF U.P.A. NEGOTIATIONS FOR 1942 U.J.A.

Judge Levinthal reported that negotiations between U.P.A. and J.D.C. representatives were being carried on and that the U.P.A. representatives took the position that we were in favor of the continuance of the relationship under the same agreement as existed last year. Dr. Wise stated that his information is that American Jewry wants a united appeal and will not tolerate any one who makes that impossible.

Mr. Lipsky announced his withdrawal as one of the three representatives to negotiate the agreement with the J.D.C. for a U.J.A., thus making room for the appointment of Judge Levinthal, the President of the Z.O.A., as the third representative..

VI. Z.O.A. RELATIONSHIP TO EMERGENCY COMMITTEE:

Judge Levinthal stated that he had requested that the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs be reorganized and that he resigned from the Committee as at present constituted.

It was reported that the Emergency Committee was considering re-organization in accordance with a resolution as follows:

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

"1. THAT the name of the Committee be the American Emergency Council for Zionist Affairs;

2. THAT a committee be appointed to formulate a simple set of by-laws;

3. THAT a committee be appointed to consider and report on incorporation of the Council;

4. THAT the Council shall carry on in this country such activities for the advancement of the Zionist cause, more particularly in the field of public relations, as are of common interest to the Zionist Organization of America; to Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America; to the Poale Zion; to the Mizrahi Organization of America; and, to any other American Zionist groups admitted to membership as may be specifically agreed to by them; it being understood that this Council is not an agent or representative of any foreign principal or under the direction of any foreign principal and receives no subsidy from any foreign principal; and

5. THAT for the time being and until such time as the Council shall otherwise decide, all existing officers and sub-committees shall continue to function as at present."

A discussion thereupon ensued as to the necessity and desirability of including within the resolution the words of the proviso in the fourth clause.

It was urged that the negative words objected to constituted merely a self-

serving declaration which added nothing to the substance of the resolution; that the words were possibly ^{subject} to misunderstanding and were unnecessary. Objection was made to the incorporation of the Council. Mr. Szold said he felt that there must be a change in the attitude of members of the Emergency Committee toward the Z.O.A. He also said that the resolution did not carry out the principles of coordination as adopted by the last convention.

A motion was made and seconded that the resolution be approved in the following form:

"NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED (1) that the name of the Committee be the American Emergency Council for Zionist Affairs; (2) that a committee be appointed to formulate a simple set of by-laws; (3) that a committee be appointed to consider and report on incorporation of the Council; (4) that the Council shall carry on in this country such activities for the advancement of the Zionist cause, more particularly in the field of public relations, as are of common interest to the Zionist Organization of America; to Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America; to the Poale Zion; to the Mizrahi Organization of America, and to any other American Zionist groups admitted to membership, as may be specifically agreed to by them; and, (5) for time being and until such time as the Council shall otherwise decide, all existing officers and sub-committees shall continue to function as at present."

Before a vote was taken a discussion ensued as to the right of the Z.O.A. Executive to alter from time to time its designees on the reorganized Emergency Committee and there was general consensus that this right is reserved by the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A.

Whereupon the motion was put and carried.

VII - BRANDEIS MEMORIAL.

Mrs. de Sola Pool reported on the matter of the Brandeis Memorial. (She was asked to report on behalf of Dr. S. S. Wise, who left the meeting to make a train). She reported that the Brandeis family does not wish any funds raised in the name of the late justice. This will have to be discussed further and nothing can be done now. Hadassah has voted to establish in Palestine a Louis D. Brandeis scholarship fund of \$50,000 for vocational training of the children in Palestine.

VIII. NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. MARGULIES.

Judge Levinthal reported that a committee consisting of Louis E. Spiegler, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Irving Miller, Irving Lipkowitz and himself, had been appointed to take up the matter of Mr. Margulies. Before the meeting of the committee was held, Dr. Wise met with Mr. Margulies and urged him to accept appointment as Regional Director of the Greater New York Metropolitan Area. Rabbi Miller, a member of the committee, agreed with Dr. Wise, but the other three members of the Committee did not approve of this suggestion. Judge Levinthal met with Mr. Margulies again and asked him if he were willing to take the New England Regional Directorship, if the New England Zionists were willing to have him.

Judge Levinthal told Mr. Margulies that if the New England Directorship was satisfactory to him, he would recommend to the Office Management Committee of the Z.C.A. that he be retained at a reduced salary. Mr. Margulies refused this post. Judge Levinthal then communicated with the members of the committee his recommendation to give Mr. Margulies severance compensation of ten months' salary. Mr. Spiegler thought he should be given a year's salary. Dr. Wise wrote to Judge Levinthal on behalf of Rabbi Miller and himself that they withdraw from the committee. Judge Levinthal also reported that he had received a telegram signed by 34 individuals, nearly all chairmen of districts in Greater New York, requesting that Margulies be appointed Regional Director for the Greater New York Metropolitan Area. Judge Levinthal recommended that the Executive Committee adopt a resolution declaring Mr. Margulies' position as Membership Director terminated as of October 31, 1941 and that one year's salary be paid him as severance compensation. Mr. Jacob Fishman moved that the matter be postponed for the next meeting of the Executive Committee and to be discussed at an earlier place on the agenda. Mr. Fishman declared that there was no valid reason for denying Mr. Margulies the Directorship of the New York Metropolitan area.

A motion was then made and seconded that the motion of Mr. Fishman to postpone the question to the next meeting be tabled. The motion to table was thereupon adopted.

It was then moved and seconded that Mr. Margulies' position as Membership Director be declared to have been terminated as of October 31, 1941 and that Mr. Margulies be paid one year's ^{salary} severance compensation.

Rabbi Miller and Mr. Fishman protested the lateness of the hour and withdrew from the meeting prior to the vote being taken.

The motion was thereupon adopted, Mr. Abraham Goldstein voting in the negative.

The meeting adjourned at 11:05 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA HELD
AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY ON
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1941
AT 7:30 P.M.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding; Messrs. Robert M. Bernstein, Maurice M. Boukstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, A. E. Epstein, Jacob Fishman, Daniel Frisch, Abraham Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Murray I. Garfein, Mordecai X Konowitz, Dr. Harris Levine, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar de Sola Pool, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Bernard G. Radolph, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Louis E. Spiegler, Dewey Stone, Robert Szold, Elihu D. Stone and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

GUESTS: Dr. David Ben Gurion, Miss Juliet Benjamin, Mendel Fisher, Joseph Halbert, Louis I. Levenson, Mrs. John D. Safer, and I. D. Sinderbrand.

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF: Carl Alpert, Ernest Barbarash, Dr. Simon Bernstein, Zvi Levavy, Hyman A. Schulson, Simon Shetzer and Dr. David Tannenbaum.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE were received from Messrs. Philip Barron, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Cecil R. Gordon, Harry Grayer, Dr. James G. Heller, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Judge Julian W. Mack, Seymour Melman, Louis P. Rucker, Charles Rosenbloom, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Harry Takiff.

I. TRIBUTE IN MEMORY OF DR. DAVID YELLIN:

DR. WISE: "Mr. Chairman, I ask those who are present here tonight to pay a tribute to one who had the friendship of all of us, to the memory of one of our gedolim, Dr. David Yellin of Jerusalem, who passed away a few days ago. Some of us knew him for a long time; some of us knew him intimately. I happened to have known him for a whole generation. The happiest Seder I ever have spent was in his home in 1913. Dr. Yellin, seemed always to me to be the incarnation of Palestine. He was Palestine at its best and at its friendliest. He was Palestine in its conciliatoriness and in its serene geniality. We recall the great sorrow that came to him in the murder of his son, and even that blow, that terrible grief, he bore in serenity, dignity, and courage. He was a grand Jew, a great Zionist, and a great scholar. It was as a scholar that I invited him to spend a year with us at the Jewish Institute of Religion. He was also a Visiting Professor at Columbia University where he lectured on Hebrew and Arabic poetry.

May I venture to suggest that a minute in his memory be printed in The New Palestine, and a copy thereof be sent as a message from you, Mr. Chairman, to Mrs. Yellin, that fine woman who maintains the institute for the mentally defective - the Ezrat Nachim, and to his children.

II TRIBUTE IN MEMORY OF BERNARD SHELVIN AND MRS. HARRY FRIEDENWALD:

Judge Levinthal paid tribute to the memory of Bernard Shelvin, noted and active Zionist and prominent Hebrew and Yiddish journalist and a member for many years of the Administrative Council. Judge Levinthal also paid tribute to the memory of Bertha Friedenwald, the wife of Dr. Harry Friedenwald. Mrs. Friedenwald, who passed away recently, was in the days of her youth and health and strength a sympathetic devotee of the Zionist cause.

(The members rose and observed a few moments of silence).

III. STATEMENT BY JUDGE LEVINTHAL:

"Fellow Zionists, because of the historic, world-shaking events of the past week, I shall assume, with your indulgence, the prerogative of setting aside the agenda which I had prepared sometime ago for this evening's meeting, and instead, I declare this an emergency session of our Executive Committee, to be devoted to a consideration of the grave problems confronting us by reason of the war in which our beloved country is now engaged as a belligerent, the war which we are determined shall be prosecuted to a successful and victorious conclusion. It should be obvious that the war, which has unified all Americans, must also unify all Zionists in America. Our entry into the struggle against Nazi world dictatorship has placed all Americans in the front line of a fight to the finish. This is certainly a life and death struggle for American democracy and world democracy.

It is no less a life and death struggle for Jewish rights, for Jewish survival, for Zionism. During our pre-war period, Americans were subjected to wars of differences, of words, of conflicting class and economic interests and philosophies. But the events of the past week have put an end to these internal conflicts in America. They have torn down the walls of political division. They have wiped the field clear of the fences set up in various camps. Nothing seems so outworn now as the terms "isolationist" and "interventionist". Now we are all Americans. One might say we are all "Americans first", yes, first, last and all the time! We Americans are fighting for our very existence as a free and independent people. If the challenge to our cherished liberties, to our democratic institutions, has galvanized all Americans of every shade of opinion into one united army of freedom, can we in the Zionist Organization now be divided and fragmentized and factionalized?

It seems to me that our paramount task, our chief obligation as Zionists in these fateful times, is to achieve that unity of purpose, that solidarity of action which will bring to the Zionist movement actual strength. All internal conflicts must be ended promptly. All divisions along party and factional lines must be obliterated. The leadership, the energy, the vision of every branch and agency, the Zionist movement dare not be dissipated in any petty detour of selfish interests. "Business as usual" is finished. Statesmanship must prevail. The

ultimate goal rather than the immediate objective must be the determining factor of the program of the Zionist Organization of America, and of all Zionist bodies and agencies. Any course of action which will lead us into minor bypaths, into protracted discussions and debates on questions which have been lessened by the major issue of our responsibility in the present war, would inflict great injury, in my opinion, to our Zionist program. In the interests of unity, in the interests of a concerted plan of action in which we must now engage, we must marshal all Zionist forces into one, well-integrated, harmonious entity.

This Administration, I believe I can truthfully say, has a sacred mandate from the Zionists of America. I have reason to believe that we do have the faith and the confidence of large masses of American Jews. I believe I can also say truthfully, that enlightened non-Jews are beginning to understand the aims of Zionism, are beginning to see the essential justice of our cause, and are becoming anxious to aid us in achieving our objectives. This is no time for pessimism, panic, or hysteria. Zionism, to me, is synonymous with Jewish optimism. Zionism now, in this very emergency, can be translated into courageous thinking and constructive effort. We must act at once to crystallize and stabilize the program of the Zionist movement in this country, in the light of the war situation.

What can we do individually and collectively to help America win the war? That, of course, is our primary obligation now as Americans. How shall we proceed in pressing our claims, our Zionist claims? How are we to carry on negotiations with our government officials with regard to our immediate and long-range programs? What forms shall our efforts take for the establishment of a Jewish military force in Palestine? How can we strengthen the economic and industrial position of Palestine for the duration of the war? These are some of the questions to which we must devote ourselves tonight, tomorrow, and in the days to follow. Above all, it is my sincere conviction that we must not lose any time in establishing that form of unity, genuine unity, which will give the right of way to the consideration of these primary and fundamental problems of the hour.

To open the discussion of these grave questions that cry for wise consideration and wise answer, I call our veteran Zionist leader and servant, our beloved teacher and comrade in Zionism - Dr. Stephen Wise."

(Applause)

IV. STATEMENT BY DR. WISE:

"There are two unities upon which we must insist. Neither of them is easy. Both of them are hard, but must be achieved. The first unity is our unity with all the Jews of America as Jews in service to America. Personally I believe, and I have already acted on my faith, that whatever others do, we must make our special contribution as Jews to the American cause. We have more to gain and lose

than other peoples and other racial and religious groups.

The only way to achieve that is through the effort on the part of every one of us to secure Zionist unity. Now I know after all these years that it is very easy to speak about Zionist unity, and yet in half an hour from now, or in less than an hour, certain problems will arise and we will be tempted, as we often are, to vote as you rightly put it, factionally and fractionally, instead of viewing Zionist questions steadily and seeing them whole.

Now we must let bygones be bygones. We want to ride in a chariot of triumph, but not over the dead bodies of our Zionist comrades. It is no Kunst to achieve triumphs over one another. Let's put that aside now. I think we are at the gravest moment in Zionist history. If our prayers are answered, the greatest good may come out of this war for Jews and for Zionists. We have, however, difficult and grievous days ahead.

We are without Justice Brandeis and no one is here to take his place. We have wise counsels. We have good friends. We have strong men upon whom we can lean, but there is no one sitting in Washington ready to give of the richness of Brandeis' unparalleled Jewish mind to our problems. I don't say we can make it up. No one can stand in his place, but all of us together can, through togetherness, try to make up for the loss which we have sustained and which we will long feel.

As the oldest among you, I appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, tonight, and to all of my comrades, let us rise to the height of the occasion! There are grievous problems to be met. We will not meet them effectively, significantly, and as Zionists, if we are thinking of petty gains and minor triumphs and new defections. Let's begin with a tabula rasa, and when I say that I address myself to all of you, from the Chairman down. No one is exempt from my appeal. We are all human and we all have our prejudices and prepossessions and our foibles and our overgrown capacities for illwill. We must put those things aside! You see, after all, even from within Jewish life we have wretched base little enemies like Jerome Frank, the author of the article in the Saturday Evening Post. I don't want to magnify, Mr. Chairman, the importance of that article, and I think, some of us are inclined to do that. I wouldn't dream of making a formal rejoinder to him. He spoke without authority.

Let's not take his article too seriously. Individuals should answer. The New Palestine editorial is admirable. The American Jewish Congress Weekly has an admirable editorial. I preached an extraordinary sermon about it, which after the outbreak of the war I consigned to the wastebasket, although the record of it in transcription still remains and can be dragged out at any time.

When Judge Frank sent word to me that he would like to confer with me before my address in order to explain certain things to me, I sent word I wouldn't meet with him or talk with him. The time to talk and discuss things with me was before that wretched thing appeared in the press!

There are going to be some very important problems discussed tonight and tomorrow. Let's make a fresh start.

We have taken on a terrible responsibility. If we are not ready to serve as stewards of a great and sacred cause, let us place that cause in the keeping of others. But if we accept the responsibility as we again do tonight by our meeting, let's be equal to it. Let's meet as friends and brothers and put everything aside but devotion and sacrifice."

V. PRESIDENT'S REPORT:

Judge Levinthal read the following telegram received from the Chairman of one of our most important and largest Districts shortly after war was declared.

"Membership campaign December 29th. Officers question advisability such action in view present national emergency. Wire immediately your reaction. Committee meeting tomorrow discuss postponement campaign. Regards."

Judge Levinthal replied:

"Urge proceeding with membership campaign as planned. British Zionists increased activities during emergency. We should do likewise. Regards."

Judge Levinthal read to the Executive Committee the following excerpts from a letter received from Dr. Solomon Goldman, who was unable to attend the meeting because of illness:

"Our country's entry into the war creates a new and unparalleled situation for Zionism. It necessitates the reconsideration of our methods and the reconstitution of our organizational structure. The present crisis is basically and radically different from the one we faced in World War Number One. First, in the last war the United States was a distant participant. It was not under attack. Today and even now, air-raid sirens have already resounded in some of our cities. Before long our coastal plain may become battlefields. Certainly the financial burden will be on the Americans.

"That will that mean in terms of public reaction? It seems to me that Americans will become exclusively absorbed in the war effort. At any rate, everything else will command only the parings of the attention of the people. Jews, always inclined to superpatriotism, will be a little more preoccupied than most anybody else. They will be, unless I am very much mistaken, particularly resentful of the "egocentricity and aggressiveness" of Zionists.

"Secondly, taxation will increase threefold and in 1942 contributions to all causes will decrease proportionately. We must expect shrinkage in the income of all Zionist funds. I am even now wondering whether we can get anywhere with a Brandeis Memorial. Certainly an appeal for the deficit will fall on deaf ears.

"Third, in the last World War, Zionism possessed inestimable assets which are not in sight now. (a) We had the Balfour Declaration, a document that thrilled and electrified the whole House of Israel. We were, without exaggeration, like them that dreamed. If we are realistic we cannot, in future, expect such another meteor to flash across the Cimmerian darkness. (b) In America we had Justice Brandeis. The Justice was not only immeasurably greater and more influential than anyone in our midst. It was also that he knew no Jews and Zionists. It was the beginning of his newness and greatness that captivated the imagination of American Jewry. There is no such personality available today. Where shall we look for the giants from afar among the petty non-Zionists who are debating at the moment the a, b, c's of our peoplehood? (c) The Jewish masses we must confess, were less frustrated, more Jewish, more determined, more Maccabean, in those days. Today they are apologetic, abject, jittery, and frightened by the voice of every driven leaf. The B'nai B'rith and American Jewish Committee, who have been quick to capitalize on this state of mind, will soon substitute patriotism for anti-Semitism and treble their membership and means. All this is, to my mind, palpably true, as far as the general American scene is concerned.

"With regard to ourselves internally, I should like to make the following observations: (1) Zionist leaders will be drawn into the war. They will have to give and they will gladly give much time and energy to help maintain the country's morale - sell defense bonds, etc., etc. Our Zionist leadership has been an overburdened leadership, and in the present emergency their plight will be even worse. (2) We must recognize that some phases of Zionist political activity will come to a standstill. For a considerable time we shall be in no position to command in Washington the attention of the men who count. (3) Zionist ideological differences will soon be a luxury for which few of us will have any taste. If the Zionists continue to stress them and divide themselves as heretofore into parties and groups, they will lose the American Jews. It seems to me that for the duration of the war, we shall be able to work only in certain directions, and I therefore submit to you the following proposals:

"(1) It is imperative that we concentrate the next two or three years, and I believe the war will last much longer than that, to attain the signature of every Jew and Jewess in the country above the age of 18, to a declaration demanding an admission, as soon as possible, of 2,000,000 refugees into Palestine. We must make sure to obtain the signatures of every man that is obtainable. It will be suicidal for a Jewish delegation to come to the peace table or to press Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Churchill with only ten percent of the Jews as affiliated Zionists. Judge Frank's statement about our small percentage undoubtedly constitutes a distortion of the truth, but unfortunately, in order to expose the lie, we have to indulge in too many explanations. What is worse is that President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull, Secretary Knox and many others of the most influential men in government and private life, as well as the British and Palestine governments, believe this to be a fact.

"I suggest, therefore, that we stop our futile and useless membership campaigns. They convince nobody and achieve nothing beyond a skeleton organization. We would render our cause an inestimable service if we immediately instituted the registration of all Jews in the manner in which I indicated above. We should ask

for a registration fee of no more than 25¢ or perhaps 50¢. Conduct that campaign quietly, without fanfare, and without revealing to our opponents what we are after. Let us confront them with a fait accompli - 1,000, 2,000, 3,000 Zionists in the country can be relied upon to do this work earnestly and intelligently.

"(2) Select several thousand key American Christians, politicians, political leaders, journalists, radio commentators, moving-picture stars - in a word, the makers of presidents, senators and governors, and the moulders of public opinion. Concentrate on their education. In a large measure it will have to be effected by means of personal contact. I am confident that we can find 200 or 300 Zionists in America - I believe I know them by name - who can be relied upon to do this work. In addition, we must have Jews and non-Jews write, write, write, without abatement, to Christians, to both the intellectuals and the masses.

"(3) A small committee should be named to keep an eye on Washington and to squeeze in there with our demands - protest proposals - wherever it is feasible and useful. This committee should keep in touch with our people in London and Jerusalem, as well as with Moscow.

"(4) Multiply Zionist education among Jews a hundredfold.

"(5) Eliminate the multiplicity of Zionist campaigns. Concentrate on a Palestine war chest, and we may trust our people in Palestine to make an equitable distribution.

"(6) Set up a provisional committee that will supersede all existing boards of all Zionist parties, organizations, funds. I am afraid if we continue 'business as usual', we shall be in bankruptcy before 1942 is spent. We are confronted with grim realities. Let us attack with principle and statesmanship."

Judge Levinthal reported that he telephoned Dr. Goldman as soon as he received this letter. Dr. Goldman asked Judge Levinthal to assure the Executive Committee that he did not want to create an impression of panic, pessimism or hysteria, but he was trying to convey the reaction - not in his own mind but in the minds of many Jews with whom he had recently talked. The wire Judge Levinthal read was symptomatic of that feeling.

Mr. A. K. Epstein reported that he also spoke to Dr. Goldman today. Dr. Goldman assured him he did not want to make a pessimistic impression, but he tried to be realistic in interpreting the mind of American Jewry. Our fellow Zionists must understand that Palestine has and does make a contribution to the war effort as one of the Allied outpost of the world. Protecting democracy is synonymous with aid to Palestine and Palestinian projects. Mr. Epstein urged the Executive Committee to give serious thought to Dr. Goldman's proposals. Mr. Epstein assured the Executive that he personally was not at all pessimistic. Never in the history of Zionism do we Jews have such a splendid opportunity to make a major contribution to the war effort by doing concrete work for Palestine, particularly by aiding Palestine's war industries.

Mr. Lipsky observed that Dr. Goldman overlooked one thing in the situation which is a cause for great rejoicing and not for complaint or lament. The situation about the declaration of war by the United States is the consummation of nine years of effort on the part of Jews and on the part of Zionists to make the world realize that there is a problem in which the Jews are involved and in which the world is involved. Now that America has declared war and America is no longer isolated, the assumption made at this moment that all Jewry will become isolated, that it will not see more than the frontiers of America is completely a misreading of the situation.

We are now fighting our battles with all the democracies on our side. No longer are the democracies hesitating and uncertain as to where they are going. With the United States now in this war, its frontiers will extend into Palestine and the world over.

We are now in a much better position than we were at the end of the last war. At the end of the last war we had a piece of paper which was called the Balfour Declaration, but we didn't have Palestine. At the present time we have a frontier in Palestine which is formidable in comparison to what it was before, and we have behind us a cause which is the cause of democratic peoples.

We had in 1914 an organization, but there came into the Zionist Organization a personality of tremendous power who created for us a center around which the whole Zionist movement circulated. Because of that personality in the center of our Zionist movement, we created a new organization. The Provisional Zionist Committee took possession of the Zionist movement with the existing organizations as they were. The Provisional Zionist Committee became the directing head of all the organizations. Everything concerning Zionism was concentrated in the Provisional Zionist Committee. Without entering into an endless discussion about jurisdictions and rights of fractions and rights of institutions, all the institutions were included within that makeup.

We have in the United States one of the strongest Zionist organizations in the world. All this depreciation of ourselves, all of this business of reducing ourselves to the position of our membership is a part of self-abasement which has hurt our strength and hurt our prestige.

We have never gone on the theory of the membership being our strength. When the Provisional Zionist Committee was operating, we had a plebiscite. We had all things that Dr. Goldman stated in his letter.

We got the Jews of America behind the Zionist movement by open and frank appeal to them, and we can get all the Jews of America behind the Zionist movement even in this time of war, as a matter of fact, because of this war. All that we have to do is to have common sense and to avoid talking in polite terms about one another.

The Zionist Organization has gone ahead on the theory that our business is to get membership. What Dr. Goldman stated in that letter is absolutely right. The idea of putting all our strength and all our purpose in the business of increasing the membership is a frustration of purpose. We have something

bigger to do than merely to put members on our rolls and get \$5.00 from them. Not that we have to depreciate the membership, but we have to know where the emphasis belongs.

The emphasis belongs in converting the people to our idea, converting them. Now, as a matter of fact, we haven't been converting them. Anybody that has been touched by the political activities in our business hasn't been converted. There are members of the State Department that are not converted to our idea. There are certain people writing to the President who are not converted. We are not converting people and convincing them that our idea is a thing that has some moral value in this war. And we don't have to have 50,000 or 60,000 members for that.

We have to have purpose and direction in our work. We need better and more propaganda. We must devote our thoughts to the business of how we are going to increase our propaganda material, instead of decreasing it, instead of devoting ourselves to the futile business of trying to convert the youth to our idea here through educational methods. The youth of the United States are being converted to the ideas of democracy by going into the army! The youth of the United States are being educated in life's business by becoming a part of the war. They are not going to school to learn what life is. Anybody that expects that Jewish boys and girls are now going to learn Zionism through taking syllabuses and reading them, is making a great mistake.

We can't afford the luxury of sending people to school. The school is the street and the radio and the sirens that are going to be heard very soon on our streets! We must think in the broad terms of our program and not get ourselves into discussion of details.

Mr. Lipsky sincerely urged that our time be given to a general discussion and that we know what we are thinking about at our meetings in order that the Zionist organization shouldn't be operating with decisions that are made in a haphazard, sloppy way, without any thought going into the matter at all.

Dr. Israel Goldstein called attention to the example of British Jewry. The war hit them very seriously two years before it hit us. He urged American Zionists to study very carefully the reactions of British Jewry, the programs which they adopted, the efforts which they made, and the successes which they achieved in specifically Zionist endeavors. Dr. Goldstein pointed to the success achieved by the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth to a degree absolutely without precedent, and absolutely without parallel in the history of British Jewry.

Within American Zionist ranks we established two years ago an Emergency Committee. There were times during these two years when the function and value of that committee were questioned. We should be thankful that we have had the time calmly to work out a method of procedure which now stands us in very good stead. We have the machinery, the formula, the interorganizational relationships worked out sufficiently well to serve us now as a most valuable instrument for meeting this situation. Instead of taking the suggestion that we just disregard everything and suddenly and hysterically build up something to top off what we

have Dr. Goldstein urged that the wise policy would be to use that which we have and to strengthen it.

Dr. Goldstein felt that we are in a much better position today than we were in 1917, not merely because of what Mr. Lipsky pointed out, but also because of our own inner condition. We did not have a Zionist Organization in 1917 which had a membership of close to 50,000 for a period of several years or a Hadassah organization which numbered nearly 100,000 or a Mizrahi and Poale Zion as strong as they are today. These are assets and weapons which we can and must use.

Judge Rothenberg reported that the U.P.A. has been carrying on negotiations for a renewal of the U.J.A. agreement for next year. During the last few days a very large number of telegrams came from various parts of the country suggesting that we should abandon the campaign, that there was no need for it any longer and that we must concentrate all of our efforts on defense.

There is considerable confusion. We must clarify the situation for our membership and ourselves.

America's entry into the war has unified the American people! With that unification the America First Committee was thrown into the ashcan, and all of those subversive elements have concealed themselves and have been driven under cover. That created a situation in America which is most favorable for Jewish work.

Most of us have participated in the past in American affairs and we are going to continue to do so. We are going to increase our efforts in that respect, as American citizens, and I am certain that nobody will be able to point the finger of scorn at us. We will do our duty. We did it in the last war and we will do it in this war, in the Army and Navy and communally.

Judge Rothenberg urged American Jews not to forget our duties as Jews and as Zionists.

Rabbi Israel Levinthal said that he has also heard from some laymen the same arguments presented in Dr. Goldman's letter. He stated, however, that we should expect rabbis and other leaders to have a clearer view of the whole situation. He felt that from the point of view of Zionism in the Jewish world, we now have a better opportunity to reach the masses of Jews than before the declaration of the war. Certain details may have to be changed. Jews will come to hear speakers today. They are anxious to know how the Jewish position is being affected by the war. It is up to the speakers and our leaders to educate the people along these lines.

Dr. Levinthal also urged the Z. O. A. to concentrate on more and better propaganda. Propaganda is much more important even than youth education. Youth education is very good and very useful in ordinary times, but not today. We must through the spoken and the written word, keep up the morale of the Jewish

people. He reported that his experience shows that more Jews are coming to the synagogue and are attending Zionist meetings in greater numbers. Jews want to know how the war affects the Jewish situation, how you are going to link up the success of America and the Allies with the success of the Jewish people.

Simultaneously with our duties to keep up the morale of the Jews, the masses, we must at the same time keep pounding at those big forces in Washington. There again it means propaganda in various ways, through literature, personal meetings, the press, etc.,

Rabbi Levinthal urged that whatever committee be created, it must be one that can really speak in the name of 300,000 or 400,000 Jews who are affiliated with all the Zionist bodies.

Mr. Frisch contended that the challenge to "business as usual" does not mean elimination of business, but the intensification of business. This can only be accomplished by adequate funds. These funds can be secured by appointing a committee of energetic Zionists to contact a few thousand members who are able and willing to pay \$25.00 or more as President's Chapter members. Before people bring us grand plans, let them first secure the money with which to carry out these plans.

VI Z.O.A. FINANCIAL CONDITION:

Judge Levinthal reported that the financial balance sheet of the Zionist Organization as of November 30th disclosed a staggering deficit of \$84,626.14. At the convention \$17,000 was pledged towards this deficit and of this amount only \$8,500 has been received on account. We must raise \$60,000 in order to liquidate the deficit. Mr. Kaufmann has accepted the chairmanship of the committee on Finance and Revenue, and Rabbi Breslau has accepted the Co-Chairmanship of that committee. Rabbi Breslau has volunteered to undertake that job actively.

Mr. Neumann, in continuing the discussion of Dr. Goldman's letter, that although Dr. Goldman wrote under the stress of the moment and feeling of panic, his letter presents a number of concrete suggestions requiring objective and dispassionate consideration. Mr. Neumann urged the Executive Committee to devote the next few weeks to a discussion which will help to clarify Zionist views. Our program must be formulated and prepared in advance and people be designated to introduce the discussion on each of these questions as they will arise.

Mr. Neumann urged the preparation of a resolution or declaration of a public character for adoption by the Administrative Council. This resolution should clarify our position with regard to the national emergency

Mr. Neumann urged the Executive Committee to seize upon and use, the letter of President Roosevelt to the last Zionist Convention, particularly that sentence in which he said that "the threat to Palestine does not differ in essence from the threat to this country." This is a very admirable text to use in our campaign of enlightenment. Palestine and America have become one front, the threat and the struggle being identical in character.

Mr. Neumann urged the creation of a special kind of war chest among Zionists for Zionist political propaganda in this country.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that the reorganized Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, now called, the American Emergency Council for Zionist Affairs is based on the idea of a provisional committee. This Committee can function as a central body for the direction of all Zionist activities common to all Zionists.

Mr. Boukstein called the Executive Committee's attention to the last speech of the President of the United States: "There are two phases to the present struggle. We must win the war, but we must also win the peace." Zionists have a major contribution to make to the winning of the peace. There can be no permanent and lasting peace unless there is a solution to the Jewish problem, and the major part of that solution is Palestine. In this connection Zionists collectively have a contribution to make to the winning of the peace, and it is our job to see that this contribution is properly made.

Mr. Dewey Stone urged American Zionists to be optimistic and enthusiastic. He related recent experiences of his District in Brockton where they enrolled more members than ever before. He also reiterated Mr. Frisch's plea that our first job is to raise funds with which to carry on our work.

Mr. Elihu D. Stone urged the Executive Committee to utilize in our propaganda the fact that Zionism is the established policy of the United States Government as declared by the unanimous resolution of Congress twenty years ago. He suggested that we try to secure reaffirmation of this policy by having Congress pass another resolution with reference to the Jewish homeland as one of the peace aims of the war. He also urged that we do everything possible to establish a Jewish army in Palestine to strengthen the Palestinian fronts.

Mr. Ezra Shapiro pointed out that the attack against the Jews was the first symptom of attack on the whole of civilization and democracy, that America's entry into the war was the clearest final vindication point which Zionists should emphasize. He urged Zionist propagandists to stress and dramatize the Palestine War effort and ally our cause with that of the democracies. He pleaded for intensification of political work particularly among our Christian friends. If funds are needed for this work, we should secure it from the J.N.F., U.P.A. or K. H.

Judge Levinthal reported on his press conference in Washington on December 2nd. attended by several of the leading national correspondents and press representatives. Among those officially present were Stephen Early, President Roosevelt's secretary. Judge Levinthal, Emanuel Neumann and Simon Shetzer discussed the Zionist situation and pleaded for a Jewish army. The discussion by representatives of the press indicated a clear understanding of our problem and evoked their approval of our objectives.

Judge Levinthal also reported a successful conference he had with Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and succeeded in evoking a most sympathetic attitude from him to our cause.

Rabbi Isadore Breslau expressed agreement with Dr. Goldman's suggestion that a Provisional Committee or a Zionist general staff be organized. Rabbi Breslau was willing to accept the Emergency Committee as such a body provided it be given authority to act for all Zionist bodies. This committee should meet twice or three times a week to consider Zionist business and make decisions which all of us should accept.

Mr. Louis Spiegler urged the Executive Committee to formulate a declaration outlining the Zionist program during the war so that the districts and rank and file can be guided accordingly and to raise a War Chest with which to implement this program.

Mrs. Pool pointed out that the Emergency Committee was greatly handicapped and ineffective in the past because all Zionist leaders refused to work together and quarreled about its organizational structure interminably. She urged all Zionists to cooperate with the Emergency Committee and commence some real intensive work.

VII ELECTION OF SECRETARY:

The Executive Committee unanimously elected Simon Shetzer as Secretary of the Zionist Organization of America.

VIII THE KEREN HAYESOD:

Judge Levinthal reported that after the adoption by the Executive Committee of the resolution with reference to the Keren Hayesod he had had a number of meetings and was having difficulties; that at a previous meeting of the Executive Committee he had been authorized to name a list of directors but subject to approval of the Executive Committee. He did not have such a list of directors available to submit to the meeting for approval. He now asked that he be given authority to appoint a committee to make a list of directors. He proposed that the annual election of directors of Keren Hayesod take place in the near future and that the matter of the amendment to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Keren Hayesod could be for the time being postponed. Whereupon Mr. Boukstein moved that the President be given authority to name a committee which would prepare a slate of directors which would be submitted to the next annual meeting of the Keren Hayesod to be elected as directors of the Keren Hayesod for the coming year. The motion was seconded.

After discussion, during which the Chairman read an excerpt from the resolution on coordination adopted at the last Z.O.A. Convention and stated that there would naturally be consultation with various interests, and stated further that there was nothing in the present proposal inconsistent with previous decisions of this Executive, the question was called for and the motion was duly adopted.

LX COMMITTEE TO DRAFT STATEMENT ON ZIONIST POLICY IN RELATION TO THE WAR:

The Executive Committee unanimously encouraged Judge Levinthal to appoint a committee to draft a statement on Zionist policy in relation to the war. Judge Levinthal appointed Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Murray Gurfein and himself to said committee.

Judge Levinthal introduced Mr. David Ben Gurion.

X SUMMARY OF DAVID BEN GURION'S REMARKS:

Mr. Ben Gurion declared that he hesitated to join in the discussion on American war problems inasmuch as he was not an American. However, the cause for which America is now fighting is not exclusively an American one; it is a common cause with the other democracies of the world. Zionism, too, has its stake in this war, though it would be a mistake to limit the Zionist movement in these days solely to the war effort. The movement has other justification as well. Even the peace settlement is not the only Zionist objective because even if there were no war we would still be confronted with the great problem of resettling many Jews in Palestine. In any event, both in war and in peace, our aims are in accord with the aims of the great democracies, which are seeking to solve the world's problems.

To promote our program in these days we must have a greater degree of unity, both within the Zionist ranks, and together with other non-Zionist elements in this country. Without exaggerating, and without creating false hopes, he said, it appears that there is today a great possibility of creating a united front of American Jewry on a platform to which all Jews can subscribe. If the Zionists are properly organized, and conscious of their immediate tasks, they can merge during this period of emergency as the leading power in American Jewry.

Judge Levinthal announced that another meeting of the Executive would be held in two weeks, and that a committee would be appointed to draw up a plan for united Zionist action.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 P.M.,

Respectfully submitted

Simon Shetzer

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE
COUNCIL HELD AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY ON
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1941 AT 10:30 A. M.

PRESENT: Dr. James G. Heller, Presiding; Messrs. Ralph Bass, Boston; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R.I.; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi Herbert Bloom, Kingston, N. Y.; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D. C.; Louis E. Brown, Dorchester, Mass.; Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.; Judge Oscar Caplan, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Caplee, Dorchester, Mass.; Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, Charleston, W. Va.; Bernard Danzansky, Washington, D.C.; A. K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. David Feldman, Atlantic City, N. J.; Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Toledo, Ohio; Reuben Goldman, Rochester, N. Y.; Hyman Goldman, Washington, D. C.; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.; Louis Gordon, Harrisburg, Pa.; Joseph Holbert, Atlantic City, N.J.; Benjamin R. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Arnold Heicklin, Rochester, N. Y.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; Louis I. Levenson, Atlantic City, N.J.; Louis Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Seymour R. Levine, Peekskill, N. Y.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.; Jacob Lukashok, New Rochelle, N.Y.; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N.J.; Dr. Joachim Prinz, Newark, N. J.; Harry A. Rachlin, Buffalo, N. Y.; Samuel Raucher, Norwich, Conn.; Sol Reiter, Newburgh, N.Y.; Charles A. Rome, Boston, Mass.; Henry Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N.J.; Rabbi Rudolph M. Rosenthal, Cleveland, Ohio; Bernard G. Rudolph, Syracuse, N.Y.; Mrs. John D. Safer, Washington, D. C.; Judge Jacob Schwolsky, Hartford, Conn.; Ezra Z. Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio; Louis E. Spiegler, Washington, D. C.; Saul S. Spiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dewey D. Stone, Taunton, Mass.; Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Mark Sugarman, Coatesville, Pa.; Robert M. Travis, Atlanta, Ga.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; Abraham I. Uslander, Elizabeth, N.J.; Messrs. Marcus Abramson, Maurice Bernhardt, Samuel Berson, Samuel J. Borowsky, Maurice Boukstein, Julius Cantor, Abraham H. Cohen, Sol Cohen, Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Jacob Fishman, Hyman Fliegel, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Joshua Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Abraham Goodman, Judge Emanuel Greenberg, Murray I. Gurfein, Leo Guzik, Ralph Hukerman, Isaac Imber, Jacob Ish-Kishor, Samuel Judenfreund, Mordecai Kenowitz, Dr. Harris Levine, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Samuel J. Perry, Herman Quittman, Abraham A. Redelheim, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Moses Robinson, Jechonon I. Rudavsky, Leon Savage, Albert D. Schanzer, Joseph Schickler, Carl Sherman, Abe Sindel, Abraham Spicehandler, Robert Szold and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, all of greater New York, Mesdames Rose L. Halperin, Jeannette Leibel and Tamar de Sola Pool, representing Hadassah.

GUESTS: Dr. David Ben Gurion, Miss Juliet Benjamin, Abe Dickenstein, Mendel Fisher, Leib Jaffe, Arthur Lourie and Sophie Udin.

MEMBERS OF STAFF: Carl Alpert, Ernest Barbarash, Jr., Simon Bernstein, Zvi Levavy, Hyman A. Schullson, Simon Shetzer and Dr. David Tannenbaum.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE WERE RECEIVED FROM Messrs. Dr. Israel A. Abrams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rabbi Morris Adler, Detroit, Mich.; Oscar Altshuler, Youngstown, Ohio; Judge Samuel Earnet, New Bedford, Mass.; Phillip Barrow, Boston, Mass.; Charles Bender, Breckenridge, Texas; Rabbi Morton Berman, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom, Newburgh, N.Y.; Judge Jacob Braude, Chicago, Ill.; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, Ohio; Walter Burke, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Jesse B. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; Lawrence W. Crohn, Detroit, Mich.; Rabbi William Drazin,

Savannah, Ga.; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Fred M. Falkman, Cleveland, Ohio; M. B. Finkelstein, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Alfred Fleishman, St. Louis, Mo.; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Joseph L. Foster, Leominster, Mass.; Harry H. Frankel, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.; David Geffen, Utica, N.Y.; Dr. Moses Gellman, Baltimore, Md.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Dr. Israel M. Goldman, Providence, R.I.; Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Gustave L. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif.; Cecil R. Gordon, W. Newton, Mass.; Harry Grayer, New York City; Rabbi Emanuel Green, Aurora, Ill.; Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi William Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; J. L. Hecht, Norfolk, Va.; Alex Himmelman, Milwaukee, Wisc.; I. M. Jaffe, Butler, Pa.; Max Kabatznick, Boston, Mass.; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D.C.; Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Brooklyn, N. Y.; I. L. Kenen, S. Euclid, Ohio; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Charles J. Levin, Uniontown, Pa.; Harry Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Dr. Louis Levy, Memphis, Tenn.; Irving D. Lipkowitz, New York City; Judge Julian W. Mack, New York City; Morris Mallove, New London, Conn.; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Rabbi A. J. Mesch, Birmingham, Ala.; Harry J. Moskowitz, New York City; Seymour Melman, New York City; William Naimelman, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; J. Novy, Austin, Texas; Louis O. Perlman, Detroit, Mich.; Jacob Rabinovitz, Boston, Mass.; Max Rattner, Rock Island, Ill.; Hon. Hyman J. Reit, New York City; Aaron Riche, Los Angeles, Calif.; Louis P. Rocker, New York City; Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Leon Sager, Wilmette, Ill.; Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Woodmere, L. I.; Nathan Savage, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Albert Schiff, Columbus, Ohio; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio; Ben Sobel, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseph W. Spector, Baltimore, Md.; William E. Sylk, Philadelphia, Pa.; Elvin Teitelbaum, Johnstown, Pa.; Harry Takiff, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abraham Tulin, New York City; Dr. Harry F. Wechaler, New York City; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Herman L. Weisman, New York City; Senator Jacob Weiss, Indianapolis, Ind.; Samuel Wolberg, Wilmette, Ill.; Joseph Zox, Des Moines, Iowa; and Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Calif.

Rabbi Heller said that seldom in the history of the Zionist Organization has a meeting convened under more momentous circumstances. All of us realize that America's entry into the war has affected us, not merely as Americans but as Jews and as Zionists. What the future holds for us and for our country, what it will hold for the movement that is so dear to us, the manner in which it will be affected by full American participation in the war - all this lies hidden in the future. But those of us whose memories go back to the last war recall vividly the many changes that were necessary in the organization of Zionism as a world movement, and in its direction as a result of American participation in the war. I hope that this meeting of the Administrative Council will spend its energy not merely upon the discussion of our own parochial problems, our own internal problems, but that we shall also be able to devote some time to a consideration of the probable changes that we shall have to make in the light of the war.

The Chairman then proposed that before proceeding with the regular agenda a committee of three be appointed to formulate a message on behalf of the Z.O.A., from its Administrative Council, to the President of the United States, assuring him of our loyal support in this present crisis and pledging him all our resources and manpower for the defense of our beloved country.

It was accordingly moved and seconded that a committee of three be appointed to draw up such a message to be sent to the President.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Shetzer, ZOA Executive Director, to present his report.

Mr. Shetzer said: in the light of the events of last week the report of the Executive Director as noted upon the agenda and which had been prepared in advance of these events, might on the surface, seem irrelevant and impertinent. I think, however, that you will agree with me that precisely because of the crisis in which we are involved as Americans and as Jews and Zionists, it is wholly relevant and most appropriate that we inquire as to our responsibility as Zionists in the present circumstances and to ask ourselves what resources we have in the Zionist Organization in men, in money, and in discipline to meet the challenge of the hour and to move forward. It is in the light of such inquiry I intend to give you the Executive Director's report, which in a sense, is the cumulative report of the various departments in your national administration.

You will be glad to know that in the period from September 1st to December 14th, the speakers' Bureau of your national organization has booked speakers for 147 meetings, which is in addition to 100 scheduled meetings for which speakers were provided independently by the Districts themselves. In addition 138 meetings were held throughout the country under the joint auspices of the Zionist Districts and affiliated Zionist bodies, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, which, because of the passing of Justice Louis D. Brandeis and Menachem M. Ussishkin were transformed into joint Balfour-Brandeis memorial meetings as well as into memorials to Ussishkin.

The Districts are to be congratulated upon the splendid cooperation and the showing which they made in relation to the planning and programming of these Brandeis-Balfour meetings. The rallies were marked by large attendances and received a very fine press.

In connection with the report of the Speakers' Bureau, I want to caution District leaders on two scores. In the first place, I want to emphasize that you ought to give your national office ample time within which to secure a speaker for you. If you schedule your meetings regularly far in advance, and we have three or four weeks to secure a speaker for you, we can save a lot of expense by making it unnecessary to use long-distance telephone and telegrams in order to get your speakers. It is an economic question, no less than a question of wear and tear upon our human resources at the national office.

I should also like to suggest that Districts make use of speakers other than our top-flight leaders of whom we have only a handful and whom we can't send to every district in the country. There are a large number of capable men,

able speakers, with splendid Zionist and Jewish backgrounds, who can serve our Districts equally as well, and they ought to be utilized. We ought not to assume that we cannot have a meeting unless we have top billing.

I should like to report for our Publicity Department that was organized only a year ago that the volume of items of Palestine and Z.O.A. activities released to the Anglo-Jewish press and the Yiddish dailies, as well as to the general press of the country, has increased considerably. It is estimated that in the past three months, a total of over 900 columns were devoted to Z. O. A. press releases. On the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, special publicity material and articles were prepared and released. A number of anglo-Jewish papers used our material for special Balfour supplements. The material released included texts of addresses by United States Senators delivered at various rallies throughout the country, and at our suggestion the address of Senator James J. Davis was entered in the Congressional Record. A large amount of material was likewise prepared and released on Brandeis. Special Chanukah material has been prepared and distributed to the Districts in connection with the Brandeis Memorial Membership campaign.

This month marks the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Leo Pinsker. We have accordingly suggested that our Districts observe this anniversary as part of their Chanukah programs, and for this your Publicity Department has likewise prepared considerable material. For the period of the Brandeis memorial membership campaign, districts are also receiving a bulletin containing authentic information on all aspects of Jewish life in Palestine, not usually found in the press.

Two important events should be recorded at this time. Our Department of Publicity and Public Relations arranged for two outstanding press conferences since the last meeting of the Administrative Council. On October 26th a press conference was held in New York with representatives of the Yiddish dailies, the anglo-Jewish press and news agencies. This conference was attended and participated in by almost sixty Jewish writers. On December 2nd we had a press conference in Washington, to which were invited non-Jewish newspapermen, Washington correspondents of the leading American dailies, representatives of the great press services, outstanding columnists, feature writers and national radio commentators. This press conference was considered of sufficient worth to elicit the attendance of the U.S. President's Director of Public Relations - his secretary, Stephen Early.

Our Publicity Department is now engaged in the preparation of an eight-page illustrated pamphlet directly connected with the Brandeis memorial membership campaign. It should be in the hands of the Districts within a fortnight.

In general, it is fair to say that the scope of the publicity and public relations work is being enlarged in keeping with the need to promote a thorough, comprehensive and continuing campaign of public enlightenment and education in behalf of the Zionist cause.

I turn now to a report of our membership. As of November 30, 1941 when we closed our books for the month, the number of members enrolled (including renewals) for the two months since October 1, 1941, totaled 6,875. This compared

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with 5,627 for the same period a year ago - a gain of 1,258. I should say that on November 1st, a month previous, we were approximately 1,900 ahead of the comparable period of a year ago. From November 1st to November 30th our gain dropped from 1,900 to 1,258. As of December 10th our membership totalled 8,664 which when compared with that of December 10th of last year, shows an increase of only 903.

While our records show an increase in re-enrollment of old members, and the enlistment of new ones, I think the trend is important. The drop in our gains from 1,900 to 1,258 is significant. The gains recorded in the first month of the current year are slipping away. I am disturbed by that. I think you want me to tell you frankly and honestly what I feel about the situation. Last year when we had the highest membership in a decade, with 46,013 members, we found that 9,000 members of the previous year had failed to re-enroll, which means of course, that to achieve the increase over the previous year, we had to enroll a substantial number of new members. The year preceding that we lost 14,000 members of the previous year. Last year we took a loss of twenty percent. And the preceding year we took a loss of thirty-two percent.

It is a sad reflection upon the Z.O.A. if we cannot retain within our ranks those whom we have once registered and enrolled and if each year a membership campaign must consume most of our efforts simply in re-registration of those who ought automatically to send in their dues for the current year. We lessen and diminish by so much our available resources needed for seeking out and registering Jews who have never before been affiliated with us. I think Districts should give this matter their careful study. I consider it more important to maintain our membership of the preceding year than even to enroll new members, and we ought not to be satisfied merely with a nominal increase without analyzing how that increase is achieved.

We have launched for the period of December and January a Brandeis memorial membership campaign. We have to enroll all of our members of last year and we can't wait until a week or month before the convention to do it, and we can't wait until later in the spring when the U.J.A. campaigns are under way. Now is the time to organize our membership activities in our various districts, and they should not be limited to the registration of \$5.00 members exclusively.

We established last year, for the first time, a category of members that were in a higher bracket, the President's Chapter Membership of \$25.00. We had 472 such members last year. As of December 10th this year, we have only 35. A year ago on December 10th we had 123. What I said about re-enrollment of regular members applies even more so to this category of membership, through which is provided larger income for the organization.

I want to emphasize again the importance of districts organizing themselves immediately for larger membership enrollment this year, and to bear in mind that there ought to be a substantial portion, at least 10 to 15 percent of the total membership of any district, in the \$25.00 category.

I turn now to the financial report of the organization. The figure which concerns me the most and which looms the largest in the financial report, is the

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final figure. We have today a deficit of \$84,000. At the time of the convention our deficit was \$58,000. Within a month after that, the deficit had risen to some \$70,000. I understand, of course, that we have gone through the lean income months of the year, and that we have a right to anticipate that as the membership activities get into full swing and the revenues from that source increase that this figure may be pared down. We are operating within the budget. We are not exceeding our budgetary allowances for expenditure. Our income was approximately \$3,000 more than the budget anticipated. Our expenses were likewise about \$3,000 more. During that period we had an income of \$8,700 on account of the amounts contributed and pledged at the convention towards liquidation of the deficit.

The deficit total includes \$25,000 owed to a bank, to which I gave my solemn assurance that in February there would be at least a \$10,000 payment. Included in the deficit is a mounting bill to a number of printers. There are debts outstanding for some time to generous Zionist leaders who have come to our rescue in the past with loans to help us tide over equally distressing periods. The President has appointed Mr. E. I. Kaufmann and Rabbi Isadore Breslau as chairman and co-chairman, respectively of a committee on Revenue and Finance. These gentlemen mean to make a determined effort to raise funds for the reduction of our indebtedness.

I should like to point out something which our President stressed last night at a meeting of the Executive Committee. Our current income from all sources is a first lien upon our accumulated obligations, a direct charge upon them. If we were to quit operations today, all income would be devoted to the discharge of these accumulated obligations. Therefore, it is perfectly proper to say that all the money that we get in from various sources should be devoted to the liquidation of the deficit, and that our committee on Finance and Revenue, when it goes out to the country to meet with districts and Zionist leaders, is not asking for funds for liquidation of the deficit, but for new funds to provide the wherewithal to carry on the functions and operations of the national organization, its districts and regions, in a manner in which you want these functions to be maintained.

When the call comes to your region, to your districts, from Mr. Kaufmann and Rabbi Breslau, we expect that you will respond promptly and generously. We cannot afford any delay. Apart from the financial obligations which press upon us to be repaid, this deficit represents a tremendous burden which shackles your administrative officials. We cannot plan programs, we cannot even discuss matters which demand our earnest attention. Nothing in my experience has taught me how to spend money in anticipation of prospective revenues. We cannot discuss a broad program of propaganda and political activities until we have funds available. That is the responsibility of our districts and of our regions.

Now to another item in my report. I came into office simultaneously with the adoption by the Administrative Council of a plan of regional reorganization. The Administrative Council three months ago acted under the terms of reference decided upon by the Cincinnati Convention. The two principal features of that plan, are these: the retention by the national organization of the so-called regional refund; and secondly, the provision for the establishment of a national Zionist Organization field service. Both of these provisions represen-

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ted substantial changes from our accustomed administrative habits and procedures. I fully realize that it will require time - perhaps a year or even two- until the whole program of regional field service can be fully implemented. There are too many human factors involved. I never for a moment forget that ours is a voluntary organization, based in the final analysis upon good will, cooperation and collaboration.

I am also aware of the fact that we have been discussing regional re-organization for at least five years. We have talked and debated, and finally it seemed wise for the Administrative Council to bring this discussion and debate to a close and to authorize us to embark upon a program of action. In the light of the fact that we could not implement the program in one fell swoop, ~~Baron~~ Bressler and I conferred before I came into office, and we sent out a letter to all the regions and districts advising them that for the time being we would preserve the status quo, and would not take away the regional dollar until we were prepared to give value received for that dollar, that is, to provide new administrative machinery in the way of a new field service, and we have adhered to that.

There was another factor involved. There was only the disorganization of our regional set-up, and not only the lack of national discipline and responsibility, but there was great chaos and confusion in our administrative procedure. Some districts would send \$5.00 to the national office, while some would send \$5.00 to the regional office. While some districts remitted \$4.00, others would send \$3.00 and some \$2.50, and expect on top of that, subventions and subsidies. There was no regular procedure, there was no definition of relationship between districts and national office, nor even between districts and regions.

In the light of these facts, I am convinced more than ever that the reorganization of our administrative procedure and the establishment of a sense of responsibility and national discipline is essential if we are to continue our functions. That situation as it exists now is most disappointing.

Mr. Shetzer reported that there are at least 40 districts, among them some of the most substantial ones in the country, which are not affiliated with regions and that these districts have been retaining \$2.00 and \$2.50 per member, remitting to the national organization only \$3.00 or \$2.50.

The speaker declared that the seriousness of such action cannot be too strongly emphasized. These districts expect us to get along with \$3.00. Deduct the cost of the New Palestine and the shekel fee, only \$1.50 remains for us to operate, to service 46,000 members and at the same time embark upon an extended program of membership, youth and adult education - public relations, etc., A district with maybe 2,000 members says "we need more than you do, we need \$2.00". Some districts charge \$6.00, not \$5.00, and keep \$3.00.

Mr. Shetzer then read excerpts from letters received from various Districts, indicating their refusal to abide by the program approved by the Administrative Council. He deplored this lack of discipline and responsibility, especially in this hour of grave crisis. On the other hand, he praised the attitude of the leaders of the Southeastern Zionist Region with whom he recently conferred and who unanimously decided that as disciplined Zionists they accept the decision of the national organization.

Mr. Shetzer concluded his report with a plea to the districts to support the national program with all of their resources.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Ralph Bass, in behalf of the New England Zionist Region, will propose for a reconsideration of the plan for regional re-organization. However, inasmuch as the Administrative Council has already taken action in regard to this plan, it cannot under parliamentary procedure be taken up again except for general discussion on the basis of the report of the Executive Director, unless a motion is made for reconsideration by someone who voted in favor of the plan at the last session.

However, if a motion is made for reconsideration, the whole subject is open for discussion including any plans which you want to present.

Mr. Spiro voiced the opinion that to maintain discipline good will is needed.

In response to a question by Mr. Spicehandler regarding the budget, Mr. Levavy, Comptroller, stated that the budget, with the exception of three items which were sent back to the Budget Committee for reconsideration was accepted by the Executive. Those items were the allocations for The New Palestine, Dos Yiddishe Folk, and the Hebrew subsidies. The Budget Committee's report on these items is ready for submission to the Executive.

Replying to a further inquiry by Mr. Spicehandler on the relationship of the Z.O.A. to the Emergency Committee, Rabbi Heller said that this matter was the subject of discussion at two meetings of the Executive Committee. Various efforts are now under way to bring about a closer coordination between these two bodies.

Mr. Ralph Bass asked that the parliamentary rule requiring that a motion for reconsideration be made by one who originally voted in favor be waived in his case, in view of the fact that he was inadvertently not invited to the last meeting of the Administrative Council at which the plan was adopted. He reported that the overwhelming majority of the New England delegation he represents is anxious to have the motion for reconsideration discussed.

Rabbi Heller pointed out that not only is a motion required to reconsider but the body has to adopt the motion to reconsider before the discussion can be reopened.

Mr. Marcus Abramson voiced criticism of the fact that the report of the Executive Director omitted mention of a change in the organizational set-up of the national office, in that of the office of Membership Director was abolished. He was of the opinion that the Administrative Council should be given an opportunity to have its say about it.

He referred to a telegram that was forwarded to the President of the Z.O.A. by 34 District Chairmen and 3 Regional Presidents in Greater New York area, asking that Mr. Morris Margulies be assigned to that area. Mr. Abramson asserted that this request was not given proper consideration.

Rabbi Heller said that the question should be directed to the Executive Committee.

Judge Levinthal stated that under the constitution of the Z.O.A. the question of hiring or discharging officials lies solely within the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee. In accordance with that provision of the constitution, the Executive Committee appointed a committee, and that committee acted.

In regard to the telegram mentioned, Judge Levinthal said that a substantial minority of the Zionist leaders in the districts and regions of New York did not join in the request and it was no recommendation and the recommendation of the majority of the Committee appointed by the Executive Committee, that in view of the fact that there was no unanimity of this question, that it would be unwise to have Mr. Margulies assigned to a section in which he could not count on the unanimous and enthusiastic support of Zionist leadership. We need unity now, and not more division.

Mr. Frisch expressed the opinion that some way should be found of placating those dissatisfied with the decision of a few weeks ago by applying the measure embodied in Plan A with a little more consideration toward the local leadership in the various regions. He suggested that those regions and districts who would have preferred Plan B make such recommendations that while they would not call for a reconsideration of the plan would elicit the good will of all members present to cooperate with them.

Mr. Frisch then dwelt upon the membership question, particularly, Chapter membership. He maintained that a decision on this matter is imperative in the interest of the organization and the movement. He expressed confidence that a few thousand men could be enlisted as chapter membership at \$25.00. But as a stimulus to districts to participate in such an effort. He proposed that of the \$25. collected for chapter membership, the amount of \$5 be retained by the districts.

He reported that as far as the Indianapolis District is concerned, it has already re-enrolled 100% of its chapter members of last year - more than any other city of its size.

Mr. Frisch also proposed that districts be allowed to retain locally \$1.00 and remit \$4.00 for each regular member, and that no membership cards be issued unless \$4.00 (instead of \$5) is received by the national office.

Mr. Frisch's motion was seconded.

The Chairman explained that the motion consisting of two parts - first, that of the \$25 membership for the President's Chapter, the national office shall refund \$5.00 to the district securing the membership; secondly, that of each \$5.00 regular dues the district remit \$4.00 to the national office, retaining \$1.00.

Mr. Dewey Stone stated that we have always had a \$25 sustaining membership.

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Mr. Spiegler proposed an amendment that membership cards for enrolled members be sent to the districts which in turn should send the cards, after they are countersigned by the president of the district to the members. Such a procedure would contribute to the establishment of a closer contact between the local district and the members.

Mr. Moses Robinson proposed an amendment that of each \$8.00 collected for joint membership, districts retain \$1.50.

Mr. Frisch said that he would accept such amendment.

The Chairman made clear that in so far as it applies to Chapter membership, the motion provides that the refund of \$5.00 of each \$25 goes to districts and not to regions.

Mr. Samuel Rothstein suggested that we should not merely say \$25, but \$25 or more. The amount of refund should be \$5 even on each \$50 or \$100 collected.

The Chairman then called on a vote on the motion. That of each \$5.00 regular membership, districts remit \$4.00 and in case of joint membership, \$1.50, to the national office.

The motion was CARRIED.

Rabbi Heller: The second motion is that of Mr. Spiegler, namely, that henceforth membership cards shall be forwarded to the districts from the national office to be countersigned in the districts and then distributed to members.

The motion CARRIED.

The third motion (that of Mr. Frisch) to the effect that dues of \$25 or more under the President's Chapter or under any other arrangement where by the amount of \$25 or over is collected, that it be sent to the national office, and that \$5.00 of the amount shall be returned to the district from which that contribution came.

Mr. Snetzer made clear that it is not intended that this \$5.00 out of the \$25 be a subsidy or subvention. It is intended primarily as an incentive to the district to go out and do some work to raise \$25 memberships. Last year most of them were obtained by Mr. Kaufmann through personal correspondence. We now want to transfer some of that work to the district. For that reason it should be understood that the \$5.00 is for the district only.

Rabbi Heller: It is so limited in this motion.

Mr. Schickler felt that without proper promotion by the regions the effort for President's Chapter will in some localities, not meet with success.

The motion on President's Chapter memberships refund was unanimously carried.

Before proceeding with the future business, the Chairman appointed a committee consisting of Robert Szold, Chairman, Ezra Shapiro, Rabbi Breslau and Judge Rosenblatt to draw up a message to the President.

Mr. Schanzer asked that he be recorded in the affirmative on the last three motions so that in the future, he can move to reconsider some of them. He believes that the regions have not received adequate consideration in the adoption of these motions.

Mr. Bass moved that the matter of New England and other regions which have problems in the retaining of dues be committed to the Budget and Office Committee for consideration.

Rabbi Heller explained that the plan A that was passed at the meeting of the Administrative Council at Washington had two chief provisions. One, that the dues shall henceforth, now with the exception of \$1.00 retained by the districts, be remitted to the office in Washington, and that all the regional set-up shall be both financed from that sum and administered also from the central office; that they shall appoint the regional directors, of course, in consultation with the districts. It would be perfectly proper and parliamentary, in the case of regions that are dissatisfied with this arrangement, for the President to be authorized - which he is by virtue of his office - to consult with those regions to try to placate them, to listen to complaints that they may wish to make. But if the motion is intended to reverse the decision that was made, then it is out of order.

Mr. Bass then proposed that this problem of regions be referred to the President with discretionary powers to deal with New England and other regions.

Those participating in the ensuing discussion on Regional problems were: Mr. Bothstein, Mr. Goldman, Mr. Radavsky, Mr. Rachlin, Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Spiro and Rabbi Charry.

Mr. Radavsky then raised the question of the retirement of Mr. Margulies, reading a letter on the subject from Dr. Wise to Judge Levinthal.

Judge Levinthal deplored the fact that Mr. Radavsky did not also have the copy of his (Judge Levinthal's) reply to Dr. Wise on all points raised.

Rabbi Heller reiterated that matters of employment or cessation of employment are within the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee and not of the Administrative Council. He therefore characterized the reading of a letter bearing upon the procedure of the Executive Board to a meeting of the Administrative Council as extremely inappropriate.

Mr. Halbert asked that Atlantic City where they have increased its membership from 30 to 1,000 without the help of a region be permitted to retain \$2.00.

He made a motion that any district whose membership exceeds 1,000, shall be treated the same as a region and be allowed a \$2.00 refund. He stressed that the \$2.00 retained every year is given to Zionist appeals and that is the

reason for the splendid record of his district.

Rabbi Heller said that he cannot accept that as a motion, but he will submit it in the form of a suggestion to the Executive Director and to the officers in regard to districts which are not included in Regions.

Mr. Elihu Stone appealed to the administration that for the sake of good will between now and the next meeting they give consideration to dissatisfaction prevailing in some regions over the plan adopted.

Rabbi Rosenthal announced his intention to present a resolution on Mr. Margulies, when the chairman ruled him out of order on the ground that under the Constitution of the Z.O.A. the question of officials belongs only to the jurisdiction of the Executive Committee. Rabbi Rosenthal insisted that the Administrative Council be given an opportunity to discuss and pass its judgement upon the action of the Executive Committee in the matter of Mr. Margulies. He then read his resolution, voicing regret at the action of the Executive.

Mr. Shapiro maintained that the resolution is in order, since it involves a statement of opinion on an action of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Szold disagreed with this view, stating that the constitutional provision with reference to employees was adopted after the Administrative Council had taken on a long discussion with reference to personnel, and the constitutional provision was designed to remove from this large body discussions of such questions.

Mr. Ozik shared the opinion of Mr. Szold, while Mr. Schanzer maintained that the Administrative Council cannot be deprived of its right to voice its opinion on action of the Executive.

Judge Levinthal said that what Mr. Schanzer says is true as to the recommendation with regard to prospective action or resolutions. This body could certainly have adopted a recommendation to be submitted to the Executive Committee prior to the taking of action by the Executive Committee. The Executive and Administrative Council may exercise concurrently certain powers. Now the powers that are given in Section 11 of the Constitution are those which may be exercised concurrently by the Executive and the Administrative Council. In any question of conflict between the Administrative Council and the Executive Committee, the Administrative Council is the superior body. Section 13 expressly provides that the Executive shall have the power to engage, discharge and fix compensation of all administrative officers and employees of the organization.

Reviewing the events concerning the retirement of Mr. Margulies, Judge Levinthal revealed that he offered him a region outside of New York, subject to the approval of the Zionist leaders in that region, but that he refused that offer. And then we proceeded to treat him very fairly by giving him one year's severance compensation.

Following further discussion, in which Judge Rosenblatt, Judge Reit, Mr. Abrahamson, Mr. Radavsky, Mr. Judenfreund, Mr. Shapiro and Rabbi Miller participated, the following motion was put to a vote:

It is the opinion of the Administrative Council that as a body it has the right to express an opinion on an action specifically delegated to the powers of the Executive Committee upon which it has already taken action.

Motion CARRIED.

Judge Reit then moved that the resolution of Rabbi Rosenthal censuring the action of the Executive in the matter of Mr. Margulies be tabled.

Motion CARRIED.

Mr. Shapiro stated he desired to record his vote on this subject. He said that he feels personally very badly about this situation. He urged at the last convention, even before the war, a real suspension of the hostilities that existed at that convention. There is no need for exclusion of persons in Zionist work today. Unless a person is unqualified, incompetent and unfit to continue in the service, there is no reason for much of this action that we have taken.

Rabbi Heller asked for the privilege of a statement and requested Judge Levinthal to take the Chair. He said that there were a great many things at the last convention which were said in the heat of discussion. To assume when matters are discussed in the Administrative Council or to assume on the floor of the convention, that every action that is taken by people with whom you don't agree, is an action which is vindictive, which is taken for personal reasons, which has nothing to do with the welfare of the organization, which is without the consideration for the specific situation that exists, is an assumption contrary to the facts, and it is a type of assumption which is going to continue to sow discord in the deliberations of the Zionist Organization.

Rabbi Heller emphatically denied that members of the Executive Committee who voted by a very considerable majority to take this action, were animated only by the desire to purge Mr. Margulies out of the organization, and that there wasn't in their minds something that had to do with the welfare of the organization. It is not a fact that there is a certain group that is trying to drive other people out of the organization.

Mr. Szold then presented the resolution prepared by the committee, addressed to the President of the United States:

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. PRESIDENT:

THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, IN SPECIAL SESSION ASSEMBLED, TENDERS TO YOU, AS THE LEADER OF OUR UNITED AMERICAN NATION, IN THIS HOUR OF CRISIS, THE UNLIMITED DEVOTION, SUPPORT AND FEALTY OF THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF MEN AND WOMEN ENROLLED IN THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

FROM THIS DAY FORTH, THE TRIUMPH OF THE AMERICAN CAUSE BECOMES OUR PARAMOUNT AIM AND PURPOSE TO WHICH WE CONSECRATE OUR EVERY THOUGHT, DEED AND EFFORT UNTIL VICTORY IS WON.

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL, PRES. Z.O.A.
DR. JAMES G. HELLER, CHAIRMAN, AD. COUNCIL

Approved by a rising vote.

The meeting adjourned at 1:40 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Chairman called upon Mr. Emanuel Neumann to present his report on the activities of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

Mr. Neumann referred briefly to the efforts which are being made by the Emergency Committee to effectuate, if possible, a united front among American Jews, primarily with regard to Palestine, but also with regard to other Jewish problems.

Since Dr. Weizmann made his statement in London with regard to the failure, for the time being, of the negotiations between him and the British Government on the subject of the Jewish military force, that question became a very pressing one and of high importance to us also in this country. Since last week a great deal has happened. America is at war and our tactics may have to be changed. Nevertheless, we undertook a rather intensive campaign of publicity and propaganda and also made certain efforts, through political channels, for the purpose of getting support in this country for the recognition of a Jewish military force. And I must say that our activities did seem to be producing an impression.

You all read in the New Palestine of the press conference in Washington at which Judge Levinthal spoke. Many important correspondents and journalists were there. We had the feeling that we were being understood. The same thing happened in other places. A great many articles were printed in the general press. At the same time parallel action was being undertaken by a group with which we were not connected and over whom we had no jurisdiction or control, the Committee for a Jewish army, organized on the initiative of Revisionists. Various steps were taken by that committee, steps which in effect would conflict with any efforts by the official Zionist bodies. There was and is considerable possibility and danger of conflict between them and us. I must say that they have carried on this propaganda with considerable energy and zeal. They had a meeting in Washington just two days after our press conference, to which Secretary Stimson addressed a telegraphic message of encouragement. At the same time, steps were taken in Congress. One Congressman - Somers - introduced a resolution or a bill in the lower House, requiring the granting of lend-lease material for the Jewish army. That resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and it rests there. A few days later, after the proclamation of war, Hamilton Fish, one of the leading Isolationists in the House, made a speech on the same subject in the lower House. So did Congressman Dingell. Obviously such activities could be extremely harmful, if they are not related and coordinated, and the question has been weighed by the Emergency Committee of what attitude to assume toward such independent activities cropping up in various places, particularly this Jewish Army Committee. On the one hand we realize that some of the elements behind that Committee were not responsive to Zionist influence and discipline. On the other hand, we had to weigh the danger and damage that could result from complete lack of contact and coordination. This question is still engaging the attention of the Emergency Committee, and the attempt has been made, and is being made to find a solution. X

Administrative Council - 12/14/41

Recently a special official emissary went from this country to the Near East - a very important personality - to study the situation there. We may say that all that could be done, has been done to prepare the ground, to make sure that full information is given him, and that most sympathetic consideration is given to our needs and position.

Members of the American Palestine Committee have also been articulate on behalf of our cause in various instances. I should like to refer more particularly to the recent addresses by Senator Pepper at the Jewish National Fund Conference; and by Senator Tunnell, likewise a member of the American Palestine Committee, and of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, at the convention of the Mizrahi Organization's 30th anniversary. Senator Wagner issued a vigorous statement for the Jewish military force, just on the eve of the war. Naturally, all that we have done until now was only by way of preparation for the real test which is to come.

Our entry into the war makes our task more difficult. The intense feeling of patriotism shared by us all results in a demand that all energy be devoted to America's winning the war and there will be some impatience, for the time being, with any activity that we may engage in. I think that is only a passing phase. In a very short time the outlines of the whole situation will emerge more clearly and our position will reveal itself to be the only one of all Jewish activities that has a direct relation to the war effort.

A tremendous effort will be required by the Zionists throughout the country to overcome dangers and to make sure of at least American support, despite the point of view which is being constantly pressed by our antagonists. We have evidence that an effort is being made through British channels to influence American opinion on Palestine, and we shall have to meet it and counter it as we go along. That implies no inconsistency. Our war effort must go on, but our own work and struggle must go on simultaneously.

The speaker then stressed the need of having all political activities conducted through the Emergency Committee and doing away with any separate and independent efforts in this direction.

Outlining a plan for future activities, Mr. Neumann said that, next year we will have the 30th anniversary of America's official action with regard to the Balfour Declaration - the resolution of Congress, 1922. If we are properly prepared for it, it can result in a reaffirmation by the United States of the resolution adopted then, which would undoubtedly be helpful to us. To accomplish that, we shall have to have not only intensive work in Washington, but throughout the country. Until now the Zionists have not been responsive. If we are to mobilize our strength at a given moment, we have need of Zionists throughout the country who will regard that work as their immediate and primary responsibility.

Administrative Council - 12/14/41

And finally, again the request for cooperation and discipline. It is a critical situation which exists now and whatever may be the effect of coordination in all other matters, in this field, in this vital realm, lack of coordination is fatal; and I would earnestly request that all Zionist groups henceforth think twice before visiting political figures in high position and that they call on the established committees and authorities for guidance in such matters.

Mr. Ben Gurion presented a comprehensive review of the political situation in relation to Palestine, as well as a detailed report on the all-out effort of the Yishuv.

Meeting adjourned at 5:45 P.M.

Respectfully submitted

Simon Shetzer



[undated]

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

ZR 123

For Release: UPON RECEIPT

BRANDEIS — A GLORIOUS CHAPTER IN ZIONIST HISTORY
(Issued by the Zionist Organization of America)

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Even as the Zionists of America were making preparations for the observance of his eighty-fifth birthday, Justice Louis D. Brandeis departed from this earth. His passing marked not only the end of a life replete with achievements for mankind and with the enrichment of American life, but the completion of thirty-five years of uninterrupted service to the Zionist movement and to the furtherance of the Zionist ideal. Zionism was to him a creed of life which he translated in terms of decisive contributions and accomplishments. To the future historian will be entrusted the task of evaluating the true scope and significance of the role which Justice Brandeis played in the upbuilding of Palestine.

The continuing interest which Justice Brandeis maintained in the Zionist movement was unbroken even after he ascended the Supreme Court Bench. Throughout the years of his public career, both as a counsellor of national repute and as a member of the Supreme Court, Justice Brandeis maintained uninterruptedly his interest in and association with the Zionist movement. For reasons that are well known, Justice Brandeis for a number of years severed his contact with the Zionist Organization of America, but never for a single day did he cease to evince his concern for the movement as a whole. In July, 1938, with the beginning of the Administration of Dr. Seligman Goldman, Justice Brandeis reestablished his contact with the Zionist Organization of America.

Closely bound to President Woodrow Wilson by ties of friendship and common political views, Justice Brandeis was instrumental in winning over the American President to the Zionist cause and he subsequently played a vital role

more

in securing the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. In May, 1917, six months before the issuance of the Declaration, its author, Mr. Arthur James Balfour, who headed a British mission to the United States, went to see Mr. Brandeis. They met three times and their conversations brought about a clarification of the views of American Jewry in regard to the formula for Britain's forthcoming pledge for the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. In the light of the present-day Zionist position, it is significant to relate that Brandeis at that time expressed dissatisfaction with the phrase "National Home in Palestine" as being too general and as "not saying too much." However, after further negotiations, the American Government eventually deferred to the British position as to the wording of the Declaration.

Since his retirement from the Bench, not a single day passed that Justice Brandeis did not take an intimate and active interest in Zionism, in Palestine and the refugee problem and in the spiritual implications of the Jewish future. His door at his Washington residence was open virtually day and night. There was a beaten path to his door by leaders of the Z.O.A. who leaned upon his advice and counsel and as crisis after crisis developed, he was always consulted by the American and World Zionist leadership. The encouragement and support he gave to the Goldman and Kaufmann administrations served to fortify American Zionists in their determination to make of the Z.O.A. a dignified and effective instrument for Zionist action.

His amazing capacity for work led him to take an intimate interest in the daily practical problems relating to the progress and expansion of the Zionist Organization of America. Giving voice to his faith and optimism, Justice Brandeis on numerous occasions expressed confidence that the Zionist Organization of America could become that instrument for Zionist action in America and was well on the road to winning the active support of all American

Jews. Up to the very last, at the time when Judge Louis E. Levinthal became President, he repeated his expression of confidence in the direction which the Z.O.A. Administration was taking in forging an American organization worthy of the nobility and the high purposes of the World Zionist movement.

It is well known that since his appointment to the Supreme Court, Justice Brandeis never issued any public statements. While extending advice and assistance to those who sought it, he never issued statements nor permitted himself to be quoted. It was therefore an historic event when on May 18, 1938, he authorized Dr. Solomon Goldman, the then President of the Zionist Organization of America, to issue in his behalf a four-point statement with reference to the then existing emergency arising out of the publication of the White Paper. Questioning the legality of British action in restricting immigration into Palestine, the great jurist, through Dr. Goldman, stated:

1. A legal obligation assumed by Great Britain is the basis for Jewish construction enterprise in Palestine. That legal right, sustained by humanitarian needs, cannot be obliterated for private advantage.
2. What does the world propose to do with the Jews for whom exile is enforced? Unless civilization has so reverted to primitivism as to wish the destruction of homeless Jews, it must encourage the proved medium to solve in great measure the problem of Jewish homelessness.
3. The absorptive capacity is stated to be the criterion by which Jewish entry into Palestine should be determined. Disinterested experts have proved that Palestine is equipped to absorb 100,000 Jews a year.
4. On the basis of legal right, which Great Britain with the sanction of the world established, and of the pressing human needs, Jews will continue to enter Palestine, assured of the confident support of the Jewish people that they will build in Palestine a land beneficial to all its inhabitants.

"Brandeis has enlisted in Zionism not merely for the duration of the war, but for life." Thus wrote the late Jacob de Haas on the occasion of the 75th birthday of Justice Brandeis. This characterization epitomizes the devotion of Justice Brandeis to the Zionist cause.

The attitude and philosophy of Justice Brandeis to the Zionist movement can best be gauged by what Justice Brandeis himself wrote in 1915:

Zionism seeks to establish in Palestine for such Jews as choose to go and remain there, and for their descendants, a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life; where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we may call home rule.

The establishment of the legally secured Jewish home is no longer a dream. For more than a generation brave pioneers have been building the foundations of our new-old home. It remains for us to build the super-structure. The ghetto walls are now falling. Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed, assimilation cannot be averted, unless there be reestablished in the fatherland a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future.

The glorious past can really live only if it becomes the mirror of a glorious future; and to this and the Jewish Home in Palestine is essential. We Jews of prosperous America above all need its inspiration.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, as President of the Z.O.A., only last week issued a proclamation calling for the nationwide observance of the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. At that time there was no intimation of the serious loss we were about to suffer. In view of the passing of Justice Brandeis, Judge Levinthal calls upon the country at large that the observance of Balfour Day be marked by special emphasis on the association of Justice Brandeis with the Balfour Declaration and that the occasion be utilized for the holding of memorial rites in commemoration of the great role which Justice Brandeis played in American Zionism. It is expected that all organizations participating in the November 2nd observance will make plans for converting these celebrations into Brandeis memorials.

[undated]

1941

RESOLUTION SUGGESTED FOR ADOPTION
AT PUBLIC MEETINGS IN OBSERVANCE OF THE
TWENTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BALFOUR
DECLARATION.

The Balfour Declaration, which was issued by the Government of Great Britain on November 2, 1917 and pledged its best endeavors to facilitate the re-establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, represents the most statesmanlike attempt to solve the millennial problem of Jewish homelessness. The Declaration met with the warm concurrence of the Government and people of the United States and was embodied in the Palestine Mandate conferred upon Great Britain by the League of Nations. Under the guarantees which this Declaration and the Palestine Mandate offered, the Jewish National Home has made impressive progress in every sphere, and since the advent of Nazi persecution has absorbed a larger number of refugees than all other lands combined.

It is clear, however, that the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration have not yet been carried out, and on this occasion of the twenty-fourth anniversary of its promulgation, this meeting of American citizens, assembled in the City of _____ on _____ 1941, convinced that the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine must be an integral part of a just world order, looks forward to the complete fulfillment of the Declaration after the war.

[undated]

RESOLUTION ON COORDINATION OF ZIONIST ACTIVITIES

WHEREAS: The Zionist Organization of America, in Convention assembled, recognizes the compelling urgency of co-ordinating all Zionist activities and strengthening the Zionist Organization of America as an instrument for the effective and united action in Zionist affairs; and that it is to the best interests of the Zionist movement and would be in greater conformity with democratic procedure that no member of the Zionist Organization of America participate as officer, director or member of the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund, the United Palestine Appeal, and the Emergency Committee under circumstances where they are neither designated nor approved by the Zionist Organization of America and are not responsible to it for their official acts; it is

RESOLVED:

1. No member of the Zionist Organization of America shall serve as an officer or member of the Board of Directors or governing body of the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund, or United Palestine Appeal, or as a member of the Emergency Committee, unless he shall first have obtained the approval or designation of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America;
2. Every member of the Zionist Organization of America, who shall be appointed or elected as an officer or member of the Board of Directors or other governing body of the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund, or the United Palestine Appeal, or as a member of the Emergency Committee shall (a) be responsible to the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America for his official acts and (b) continue in such office or body at the pleasure of such Executive Committee.
3. This resolution democratically adopted after years of experience, extended discussion and mature consideration, is a mandate binding upon all the members of the Zionist Organization of America.

4. The incoming Executive is hereby directed:

(a) To cause appropriate representation of the Zionist Organization of America to be assured on the governing boards of the Jewish National Fund, the Keren Hayesod, the United Palestine Appeal and on the membership of the Emergency Committee.

(b) To take all necessary or desirable steps looking toward the procurement of amendments to the respective Constitutions and laws of the Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, United Palestine Appeal and the Emergency Committee and to the adoption of such resolutions and to do any and all other things deemed necessary to accomplish the true intent and spirit of this resolution.

(c) To convene a special session of the Executive Committee forthwith for the special purpose of carrying out these resolutions.

(d) To have due regard for the legitimate interests of Mizrachi, the Labor Party and Hadassah and the non-Zionists in the Keren Hayesod, the Jewish National Fund, the United Palestine Appeal and the Emergency Committee, as the case may be.