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Zionist Organization of America, 1942.

MINUTES OF Z.C.A. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON SATURDAY EVENING
JANUARY 10th, 1942, 8:00 P. M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal (in the Chair), Robert M. Bernstein, Maurice M. Boukstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, A. K. Epstein, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Cecil R. Gordon, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfein, Mordecai Konowitz, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Louis P. Rucker, Simon Shetzer, Louis E. Spiegler, Robert Szold, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

BY INVITATION: Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Rabbi Eugene Kohn, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, and Dr. David Tannenbaum.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE RECEIVED FROM: Messrs. Philip Barron, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Jacob Fishman, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Daniel Frisch, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. James G. Heller, S. I. Kaufmann, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Rabbi Israel E. Levinthal, Judge Julian W. Mack, Seymour Mellman, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Bernard G. Rudolph, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dewey D. Stone, Elihu D. Stone, and Harry Takiff.

I. TRIBUTE IN MEMORY OF PINCHAS RUTENBERG:

Mr. Robert Szold spoke briefly on Mr. Rutenberg's contributions and work for the Jewish National Home. He said: "Mr. Rutenberg was one of the great figures of Zionist history and was one of the great characters who helped to develop Palestine. Foremost among his achievements in Palestine was the creation and direction of the Palestine Electric Corporation. In recognition of our loss, it is fitting that we record, at this meeting, our expression of sorrow and bereavement."

II. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

Mr. Shetzer reported that as of January 9th the Z.C.A. paid membership was 1919 more members than for the same period in 1941; 2576 new members were secured as against 2263 for the same period in 1941. The President's Chapter membership has also increased due to Mr. Kaufmann's activity. We now have 170 members in that chapter.

Mr. Shetzer announced the publication of a new eight page leaflet, entitled "In War Prepare for Peace" which is being widely used in connection with the Brandeis Memorial Membership campaign.

Mr. Shetzer reported that at the last meeting of the Executive, the Z.C.A. deficit amounted to \$85,000, but as of January 1st, the deficit has been reduced to \$78,000 as a result of an excess of \$ 7000 of income over expenditure during the month of December. While the amount of the deficit has been reduced, \$78,000 still represents a tremendous burden.

Mr. Shetzer announced that Rabbi Breslau will visit a number of communities in the country to raise funds to liquidate the deficit and is looking forward to a greater amount of assistance and cooperation from the Executive Committee.

With respect to the implementation of the Regional Reorganization program, Mr. Shetzer reported that he had met personally with representatives of the Texas, Southeastern, Seaboard, Brooklyn, Bronx, Empire State, Western New York, Tri-State, Ohio Valley, and New England regions, and had corresponded with a number of other regions throughout the country. In the past several weeks the objects and purposes of the regional reorganization program have been receiving more general acceptance than heretofore. A more friendly attitude and more cooperation was shown. He did not expect to have complete regional implementation this year, but stated that if we had one-half dozen well functioning regions before the conclusion of the year, we will have achieved something. Mr. Shetzer pointed out that we are greatly limited in our work because of the very small amount of money available. Some areas have so few members that they cannot support a regional budget out of their present membership and we are, therefore, compelled to consider larger areas, to include two or more Regions to be serviced by one field man. The unaffiliated districts, districts that have no regional affiliation but which have, nevertheless, been retaining \$2.00 out of the dues, create a difficult problem. Mr. Shetzer said he is now insisting that such districts relinquish the additional dollar. Mr. Shetzer asked the Executive Committee if there were any instructions or advice they would care to give him on this subject.

Dr. Wise suggested that in view of the fact that the U.P.A. conference was being held in Cleveland, the Cleveland problem could be discussed at an informal meeting early Saturday or Sunday morning, and an effort be made to iron out the differences between the three Cleveland Districts and the Z.O.A. He urged that the Cleveland Districts be urged to get together and form one strong district, instead of having three different groups.

Mr. Shetzer replied that efforts have already been made in that direction, a joint meeting of the Chairmen and Secretaries of all the Cleveland Districts and the Society was scheduled for Friday, January 16th.

Judge Levinthal commended Mr. Shetzer for the good job he had done in such short time.

Judge Levinthal supplemented Mr. Shetzer's membership report on the President's Chapter and urged every member of the Executive Committee to tell their friends about the Chapter and to enroll as many Zionists as possible who can afford a \$25.00 membership. He felt that every leading Zionist in the country ought to be a member of this Chapter and that at least ten percent of every district should be members therein. He remarked that at least 25,000 people in the country could and should pay \$25.00.

Judge Levinthal urged the Executive Committee to make it its business to wipe out the deficit this year. He felt that the U.P.A. was not giving the Zionist Organization a sufficient subsidy. He suggested that a Committee of the U.P.A. should confer with our Finance Committee to see what could be done to lower our deficit or to wipe it out entirely. He pointed out that the Z.O.A. helps the Peale Zion and Mikrachi youth groups, but does not get any subsidy from them. The Z.O.A. gives \$20,000 to the Youth Commission. If the U.P.A.

wants to inculcate the youth with Zionist propaganda, which will help them in their appeals in the future, they ought to give this \$20,000. Judge Levinthal said he counted on Drs. Wise and Silver to cooperate with the Z.O.A. in obtaining from the U.P.A. a subsidy which would make it possible for the Z.O.A. to function effectively, not only in the interest of the Z.O.A. and specific Zionist activities, but to help directly and indirectly the U.P.A. He urged that this matter be taken up immediately, unless we wanted to let the Z.O.A. drift into bankruptcy.

Judge Levinthal reported that when he arranged for meetings in Boston and Baltimore, he was cautioned not to ask anybody for more than \$25 or we would hurt the U.P.A. He felt that if the U.P.A. stands in the way of the Z.O.A.'s raising money to wipe out its deficit, then the U.P.A. should give us a substantial subsidy to make the Z.O.A. function properly.

Mr. Epstein pointed out that if there were no effective Z.O.A. there would not be a U.P.A. and that if it were not for the Zionists in Chicago, the U.P.A. would have received much less money from the Welfare funds. He claimed that the Zionist members were the people who put up a fight, who arranged the calling of meetings with the Welfare Fund members, etc. As a result of the activities of the Zionist members of the city of Chicago, the U.P.A. obtained from the Welfare Fund a promise that they were not going to make any allocations for a certain length of time, and because of this effort the U.P.A. was able to strike a favorable bargain with the J.D.C., the N.R.S. and other welfare funds. In the meantime, the Zionists were busy calling meetings, writing protests, and keeping the pot boiling in Chicago so as to enable the U.P.A. to get its proper allocation. He claimed that the Z.O.A. services the U.P.A. and the U.J.A. should recognize that fact. He commented on the fact that another Zionist -- Benj. A. Harris, had been appointed to the Committee of the Welfare Funds, in addition to Rabbi Solomon Goldman. Mr. Harris endeavored to introduce in the propaganda of the Welfare Fund, that Palestine is the only proper approach to the Jewish problem during the war and that Palestine is an ally we have created for the United States. All the fighting is done by members of the Z.O.A.; all the work is done through the Zionist Organization of America's districts and not the U.P.A. which in fact does not exist at all in Chicago.

Mr. Shetzer called to the attention of the Executive Committee that when the budget proposals were first presented at the meeting in Atlanta of the Council of Federations and Welfare Fund organizations, the Zionists were in attendance and they organized the fight against the budgetary proposals. The 'budgetary proposal' was obtained exclusively through the effort of the registered Zionists. The fight in Detroit in the Federation and Welfare Funds was led by registered Zionists. No support was obtained from the non-Zionists.

Mr. Bernstein commented that the very same issue presented itself last week in Philadelphia. Mr. Bernstein led a bitter fight at the Board of Allied Jewish Appeal along the same lines, which meant a difference of \$50,000 for the U.P.A.

Rabbi Breslau said that what Mr. Epstein, Mr. Shetzer and Mr. Bernstein said, can be borne out in other sections of the country. He stated: "There is no U.P.A. outside of the Z.O.A. membership. This past year I was the President of the U.P.A. in the Seaboard Region, but there was no U.P.A. Region. I am afraid that the trouble is that we have not the courage of the position we have taken and this is the position that has found support at the last two Z.O.A. conventions. We should not be in a position to ask favors, but give instructions to the U.P.A. This Executive, I thought, had finally reached the point where it had decided to take positive action to order the U.P.A. If we continue this old method of asking them for this or that we will not get anywhere. In view of the fact that it was pointed out that the Zionists are instrumental for the success of the U.P.A. in this country, I move that we request the U.P.A. to increase our subsidy to the amount of \$108,000 instead of \$54,000."

This motion was seconded by Mr. Lipkowitz.

Mr. Lipsky told the Committee that there was present at the meeting of the U.P.A. some representatives of the Z.O.A. when the question of the subsidy was raised and a final agreement reached on the amount of the subsidy asked for and required by the Z.O.A. That amount, he claimed, was circulated through the country, and is, therefore, known among the Welfare Funds. He felt it would be detrimental to the U.P.A. if the Z.O.A. would ask for a higher subsidy as the Welfare funds would fight against giving the U.P.A. funds for this purpose.

Mr. Rucker informed those present that he was appointed one of the representatives of the J.N.F. on the U.P.A. board this year, and at one of the meetings was told that Judge Levinthal was in favor of a status quo as far as their contract was concerned. Mr. Rucker made a plea, at one of the meetings of the U.P.A., on behalf of the Z.O.A. in favor of a larger subvention to the Z.O.A. and at that time tried to review the relationship between the U.P.A. and the Z.O.A.

"As is well known, Mr. Rucker stated, "the first year that the U.P.A. was formed the Z.O.A. became one of the participants in the contract to the amount of six percent. In the following year the members of the U.P.A. and Z.O.A. both felt it was too large a sum and so they voluntarily reduced the sum to \$75,000, where previously they had received approximately \$125,000. In one of the years in which \$75,000 was promised, it was said that it was immoral to take such a sum of money and, therefore, it was voted to reduce the sum to \$54,000. The Zionist Organization of America, as has been pointed out, is the organization which is the very life-blood of the U.P.A. and to allow one organization to struggle while the other gets along very nicely, is not a very happy situation. When Mr. Montor came to the meeting of the U.P.A., he tried to point out that \$54,000 was in excess to what should be given to the organization. As I was not instructed by the Executive Committee, I could not ask anybody to participate in a fight against him. However, the Committee has not finally settled its deliberations. We can sit in the next meeting and revise their deliberations. I am in favor of calling a meeting again and carrying the fight to the floor. The members of the Poale Zion and Mizrahi were in

favor of an increased allowance, if they would get their proper share."

It was made clear that the Poale Zion and Mizrachi have their own funds and do not exercise any influence in many communities.

Rabbi Miller claimed that there was before the Executive a question which demanded that we make haste slowly; that we are dealing with a situation which cannot be kept secret, for the U.P.A. subventions were the public property of every federation and welfare fund. He said "It is true that there was a time when the Z.O.A. was benefitted by the U.P.A. in the amount of 6%; it is also true, however, that fund-raising has taken a new direction; it is true that the Zionists in every community are important factors in maintaining certain responsibility towards claim of Palestine; it is not true that Zionists are any vital factor in fund-raising as they were a few years ago. Today 85% of the money coming into the office comes from the Federation and Welfare funds, in which Zionists as such play no specific role as Zionists. It is also true that a few years ago there was no Emergency Committee. Now the Emergency Committee has taken from the Z.O.A. the public relations work and the political work. That Committee started with \$25,000 from the U.P.A. and today gets \$100,000 from the U.P.A. There is no doubt that if they need more money they will go to the U.P.A. The whole situation has taken altogether a different trend. First the fund-raising has gone out of our hands into a larger section of American Jewish life. Secondly, other organizations have sprung up which make demands of the U.P.A. to a large extent; organizations which are doing Zionist work, which was done as a matter of fact by the Z.O.A. The Z.O.A. must find some way of raising money for the deficit, for it would jeopardize the good will of the Z.O.A. if it becomes public property that the Z.O.A. was asking twice as much as it received in other years."

Rabbi Goldstein told the Committee that he was a member of the general committee of the K. H. and the K. K. to work out an agreement with the U.P.A. for 1942. He reported: "The general committee had three members of the Z.C.A. on it. At the first session, which took place in my study, Judge Levinthal was present, and he agreed that the allocation to the Z.O.A. ought to remain as before, therefore, the Committee had before it the official opinion of the head of the Z.O.A. and acted in accordance with same. This agreement was signed and presented at the last meeting of the U.P.A. with the signatures of the members of the K. H. and K. K. representatives. That agreement is fact. I do not know whether we can revise something which is fact and has been accepted. It should also be pointed out that our increase of 100% would also mean an increase of proportionate amount to the other parties. A review of what happened during the past year ought to recall that at one time the U.P.A. voted \$25,000 to the chief Rabbi's fund; \$40,000 for the transportation of refugees; at the behest of the Z.O.A. Executive, for the year 1942 as you all recall, the sum of \$100,000 was voted for the Emergency Committee. When the total of these amounts are realized we can see what a heavy burden is involved. In fact, all that money should go for its primary purpose for funds are badly needed in Palestine. I would, under no circumstances, consent to have these funds converted to other purposes. The Allocations Committee which met this year to apportion the funds, will no doubt resent an additional \$54,000 being given to the Z.O.A. They will ask, if the

U.P.A. is the only device for helping the Z.O.A. and why cannot that organization help itself. We have set a precedent of \$54,000 and that amount having been accepted by them, it would open up a new problem and put us in an undesirable light. We should consider this picture in totality. We must realize that every dollar taken out of the U.P.A. is taken at the expense of Palestine; Palestine requires a great deal more than it has previously. The outlook for the proceeds of the U.P.A. this year is rather pessimistic; they expect a falling off of their income of as much, perhaps, as several millions dollars. In the light of that prospect, I wonder whether this Executive would consider asking for larger funds."

Judge Levinthal commented that we cannot help ourselves and that we have to ask the U. P. A. to assist us. He explained that the reason we cannot help ourselves is because we are helping the U.P.A. He claimed: "The U.P.A. is an obstacle and a hindrance when one considers that if the U.P.A. would give us permission to launch a campaign, we could raise one half million dollars. If we did that, it would probably hurt the U.P.A. to the tune of one million dollars. We need money badly; we have a deficit; the K.H. and K.K. — they are the real entities behind the U.P.A. — have no deficit. The Z.O.A. is bankrupt. We are being dunned by our creditors; the people to whom we owe money are threatening suit. Is it fair for us to be in this position when the U.P.A., representing the K. H. and K. K. does give money to the Emergency Committee? The political work normally done in London and Palestine is now being done in the U.S.A. I cannot say that the money being given to the Emergency Committee is money which originally was given to the Z.O.A. We are asking for a strong Zionist Organization so that if the U.P.A. should ever have a conflict again with the J.D.C. or N.R.S. etc. we will have loyal devoted Zionists in every community ready to carry on for our cause. We cannot have that, if we have only a skeleton organization. I wanted to test out the strength of our present Zionist districts and regions, so I wrote letters to the officers of every one of our districts and asked them to suggest names of leaders in their communities who might be appointed as members of national committees. Something like six out of three hundred responses came in from the entire country. We must activate our districts or follow Solomon Goldman's advice, i.e. — make up our minds that there is no room for the organization; give up the idea of districts; have the Emergency Committee launch an enrollment or registration of people interested in the commonwealth of Palestine. We will have to liquidate the organization unless we pay our debts."

Rabbi Goldstein announced that last year he raised \$1000 for the deficit fund. It all depended on how it was handled, and felt that it can be done again, each member pledging to raise \$1000.

Judge Levinthal pointed out that the agreement can be changed or amended. If the K. H. and K.K. — parties to the agreement — agreed to the amendment, it could be changed. Judge Levinthal said that Dr. Silver indicated that we ought to go out and raise money for organizational purposes, but when he was told that Judge Levinthal would visit Cleveland, at their invitation, on the condition that a private meeting would be held there to raise money, Judge Levinthal was informed that that could not be done. The Z.O.A. is confronted with an obstacle, and has no alternative but to put it to the U.P.A. that we need \$108,000. If the Z.O.A. becomes self-supporting, we will gladly cease to be schnorrers, but

we have to ask for money now in order to save the organization. If the Z.O.A. cannot get that money, then we must launch a campaign to wipe out the deficit. this year.

Mr. Epstein asked what the organizational budget of the U.P.A. amounted to. He was informed it was previously \$180,000 and this year was reduced to \$139,000. He then inquired about the K.E. budget and was told that that was infinitesimal; that they operated on a \$5,000 budget a year. He was also enlightened as to the Z.O.A. budget which amounts, this year, to \$185,000.

Dr. Wise MOVED that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a Committee of three to arrange for a full meeting of the U.P.A. to consider the financial problem of the Z.O.A. and that no officer who is also an officer of the U.P.A. sit on that Committee.

Mr. Epstein accepted this as a substitution for his original motion.

Mr. Lipkowitz pointed out that the Executive Committee must determine several of the following fundamental questions: "(1) Are we doing any work in the Zionist program in this country that deserves to be done? If we can answer that we are doing that job, and are doing that work, then we must answer this question. (2) Are we spending money wastefully? (3) Do we constitute the backbone of the Zionist movement in the country? (4) Do we constitute the K.E. and K.H.? If we answer all of these questions affirmatively, as we logically must, then the next question is, are we spending too much money for all of this work? We went through a convention very recently. It was the consensus of that convention that all of these organizations ought to be co-ordinated. We are even making progress along these lines. If we are in agreement that the Z.O.A. is doing that job, we should also agree that we ought not to liquidate."

Dr. Wise interrupted to ask whether he has a right to assume that the Z.O.A. and U.P.A. are two entities.

Mr. Lipkowitz answered: "We are part of the same movement. We are all departments of the Zionist movement in this country. If not, we should find out about it."

Dr. Wise affirmed that the money is given directly to the U.P.A. for Palestine. He felt that three quarters of the money that is given is done so without any notion that any of it is being deducted for the Z.O.A.

Mr. Lipkowitz felt that that imposed upon us the greatest obligation --- to see that when we take money, we have a right to take it. We should not spend a dollar of the money that we raise for Palestine, that we are not entitled to spend.

Mr. Bernstein asked Dr. Wise if he, as an individual, had rendered services to an establishment, whether he would have the right to ask payment for those services. He also felt that Dr. Wise would have no right to sit in on that particular issue where he was both claimant and possibly the debtor. He

continued: "In other words, you as an officer should not sit, but there is a Committee of the U.P.A. in which there sit people who are not officers of the Z.O.A. and U.P.A. It seems to me that the claim here is of services rendered by the Z.O.A. to the U.P.A. and that we are entitled to that money for services rendered."

Rabbi Breslau contended that he could understand where Dr. Wise was solicitous about the funds for Palestine not being converted to other purposes. Rabbi Breslau, however, was equally concerned about the money being spent by the U.P.A. He asked "what difference does it make if U.P.A. money is given as a subvention to the Z.O.A. or is spent by the U.P.A. as part of its budget to enlarge its program when the Z.O.A. has facilities to do that kind of work. The U.P.A. even negotiated with the Z.O.A. to co-ordinate that kind of work. The U.P.A. today is an organization which does not raise money. All the U.P.A. is doing is maintaining regional fieldmen. The Regions exist to do the kind of work which ought to be done exclusively by the Z.O.A. This money should be given to and controlled by the Z.O.A. I would like to know why the U.P.A. has to spend \$139,000 when it is not actively engaged in a campaign to get money. I do see some reason for the J.N.F.'s having a large budget, because it is raising money independently. Mr. Montor points out that they need conferences to contact their followers. Mr. Shetzer had continued conversations with Mr. Montor in reference to co-ordinating the work of the U.P.A. and Z.O.A. As soon as Mr. Shetzer tried to implement co-ordination, he got nowhere. Why cannot men service the Z.O.A. and U.P.A.? Mr. Montor did not think it was possible and opposed, seventy-five percent of the U.P.A.'s budget being spent through the Z.O.A. Speaking as a Zionist from Washington, my recent conclusion is that seventy-five percent of the money being spent by the U.P.A. is wasted money. It is producing results comparable to what Z.O.A. can do."

Mr. Shetzer observed, in relation to what Rabbi Breslau had to say, that he had gone to Texas at the invitation of the U.P.A. He thought it would be a great opportunity to meet with the U.P.A., as well as the Z.O.A. to work out a general field service agreed upon by Dr. Silver and Mr. Montor. When he came down to Texas, he was told he would have to get the agreement of the U.P.A. leaders in the State of Texas. The U.P.A. people felt that one man cannot represent the U.P.A. and the Zionists at the same time.

Dr. Wise wanted to know whether the Executive Committee was aware of the fact that there was objection on the part of the Poale Zion and the Mizrachi to have one man represent both organizations.

Rabbi Breslau averred that the U.P.A. has created this idea in the minds of its representatives and in the various communities.

Dr. Goldstein disagreed with Mr. Bernstein's observations. He felt that around this table our prime consideration is the Z.O.A. etc., but over and above these domestic capacities, we act here on behalf of Palestine. We are confronted today with pressure that comes from people in Palestine. Under these circumstances, would we propose an additional \$54,000 being given to the Z.O.A.? Dr. Goldstein believed that the Z.O.A. could go out for a special campaign and should not be deterred too easily by people in communities. Dr. Goldstein observed that the U.P.A. extension program launched some years ago was justified then, but was not justified now that we have a U.J.A. and the U.P.A. is no more than a receiving agency

The U. P. A. budget is out of proportion. He said that the U. P. A. is the only organization in the movement which proceeds to spend money with a free hand, partly because the organization is not as tightly controlled by a democratic process as the Z. O. A. or J.N.F. For years, Mr. Montor has been able really to do almost as he pleased. He urged that either a portion of the Administrative Fund expended by the U. P. A. be made available to the Z.O.A. or that Rabbi Breslau's specific suggestion be adopted, that certain phases of its work be entrusted to the Z.O.A.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that if the Z.O. A. increased its services, it would not help the Z. O. A. position, because additional funds would be spent on those services.

Rabbi Breslau replied that the U. P. A. has fieldmen in the communities, which could be covered by the Z. O. A.

Mr. Lipsky declared that the U. P. A. \$54,000 subvention does not represent services at all. If the Z.O.A. would take the position that we want a larger sum to improve the services given to the U. P. A. there would not be any opposition. What Mr. Lipsky opposed was the organization's asking for an amount of money, presumably for services rendered, but was not giving any indication of services. The Z.O.A. should publish a paper, serviceable to the U. P. A. The Z.O.A. should abandon the idea that they are entitled to a flat rate for services rendered, should take the position that whatever services it is in a position to render for the U. P. A., the U. P. A. should pay for specially.

Mr. Garfein made a substitute motion that the detailed budget of the U.P.A. for the next fiscal year be submitted to the Z.O.A. Executive Committee with a view to analysis of said budget with relation (1) to items deemed excessive in said budget, and (2) in regard specifically to items carried in that budget which can, upon a proper coordination, be carried on the budget of the Z.O.A., if the proper funds are turned over to the Z.O.A. for specific purposes there maintained.

Mr. Konowitz asked to substitute the following motion:

"A Committee be appointed to meet with the Finance Committee of the U. P. A. to analyze the budget of the U.P.A. with a view to assumption by the Z.O.A. of such of the services now rendered by the U.P.A. which might properly be rendered by the Z.O.A. and to report to the next meeting of this Executive with recommendations.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that the members of that Committee be exclusively those members of this Executive Committee who are members of the A. C. of the U.P.A. or who are in a position to decide the policies of the U.P.A. If we have not the right morally to further what we are trying to do tonight, let us not do it.

Dr. Wise felt that if people not active in the leadership of the U.P.A. would present the case, it would be much better.

Mr. Konowitz's motion was seconded and was unanimously ADOPTED.

III. THE KEREN HAYESOD:

Pursuant to the authority granted to him by the Z.O.A. Executive Committee at its December 13th meeting, Judge Levinthal appointed a committee to prepare a slate of directors of the K.H. who were members of the Z.O.A. and to submit this list to the next annual meeting of the K.H. Judge Levinthal appointed on this Committee: Mr. Robert Szold, Maurice Boulstein, and Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt. Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Ross were also asked to serve, but Mr. Lipsky would not serve and Mr. Ross felt it was impossible for him to accept membership on this Committee in view of his position as Chairman of the Keren Hayesod. Judge Levinthal called to see Mr. Lipsky personally and presented to him the list of names that was prepared by the above named Committee. Certain changes were made on the list. Later Judge Levinthal tried to get Mr. Ross to meet with the Committee to present the list that was recommended to him. Mr. Ross replied that he would call a meeting of the Nominating Committee of the Keren Hayesod at which Judge Rosenblatt could be present and submit any names he pleased. At this point Judge Levinthal read a letter he had received from Judge Rosenblatt with reference to this matter, the substance of which was that the Nominating Committee had voted down the list submitted and that they would present their list. This latter list contained many names that were recommended, but also eliminated many others and substitutions were made which did not appear on the original list as submitted by the Committee.

Judge Levinthal read the ninety-five names the Committee recommended and which are attached herewith Appendix A.

He also read the Resolution on Coordination adopted at the Cincinnati Convention.

A motion was adopted by the majority of the members of the Executive Committee, Louis Lipsky and Rabbi Miller dissenting, authorizing Judge Levinthal to submit to Mr. Ross, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the K.H., a list (Appendix A) of the only Z.O.A. members qualified as eligible to serve as members of the Board of Directors of the K. H. for the ensuing term and to notify these designees of their nomination and to request acceptance of such nominations.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that something be done before the Keren Hayesod meeting to make it known what has been done and to see whether, in the light of the passing of this motion, the K.H. would not adopt the list which we have approved and that the list be forwarded to the K.H. with a letter asking the Nominating Committee to adopt these 95 names as the sole names to represent the Z.O.A.

Mr. Neumann felt that the Nominating Committee of the K.H. was not a proper committee and that a copy of the motion adopted by the Executive Committee, together with a copy of the list should go to every member on the Nominating Committee who is a member of the Z.O.A. and in addition should go to every member of the Z.O.A. contained on the list nominated by the K. H.

Judge Levinthal felt it may be necessary to place the list in The New Palestine and Des Yiddishe Volk and ask all the members of the Z.O.A. to vote for that list only when attending the Keren Hayesod meeting and in accordance with the Resolution unanimously adopted at the Zionist Convention in Cincinnati.

Rabbi Miller asked, "Suppose Mr. X has been nominated by the Board of the Keren Hayesod Directors, and is also a member of the Z.O.A. and is elected as a contributor, is it not possible for him to serve?"

Judge Levinthal replied that the only alternative Mr. X would have was to resign from the Zionist Organization of America.

Mr. Lipsky pointed out that the statement made by the President inferred that a member of the Z.O.A. is bound either to accept the position of the Z.O.A. convention or resign. He felt that there is no such implication in membership in the Z.O.A.; that we have always gone on the theory that any person who is a member of the Z.O.A. is always a member and even though he may not pay his dues, he is still a member and is obligated to the Z.O.A., but he cannot be bound as a member of the Z.O.A. He has a right to remain a member of the Z.O.A. and no one can ask him to resign.

Judge Levinthal said that the constitution of the Z.O.A. provides that every member of the Z.O.A. shall subscribe to the Basle program and shall comply with the resolutions adopted by the World Zionist Organization and the Zionist Organization of America.

Since a few designees will be unable to serve on the K. H. Board of Directors, Judge Levinthal, on January 26th, wrote a letter to every member of the Executive Committee asking for the power to make substitutions on the list of 95 persons designated by the Executive Committee as authorized to serve, if elected, as directors of the K. H. for the ensuing term. The authority to make substitutions was granted to Judge Levinthal in writing by the members of the Executive Committee.

IV. FINANCIAL REPORT AND BUDGET -- By Irving Lipkowitz

In accordance with the decision of the meeting of the Executive held on October 12, 1941, to refer the budget back to the Budget Committee for the reconsideration of the allocations for Dos Yiddishe Folk, the New Palestine and the Hebrew Subsidies, I wish to report on behalf of the Budget Committee that at its meeting on Friday, November 7, 1941, the following decisions were reached:

- 1) THAT the financial condition of the Organization makes it impossible to allocate for Hebrew Subsidies a sum larger than \$7,500, and that for the four months ending January 31, 1942, the sum of \$500, a month be paid to Hadoar and Histadruth Ivrit in the proportion of 2/3 and 1/3 respectively, or \$333.33 to Hadoar and \$166.66 to the Histadruth Ivrit. A sub-committee is now considering future payments.
- 2) THAT a conference was held by the Budget Committee with Dr. S. Bernstein regarding the budget of Dos Yiddishe Folk. After an analysis of the cost, the conclusion was reached that the present allocation of \$5,850. to Dos Yiddishe Folk will permit the publication of fourteen issues of the magazine, and that a larger allocation is impossible in view of our financial circumstances.

- 3) THAT the budget of The New Palestine presents a special problem in view of the constant rise in the cost of paper and labor. It seems almost definite that the budget of \$29,000. allotted will have to be increased by approximately \$6,000 to take care of 19 issues during the year. The Budget and Office Management Committee is studying this particular item of the budget and will report further to this Committee.

35.000

Mr. Robert Bernstein moved that the report be accepted as read. The motion was seconded by Mr. Mordecai Konowitz and was unanimously accepted.

V. REPORT ON THE STATUS OF THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION - By Emanuel Neumann

The resolution adopted by the Z.O.A. Executive Committee on November 12, 1941 in the reference to the Emergency Committee was adopted by the Emergency Committee. A Specific Committee was appointed and by-laws were drafted and were adopted substantially as prepared. The by-laws provided for the name to be American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs; provided for 26 members consisting of eight members at-large, five designees of the Z.O.A., five of the Hadassah, and four of each of the other two parties. The eight at-large are simply original members and include Mrs. Rose Jacobs as a member of the Executive. Substantially, it means that the Z.O.A. has seven original members plus five designated members or 12 in total and if you add to that six of Hadassah, there are left eight out of 26 who are members of other two parties. The Emergency Committee is to have a Chairman and Treasurer and other officers as may be elected and the Office Committee is to have a Chairman. This Office Committee is to consist of 2 representatives of the Z.O.A., 2 of Hadassah, 1 of Mizrahi, and 1 of Poale Zion plus officers of the Emergency Committee (Chairman and Treasurer) plus three others elected at-large from members of the E.C. The Parties finally agreed to that composition, which in their view gives the Z.O.A. overwhelming preponderance. Mrs. Rose Halpern has been designated Chairman of the Public Relations Committee. The members of the Public Relations Committee are not members of the Office Committee nor the Emergency Committee and are people who can be useful in that field. The Public Relations Committee has begun to function, has had several meetings, and is proceeding with its work systematically. Today we have appointed a political Steering Committee and authorized Dr. Wise to designate two other members to that Committee. I was in conference with David Ben Gurion, and we decided on a small Political Steering Committee of three, of which Judge Levinthal will serve as a member with Dr. Wise and a third member. We have also decided to appoint a small Committee on Publications. We plan to issue a number of publications.

We also took up an extended program of work for Emergency Committee. The Emergency Committee budget in 1941 and in 1940 was \$50,000 a year and was provided by the Executive. These funds are to be increased to \$100,000. We have considered certain extensions of new activities, such as a representative in Washington to work with non-Jews and also to do certain research work. Mr. Szold is Chairman of Committee on Personnel and will be assisted by Mrs. Pool and myself. It is understood that there are to be appointed a number of other standing committees or commissions in line with Mr. Szold's suggestions. These Committees are not to sit as members of the Emergency Committee. They will

be people appointed because of their qualifications for certain specific jobs, drawing in as much as possible people from the outside.

The by-laws contain important provisions which Judge Levinthal and I had worked out, including finances of the Emergency Committee, activity by Z.O.A., and various expenses and funds to meet the requirements of registration or non-registration. It was also agreed that if any of the matters we introduced into the by-laws were not acceptable to the Z.O.A., it could be reopened. It was done in a harmonious spirit and when we are given a chance to go over them we will have the by-laws in good shape. We decided to have a Nominating Committee to bring in names of officers to consist of one representative of each of the four groups, designated by the various groups, who should present a slate of the Emergency Committee names. The Z.O.A. will have the power to name such representatives on the Nominating Committee. The Z.O.A. is entitled under the by-laws to name its representatives to the Emergency Committee."

Judge Levinthal supplemented Mr. Neumann's report by stating that he spent a great deal of time on the structural phase of the Emergency Committee. He felt that it was absolutely essential that it be recognized. For the sake of unity and harmony, Judge Levinthal finally compromised that the eight members originally named by the Executive should not be regarded as representatives of the Z.O.A., since they were designated by the World Zionist Organization as the American Zionists who are not accountable to the Z.O.A. and remain members throughout the life of the Committee. The five to be named by the Z.O.A. will serve for a term of six months or a year, and then they will be changed, and more members will be given an opportunity to serve. The Political Committee will consist of three members who will be a Steering Committee on political matters. There will be a Committee which will be a clearing committee. In addition to that, there will be local committees set up. The idea is to get as many persons to enlist in our cause as possible. People who are not members have been invited to come to meetings and have rendered valuable services and promised more service. There will be 26 members of the Emergency Committee, 11 members of the Office Committee; a commission on political affairs; a commission on public relations; a commission on economic affairs, etc. Judge Levinthal felt that the Emergency Committee has been grappling with some difficult problems and has done mighty fine job considering the difficulties. As the Emergency Committee is set up now, members of the Z.O.A. will be able to play a leading role in that Committee.

Mr. Lipsky moved that the Z.O.A. Executive Committee adopt the spirit of the by-laws which have been summarized by Mr. Neumann.

Mr. Szold pointed out that the by-laws drafted did not include the clause which appeared in the fundamental charter and was approved by the Executive Committee, namely, that the functions of the Emergency Committee must be agreed to by each participating body. I think we ought to make that perfectly plain.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that the clause read: "The activities of the Emergency Committee shall consist of such activities as are of common interest to the four organizations."

Mr. Szold requested that to the latter clause be added the five point program of common interest agreed to by all organizations.

Judge Levinthal pointed out that that means that every time the Emergency Committee decided upon an activity, it would have to be referred to all parties for approval and hence great delay would result.

Mr. Szold said he was opposed to the Emergency Committee's carrying out any other functions which have not been agreed to.

Mr. Lipsky moved the adoption in principle the by-laws and report of Mr. Neumann and do everything that is necessary and proper to effectuate them by authorizing the President to name the Z.O.A.'s five representatives and members of the Nominating Committee.

The motion was unanimously CARRIED.

It was also unanimously agreed that the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Emergency Committee submit the budget of the Emergency Committee to the Z.O.A. Executive Committee for review and approval.

VI. THE JEWISH ARMY:

A motion was unanimously adopted that the Z.O.A. Executive Committee instruct its representatives on the Emergency Committee to endeavor to continue negotiations with the Committee for a Jewish Army so that there will be general agreement and action by the Emergency Committee and the Committee for a Jewish Army, if the Emergency Committee cannot be prevailed upon to take such action and if the negotiations are broken off between the Committee for a Jewish Army and the Emergency Committee, then the President is authorized to appoint a Committee on behalf of the Z.O.A. to negotiate further with the Committee for the Jewish Army and to report back to the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 12:30 P. M.

Respectfully submitted

Simon Shetzer

התאחדות הציונית של אמריקה

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



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

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HARRY TAKIFF

January 15th, 1942

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE
COUNCIL AND TO ALL DISTRICTS AND REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA:

Dear Friends:

In view of the many inquiries I have recently received as to the position of our Organization with regard to the "Jewish Army Committee" and its published appeal for support and contributions, I deem it necessary to make the following statement:

You know, of course, that in the Proclamation unanimously adopted at our last Convention, we urged the British government to heed the demand of the Yishuv for the right to establish a "Jewish military force under British command". When, after many promises and delays, the Jewish Agency's proposal for the organization of a Jewish Army was rejected about two months ago, Dr. Chaim Weizmann issued a vehement protest in London, and shortly thereafter, on December 2, 1941, I personally addressed a press conference in Washington specially arranged for the purpose of presenting to American public opinion the attitude of the Zionist Organization of America on this important question. (See The New Palestine, December 12, 1941, pp. 6-8.)

For months the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, in which all Zionist bodies are represented and in whose leadership the Zionist Organization of America plays an important part, has conducted an effective campaign in the press in support of a Jewish Army to be recruited in Palestine.

In the meantime, the Jewish Army Committee was organized under the Chairmanship of that gallant champion of our cause, that tried and true friend of the Zionist Organization of America, Mr. Pierre Van Paassen, and on the initiative of a group which, though not officially a committee of the Irgun, is composed of persons affiliated with that organization. As you know, the Irgun, is the extreme wing of the Revisionist Party, which seceded from the World Zionist Organization several years ago. Many of the sponsors of the Jewish Army Committee are non-Zionists and non-Jews, who, while they are in sympathy with

the demand for a Jewish military force, and ready to lend their names as a token of that sympathy, are probably unaware of the fact that the Jewish Agency has been actively concerned with the problems since war broke out.

During the past weeks the Emergency Committee and the Army Committee have through their representatives been exploring the possibilities of a joint or coordinated effort on behalf of a Jewish Army. While these negotiations have not been fully terminated, it is a fact that serious problems have arisen and it is by no means clear whether certain difficulties in regard to policy, organization and methods of work can be overcome. Obviously, Zionists cannot be part of any effort on behalf of a Jewish army or of any other important Zionist objective unless the vital interests of the Zionist movement and the cause itself are safeguarded. Even if the difficulties referred to should be ironed out, we do not know whether we would approve the raising of public funds for financing the propaganda and administration of this effort.

The whole subject is engaging our most serious attention at this moment. A definite decision on the attitude of the Z. O. A. and other Zionist bodies may be expected very soon. Until such a decision is made, an attitude of caution is indicated. It does not seem to us desirable for members of the Z. O. A. either to contribute funds or to lend their adherence to the Jewish Army Committee, pending a clarification of the issues.

Whether or not an agreement will be reached, please rest assured that your Organization will continue vigorously to support the Yishuv's just claim to the right to fight as a distinct military force in this war for justice and righteousness. I shall, of course, keep you further informed on this matter. Kindly convey the contents of this letter to our members and friends.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Levinthal
Louis E. Levinthal,
President

התאחדות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



1720 - 16TH STREET, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. February 10th, 1942

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HARRY TAKIFF

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE
COUNCIL AND TO ALL DISTRICT AND REGIONAL CHAIRMEN
OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA:

Dear Friend:

You will recall that I sent you a letter on January 15th in which I informed you of the negotiations then pending between the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs and the Committee for a Jewish Army. I then expressed the hope that the negotiations might result in a mutually satisfactory agreement. Unfortunately, it now becomes my duty to inform you that all efforts to achieve harmony and coordination have proved futile.

As I explained previously, the initiative for the organization of the Army Committee came from a group associated with the Irgun Zewai Leumi; they are chiefly responsible for the active management of that Committee. The "Irgun" is an extremist group in Palestine and is an off-shoot of the Revisionist movement. It has no connection with the Haganah, the responsibly controlled Jewish self-defense organization in Palestine which played so vital a part in the defense of the Yishuv throughout the period of the riots. The "Irgun" has consistently refused to recognize the authority of the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi.

Despite the connection existing between the Committee for a Jewish Army and the "Irgun", a connection which has never been denied, the American Emergency Committee, in the leadership of which the Z.O.A. plays an important part, sought to come to an amicable arrangement with their representatives, to avoid confusion and duplication of effort. We Zionists, of course, considered it essential that all activities on behalf of the formation of a Jewish Army-- a major Zionist task -- be conducted under the aegis of the recognized Zionist organizations and leadership. Unfortunately, the Committee for a Jewish Army did not accept this major premise, and negotiations were, therefore, discontinued.




This does not mean, however, that our activity on behalf of a Jewish military force is to be dropped. On the contrary, the American Emergency Committee and its constituent organizations. The Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi, are continuing energetically to support the demand of the Yishuv and of the Jewish Agency for the right to form a Jewish military force based on Palestine.

You probably have already read of the large mass meeting held in Carnegie Hall, New York, on Wednesday evening, February 4th. I am enclosing a copy of the Resolution which, as President of the Zionist Organization of America, I presented at the mass meeting and which was unanimously adopted.

It is our sincere belief that our non-Jewish neighbors as well as the Jewish masses in America will join in urging that the Jewish community of Palestine be accorded the right to do their share for the preservation of democracy by fighting under their own flag and colors under Allied Command. It is our Zionist duty to help mobilize public opinion to this end. But we must act as responsible and disciplined Zionists.

With Zion's greetings, I am

Faithfully yours,


Louis E. Levinthal

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encl.

MINUTES OF THE Z. O. A. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON TUESDAY,
FEBRUARY 17TH, 1942, 4:30 P. M., AT THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding; Robert Bernstein, Maurice Boukstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Judge Harry Fisher, Jacob Fishman, Daniel Frisch, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfoin, Mordecai Konowitz, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar de Sola Pool, Bernard G. Rudolph, Lillian Schoolman, Avukah; Louis E. Spiegler, Dewey D. Stone, Robert Szold, and Simon Shetzer.

BY INVITATION: Carl Alport, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Edward A. Norman, Col. A. H. Rosenberg, Hyman A. Schulson and Herman Weisman.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE RECEIVED FROM: Philip Barron, Rabbi Earnett R. Brickner, A. K. Epstein, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Abraham Goldstein, Cecil R. Gordon, Dr. James G. Heller, E. I. Kaufmann, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Louis P. Rocker, Chas J. Rosenbloom, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Ezra Z. Shapiro, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Harry Takiff, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

The Executive Committee approved the minutes of the last meeting and a correction was noted that Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal had attended the last meeting of the Executive Committee.

I. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

Mr. Shetzer reported that as of January 31st, the paid up membership of the Z.O.A. was 19,324 as compared with 18,634 on the same date last year, accounting for a nominal increase of 690 members, which is a fair gain under the circumstances, and represents a reversal of the trend during the month of December, 1941. As of February 16th, 1942, the Z.O.A. had a paid up membership of 22,192 as compared with 22,250 for the same period last year. As of February 16th, 1942, the Z.O.A. had 3,997 new members as compared to 4,201 during the same period in 1941. The President's Chapter membership as of February 16th was 256 as compared to 278 a year ago. The President's Chapter membership represents the returns secured by Mr. Kaufmann's mail solicitation almost exclusively. The districts did practically no work on President's Chapter membership and did not take advantage of this membership to supplement their present revenue.

The financial report was most encouraging. In addition to the decline in the deficit reported in December, 1941, Mr. Shetzer reported a further reduction of \$10,733 in January, which represents approximately an \$13,000 decrease in the Z.O.A. deficit from the high of \$85,000. As of February 1st, 1942, the deficit was \$66,813 as compared to \$85,000 on December 1st, 1941. During the past several weeks, the national office sent letters over Judge Levinthal's signature to the districts throughout the country acquainting them with our financial situation and requesting them to call parlor meetings to raise funds. Letters were also sent to the Executive Committee members informing them that despite Rabbi Breslau's generous efforts, the results to date have not been sufficient. To the letters sent to all of the members of the Executive Committee asking them to advise on what dates they would be available to attend parlor meetings to raise funds for the Zionist Organization of America.

Administrative Fund, only three responded. Dr. Israel Goldstein, Maurice Boukstein and Daniel Frisch sent replies offering their services. In addition to these three members, we called upon Dewey Stone to go to Lynn, Mass., Elihu D. Stone to New Bedford, Mass., and Ezra Shapiro to Rochester, N. Y. to raise some funds towards the liquidation of the deficit.

Since the convention about ten or eleven thousand dollars came in for the deficit fund on the pledges made in Cincinnati, among which was the \$1500 raised by Robert Bernstein in Philadelphia. Rabbi Breslau visited Norfolk where they promised \$1500 to \$2000 dollars, and Richmond, where only a nominal amount was raised. In Buffalo Rabbi Breslau met with representatives of the Western New York Region, where Buffalo, Syracuse and Rochester each accepted a quota of \$2000. The Western New York Region promised to send \$500 from their Region's treasury to be applied toward reducing the deficit. The Washington District, through Rabbi Breslau's efforts pledged to raise \$3000 within a month.

Mr. Shetzer reported further that the President had been in Boston recently where he received \$1000 through the efforts of Dewey Stone, who promised to raise additional sums. Judge Levinthal had also visited Chicago where they undertook to raise \$7500, under the leadership of B. H. Harris, A. E. Epstein, Col. Rosenberg, and Judge Fisher. \$4,200 was pledged by Chicago on the same evening of the meeting. Mr. Shetzer had visited Milwaukee, Columbus, and Dayton and has promised that these Districts would assume a fair share of responsibility.

Mr. Shetzer reported progress in the implementation of the Regional Reorganization program. In the Tri-State Region, Ohio Valley Region, Northern Ohio, and the lower Peninsula of Michigan, Mr. I. G. Simon is serving as the Director with Pittsburgh as the central office. Mr. Sidney Marks, a New York attorney was engaged as a field man for New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania. The Brooklyn Region has come under the new regional program, has given up its office and moved all its equipment into the Metropolitan Bureau's office. Mr. Shetzer stated he was negotiating for field men for Brooklyn, and the Connecticut - Rhode Island area. The Southeastern and Bronx-Upper Manhattan and Westchester Regions are already operating under the Regional Reorganization Plan. Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn is serving the Empire State and Western New York Regions in a voluntary basis. Most of the unaffiliated Districts which had been retaining \$2.00 per member are now remitting \$4.00 instead of \$3.00 per member.

Mr. Shetzer reported that there had been a well attended and enthusiastic meeting held in New York on Sunday, February 8th, of our National Advisory Educational Council under the Chairmanship of Dr. Samuel M. Blumenfield, at which were discussed the content and technique of Zionist education. This meeting established a splendid spirit of cooperation between the Z.O.A. and the Jewish educators and the voluntary support of a number of them was established.

On Sunday, February 15th in New York City, the Z.O.A., for the first time in two years, convened a conference to which were invited the Presidents and Secretaries of all New York Districts and Regions, Chairmen of membership committees and key membership workers. There was an attendance of over 400.

The meeting concerned itself generally with the entire Z.O.A. program and specifically with Z.O.A. membership activities. Four regions and sixteen districts had been invited to report on the progress of their membership work so far this year. President Levinthal delivered a splendid address; Mr. Neumann reported on the political situation; an excellent Palestine movie was shown, and a report on the Youth Commission was given by Dr. Bardin.

Mr. Shetzer reported that the national office is planning to supplement the regular channels of communication between the office and the district leaders through a Z.O.A. News-Letter, which is not to take the place of the New Palestine, but will provide a medium for more intimate communication. The first of such issues will treat of the availability of outstanding Zionist literature, the Zionist Archives and Library, defense activities in our districts, Shalach manos for Purim in the form of defense stamps and bonds, the waiving of payment of membership dues for men in the armed forces, the President's Chapter, Palestine wines, etc. etc., The News-Letter will not add to our budgetary expenses.

Judge Levinthal pointed out to the members of the Executive Committee that not much can be done in liquidating the deficit without the cooperation of all the members of the Executive Committee and urged all to cooperate fully by taking on a definite number of assignments and to report to Mr. Shetzer or himself before adjournment what dates each has open and what communities he would prefer to visit.

Mr. Dewey Stone reported that he was ready to accept any engagement and suggested that the smaller districts be urged to raise money through an intensified membership drive for \$25.00 membership.

II. REPORT OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND:

Rabbi Goldstein reported that the J.N.F. Administration for the year 1942 is about to be constituted. The Z.O.A. has sent in its list of designees. These together with those selected by the other parties will meet Thursday, February 19th, to appoint the balance of the Board.

Judge Levinthal reported that the next number of The New Palestine will be dedicated specially to the J.N.F.

III. REPORT OF THE KEREN HAYESOD:

Rabbi Miller reported that the February 16th meeting of the Board of Directors of the K.H. closed with the unanimous acceptance of a slate of the new 125 Directors of the K.H. agreed upon in negotiations which had been going on before and during the course of the meeting.

Daniel Frisch inquired whether all the persons recommended by the Z.O.A. to serve had accepted and were on the agreed slate.

Mr. Boukstein stated that he wanted to make it very clear for the record that whether or not the agreed list of candidates for the Board of Directors of the K. H. is elected, it does not represent in his opinion, the fulfillment either in letter or spirit of the Resolution on Coordination adopted at the convention. Mr. Boukstein refused to yield in any way on the proposition that members of the Z.O.A. on the Board of the K. H. should be any other than those designated by the Executive of the Z.O.A. as specifically set forth in the Resolution on Coordination adopted at the last convention.

Judge Levinthal stated that at the last meeting of the Executive he presented a list of some 95 names and assumed that there would be 95 members of the Z.O.A. eligible for membership on the Board of Directors of the K. H. Subsequently he wrote to the 95 gentlemen asking whether they would serve, if elected. Some declined to serve. Several vacancies were created and those nominees had to be replaced. He had asked for and received the written approval of the members of the Executive Committee to make substitutions. He then met with Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Rabbi Irving Miller and Charles Ross in an effort to reach harmonious arrangements to make substitutions. After that meeting there was another meeting between Maurice Boukstein and Judge Rosenblatt and Charles Ross at which Judge Levinthal thought an agreement had been reached. The Peale Zion and Mizrahi refused to agree to this agreement. Finally, there were other negotiations and we now have a list of 125 names - 92 of the 125 being members of the Z.O.A. A number of the persons who were included in the original Z.O.A. list, who did not decline, had to be eliminated to make for harmony.

Dowey Stone reported that at the last meeting of the K. H. Board of Directors, the Mizrahi wanted two more names; the Peale Zion wanted five, making seven in all. Judge Morris Rothenberg conceived the idea of making 7 Honorary Vice-Chairmen and to strike seven names off the list. Of the seven, five were made honorary Vice-Chairmen representing the Z.O.A.; one Mizrahi, and one Peale Zion, all honorary Vice-Chairmen without voting rights. The net result was the actual change of two names.

Mr. Frisch suggested that Mr. Shetzer should be instructed to advise the K. H., the J.N.F., and the U.P.A. to call meetings about the same time that the Z.O.A. Executive Committee meets. He felt it would be much better if these groups would coordinate their activities and have meetings consecutively, thus making it easier for out-of-towners to attend all meetings.

Rabbi Miller moved that the Executive Committee approve the list of the Board of Directors of the K.H. as agreed to at the last meeting of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod.

Mr. Stone seconded the motion insofar as the 92 Z.O.A. representatives are concerned.

Maurice Boukstein urged that Rabbi Miller's motion was out of order, because the Z.O.A. has already approved its own list.

Dowey Stone speaking on the motion, felt that the latitude given the President to make substitutions could cover the matter.

The Executive Committee finally agreed that the list of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod approved by the present Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod be accepted with the understanding that the President of the Z.O.A. has the right to make any substitutions if any Z.O.A. member declines to serve.

Mr. Boukstein asked to be recorded as not voting on the latter motion.

IV. REPORT ON THE AMERICAN PALESTINE FUND:

Judge Levinthal introduced Mr. Edward A. Norman, who stated "I want to say first that I appreciate your kindness in inviting me to come before your meeting to explain the purposes of the American Palestine Fund.

The American Palestine Fund was organized to deal with different institutions in Palestine that were and are seeking funds in this country on their own behalf, independent and outside of the public funds such as the U.P.A., Goverschaften, Hadassah, Hebrew University, etc. The matter began to interest me, as a result of the fact that a great many individuals, some three or four years ago and up to now were coming here from Palestine to raise money for one activity or another and seemed to come into my office with great frequency. A good many of them came with letters from institutions in Palestine, from men whom, I met on my several trips to Palestine asking me to raise funds. Several cases went beyond that and I was asked whether I would undertake to organize an American Committee or society of friends for their institutions, which I would have been glad to aid as much as I could. I felt it would be impossible to do effective fund raising in this country with such repetition of approaches to the public. Finally, I found myself discussing this subject with others who had been faced with similar problems. Gradually, the idea grew up to organize one committee to run a large campaign and distribute the money to different institutions in Palestine. The group finally seemed to select me in a rather informal way to investigate the question in a careful manner and that meant communicating with various institutions in Palestine and leaders of fund-raising organizations in this country. Quite a long time passed in which a good many letters were exchanged between here and Palestine. The result was that practically all the people communicated with were keen on having someone here, without sending their own representative here. On this side, leaders suggested that they would welcome institutions that would undertake the burden of evaluating different activities. After the course of two years of discussion and investigation, this group finally decided to get started and organized itself into a Committee and selected the name of "American Palestine Fund". The specific purposes of the American Palestine Fund, I think, can be summed up as approximately six; the first of which is to be more effective in this country in fund-raising for the institutions in Palestine deserving support, but unable to get it via public funds. Second, to reduce the cost of solicitation in this country for activities in Palestine. Third, to save the energies of our leaders who are interested in all aspects of Palestine work. Fourth, the public in this country seems to be becoming antagonistic to appeals from Palestine and seems to be developing an attitude of not wanting to hear anything about it. Fifth, competition was developing between various campaigns. Sixth, finally, to try to direct funds contributed from this country to worthy activities in Palestine and to try, if possible, to prevent money going to activities which had good representation in U. S. but which, careful investigation would show, did not deserve support.

We decided that success in this kind of activity could only be possible if a non-partisan body were organized on which all aspects of American Jewish life were represented. We, therefore, undertook, then, to work out an initial budget and it was a very hard job to do. There were a number of activities in Palestine asking to be included in this fund. We felt, that with no record of accomplishment and just beginning, we could not accept all these institutions. We decided for the first year, which did not get under way until the end of September, 1941 to include a few institutions that seemed to be closest to the practical needs of Palestine in those days. There were seven and all had to do with economic or functional life in Palestine. They are: The Hebrew Institute of Technology in Haifa; Mikveh Israel Agricultural School; Haifa Technicum High School; Haifa Nautical School; American Economic Committee for Palestine; the Julian W. Mack Craft School and Work Shops and Mayer Rosenberg's Trade School for Yemenites. There were many others wanting to be included but we did not feel we could take them all in.

We made a beginning in the Fall, and sent out prospectuses in the Spring to the Welfare Funds. We were too late for most campaigns and we did not get calls to appear before the Welfare Funds until this past Fall. We are at the beginning of our work. We seem to be getting a favorable reaction from the Welfare Funds, who are pleased that there will be a representative body who will know what is being done with the money. It is true that the Council of Federations and Welfare Funds has some arrangements with the Vaad Lomd whereby they will supply information upon request. The Council, as you know, has the policy of never discussing merits of appeals and, therefore, it is impossible for Welfare Funds to judge. The American Palestine Fund was set up on the basis of a national board of directors with fifty places provided for under the by-laws. Also an Executive Committee of fifteen intended to meet as frequently as possible. The Board of Directors selects the officers who are ipso facto members of the Executive Committee. It is also our purpose to organize a National Council which will be made up of three, four or five friends in each community of activities in Palestine, in which will be represented the welfare fund cities of this country. At this point I feel that the American Palestine Fund very definitely needs to have upon its board a great many more Zionist leaders than it has at the present time. We have five well-known Zionists upon this Board of Directors and some of them are members of the Board of Trustees. We need many more than five. We have 35 directors who are not members of the Z.O.A. I personally have seen to it that there have remained twenty places unfilled on the Board in the hope that Zionists would fill these places. I have spoken to some of the leaders, including your President, about this matter and he suggested the best thing would be to appear here as I have done.

Judge Levinthal reported that this matter was discussed with Mr. Norman at the Cleveland U.P.A. Conference by Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver and himself and at Dr. Wise's suggestion, he invited Mr. Norman to appear before the Executive Committee. Mr. Montor was out of the city and could not be present. From the correspondence Judge Levinthal had had with Mr. Montor, the latter is opposed to the Z.O.A.'s approving directly or indirectly the American Palestine Fund. Judge Levinthal felt that this matter is of direct concern to the U.P.A. and the Z.O.A. could not take action without first discussing the matter with our

representatives of the U.P.A. Judge Levinthal suggested that a Committee be appointed to look into the matter and report back to the Executive Committee.

Rabbi Miller so moved.

Rabbi Colistein inquired approximately how much money had been received from Welfare Funds in the year 1941.

Mr. Norman replied that the A.P.F. got a late start and in many cases only had discussions with budget committees for funds to be given upon completion of campaigns to be held. Tangible results from welfare funds run to approximately \$9000. The balance of the money raised was from individuals totaling \$54,000. A meeting of the Board of the A.P.F. was not held because he hoped that the Zionists would be represented there. He suggested a goal of about one quarter of a million dollars for 1942 to be distributed among a good many institutions in Palestine. Mr. Norman stated that Dr. Silver and Mr. Montor had told him and Judge Levinthal "we are not opposed to the idea in principle, but we are worried about the effect on the U.J.A." Mr. Norman contended that the effect would rather be favorable than otherwise because of the fact that the Welfare Fund would know where they stand with regard to Palestine appeals at this time and would not have to make provisions for too large a number of appeals. He said he would not want to go ahead without Zionist participation in order to protect the Z.O.A., the K.H. and K.E.

Mr. Konowitz inquired of Mr. Norman whether he sought the formal support of the Z.O.A. as an organization or its members as individuals.

Mr. Norman replied that the A.P.F. would receive Z.O.A. representatives in their individual capacities, but he believed that the Z.O.A. has a policy of approving the participation of its membership in Palestine work.

Mr. Frisch felt that this organization was a very needy one, but suggested, if possible, that the name be changed so that it would not be misleading. He suggested "American Fund for Palestine Institutions."

Mr. Norman pointed out the name could be changed.

Mr. Bernstein inquired whether any Zionists were on the Board at the present time?

Mr. Norman replied that Messrs: I. B. Brodie, Nathan Straus, Ferdinand Sonneborn, Abraham Tulin and Frank Rosenbloom are the Zionists on the Board.

Mr. Shetzer asked whether it was contemplated to include in the A.P.F. the Hechalutz, the Vaad Bitachon, Red Mogen David, and similar funds.

Mr. Norman replied that he hoped to recommend to the next meeting the definite inclusion of Hechalutz. Others have not approached the A.P.F. with a direct appeal to be included. The A.P.F. has no principle not to include them.

Mr. Stone inquired whether the Yeshivahs would be included.

Mr. Norman replied that there exists a committee which goes under the name of the Federated Council for Palestine Institutions, which was formed some time ago to campaign on behalf of religious institutions in Palestine. The A.P.F. has no principle against inclusion of such institutions, but if they are being taken care of, there is no need for duplication. If the A.P.F. tried to cover the field of religious institutions, its budget would have to be much larger.

The motion made and seconded to appoint a Committee to study the A.P.F. matter and to report back at the next meeting of the Executive Committee was unanimously adopted.

V. THE COMMITTEE FOR THE JEWISH ARMY:

Judge Levinthal referred to the resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Executive Committee calling upon the Emergency Committee to continue negotiations with the Committee for a Jewish Army and that if the Emergency Committee refused to continue such negotiations, the Z.O.A. should enter into further negotiations on its own behalf. He requested Mr. Neumann to report on this matter.

Mr. Neumann stated that a majority of the Emergency Committee and of its Office Committee was not in favor of our going together with the Army Committee and finally agreed to send a letter placing our demands rather sharply. It was understood, that, if the Committee for a Jewish Army accepted that letter unconditionally without any modification, then we might continue discussions. But if they did not accept it wholly, then we were to have no further discussions with them. The suggested letter was drawn up and the main point was that we demanded that all that work should be carried on under the aegis and direction and control of the Emergency Committee, in other words, the Committee of the Jewish Army to submit to the authority and direction of the Emergency Committee. To that came a reply. The reply was neither an acceptance nor a rejection, but a proposal that the governing bodies of the Army Committee should be composed more or less as follows: That we get fifty percent of the membership of the governing body and that the Chairman should be one agreed upon between us. Our Committee rejected that proposal and in rejecting it decided that there was no room for further negotiations. There were differences of opinion all along as to whether it was desirable to come to some arrangement. Two organizations felt very strongly on the subject -- Hadassah and Poale Zion. The Z.O.A. representatives were divided also, so that from a parliamentary point of view there was no possibility of the Emergency Committee's or Office Committee's reaching any other course than that which was taken. That was the decision and for the present no further discussion is going on between us and the Jewish Army Committee.

Judge Levinthal: Was there any decision by the Emergency Committee as to what our attitude should be -- as to whether individual Zionists should accept membership on the Army Committee.

Mr. Neumann: No official action.

VI. Z.O.A. CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE:

Mr. Frisch asked for an opportunity to present some recommendations to be submitted to the coming convention. He asked the President to appoint a Committee to consider such recommendations.

Mr. Shetzer stated that at the first meeting of the Executive Committee, after the convention, Mr. Frisch had made several proposals for amending the constitution and by-laws. The suggestions were offered by Mr. Frisch to remove from the convention arena controversies which have plagued us in the past.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed that a Constitution Committee be appointed to consider the suggestions of Mr. Frisch and any other suggestions that may come from the members or that may be initiated by the Executive Committee itself.

VII. OUTDOOR PUBLICITY:

Mr. Shetzer submitted without recommendations a memorandum from Mr. Ernest Barbarash, Director of the Z.O.A. Publicity Department with reference to outdoor publicity on billboards etc. for the Z.O.A.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously agreed that the memorandum be referred to the Public Relations Committee of the Emergency Committee.

VIII. NEXT A. C. AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING:

It was unanimously adopted to hold the next meeting of the National Administrative Council on Sunday, March 8th at 10:30 A. M. in Philadelphia and the Executive Committee meet after the A. C. meeting.

IX. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATION OF CONVENTION DATE AND CITY TO A. C.:

Mr. Shetzer suggested that the convention for 1942 be held in the Fall so that there will be a full year of operations between conventions, since the last convention was held in September 1941 and that the Z.O.A. invite Hadassah to hold its convention simultaneously with the Z.O.A. with a joint opening and closing session, a joint dinner and joint sessions devoted to political affairs and public relations, to Youth problems and Zionist education. Since there are so many areas in which we have common interests, we ought to consider them jointly with Hadassah. Mr. Shetzer recommended that the convention be held in Philadelphia or Atlantic City in view of the fact that the last convention was held in the middle West.

A discussion of Mr. Shetzer's proposal followed in which Rabbi Irving Miller, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Jacob Fishman, Dewey Stone, Dr. Israel Goldstein, and Mordecai Kacowitz participated. Arguments for and against the proposal were made.

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It was finally unanimously decided that the President be empowered to appoint a Committee to explore the possibilities of the Z. O. A. and Hadassah holding concurrent conventions and to report back at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned at 7:15 P. M. to reconvene at 8:30 in a joint session with the National Board of Hadassah at the Park Central Hotel.

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EVENING SESSION

The evening session of the National Executive Committee was held jointly with the National Board of Hadassah at the Park Central Hotel, New York City.

Judge Levinthal presided over the first part of the meeting and Mrs. Pool over the second half.

There were Present: Mesdames Amram, Ansell, Bender, Berkman, Brddie, Dana, Doniger, Dushkin, Ellis, Evans, Fierst, Golden, Goldman, Goodman, Gottesman, Graham, Halpern, Halprin, Harwitz, Jackson, Jacobs, Levin, Neumann, Peyser, Pcol, Rudnick, Schoolman, Shulman, Silver, Silverman, Strauss, Szold, Weiss, Miss Benjamin; representing Z.O.A.: Messrs. Maurice M. Boukstein, Robert Bernstein, Jacob Fishman, Daniel Frisch, Murray I. Gurfoin, Mordecai Konowitz, B. G. Rudolph, H.A. Schulson, Simon Shetzer, Louis E. Spiegler, Dewey D. Stone, Robert Szold, Judge Fisher, Judge Levinthal, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. Israel H. Levinthal; representing Junior Hadassah, the Misses Sylvia Brody, Ida Lasser, Nell Ziff; representing Avukah, Miss Lillian Schöclman; representing Youth Commission, Dr. Shlomo Bardin, Messrs. Harry Fierst, Herman Weisman; by invitation, Mesdames Sasia Brlich, Irma Ehrlich, Joseph Hammerman, Irma Lindheim, Susan Rosen, Miss Lenore Levinthal, Messrs. S. Cornfield and A. Dickenstein.

Judge Levinthal opened the meeting by stating that it was a great pleasure to hold this joint meeting of the two boards. The agenda prepared for the evening was important and he feared that there would not be sufficient time to cover it properly. Since he felt that the most important piece of work to be done by Zionists was in the field of public relations, he was calling first upon Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Chairman of the Public Relations Committee established by the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, to outline the problems and lead the discussion on Public Relations Work.

Mrs. Halprin stated that it was necessary to get to the core of the problem of public relations work and to have a free expression of opinion since there were present at this meeting representatives from all parts of the country who could contribute to the discussion on the basis of their personal knowledge and experience. It is a Zionist task of paramount importance to establish the proper relationship with Jewish and non-Jewish groups for the furtherance of Zionist aims.

Last year local public relations committees were set up in many communities, but these had not been properly mobilized as yet. The work of these committees must be continuous and organized, and must not be dictated by emergencies and sporadic in functioning. Therefore, it is essential to determine the proper set-up of these committees, as well as their program, method of procedure and selection of personnel.

It had been suggested that several centers be chosen as the testing ground for the public relations work, those centers to be led by the center, and that from their experience a program for other places could be evolved.

Mrs. Halprin then asked for comments and recommendations for the setting up of adequate local public relations committees.

Judge Fisher (Chicago) took the floor first. He believes that today the greatest need of Zionists in the United States is public relations work, and it is important to decide how, where, when and by whom this work is to be done. Although a center such as Washington or New York City is needed, all the activity cannot go on in one place. Instructions and directions must emanate from a center to other parts of the country. In every community there are individuals who have an approach to and contacts with important circles in their own communities or in Washington and these persons must be used to maximum advantage. First, however, it is necessary to determine the general objectives we desire to achieve through these persons.

As a first step, Judge Fisher stated, a group of key men and women throughout the country must be gathered together and asked to spend some time in frank discussion of the problem. From these people it must be ascertained what they are ready to do and how it can be done. After this preliminary survey of the field, as the needs arise and the work progresses, similar contacts can be made in other parts of the country.

Judge Levinthal remarked here that 25 years ago the late Justice Brandeis had made the statement that every member of the Z. O. A. is automatically a public relations person and should spread Zionism everywhere, every time.

Mr. Jacob Fishman of New York agreed that key men are needed in the large cities for public relations work. There were many aspects to this question, but as he saw it, these three were most necessary:

1. Public sentiment -- Zionist organizations have been derelict in creating and arousing public sentiment on Zionist matters. The public is therefore confused and unintelligent, holding vague and unco-ordinated notions on the subject.
2. Contacts of a political nature and legislation -- Mr. Fishman said that the resolution of the U. S. Government confirming the Balfour Declaration (just twenty years ago) was secured without much difficulty. We may have to press for another such resolution, and in anticipation of such a need we must make contacts with the State Department and the Cabinet.
3. The press -- It is important to work in this field in order to achieve the first end, creating the proper public sentiment on Zionist matters. This field has been sorely neglected, although of late a little progress has been made through the efforts of Mr. Emanuel Neumann. Editors are open to influence, especially if they are made to believe that their readers would want a particular topic to be discussed.

Mr. Fishman felt that for this purpose, a special committee is needed, which is vigilant and on the alert to see what is printed and what should be printed. A library would be needed too, for receiving papers and publications for perusal by the committee. The Zionist public should be educated to react to what they read in the papers. However, it is first necessary to decide the stand we expect to take on an issue, before going to the public with the issue.

Mr. Robert M. Bernstein of Philadelphia remarked that the communities do not have the funds required for public relations work and find it difficult to raise them. He inquired whether any plan to subsidize the local committees had been or would be devised.

At this point, in order to clarify the discussion and direct it to the proper channels, Mrs. Halprin explained that what she desired to know was how the local public relations committees should function. Thus far the work had been done without a definite organizational structure. Mr. Neumann had done an excellent piece of work in organizing the American Palestine Committee, some local public relations committees had been established and now there was the Public Relations Committee of the Emergency Committee. Should the key people or individuals referred to in the discussion work alone or through and with the local committees? We all recognize that only properly equipped persons can do a piece of work such as public relations, which is a most delicate undertaking, and that irreparable damage can be done by even well-meaning persons who are not thoroughly informed on Zionist matters.

There is one part of public relations work which is purely educational and informative in nature, such as reaching rotary clubs, groups of university women, faculties in colleges -- circles which heretofore have been practically not tapped for Zionist understanding. There are also aspects of the work which have a political connotation. What Mrs. Halprin desired to ascertain was: 1) Are the local public relations groups as at present set up the best medium for this work? 2) Shall the work be done through key people? 3) Shall special groups be set up in special parts of the country for this purpose?

Mrs. Pool believed that Zionists all over the country should be asked to participate in public relations work and that action should be taken as a result of corporate thinking, which would serve to strengthen Zionist morale.

Mrs. Schoolman expressed the opinion that there are two aspects to the problem. One was the educational task of informing people on Zionist aims and undertakings which was probably the essence of Justice Brandeis' remarks; this work could be done by individuals or groups as a form of public relations work on a small scale. The other was a type of diplomatic public relations work requiring skill and the application of trained keen minds. When Hadassah had discussed this question, it had thought of using several communities as experimental centers for public relations work. Mrs. Schoolman further felt that individuals who were especially suited for public relations work might be added to the National Public Relations Committee and be trained to serve in that field in their communities.

Mr. Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis said that we ourselves are not yet clear on several questions, such as the peace conference issues, and therefore it is difficult to proceed with local committees. He felt that the only practical step now is to set up a national public relations committee representing all Zionist bodies, with a budget for its expenditures. This committee will decide on all issues and will send two or three paid workers through the country on behalf of public relations.

Rabbi Isidore Breslau (Washington) said that many proposals and recommendations for public relations work had been made before this and the time had now come to decide upon action. The joint thinking of the Hadassah Board and the Z.O.A. Executive had this evening indicated the framework for the organization and the Committee should be given the power to act. It is essential to select with great care the persons who are to carry on the public relations work.

Rabbi Israel Goldstein pointed out that there is a question of time as well as of space. There are long-range objectives and immediate ones. The first, the long-range objectives constitute the type of educational work which can be entrusted to large groups of Zionists. The immediate objectives, such as the Jewish military force, must be interpreted by special persons, by a highly-selected group of individuals. Unfortunately, even many of the leaders of the World Zionist Organization do not speak the same language in regard to the problems confronting us. Dr. Goldstein here gave some instances of conflicting statements made on the same issue by Zionist leaders. He further stated that we must realize that, although all our efforts may not produce immediate results, nevertheless they are worthwhile. Although the protests against the White Paper were of no avail in securing the repeal of that document, still they helped to arouse Zionist sentiment in America and to corral it for action. There are two benefits accruing from public relations work, the first in the direction of achieving Zionist aims and purposes, the other in the stimulation of our own people to think and feel on these questions.

Mrs. Pool now proposed a motion to set up local public relations committees and to strengthen the existing ones by direction from the center. Mrs. Halprin recommended an amendment to the motion.

Mrs. Pool therefore rephrased her motion to include Mrs. Halprin's amendment as follows:

We recommend that the Public Relations Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs be enlarged to include a number of key men and women from all parts of the country who are especially equipped and able to be helpful in this work; that the Public Relations Committee call a conference to plan and lay down the exact lines of work for the Committee; that it further proceed to establish in a limited number of key cities local public relations committees composed in the same way as the National Public Relations Committee and that it direct these committees towards the proper ends; and further that where there are existing local public relations committees, they be strengthened by proper direction.

On a second to this motion a vote was taken and the motion was passed unanimously.

MR. SHETZER'S REPORT

Judge Levirthal then called upon Mr. Simon Shetzer, Executive Director of the Z. O. A. to discuss the possibilities for cooperation between Hadassah and the Z. O. A.

Mr. Shetzer spoke as follows:

"I did not know till a minute ago that I was to lead a discussion on the possibility of cooperation between Hadassah and the Z. O. A., and I therefore speak without any preparation whatever. I feel very keenly about this subject. There are a number of specific areas in which I think there is opportunity for splendid cooperation to the end that it will serve the respective interests of the Zionist cause to which both organizations are committed.

"In many districts our people avail themselves of Hadassah lists to determine whether the husbands of Hadassah women are Z.O.A. members. To some extent that has proved successful. I don't know whether Hadassah chapters do the same thing, but this is a very fruitful area. I think it is fallacious to assume that every husband of Hadassah member belongs to the Z.O.A., making the household a complete Zionist household. To the extent that a member of Hadassah does not see that male members belong to the Z.O.A. and to the extent that a Zionist does not see to it that the women belong to Hadassah, each has failed in the fulfillment of his Zionist affiliation. There should be greater emphasis for the extension of membership for both organizations.

"There ought to be more occasions of joint meetings of Hadassah and Zionist groups in the respective communities. In my own community, since 1926 when I first became President of the Detroit Zionist District, hardly a year passed when we did not have joint meetings. I was amazed to learn that this is not customary in other cities. In a group I visited recently the suggestion was made that the Zionist District should establish a women's division of the Z.O.A. Of course, we would not countenance such action, but it grew out of the realities of the situation because Hadassah was not prepared to join with the Z.O.A. in a single meeting during the course of the year. If there are other Hadassah chapters of the same mind, National Hadassah should promote, as a matter of routine programming, one or more joint meetings during the year.

"In the field of publications and periodicals there is undoubtedly room for joint effort. If a Zionist household is a complete Zionist household, a single periodical should be sufficient for the home. That would effect economy and good publication since one single periodical could be very much better than two separate ones. I was discussing today with a director of another Zionist body the possibility of establishing a joint bureau for the preparation and distribution of Zionist films, Hadassah, the UPA, JNF, and the Gewerkschaften all use films dealing with life in Palestine. We all know the enormous expense involved in preparing, editing and distributing these films. A joint bureau could charge a nominal fee and use this fee to buy one or two new films each year for circulation throughout the country. The same is true of a joint speakers' bureau. One central office in the country, with perhaps regional officers, for Zionist gatherings of all sorts, should be channelized.

"Some progress is being made in this direction on joint programming. For Chanisha Osor, for instance, Hadassah asked chapters to communicate with the Z.O.A. for joint programs. For Purim celebrations we instructed our district offices to communicate with Hadassah chapters to arrange joint festivities. The area for joint programming is very wide and broad and has not been explored beyond the surface.

"Another important area of joint cooperation is not through a joint Hadassah - Z.O.A. Convention, but through simultaneous separate conventions in the same city. There could be separate quarters in different hotels, but there should be joint functions perhaps for the opening and closing sessions. The cumulative effect of delegates representing 135,000 - 150,000 Zionist men and women is greater than for 85,00 or 50,00 separately.

"We glory in the fact that we realized there is no difference between boys and girls, and we have established a joint Youth Commission. Should not the same be true for adult Zionist education? I know there are technical difficulties,

Hadassah begins its convention on Wednesday and goes on for about five days. We start on Saturday night and are lucky if we have a "Minyan" by Monday morning. We could both start our conventions on Saturday and if the men have to leave, they could go and Hadassah could continue its sessions. Such an arrangement would stimulate attendance of both men and women, and husbands and wives would come to the conventions together, serving a good Zionist purpose.

"I realize also that Hadassah is accustomed to holding its conventions late in October. Till last year the Zionist Organization held its conventions during July. Last year we held it in September. We are sufficiently interested to arrange our convention in October if Hadassah would be willing to schedule its convention for the second week in October. All other technical difficulties could be ironed out. This would give us an opportunity to discuss other areas of mutual cooperation for the mutual gain of both groups."

After Mr. Shetzer's report, which was not discussed further because of lack of time, Judge Levinthal announced that he would like to appoint a committee of Z.O.A. representatives, to meet with the special committee of Hadassah members which Mrs. Pool would designate for the purpose of considering methods of joint cooperation in all the fields proposed by Mr. Shetzer. On a vote duly taken, both presidents were authorized by their respective boards to appoint such committees.

JOINT ZIONIST YOUTH COMMISSION:

Judge Levinthal stated that Mr. Shetzer's remarks had pointed to possibilities for future cooperation between Hadassah and the Z.O.A. However, there is one joint effort which is already in operation and on which a report would be rendered. He therefore called upon Mr. Herman L. Weisman, Chairman of the American Zionist Youth Commission to report on the progress of this undertaking.

Mr. Herman Weisman: "I do not know why the very idea of cooperation between the Z.O.A. and Hadassah should be taken up so tentatively or with such amused hesitancy. To members of the Zionist Youth Commission, joint meetings are no novelty. I must say to you that in the fifteen months during which we have been working together, votes even on controversial questions were never taken along organizational lines. While the Youth Commission is composed of equal representatives from Z.O.A. and Hadassah, it functions as a Zionist entity without partisan lines.

"I think it is important to touch on general phases of our activity and perhaps to make some comment about the significance of the work under way.

"The Zionist Youth Commission was appointed for some general and some specific purposes. It was appointed because it was recognized that somehow or other the adult Zionists had neglected almost entirely to deal in an organized way with the question of encouraging Zionist youth. Once the need was recognized, many people seemed to forget that there were consequences of earlier neglect. In other words, such youth organizations as did exist during the period of neglect or haphazard interest (manifested through subsidies but no direction), were faulty. Some people began to believe that as soon as the Commission came into being, it could change the situation over-night. We have not been able to do that.

"We found four organizations in the ranks of General Zionists, namely: Junior Hadassah, Masada, Avukah, and Young Judaea. I won't go into details about each. I will assume that you know a good deal about the membership and the general age groups of these organizations. We found that these organizations, because of their history, were important. However weak they might be, they could not be discarded or even interfered with too suddenly or radically without an attempt at understanding what it was that made them weak and what they would need to make them strong. We also recognized their importance as symbols. Therefore, despite great difficulties which faced us, we decided not to make radical changes unless we were forced to do so. It was our idea to reconstruct these youth organizations on different levels of action as the occasion required. During the previous twenty year period, the financial support for these organizations did come from affiliated Zionists. These youth organizations did not exist without any direction or supervision from the adult groups. As a matter of fact they had adult control, but these adults were not, and in some instances even today are not, affiliated either with the Z. O. A. or Hadassah. Even the intellectual and financial interest of the late Justice Brandeis did not serve to insulate a youth organization from an adult direction that was not at all desirable. The road for accomplishing reconstruction was found to have three main branches.

1. We undertook to give reality to the dictum that "Youth shall lead youth." The organizations needed to be streamlined in their structure so that the leadership would be responsive to a membership which had the right to change leaders and to elect new ones.
2. We began to train the human material in these different organizations for leadership. Leadership does not merely happen even among those with talent. They need very definite training, training which we found lacking, and from the lack of which these organizations had suffered.
3. We undertook to provide an educational program for group work and for the development of the type of Zionism that would reflect its true meaning and significance in American life.

"Reorganizational structure: Nothing was done or needed to be done in the case of Masada or Junior Hadassah. There were no special problems there. There was a problem which we tackled first in the case of Young Judaea. This was most important because the organization embraced impressionable youngsters and it was important to clarify their structure as soon as possible. Somehow, for many years the structure of Youth Judaea was such that it stifled the ability of Young Judaea to grow, to become articulate and to develop.

"There was a governing board that insulated the organization from its youthful component parts, and several of the youth leaders recognized this. These were most articulate and enlisted our cooperation for making an immediate reform in the organizational structure of Young Judaea. We did this along the lines of preserving and liberating an autonomous structure. The plan was simple: To organize active club leaders in Young Judaea in a Leaders' Association which would elect a Council or Executive Committee; representatives of the leaders and members of the Youth Commission would constitute a sub-committee to deal with Young Judaeans affairs. In addition, seniors between the ages of 15 and 18 would have a league of their own. Recently, because of certain reforms in the Young Judaea publication which made it not responsive to the needs of the children between 15 and 18, we authorized a new publication for seniors alone.

"Thus far the plan for the reorganization has not worked well. We think it will work well in the very near future. The fact that it did not work at once is attributable to causes over which we had no control. At the first session under the new regime a man was elected Chairman and he was to appoint an Executive Committee until one could be elected. The Committee did not function for four months as a Committee. The Senior League contemplated under the new set-up was never organized and never met. Recently, however, there has been a change in the leadership; there is a new chairman and the new machinery is in operation in a way that will insure the election of an Executive Committee and the organization of the Senior League, and we hope that Young Judaea will flourish.

"The second organizational problem which we faced is one in Avukah. The whole situation on the campus is a very serious problem. The student population represents the most fertile and most talented type of material to be trained in Zionism for leadership and general membership. What I have to say does not refute, nor do I intend to gainsay the fact that many new chapters in Avukah are doing fine work and that many of the leaders in Avukah throughout the country are doing fine work. The rank and file of Avukah are good Zionists, but the organizational structure presents a real problem. While the student population changes repeatedly somehow the central administrative committee of Avukah seems to go on forever. By one device or another a small group in control are people who maintain themselves in power. In addition, there is a Faculty Advisory Committee, but very few of the faculties in the country are actually represented. They have a publications committee which functions in a vague way, so that there is neither author nor committee to take responsibility for what is being published. I need not elaborate on the importance of this in a war emergency.

"These are not the conclusions adults have reached independently of youth or even the ranks of Avukah. Thus, one of the members of the Youth Commission brings back word from one of the chapter presidents: 'The policy of the central administrative committee of Avukah is Neo-Marxist, not Jewish enough. For the sake of a mass approach they detract from the final results by diluting the Jewish aspects of the work on the campus.'

"The results are very poor. The work on the campus from a qualitative or a quantitative point of view can be improved -- it must be improved. Some new formula may be worked out soon between Avukah and Hillel without diluting the autonomy of Avukah as a students' organization. This is something in which the Commission has not yet succeeded. It is our next big job. We have been patient with Avukah and I think it is high time now that we come down to brass tacks in order to gain for Zionism the kind of representation on the campus that it deserves. This can only be done by making constructive changes in organizational structure and responsibility. So much for the organizational problems.

"Now, the other two points - leadership and educational material. These apply to all the organizations.

"The most significant beginning that was made in terms of training youth leadership was through the camp institute last summer. In a previous report we attached a large number of letters from the young people who were at the camp, who, on their own initiative, wrote their impressions of what they got out of their experience. Everybody in contact with that camp institute, which for a month gave intensified

Zionist training to some fifty young people selected for their potential leadership, has said that that method of training leaders is a formula that should be explored and extended.

"The other part of training youth leaders consists in trying to activate the Young Judaea activities. We have found a deplorable lack of leadership in Young Judaea. In this, too, we have now instituted methods which are calculated to open up the ranks for increased leadership for Young Judaea.

"On the question of educational and program material, it is a very difficult matter to tackle. What emphasis to select for presentation of Jewish matters to youth is a delicate problem. There, too, I believe we have made a significant beginning. I don't know how many of you saw the portfolio released by Dr. Kessler in connection with the Young Judaea program. And more recently, I don't know how many of you saw 'Zionism and the World Crisis' which is unit I of a series of studies. But that is just a beginning. To appreciate all the nice things that have been said about these programs. We think we can even do better. The country's favorable reaction is gratifying of course, both to the Commission and to Dr. Bardin who has given a great deal of thought and study to the situation. We waited for a long time to find out from the youth groups what kind of a program they wanted. One group came forward and said: We are ready to have the commission help us with our program. It is our plan so far as possible not to do purely a professional job. It is true that we recognize the need of professional help and we have therefore employed Dr. Bardin and Dr. Kessler. But we want to avoid the kind of approach that is so professional as to be dry and bookish. Therefore, it is our plan so far as the youth organizations will allow us, to have the youth organizations participate in the development of stimulating educational and program material. Now, if some of them don't come forward, we will go along with those who do. I believe that all the organizations will be with us in this work eventually. We feel that since we are entrusted with a budget we have a great responsibility and that by and large, the organized Zionist bodies will forgive us if we appear to step on a few toes as long as what we are doing is right.

"We have tackled a number of other things, requiring different activities. They take a great deal of time. We have several sub-committees who are working hard. More important still, we are thinking things through that somehow seem elementary and which have not been touched by others.

"We have laid great stress on a certain way in which this whole idea of adult supervision and direction of youth work will take hold. We believe it will be through direct contact between responsible adult Zionists and the Jewish youth in each community. In this connection, as you may know, we embarked upon the matter of stimulating the formation of local Zionist youth commissions. Of course, Hadassah went a bit too fast in their genius for organizational accomplishment, but the Z. O. A. will tag along. One hundred twenty-eight youth commissions have been formed, some in not very important places. Some of these have begun to function and have themselves realized their responsibility to raise a local budget for local needs. Some have hired directors, others have begun to finance courses for training leaders. Incidentally, this is the way in which we will be able to give employment throughout the country to the leaders whom, through camps or other means, we will be able to train as leaders for group activity.

"I have not said anything about our underlying general assignment - to approach Jewish youth in centres, Talmud Torahs, general Jewish welfare organizations or anywhere. Some statistical study claims that there are about 350,000 Jewish youth affiliated with one or another type of Jewish organization. About 83% have indicated a sympathy with Zionism. Frankly, I don't know what 'sympathy' means. I think that with the correct approach and the right kind of material, we ought to make significant progress in enlisting Jewish youth throughout the country into the ranks of Zionism.

"I want to say a word of a general nature. During the last ten years the youth problem has come to the fore in America as never before. The youthful generation has been subjected to a triple onslaught. First there was depression and that stimulated the Federal Government to recognize the youth problem; then there was the insidious advance of Fascism and finally the war situation.

"It is perhaps no accident that during the period when the Federal Government recognized the need to do something about the youth, the adult Zionist organizations awoke to the same need. Immediately there started a great deal of talk which is still going on, about the Zionist youth movement. Without going into great detail I want to say that qualified people, researchers and others, have come to the conclusion that it cannot be said that there is an American youth movement in the sense in which the term was originally used and applied to youth objectives and activities in Europe. There is much less justification, in my judgment, in speaking glibly about the Zionist youth movement. It does not hurt to speak of it in a promotional way as something to be achieved provided we understand what we are talking about. So far as it is possible to do so, the Youth Commission will stimulate and encourage that kind of mass adherence by Jewish American youth to Zionism and its objectives which will ultimately justify the term Zionist Youth Movement. For the time being we take a very simple premise. We say that the Zionist youth movement will remain the projection of the articulate few, unless the rank and file of Jewish youth who must be the mainstay of a movement become Zionist minded. Our job is to hasten the day when there shall flourish large organizations of youth - who are well informed Zionists, true and devoted Jews, well-balanced and intelligent Americans."

MRS. EPSTEIN:

Following Mr. Weisman's report, Mrs. Epstein, vice-chairman of the Youth Commission, supplemented his remarks with a few words. She referred particularly to the local Zionist Youth Commissions which were set up in the communities to implement the plans of the National Youth Commission and to integrate the youth work in the communities. There are now 128 of these local commissions; not all of them are truly representative of both the Z.O.A. and Hadassah, but they are developing and are a step in the right direction. The development of leadership is an essential factor of the work and this is a task which some of the local commissions have undertaken.

Mrs. Epstein stated that it is not possible to give the complete direction of the youth work at this time; the National Commission can state its aims and purposes and provide the general direction, the local commissions must survey the field and give their suggestions and recommendations to the center. There are three chief tasks -- to provide the children for the Young Judaea clubs and

leaders for the clubs, to see that Junior Hadassah has vitality and program, to provide manpower for Masada, whose ranks are being greatly depleted during this war period.

Because of the limited time, there was no discussion on the reports of the Youth Commission.

MR. DICKENSTEIN'S SPEECH:

Mrs. Pool extended a cordial welcome on behalf of the meeting to Mr. A. Dickenstein, of the Bank Ha-poalim of Tel Aviv. She greeted him as a Shlich Tsibbur from Palestine and said that all those present were eager to hear the report by one so recently arrived from Eretz Israel.

Mr. Dickenstein spoke with much conviction and animation and there was a spontaneous burst of applause at the conclusion of his remarks.

The following is Mr. Dickenstein's speech:

"I am sorry that because of my report you will have to stay for another thirty minutes, but I take this opportunity to speak for two reasons: (1) I promised your president, and I have a bad habit of keeping promises. (2) Ben Gurion and Kaplan told us in Palestine that one of the few Zionist audiences who can listen to information which is not embroidered attractively and without converting information into propaganda is the Hadassah National Board. I never had an opportunity to speak to the Board and I am anxious to prove his statement. Kaplan said that only Hadassah members feel at home with figures on Palestine -- this, too, I want to prove to myself. I must warn you, however, that I left Palestine about three months ago. However, I want to tell you mostly about the feeling of the Yishuv factually; from recent letters from Palestine I learn that there has not been much change in the feeling of the Yishuv during those three months.

"I shall divide the information into three parts: How people feel about the war in general; how they feel about the war in the Near East; and how they view the political, economic and security situation.

"With regard to the war situation: There is no other place in the world where a population feels so sure of the ultimate victory. I had an opportunity, traveling all over the British Empire except the British Isles, to observe people in many places. Nowhere did I meet the kind of faith we feel in Palestine. Perhaps it is because our life is so tied up with the outcome of the war. The ultimate victory is not even questioned. People don't think it possible that the democracies will not win the war. About the war in the Near East the feeling was always that the danger will never come from the south. No one considers seriously the likelihood that the Axis will break through Libya. There was even definite hope that the Allies would destroy the Axis in Libya completely. I had the opportunity of meeting with military authorities, together with Shertok and Kaplan. Captain MacLean said: 'Tell America that they should not expect Benghazi to be taken in two weeks; explain that it is not as important to destroy soldiers as to be close to supply bases.'

"Attention is being paid more to the Russian Front than to Libya and there is more fear with regard to a break through the Caucasus and Turkey's involvement.

"As I mentioned before, the Zionist movement always had two political fronts: the first, the direct front of diplomacy; and the other, the building up of Palestine. If we dare to negotiate or ask for an army it is not because of a charter but because we have 550,000 Jews in Palestine. This is the political frontier in Palestine which is not least important. In daily life in Palestine, and in the daily negotiations with the government in Palestine, everybody knows that the British policy is based on the White Paper and the government does not try to deny it. The government tries from time to time to show the Jews and the Arabs that the policy of the White Paper is still in power. As a matter of fact, MacMichael and others in the Palestine Government, are attempting to organize an Arab group to validate the White Paper. I am of the opinion that they are permitting some of the Arab prisoners who were imprisoned in Iraq to return to Palestine, with this aim in view.

"Though officially the government is still faithful to the White Paper, there is the feeling that the government is seeking the cooperation of the Jewish people.

"Now for the economic situation: The main industry in Palestine in the past was the citrus industry. You know that Americans no longer send money for the maintenance of orange groves. In the last war money was transferred from America to Palestine for the preservation of orange groves. This time the British Government is giving loans for this purpose, over half a million pounds having been given already.

"I am proud to tell you also that we are expanding our mixed farming. The Government gave a large subsidy for this purpose. Government has also helped in another manner. We have in our bank a fund to help people establish small farms. LP 20,000 has been given by the Government through this medium for this purpose. It is evident that the Government willingly is seeking ways of cooperation with the Jews since they realize the potential value of Palestine in the war effort.

"Before I left Palestine a special War Supply Board and a special office for regulating imports from the United States under the Lend-Lease Bill were established. When officials were being appointed for these, the Jewish Agency was consulted. This was the first time that the Agency was asked for advice on such a matter. Shapiro and Marcus were recommended and accepted. Thus in consultations on raw materials, etc., Jews are being drawn in. Does this not mean that they are seeking our cooperation?

"Another instance: We had only 13,000 special policemen. Now they have doubled the number of special policemen and we have 26,000 instead of 13,000. They doubled also the number of official ammunition arsenals.

"In the day by day relationship with the government, you can feel a desire to cooperate with the Yishuv. I was told by people in charge of the Political Department that in their daily meetings with British officials and military authorities there is the feeling that the British are terribly disappointed with the Arabs. MacMichael's primary interest is of course to serve his country. For thirty-five years that has been guiding him, and always when he was among the Arabs he thought that by appeasing the Arabs he would best serve his country. All along he considered the Jews trouble-makers. It is difficult for him now to admit he was wrong. Even some of us who are much younger than MacMichael find

it difficult to admit when we are wrong. But for a Conservative like MacMichael it is doubly hard. The younger people do admit it. Leo Cohen, Zaslani and others told me that they heard from British officials that they now realize how foolish British policy with the Arabs was, and how helpful it would be now if there were some two million Jews in Palestine, who could have been drawn on for the campaigns in Libya and Singapore.

"Shertok, too, feels that the British realize that after the war they will have to change their policy re Palestine. Some people in England are already making proposals in this regard, but it will be a long time before any results are achieved.

"You will ask why this change of attitude? As I told you in the beginning, we are a group of 550,000. We have $1\frac{1}{2}$ million dunams of land, hundreds of settlements, we can repair tanks and machines in our workshops. This is why the attitude has changed. Also, our boys are fighting well and are dying for the cause. No one can deny that Palestine is now the war workshop of the Near East. In Haifa two cruisers are being repaired. One of them I saw with my own eyes. Thousands of machine guns, heavy guns, etc., would never be used again in the Near East if they could not have been repaired in Palestine.

"Another reason for the friendly attitude on the part of the British is the fact that the Yishuv has really made an effort to be hospitable to the military forces stationed in Palestine. The Jewish Agency has arranged organized trips to our settlements for officers and men who prefer not to spend their holidays in Cairo. In Egypt, incidentally, the attitude towards the British forces is deplorable — there is shameful commercial exploitation, and you know how pro-Italian the government is. In Iraq and Syria the Arabs do not cooperate with the British. You know the attitude of Palestinian Arabs towards enlistment. In view of all these considerations, even those Britishers who refuse to admit it, know in their own hearts that the British policy in the Near East must be changed.

"Now as to the security situation in Palestine: Although the Arabs are now quiet in Palestine, don't be surprised if they begin to riot again any day. You know that Palestine was not quieted by the government through the arrest of the leaders of the riots or by confiscating their ammunition. The riots ceased suddenly as a result of an order given by the Mufti. When the Mufti considers the time propitious, he will once again give an order to resume rioting. Furthermore, before Syria was taken over, the Vichy French gave the Syrian Arabs a great deal of ammunition which we know will be used in good time. Moreover, the Haganah is now weakened because several thousand of their members have joined the forces. The Iibbutzim and the Haganah are the main sources of volunteers for the army. As a matter of fact, over 60% of the officers among the Jews come from the Haganah.

"Let me elaborate a little on the economic situation: Of the capital imported into Palestine previously, 82 cents of each dollar was brought by the immigrant as private capital. Only 18 cents of each dollar was public money--income of the national funds, other collections, etc. In view of the discontinuance of private capital, it is a miracle that Palestine economy has not collapsed. Not that there was no immigration at all into Palestine recently. Actually, some 39,000 Jews came into Palestine during the last two years. Jews are coming, but they come without a penny in their pockets. Thus, there is no longer any source of private capital, on which depended the absorptive capacity of Palestine.

"The income of Keren Kayemeth and Keren Hayesod will this year be LP264,000. less than the year before. There is no income from other countries. This year the only sources of income will be the United States, England and South Africa.

"Yet, despite the lack of private capital and the decrease in the income of the national funds, Palestine has managed to exist. Furthermore, they managed without serious disruption, to shift from a peacetime economy to a war economy. The British are now spending two or three million pounds per month in Palestine.

"In 1938-39 there were some 20,000 Jewish workers employed in picking oranges. The new immigration during the last two years brought about 39,000 persons. Of late we have been losing places in orange groves because the groves cannot pay more than 18 p. a day, and a Jew cannot live on that sum in view of the more than doubled cost of living, and in view of the fact that he can get 40 p. a day working on the roads.

"There is no unemployment. About 12,000 men went to the army; perhaps 12,000 were absorbed in public works. Palestine is a fortification now that it has excellent roads, marvelous warehouses for ammunition, etc. There is a standing joke among our people who are already assigning these buildings for ultimate use as dining halls, children's houses, etc., and groups vie with each other for land in districts near these capital buildings.

"To return to the question of unemployment. Mixed farming has absorbed about 8,000 people; that means that our economic structure is much healthier. Industry absorbed about 12,000. We always thought we had 30,000 workers in industry. The figure for November 1941 was 42,000. In mixed farming they actually have a shortage of workers. The Mesholim have given many people to the army, and there is a lack of workers, particularly since their output has been doubled and in some cases even tripled.

"The output in industry in Palestine in 1939 amounted to some nine million pounds; this year it reached 15 or 16 million pounds. This is because Labor and raw materials are very expensive. But if we provide for the army and have created employment for some 12,000, it is of course very important.

"Finally, I am coming to what may be the most unpopular phase of my presentation - the Zionists' activities in Palestine.

"Before I left they told me: Please tell the people in America that there are vast possibilities in Palestine today to do constructive work. We never had such possibilities. First of all, we can now buy land. I want to tell you that the Arabs have a definite belief in the ultimate victory of Hitler. The Arabs in Palestine know that if Hitler wins the war, the land will be worthless and they are therefore anxious to sell at any price. I want to tell you that in the Northern part of Syria, land with water is being sold for a shilling a dunam. We can buy land now in Palestine for which we paid LP 8. -10. a dunam for LP 1. and LP 2. Kaznelson and Granovsky asked me to tell you that we can now buy great tracts of land in Palestine. Now the Arabs are ready to sell the land; after the war, if the democracies win, the Arabs won't want to sell. Land purchasing possibilities now are such as we have never had before.

"Now with regard to colonization: I had the opportunity to go through the balance sheets with some of our Meshekim. Last year we built two settlements in the Huleh. They are planting peanuts, and will ultimately make Palestine self-sustaining in fats. Though established only last year, these colonies were already able to pay the interest on the loans advanced to them by the Keren Hayesod. If such colonies are able to pay back on the investment, we can assume that we have a market for our products. The situation is in our favor because Palestine is not being flooded with goods from Syria, etc. and because we have the army to supply. This gives us a chance to build settlements. We now have possibilities for colonization - who knows when we will have such possibilities again. We also have great possibilities for industrial growth and should take full advantage of them.

"If after the war Palestine will be in a position, under the best political conditions, to absorb only 20,000 Jews a year because of poor preparation, it will be a great disappointment to all of us. To some people here, Palestine is merely a pattern of life. To me - if we can absorb many people, that is Zionism; if not, it is not Zionism.

"The committee of post-war aims under Dr. Ruppin informs us that they are planning to absorb half a million Jews in the first five years after the war. The question is: If Jews can be saved from the Galut in an organized way, what should be the first steps? The general idea of the plan is to save children from 15 to 18, but instead of building schools in different settlements for them, the idea is to colonize them immediately and bring the teachers to them. Of course, this involves a great deal of land. Up to now we have colonized about 30,000. In order to colonize half a million in five years we need so much more land.

"When I came to this item I said it was very unpopular because I did not want to criticize. In Palestine we all feel a bit despondent about this. True, political work is very important. It is essential, of course, - to provide men for the army. But in Palestine many feel that it is too bad that all leaders of the Zionist movement today give their best thoughts and energies to only one angle of the work. I have been here since December 7th. In two months I have made 43 addresses, and in each one I have made an appeal for the purchase of land, with no result.

"Of course the army is the main thing politically. Even the fact that we are demanding a Jewish army is important. But even this demand is listened to only because we are now a factor in Palestine. My plea is that you help us prepare Palestine for the future. Palestinian Jews don't need your help for themselves now. I assure you that the average Jew lives much better in Palestine today than the average Jew in America. Life there is quieter and healthier. But the Jews of Palestine feel delegated to prepare Palestine for thousands of Jews after the war. This is the historic task of Palestine, and this is the time to prepare for it. After the war we will not be able to absorb stranded Jews unless at least the minimum preparations will be made now. Zionism cannot be regarded purely as a spiritual movement; there is a practical movement as well. Help us prepare Palestine now for the Jews who will have to come there later."

Respectfully submitted

Simon Shetzer

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



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

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February 24th, 1942

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

The Nominations Committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs is to meet within the next few days. The Office Committee under the new by-laws is to be composed of 11 members of the full committee, plus the chairman and the treasurer. We are planning to nominate Dr. Stephen Wise for chairman and Robert Szold as treasurer. The Z.O.A. is entitled to two designees on the Office Committee, Hadassah two, Poale Zion one, and Mizrahi one, and three members are to be elected at large from among the members of the Emergency Committee.

It is, of course, important that the Z.O.A. representatives attend as many meetings of the Office Committee as possible. I am anxious to have you serve as one of the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Office Committee. The Office Committee meets once a week. Can we count on you to attend at least two meetings a month? Under the by-laws, alternates or deputies cannot serve for members of the Office Committee but only for members of the Emergency Committee who are absent. Please let me hear from you at your very earliest convenience as the elections are to take place at the next meeting of the full Emergency Committee, scheduled for March 4th and the Nominations Committee should be in a position to come to a decision by the end of this week.

With warm personal regards,

Cordially,

Louis E. Levinthal
Louis E. Levinthal

LEL:bg

P. S. You have, no doubt, seen the first of Reinhold Niebuhr's articles in the Nation. It is highly desirable that as many letters as possible from Jews and liberal non-Jews be sent to



2/24/42

to the editors of the Nation commenting favorably on Niebuhr's presentation of the Jewish problem. A letter from you personally would be very valuable. It would also be helpful if some of your non-Jewish friends in the ministry and other fields would write. Please suggest that copies of their letters be sent to our office in Washington.



March 2, 1942

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, President
Zionist Organization of America
1720 - 18th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Judge Levinthal:

Let me thank you for your letter of February 24 in which you request me to serve as a representative of the Z.O.A. on the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. You ask me whether you can count on me to attend at least two meetings a month. I am afraid that I can not commit myself to such a schedule. As you know I shall be traveling around a great deal in connection with the U.J.A. campaigns. There are other meetings which I must attend, too. Under the circumstances it would perhaps be better if you would select someone who could be counted upon to attend regularly.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

MINUTES OF THE Z. O. A. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON SUNDAY,
MARCH 8th, 1942, AT 4:45 P. M., AT THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL,
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding; Robert Bernstein, Maurice M. Boukstein, Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Dr. James G. Heller, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Emanuel Neumann, Hon. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Louis E. Spiegler, Hon. Elihu D. Stone, and Harry Takiff, representing Masada.

GUESTS: David Berger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harry Cohen, Wilmington, Del.; Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mendel N. Fisher and Henry Montor, of New York, and Mrs. Oscar Bender, Philadelphia, Pa.

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF: E. Barbarash, Dr. S. Bardin, Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn, Zvi Levavy, Sidney Marks, H. A. Schulson, Simon Shetzer, Dr. David Tannenbaum, and Tilla Hyams.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE WERE RECEIVED FROM: Philip Barron, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, A. K. Epstein, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Jacob Fishman, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Daniel Frisch, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Abraham Goldstein, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Cecil R. Gordon, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfein, E. I. Kaufmann, Mordecai Konowitz, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Louis P. Roeker, Chas. J. Rosenbloom, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Bernard G. Rudolph, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dewey D. Stone, Robert Szold, Herman L. Weisman, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

I. THE KEREN HAYESOD:

Dr. James G. Heller's motion, seconded by Maurice M. Boukstein, was unanimously adopted by the Z.O.A. Executive Committee that Judge Levinthal be empowered to appoint a committee of three to prepare a list of persons recommended by the Z. O. A. to serve as officers and members of the Administrative Committee of the Keren Hayesod, and that the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod who are members of the Z.O.A. be notified to attend a meeting preliminary to the Board of Directors meeting of the Keren Hayesod at which an agreement be reached among the Z.O.A. members regarding the slate to be supported by the Z.O.A. members at the next meeting of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod.

II. THE AMERICAN PALESTINE FUND:

Mr. Shetzer read the following letter from Mordecai Konowitz, Chairman of the Committee, to consider the Z.O.A.'s position with reference to the American Palestine Fund:

After considerable discussion, in which Messrs. Montor and Norman participated, the Committee decided to recommend and it does hereby recommend to the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, the adoption of a Resolution as follows:

3/8/42

"The American Palestine Fund, having expressed to the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, it desires that members of the Zionist Organization of America shall serve upon the governing board of the American Palestine Fund and shall constitute fifty per cent of the members of such board, and having requested the Executive Committee that it approve of service on such governing board by members of the Zionist Organization of America; it is

RESOLVED that the request of the American Palestine Fund be granted and that service upon the governing board of the American Palestine Fund by members of the Zionist Organization of America shall be and is hereby approved upon the following conditions and with the following limitations: (a) That the name of the American Palestine Fund be changed so that it shall not directly or indirectly conflict with the National Palestine Fund or other national funds of which Palestine is the beneficiary, it being suggested that a suitable name would be AMERICAN FUND FOR PALESTINE INSTITUTIONS; (b) That no less than fifty per cent of the governing board of the American Palestine Fund shall be members of the Zionist Organization of America; (c) That the members nominated for election to such board shall first be approved by the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America within the meaning and purpose of the Pittsburgh Coordinating Resolution; and (d) That the functions and activities of the American Palestine Fund shall under no conditions impair the proper functioning of the United Palestine Appeal, Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund and that suitable relationships be established between the American Palestine Fund and these funds."

After a discussion of the American Palestine Fund report by several members of the Executive Committee, upon motion of Dr. James G. Heller, seconded by Emanuel Neumann, the Z.O.A. Executive Committee decided to refer the report back to the Committee for further consideration with instructions to consult with the UPA and JNF and to report back at the next meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive Committee.

III. AMERICAN ZIONIST CONFERENCE AND INVITATION TO DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

The Z.O.A. Executive Committee authorized Judge Levinthal to cable Dr. Weizmann an invitation to come to the United States to be the Z.O.A.'s guest at a dinner in his honor some time in April or May in order to raise some funds for the Z.O.A. deficit and for the carrying on of public relations and political work. Judge Levinthal also was authorized to recommend to the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs to convoke an American Zionist Political Conference in May or June at which Dr. Weizmann and David Ben Gurion be invited and all parties be represented in order to formulate future general Zionist policy to serve as a guide to Zionists. Judge Levinthal was requested to consult with the Emergency Committee regarding the proper timing of the dinner and conference.

IV. JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

In reply to the communication from the Jewish Welfare Board to send Z.O.A. representatives to its conference with respect to its war program, the Z.O.A. Executive Committee unanimously empowered Judge Levinthal to send two Z.O.A. representatives.

V. VAAD BITACHON, ETC.

The Z.O.A. Executive Committee unanimously empowered Judge Levinthal to appoint a committee to review and study the organizations of the Vaad Bitachon, Hechalutz, the Red Magen David and their work and to report its findings and recommendations at the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

VI. U.P.A. BUDGET

Judge Levinthal reported that the Z.O.A. Finance Committee has not yet had an opportunity to meet with UPA Budget Committee and that therefore the Z.O.A. Executive Committee will not have an opportunity to consider the proposed budget of the UPA until such meeting is held.

The meeting adjourned at 6 P.M.



Respectfully submitted,

Simon Shetzer

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE ZOA NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL, HELD AT THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, PA., ON SUNDAY, MARCH 8TH, 1942, AT 10:45 A.M.

PRESENT: Dr. James G. Heller, presiding; Messrs. Oscar Altschuler, Youngstown, Ohio; Robert M. Bernstein, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Washington, D. C.; Walter Burke, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Dr. Aaron Burman, Syracuse, N. Y.; Daniel Ellison, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. David Feldman, Atlantic City, N. J.; Hyman Goldman, Washington, D. C.; Dr. I. M. Goldman, Providence, R. I.; Louis Gordon, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia, Pa.; Joseph Halbert, Atlantic City, N. J.; Jacob B. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.; L. I. Levenson, Atlantic City, N. J.; Harry Levine and Louis Levine, Leominster, Mass.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harry A. Pine, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. John Safer, Washington, D. C. Hon. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio; Louis E. Spiegler, Washington, D. C.; Saul Spiro, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Harry Takiff, Philadelphia, Pa.; Messrs. Maurice M. Boukstein, Abraham E. Cohen, Hyman Fliegel, Abraham Goodman, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Emanuel Neumann, Herman Quittman, Hon. Albert D. Schanzer, and Herman L. Weisman, all of Greater New York.

GUESTS: David Berger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Harry Cohen, Wilmington, Del.; Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mendel, N. Fisher and Henry Montor, of New York City, and Mrs. Oscar Bender, Philadelphia, Pa.

MEMBERS OF STAFF: E. Barbarash, Dr. S. Bardin, Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn, Zvi Levavy, Sidney Marks, H. S. Schulson, Simon Shetzer, Dr. David Tannenbaum, and Tilla Hyams.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE WERE RECEIVED FROM: Dr. Israel A. Abrams, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rabbi Morris Adler, Detroit, Mich.; Judge Samuel Barnett, New Bedford, Mass., Philip Barron, Malden, Mass.; Charles Bender, Breckenridge, Texas; Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence, R. I.; Rabbi Morton Berman, Chicago, Ill.; 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.; J. B. Calmenson, St. Paul, Minn.; Judge Oscar Caplan, Chicago, Ill.; Samuel Caploe, Jamaica Plains, Mass.; Rabbi Elias Charry, Indianapolis, Ind.; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, Charleston, W. Va.; Lawrence W. Crohn, Detroit, Mich.; B. Danzefsky, Washington, D. C.; Rabbi Wm. Drazin, Savannah, Ga.; Judge Henry Ellenbogen, Pittsburgh, Pa.; A. K. Epstein, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Fred M. Falkman, Cleveland, Ohio; M. B. Finkelstein, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Alfred Fleishman, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseph L. Foster, Leominster, Mass.; Harry H. Frankel, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Harry Friedenwall, Baltimore, Md.; Daniel Frisch, Indianapolis, Ind.; David Geffen, Utica, N. Y.; Dr. Moses Gellman, Baltimore, Md.; Jos. Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Rabbi Morton Goliberg, Toledo, Ohio; Albert Goldman, Rochester, N. Y.; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.; Gustave I. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif.; Cecil R. Gordon, W. Newton, Mass.; Rabbi Emanuel Green, Aurora, Ill.; Rabbi Wm. Greenfield, Waterbury, Conn.; Benjamin R. Harris, Chicago, Ill.; J. L. Hecht, Norfolk, Va.; Alex Himmelman, Milwaukee, Wisc.; I. M. Jaffe, Butler, Pa.; Max Kabatznick, Boston, Mass.; E. I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; I. L. Kenen, S. Euclid, Ohio; Prof. Gustave Klausner, St. Louis, Mo.; Mordecai Konowitz, Jamaica, L. I.; Charles J. Levin, Uniontown, Pa.; Seymour R. Levine, Peekskill, N. Y.; Dr. Louis Levy, Memphis, Tenn.; Jacob Lukashok, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Morris Mallove, New London, Conn.; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Rabbi Abr. J. Mesch, Birmingham, Ala.; William Nimolman, Niagara Falls, N. Y.; J. Novy, Austin, Texas; Louis O. Perlman, St. Paul, Minn.; 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 Richo, Los Angeles, Calif.; Charles A. Romo, Boston, Mass.; H. Rosenbaum, Plainfield, N. J.; Col A. H. Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.; Chas. J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Rabbi R. M. Rosenthal, Cleveland, Ohio; Bernard G. Rudolph, Syracuse, N. Y.; Leon Sager, Wilmette, Ill.; Nathan Savage, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Albert Schiff, Columbus, Ohio; Judge Jacob Schwolsky, Hartford, Conn.; Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio; Ben Sobel, St. Louis, Mo.; Joseph W. Spector, Baltimore, Md.; Dewey D. Stone, Brockton, Mass.; Theodore Strimling, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mark Sugarman, Coatesville, Pa.; William H. Sylk, Philadelphia, Pa.; E. Teitelbaum, Johnstown, Pa.; Robert M. Travis, Atlanta, Ga.; Samuel Umansky, Meriden, Conn.; A. I. Uslander, Elizabeth, N. J.; Joe Weingarten, Houston, Texas; Senator Jacob Weiss, Indianapolis, Ind.; Samuel Wolberg, Wilmette, Ill.; Joseph Zox, Des Moines, Ia.; and Messrs. Marcus Abramson, M. Bernhardt, Samuel Berson, S. J. Borowsky, Julius M. Cantor, Sol Cohen, Rabbi Abraham Dubin, Jacob Fishman, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Harry Grayor, Judge E. Greenberg, Murray I. Gurfein, Leo Guzik, Ralph Huberman, Isaac Imber, Jacob Ish-Kishor, Samuel Judenfreund, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, I. D. Lipkowitz, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Seymour Mellman, Rabbi Irving Miller, Harry J. Moskowitz, Samuel J. Perry, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Abraham A. Redelheim, Hon. Hyman J. Reit, Louis P. Rucker, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel J. Rothstein, Moses Robinson, Jochanan I. Rudavsky, Rabbi Edward T. Sandrow, Leon Savage, Joseph J. Schickler, Hon. Carl Sherman, Abe Sindel, Abraham Spicohandler, Robert Szold, Abraham Tulin, Dr. Harry F. Wechsler, and Dr. Stephen S. Wiso, all of Greater New York.

I. RESOLUTION ON THE STRUMA DIASTER:

RABBI JAMES G. HELLER: "We can't begin our meeting today without pausing with a great deal of grief to record our own sense of outrage at the events that were reported some ten days ago about the sinking of the Struma, which is to be placed side by side with several similar tragedies to be ascribed to the policy of Great Britain in Palestine with respect to refugees. We heard in Cincinnati just this last week-end a man whom I regard as one of the finest representatives of Great Britain today, Sir Norman Angell. He said something that struck me as profoundly significant, which we might make use of in the future. He said, 'The world has not understood and still does not understand the full meaning of anti-Semitism as a Fascist device. There are a number of other motives that can be employed in the world with a similar result of the creation of divisiveness among people. Here in America just as in France, anti-British sentiments is potentially a weapon which the Nazis could use for those who cooperate with them in America.' I feel certain that since he has been travelling around the country a great deal recently, Sir Norman Angell spoke with a great deal of knowledge of the American scene, which he knows quite well.

If the facts concerning British policy in Palestine recently were well known in the United States, they would tend to intensify American sentiment against Great Britain. That in the midst of a war for the preservation of all of those values for which both Great Britain and the United States stand in the eyes of their own people, men and women fleeing from Nazi persecution should be refused harbor in Palestine, at the same time that Great Britain has been giving harbor in Palestine to refugees from other lands now occupied by the Nazis, is a symptom of a lack of understanding, of a division within British councils even in the midst of its life and death struggle in which we are engaged -- that is profoundly alarming and disturbing and disheartening. It is our duty to protest against these things not merely as Jews and as Zionists, but as Americans.

The first thing that we must do at a meeting of the Administrative Council, therefore, is to record this sense of outrage, the feeling of the desecration of the cause to which we are devoted, on the part of Great Britain. Let us also record a definite protest against these actions and appeal through our own government to that of Great Britain and to the conscience of the world. Judge Levinthal has drawn up the following resolution:

JUDGE LEVINTHAL:

"The Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America gives expression to the feeling of distress and horror with which Jews everywhere have learned of the fate of the refugees on the Steamship Struma who had escaped the brutalities of Nazi persecution in Roumania only to perish when within reach of the Jewish National Home. While the primary responsibility for their tragic fate lies at the door of their Fascist persecutors, the Palestine Administration, which callously rejected the despairing pleas for their admission to Palestine, cannot escape moral responsibility for the tragic sequel.

The Council respectfully urges the Government of the United States to intervene with the British Government with a view to (1) the carrying into effect of such changes in the policies as well as in the personnel of the British Administration in Palestine as shall make impossible the repetition of this appalling happening, (2) The immediate release of the 700 refugees from the Darion, who, after escaping from the massacres in Roumania early last year have, for more than twelve months, been interned in camps in Palestine under threat of deportation from Palestine as soon as shipping is available, and (3) To return to Palestine the 1800 refugees who had been deported under most distressing circumstances to the Island of Mauritius by the Palestine Administration in March of last year, where some sixty have since died.

The Council in urging this action desires to express its keen conviction that the conduct of the Palestine Administration towards helpless refugees does not accord either with the traditions or with the sentiments of the great mass of the British people who, unaware of these events, do not endorse them and who together with the United States and the other United Nations, are battling so valiantly for freedom and justice for all men. The Council is deeply sensible of the hurt to the democratic cause produced by such questions as those raised by the Patria, the Atlantic, the Darion, and the Struma, and it calls upon Great Britain to take

immediate action to remedy a state of affairs which stand in such flagrant contradiction to the great ends to which the democratic peoples have dedicated themselves."

Before moving for the adoption of this resolution, Mr. Chairman, I should like briefly to comment on this general situation. It seems to me that this present incident throws considerable light on recent history, that goes back to the Munich appeasement policy of September, 1938. So much has happened since then that I am afraid we begin to lose our perspective, if we don't trace it all back to that horrible event. I was looking through my files and I found a clipping of the Philadelphia Record of October 16, 1938. I couldn't bring my scrapbook, but I did have a photostatic copy made of that page. There is a cartoon - very grim. Note that date - October 16, 1938. It was seven months before the issuance of the White Paper, the MacDonald White Paper, which came in May 1939, but you remember there were rumors then two weeks after Munich, that restriction of immigration in Palestine was to come, and this cartoon is headed "Tearing Down the Fire Escape". There is a building that is burning. Fascist terrorism is marked with the flames of this building. There are refugees coming down the fire escape and the escape is marked "Palestine Sanctuary". We have Hitler and Mussolini hacking away at the fire escape in the building, and John Bull over at the other end pulling a rope tied to the fire escape, and tearing down the fire escape, and the heading to the leading editorial is, Will Palestine be the second Czechoslovakia? I am going to read most of this editorial, because to my mind it throws such a strong light on the present situation.

"One of the terrible by-products of the Munich agreement is the increased suffering it will bring to several million Jews and Christian non-Aryans in the smaller countries of Central Europe and the Balkans. The Munich agreement left these smaller countries at Berlin's mercy, and sooner or later they must change their domestic as well as their foreign policies to conform with the goosestep of Nazi bigotry. For Britain to serve these countries up on a platter in an effort to appease Hitler and at the same time to stop Jewish immigration into Palestine, thereby shutting off one of their few hopes of escape, is for Britain to become an abettor of that Nazi bigotry. The English Government has a moral obligation resulting not only from the Balfour Declaration, which promised Palestine as a homeland for the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe, but from the desperate surrender at Munich.

"Palestine is far from being a Jewish problem. On the contrary, it illustrates three tendencies of worldwide significance - its present troubles mark another step in the attempt to break up the British Empire; and the way in which these troubles have been fomented is another illustration of the methods being used by the Fascist powers in their attempt at world dominion. In Palestine as elsewhere they have been gullible. One can be forgiven the suspicion that they have been slow to put down terrorism and quick to accept empty Fascist promises because of the fatal rift in the upper ranks of Britains, conservatives, a rift that may prove fatal to democracy.

"Mussolini's promises to shut off anti-British propaganda among the Arabs have been as blandly broken as they have been glibly given. Hitler has continued to furnish arms and supplies to Arab terrorists. Britain's government has been complacent rather than vigilant. Its attitude invites disaster. Yesterday it was Czechoslovakia. Tomorrow it may be Palestine. What will it be next? Yesterday, it was the exaggerated woes of the Sudeten Germans. Today it is the equally exaggerated woes of the Arabs. Who will it be next? Hitler and Mussolini, themselves persecutors of minorities, are using a hypocritical concern for other peoples' minorities as a means of creating division and paving the way for conquest. Der Führer's theories of Aryan supremacy and Mussolini's anxious "me too" are particularly dangerous to the British Empire, where 70,000,000 whites exist in a sea of 430,000,000 Asiatic and African races.

"I think there is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself in this regard. Winston Churchill said at the Premier's Conference of 1922, that there should be no barrier of race, color, or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it. To give way before a Nazi theory of Aryan supremacy is to abandon the ideals of the British, American, and French resolutions, to turn one's back on 1688, 1776, and 1789, and to lose the ties of the Empire. Will those who have mistaken Britain's own interest in Spain and Czechoslovakia mistake them now in Palestine? Palestine has taken in more than half of the Jews fleeing Germany and Eastern Europe in the past five years. Has there been pressure from Hitler on the British Foreign Office to shut the doors on his victims? Is that the meaning of Hitler's references to Palestine in recent speeches?"

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"You know, there is a school of thought among historians, that you can only understand the present by a study of the past, and it seems to me that is the study of Munich, and what occurred immediately before and after that will throw light on the present situation with regard to the Struma. I am of the opinion that nothing is so important for the Zionists of this country as to arouse the conscience not only of American Jewry - that is unnecessary - but the sense of pity and the sense of justice of the British people and of the American people, and I think that the Struma gives us an opportunity to do that.

"A delegation representing the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs saw Lord Halifax in Washington the very day of the Struma sinking. Of course, we didn't know at that time of the occurrence. We went to see him with regard to the Darlan, and even Lord Halifax expressed his sympathy. There could be no argument presented against our case. Of course, we are expecting to hear from Lord Halifax any day about it, but it seems to me that this resolution as it is now drafted, cannot be objectionable to anybody, no matter how friendly one is to Winston Churchill or the British Government in London or the British people. We must differentiate between the Palestine Administration and the British people, and I believe also the British Government, because I personally can't reconcile the policy of the Palestine Administration with the policies and the principles of Winston Churchill. I believe that Winston Churchill is being overridden with regard to the Palestine Administration, that if he were a free

agent, he certainly couldn't tolerate the continuance and the repetition of such incidents as the Patria and the Darion and the Struma. I, therefore, move the adoption of this resolution."

RABBI HELLER: Judge Levinthal moves that we adopt this resolution by a rising vote and by a moment of silence in mourning for the victims of the Struma. This resolution is to be transmitted to the President of the United States. I should like also to suggest, as I did a moment ago to Mr. Shetzer, that since Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is either on the way to or is now in England, that the substance of these resolutions be cabled to him for transmission to the officials of the British Government in the conference which it is presumed he will have with them.

The motion to adopt the resolution was SECONDED AND UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED.

Judge Levinthal presided when Rabbi Heller left to broadcast on a national radio program.

II. REPORT OF THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS.

EMANUEL NEUMANN: Mr. Chairman, I think I reported at a previous meeting that there had been progress in the reorganization of the Emergency Committee and I can report today further progress. The reorganization is taking place in easy stages through no fault of anyone, but because of the circumstances that we are dealing with a number of organizations, and there are complicated questions involved. The new by-laws of the Emergency Committee have been finally adopted and approved substantially as after the first reading, and the various organizations have been allotted their direct representation in the Emergency Committee and have named their representatives.

The Emergency Committee consists of the following 26 persons:

- (a) Five members designated by the Z.O.A.: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Murray Gurfein, Rabbi James G. Heller, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal and three alternates, with power to vote in the absence of any of the five members; Isadore Breslau, Maurice Boukstein, Judge Bernard Rosenblatt.
- (b) Five members designated by Hadassah: Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Mrs. A. P. Schoolman, Mrs. Herman Shulman and Miss Juliet Benjamin - and alternate - Mrs. Moses P. Epstein.
- (c) Four members designated by Mizrahi: Leo Gellman, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Gedaliah Bublick and Rabbi I. H. Kowalsky.
- (d) Four members designated by Peale Zion: Messrs. Philip Cruso, Hayim Greenberg, Louis Segal and David Wertheim.
- (e) Eight members named at large as follows: Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Mr. Robert Szold and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Agreement has been reached on the principal officers. The Chairman of the Emergency Committee is Dr. Stephen S. Wise and the Treasurer is Mr. Robert Szold. There is to be an Office Committee which will conduct the Emergency Committee's business between meetings of the full committee and will also have a chairman, to be selected soon.

The Emergency Committee initiated a campaign on the subject of a Jewish military force. A kit of information has been sent out to Zionists throughout the country on that matter. Scarcely had we gotten under way with that campaign when the Struma incident broke. Judge Levinthal has already reported of the visit to Lord Halifax in connection with the refugees of the Darien of several hundred people who are still detained at Atlith. I want to supplement his statement with just a few remarks. This threatened to become a very serious matter. The people of the Darien included survivors of the Salvador, which was another coffin-ship which went down in the Sea of Marmora. The survivors were taken over on the Darien a year ago. Many of them had seen their children die, drowned before their eyes, and in that detention camp at Atlith for a year they had been doing nothing else but to relive the tragedies of a year ago, and as a result, at least five of those refugees have already gone insane and have had to be taken to institutions for the insane. This state of affairs has exasperated the Yishuv, as one might imagine. Attempts have already been made to free these refugees forcibly. This led to clashes with the authorities and the shedding of blood. Companies of Jewish soldiers who were stationed near Atlith had to be removed to another part of the country because they began to demonstrate, and there is grave danger that the thing would explode, that the Yishuv would find itself in violent conflict with the authorities over the tormenting of these refugees who are neither deported nor allowed to go free in the country, but are being simply kept in Atlith.

We went to see Lord Halifax about it. That very same day he cabled London and we all got the impression that he recognized that we had a good case. In fact, unofficially, we were so informed. Because all that we asked for was the freeing of these people and charging our immigration quota, and we still have 36,000 certificates unused under the White Paper, and there is therefore no good reason whatever for keeping these people imprisoned. The following morning the newspapers carried the story of the Struma. Almost a week before the sinking of the Struma, we called on the Turkish Ambassador. I conveyed to him the information that we then had about the Struma and warned him that these people are likely to die on their hands unless they were permitted to land and given proper care. We undertook the financial responsibility that they would be provided for. We said that we would make every effort to secure permission for them to proceed to Palestine. We thought we had succeeded in getting permission and we asked simply for human treatment. We had done so on the strength of a cablegram from Palestine warning us about this situation. The facts are that the boat was about 180 tons, only about fifty feet long, crowded with 768 passengers, all of whom had to remain below decks. Only 25 could be on the deck at any one time. It was a tiny and unseaworthy yacht, and was bound to go to pieces.

The Turkish Ambassador, of course, made reference to the fact that they had other cases of refugees who did not proceed to other countries but remained in Turkey, but he, nevertheless, undertook to communicate with his government, which he did. But before we could have any report on that, the ship was apparently towed out by the Turkish authorities and sank when it reached open water. We still don't know the details. One of the first accounts was that it had struck

a mine, another that it simply went to pieces when it met the waves. I asked the Turkish Ambassador subsequently to try to get an authentic account from Istanbul, which he did. He sent me a long letter in which it is claimed that the sole survivor of the Struma, a man by the name of David, reported that the ship had been struck by a submarine as soon as it got out into the Black Sea. In this statement the Turkish Ambassador naturally tried to put the best face on it. It makes out a very poor case. It was apparently an Axis submarine.

The Jewish Agency had repeatedly warned the Palestine Administration of the London Government in writing, that these people would either be drowned or be surrendered to the Nazis, if they were refused entry. It was of no avail. Unofficially, we learned that the High Commissioner in Palestine had it within his power to admit these people within the quota without the express permission from London, but that he declined to exercise this discretionary power.

In the House of Commons, the Government has assumed full responsibility for the decision of the Palestine Government, and identified itself with the High Commissioner and assured the House that the High Commissioner and his associates were carrying out faithfully the policy which had been determined upon by the government and by the House of Commons, which makes it necessary to address ourselves not only to the Palestine Government in our protest, but also to the British Government in London, which has approved or subsequently approved its behavior.

We undertook a number of steps thereafter. The same day as the report of the sinking of the Struma, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and I had an interview with Mr. Sumner Welles, Acting Secretary of State. While it was set for another purpose, we naturally took occasion to discuss the Struma case with him and to ask for the good offices of our government to intervene. I undertook to supply him subsequently with full details. Cables have gone out on behalf of all American Zionists to Winston Churchill and to President Roosevelt. Apart from that, efforts are being made through personal channels to convey a full sense of the tragedy and of our demands in regard to future policy to the President and to others who are close to the President in the Administration.

We have had a long discussion in New York on the thorny question of public reaction to the Struma, and while we originally thought of arranging a New York memorial service in a synagogue, pure and simple, that decision was subsequently reversed. We decided to hold a public meeting to voice our sorrow and indignation, and such a meeting will be held Thursday evening, March 12th, at Mecca Temple. It will be addressed by Jews, Zionists, and by non-Jews. Naturally, as the resolution which was adopted here states, we must be careful to disassociate ourselves expressly and emphatically from all those who are endeavoring now to sow dissension between the American and British Empire, and to destroy that Anglo-American collaboration which is, after all, the best hope of the world. But we cannot allow this thing to pass unnoticed.

It isn't only a matter of regret for the sinking of the Struma, or even of the freeing of the refugees who are in Palestine, which should be part of our demand, or for that matter, of changing the entire policy and, hereafter, admitting such refugees and deducting them from the 36,000 certificates we are still entitled to under the White Paper, but it goes much further than that. This Struma case epitomizes the whole problem of Jewish homelessness and the question of Palestine as a Jewish National Home in the future. This is the opportunity and the occasion to drive home to the American people, the British people,

the Jewish problem in all its stark reality and to make them understand that we must insist upon a Jewish Palestine for the future for all time. And it lends itself particularly to such a widespread and large-scale campaign of political education. If that were done, the 768 people of the Struma would not have died in vain. If we Zionists fail to recognize that this opportunity and the duty which devolves upon us, then we shall have fallen short of our duty not only toward these hapless refugees, but toward the Zionist cause as a whole.

I would, therefore, like to express that the Z.O.A. promptly send out a letter to all the District Chairmen and the members of the National Administrative Council, asking for public action throughout the country. I'd like to reinforce that with a request to those here who come from various cities to take action at once. There are many ways in which the matter can be brought to the attention of the public. Unfortunately, the incident of the Struma was reported very very briefly in a few lines, and most people knew nothing about it, and it is a very difficult problem because of the war and war news to bring it into the open. Now it is being done laboriously as far as we can do it, but it is easier perhaps in the various cities to take such action as will bring the Struma to the attention of the public and bring our demands also to their attention.

You know about the visit of Dr. Silver to England. He is going to participate in the opening of the Keren Hayesod campaign, but the Emergency Committee went to a great deal of effort to get him to go and to facilitate his going, in order to have a direct contact between us and the Zionists and the British in England. We had conferences with Dr. Silver before his departure and he was to have left Friday, but the plane actually left yesterday. I must record here that we have had splendid cooperation on the part of the State Department here, and the American Embassy at London with regard to all matters connected with Dr. Silver's trip and admission. We are hopeful that he will succeed in conveying to the British Government something of the state of mind existing here with regard to its policies to the Struma incident, and with regard to the whole issue.

Despite the fact that we had a brief talk with Under-Secretary Welles in Washington the day of the Struma disaster, we have decided to organize, and if possible send an all Jewish delegation to call on the State Department, and perhaps other people in Washington. Such a delegation is now being organized. We hope it will include representatives of all of the leading Jewish organizations in this country, not only Zionists but non-Zionists, Jewish organizations, and we hope that they will actually go before this week is over.

The President, as you know, has thus far reacted very slightly to the Struma incident. We are hopeful that we will get further reactions as we get going with our campaign of education. I want to mention two exceptions - PM which reacted almost immediately, and more important perhaps was the Washington Post, which carried a very strong editorial, saying in fact that the changes in the British Cabinet had evidently not gone far enough, denouncing the policy which led to the sinking of the Struma, and I am glad to say that the text of the cable, or a summary of it, was cabled to London, to the Daily Herald, by its Washington correspondent, and the full text has been cabled to London through official channels.

I'd like to ask here that more serious attention be paid by the Zionists throughout the country to this business of public relations committees. I think we all of us have a certain feeling of frustration that not sufficient is happen-

ing in this country in the light of the tragedies we are suffering, in the light of the terrific burdens we have to bear, and the problem that we have of mobilizing American opinion. I'd like to say here very clearly, it is utterly impossible on the part of any office, whether in Washington or New York or elsewhere, to arouse the country unless there are various communities, strong functioning committees, political committees or public relations committees. From time to time I hear criticism from various cities that they aren't getting enough guidance or inspiration for such work. I think this criticism is wholly unjustified. I think that the Zionists in the various cities are quite well enough in a position from the point of view of information to take action. They have been remiss.

There is no reason why every one of the larger centers should not have an active functioning public relations committee. Things are happening all the time. There is a matter of organizing local chapters of the American Palestine Committee, where there is someone who takes the matter in hand. It can be done. It was done by our friends in Atlanta and by our Zionist friends in Detroit. It is being done in Albany. There is no reason why, if done in these cities, it cannot be done in a score or two of other cities. Philadelphia, I hope, is now getting under way with regard to that. I had a long letter from Rabbi Simon Greenberg and we are trying to give him all the cooperation we can, and they are getting under way.

But take the matter of the Struma, of the Jewish military force, of the American Palestine Committee, and all the rest of it - the use of the radio, the press, etc. There is no reason why the Zionists should sit back and wait for somebody to come around and prod them or goad them into action. The Zionists know just as well as we in New York or Washington what the general situation is and what it requires. It is simply an inability to get going or indolence or a failure to recognize what is their primary responsibility.

And the Zionists also understand that no amount of effort at the center will be of any avail. The American Palestine Committee has been growing in numbers and we are planning to have a second large dinner meeting in Washington at the end of April or the first of May, to be attended by a larger number than we had last year. Individual members of the committees are addressing meetings and are doing various things which we asked them to do from time to time, but it is important that throughout the country local committees be formed. In connection with the Washington dinner I want to propose that leading Zionists in the various parts of the country contact their own representatives in the House and Senate and make arrangements with them to attend the dinner and to be on hand themselves to act as hosts to these Congressmen and Senators and have them seated at their tables, and to make sure that they spend an evening absorbing Zionist information. That can easily be arranged.

Last year, unfortunately, at the time we had our dinner, there was a national session of the National Chamber of Commerce and many Congressmen and Senators told me that they were obliged to attend group dinners, because their own constituents were coming to Washington and they had to go to a dinner meeting with them. There is no doubt in my mind that if the Zionists of Pittsburgh contact their Congressmen and make arrangements with them to be seated at a table with them at this dinner, they will be there, and the same is true for those from Boston, Hartford, and Detroit and any other city.

In this manner we would be able to get a large attendance of Congressmen and Senators who will absorb a great deal of Zionist information that evening. At this dinner of the members of the American Palestine Committee we can invite also, of course, any Senator, Congressman or important figure. No date has been fixed as yet.

May I make a brief reference to the Niebuhr articles which appeared in the Nation. That took about seven or eight months to come to fruition. I considered it an important event in breaking into the liberal and radical circles. The Nation reported that there was an overwhelming preponderance of expressions of approval of the point of view of Dr. Niebuhr's pro-Zionist approach. This has been very useful and will be in the future. I am glad to say that Dr. Niebuhr is going to address our Mecca Temple meeting next Thursday night in New York. Mrs. Walter Lowdermilk is going to speak on the refugees.

I would like to say with regard to the military force, we have gone into the matter now more officially in Washington. Dr. Goldmann and I discussed the matter officially with Under-Secretary Sumner Welles, and he said that the government had, as yet, not defined itself in its attitude on the question, that it was a problem which ought to be resolved primarily on military grounds by military authorities, and that he would take the matter up with the Chief of Staff and within a reasonable time get an expression of opinion as to what should be the American attitude on this problem. At the same time we have set ourselves through Mr. Welles in contact with various people in the Department of War. Several conversations have taken place and they are continuing and we are endeavoring to discuss first, what are the attitudes in the Department of War, secondly, in what way we may be able to help, to cooperate with our own military establishment in matters pertaining to the Near and Middle East, or Africa, and certain specific requests have been made of us in that connection which we are trying to meet. And thirdly, to determine what will be America's actual likely participation in the developing military situation. There have been conflicting reports about that, as you know. There was a report in the Times sometime ago by Mr. Sulzberger, saying that a demand was being voiced for American troops to aid the Near East. That has been repeated today. Subsequently there was a report that Pearson and Allen had heard from Bullitt, that he reported to the President that the Near East was in grave danger and would be abandoned by the enemy. Another report of the Revisionists evoked from Bullitt a denial of this report. I saw Mr. Bullitt personally and neither of those reports was quite accurate. He had given no statement on which Pearson and Allen could base their report. While he didn't directly deny their report, he said it was something that was entirely based on no definite information or document. His opinion was that there was no immediate danger that the forces ranked opposite Turkey on the one side, and in Libya on the other, were not sufficient to cause us alarm, but, of course, no one could tell what may be the developments in the future.

In this connection I'd like to call your attention to a further development. While we were discussing among ourselves whether or not it was good Zionist policy to demand a Jewish military force in Palestine, and there were Zionists who felt it was improper to do so, the latest reports in the newspapers speak of the possibility of the formation of a Foreign Legion in this country, with various national units of Czechs and Poles and others within this Foreign Legion under American command. And the question will inevitably arise whether or not Jews who are now expatriots or are stateless, shall join such a legion and if so, should adopt some special nationality for that purpose, or should simply

enlist as Jews. I had foreseen that the situation may arise and I have warned them of our taking an extreme assimilationist point of view with regard to the whole question, and this too is now a matter which is engaging our attention and we are trying to get further light on the subject.

The campaign for a Jewish military force will and must continue. The situation in the Near East is becoming more and more crucial and there is, moreover, the danger that apart from the political necessity and the moral right of the Jewish force, that the ordinary needs of defense, of self-defense, of the defense of the boundaries of the country will require the arming of a maximum number of Jews in Palestine.

MR. ELIHU D. STONE inquired whether there is any significance to the official employment of the term "military force" by the Emergency Committee as against the term "Jewish army?"

MR. NEUMANN replied, "a Jewish army is a term which was used pretty vaguely at various times and might mean all kinds of things. It might mean a completely separate army being under Jewish command and merely cooperating with the British forces, which is a more extreme demand and one which of course would not be granted. At least, the Czechs and the Poles can speak on behalf of a sovereign state which had been invaded. Certainly in the case of the Jews, we cannot speak on behalf of a sovereign state. A Jewish force, moreover, is more adapted to the actual circumstances where we can't think in terms of an army of thousands of men. To some people who are not quite responsible, they talk in such figures. At the moment there seems no possibility of such large numbers. It is unrealistic and we wouldn't be taken seriously. The people to whom we address ourselves know fully as well as we do how many people we might be able to bring into a Jewish force, and to speak of an army in terms of 200,000 or 300,000 exposes us to ridicule and doesn't advance our cause.

Mr. Bullitt, when I spoke to him, was fully acquainted of course with all the figures, how many people could possibly be drawn out of the factories and farms in Palestine, and a figure of 29,000 was given, and while he didn't identify himself with the British point of view with regard to the Jewish force, he knew the point of view very clearly and presented it fully, and he also knew the economic arguments, and there are economic arguments, unfortunately, also against drawing out of the factories and the agricultural settlements of practically all the young, able-bodied men, if this Jewish force is to be created."

MR. DANIEL ELLISON inquired, whether or not we couldn't have gotten much further, if we would have asked for "a Palestinian army" instead of "a Jewish army."

MR. NEUMANN replied, "That wouldn't meet the situation at all, because that is exactly what the British have been doing. Carefully avoiding reference to Jews, and the essence of our whole program is that the Jewish participation in the war be emphasized. The word "Palestinian" doesn't cover it, although there are a great many people in this country who, when you speak of Palestine force or even Palestine government, think that you are talking about a Jewish force and Jewish government. They don't realize that Palestine contains a majority of Arabs.

MR. DANIEL ELLISON further inquired, "But isn't it a fact that after the war will be over we won't be claiming any glory for winning the war, that the fact remains that 90% of the Palestinian army would nevertheless be Jewish?"

MR. NEUMANN replied, "That is a question too. The people who are against the Jewish army are against it on anti-Zionist grounds. I speak of the Jews who are opposed to a Jewish army and who are opposed also on non-Zionist grounds. They are opposed to the fact that the Jews will appear as a people participating in this war and that is the very thing which we are trying to accomplish! Neither the Jewish Agency in London nor the Executive in Palestine nor the Emergency Committee here are relaxing or will relax their efforts in this connection. This demand and effort will continue. The recruiting in Palestine is also continuing in the meantime, and the situation may arise where what now seems difficult or impossible of achievement, will be possible. What the situations are that can arise I don't think we need to know at the moment, but it is entirely possible that a favorable juncture or constellation may arise perhaps in the future when it will be much easier to get such a project through.

(At this point, Rabbi Heller returned and took over the Chair.)

MR. ELIHU D. STONE pointed out the following: "It seems there is a distinction between the two terms, and so there ought to be an agreement on it between the two leaders who have used those terms. For instance, Dr. Weizmann speaks of a Jewish army in Palestine under British command. David Ben Gurion who is the Chairman of the World Executive, speaks of a Jewish army, apparently, under British command, thus obviating the implication that we are a Jewish army under Jewish command. Since there is a distinction, should there not be agreement among the leaders when they use language, to use it identically? The Revisionists use the term Jewish army. But certainly Dr. Weizmann and Ben Gurion speak also of a Jewish army. Besides, if you say that it is under British command, don't you say the same thing when you say military force and then you belittle it by the figure of 29,000. Why this differentiation in terms, because it constitutes a qualification of a demand? The implication is that our demand is qualified. We adopted resolutions for a Jewish army. Now isn't it due probably to a difference of opinion in the Emergency Committee that this term "military force" constitutes a compromise which has nothing to do with the other thing you have said?"

MR. NEUMANN replied "Both things are true. I think there is some distinction between the two. It isn't a very serious one, I admit. When you say a Jewish army under British command, or a Jewish military force in Palestine, the distinction is not very substantial. The distinction arises rather when we know the way in which these words are used by us, and the way in which they are used by the Committee for a Jewish Army. Even they have begun to tone down their phraseology, as you have observed. The fact that Weizmann or Ben Gurion uses a different term, I think, shouldn't be taken too tragically. The formula which we are using is the result of an attempt to get a compromise, a composite view in the Emergency Committee.

RABBI JAMES HELLER asked for discussion of Mr. Neumann's excellent report.

MR. SAUL SPIRO reported that a few days ago, he received a communication from the Z.O.A. and the Emergency Committee informing him of their disassociation with "the Committee for a Jewish Army". Among the members of the American Palestine Committee there are those who received communications from the Re-

visionists. For instance, Mr. Church, the President of Carnegie Institute is a member of the Committee receiving communications from Van Paassen and the others. Mr. Church asked me "why don't these groups cooperate?" Mr. Spiro suggested that it would be wise that whoever sends out these communications, should also inform the non-Jewish members of the American Palestine Committee who are also members of the Committee for a Jewish Army what is going on.

RABBI HELLER pointed out that several of the members of the American Palestine Committee have claimed that they entered it under a misapprehension as to the character of the Committee for the Jewish Army.

MR. ELLISON asked "what is the attitude of the Zionists towards the Committee for a Jewish Army and what attitude shall the local communities take towards the activity of this Committee."

MR. NEUMANN replied, "I believe that the Z.O.A. sent out a letter to the Zionists. Hadassah has sent out letters too, and a statement appeared in the British press and also in the Anglo-Jewish press. The situation is as follows: the Committee for a Jewish Army is undoubtedly a front organization of the Revisionists, or more specifically, a military branch of the Revisionist movement. Now we have been, of course, in a certain quandary with regard to this, because we have desired, so far as possible, to avoid hurt to the cause in a public squabble, particularly among non-Jews. And for a long time, as you know, there was an attempt to avoid a clash between us and the Committee for a Jewish Army. These efforts failed, and now the Committee for a Jewish Army is going on just as before - entirely on its own.

Our negotiations failed for a very simple reason. The Emergency Committee took the position that it could not possibly relegate or delegate the activities on behalf of the Jewish Army in Palestine, which is a vital Zionist objective and a major objective of the war, to a body which is not under Zionist control or discipline, and for which we wouldn't possibly assume responsibility, unless that body placed itself under Zionist guidance and undertook to be responsive to Zionist discipline.

MR. EZRA SHAPIRO pointed out that this business has made a terrible impression upon Zionists, and when we try to say, as when approached by very good Zionists, what has happened, we say, well, we couldn't get along with the Committee for a Jewish Army and the negotiations broke down and we observed discipline. We've gotten communications from the Z.O.A., from the Emergency Committee, that we've simply got to follow orders. Invariably, without a single exception, the answer received was, What is this business of discipline and why the break? Certainly all of us ought to know the general answer, at least so that we can tell some people the exact details, who was responsible, and what is our responsibility.

Mr. Shapiro also pointed out that the impression at this point is that the whole business for a Jewish army is now being conducted by the Committee for a Jewish Army, that we bogged down and couldn't do it, that they are aggressive and courageous people and that we are weak, and that that is characteristic of our policy. Mr. Shapiro wanted to know what dramatic, public situation can we create to indicate, first, what is being done by the Emergency Committee and to indicate clearly that the Committee for a Jewish Army is responsible for the chaos in this business.

MR. NEUMANN replied, "I think it is perhaps partly the fault of ourselves, perhaps of our official organs as well as those who ought to supply the necessary guidance to the Zionists. I want to explain once again, as I did a moment ago, that negotiations were carried on for a considerable time in the hope that we could avoid a clash and bring this activity, which was organized by the Revisionists, within the purview of Zionist responsibility and Zionist discipline. Otherwise, it was quite impossible for Zionists to join a committee such as that which might adopt policies and carry on activities utterly at variance with the needs of the movement or the policies of the Zionist movement at the moment.

Now such things can easily arise at any moment, and there will sit people who will say, we decide the policy, and there we, the Zionists, will be, and will be outvoted by these others, and how can Judge Levinthal or Rabbi Heller or Mr. Lipsky or anybody else sit in a committee there on this most vital of Zionist functions and be outvoted on the question of policy?"

RABBI JAMES C. HELLER pointed out that as a result of his recent visits to a number of communities, very few realize that the Committee for a Jewish Army is directly under Revisionist auspices.

JUDGE LEVINTHAL reported as follows: "In the last two communications that were sent out by the Zionist Organization of America - I am sorry to say this, but I am afraid most of you don't read these letters - I purposely inserted one sentence that an examination of the Governing Committee of the Committee for a Jewish Army will show a differentiation between that committee and the front of the Committee. In other words, Samuel Harden Church, you will notice, is not a member of their executive committee. He is the Honorary Chairman of the Committee for a Jewish Army. He is not a member of the executive board. So that he and anyone like him has nothing to do with the control of policy. That executive committee is 90% Revisionist - Hadany, Jabotinsky, Ben Ami, and every name there is Revisionist. We know that as a matter of record, because in the advertisement, the last advertisement in the Philadelphia Record, there were some 200 names listed in that Committee for a Jewish Army, and there was an asterisk next to the names of the members of the executive committee indicating them. Now, of 17 names, Morris Margulies, our ex-Secretary, is a member of the Committee, but he is not trusted to be a member of the executive committee. He is a Zionist, even though he is not officially now an officer of the Z.C.A. And so Dr. Sachar, who is a fine gentleman and the Executive Director of the Hillel Foundation. He is one of the front, but he is not a member of the executive committee. If you will examine carefully who are the members of the executive committee, you will see 15 Revisionists and two non-Revisionists.

If you read the letter, you will say to a person, "If you are a Revisionist, you certainly have a right to join that committee. If you are not, then you realize that the Revisionists are not under the control of the Jewish Agency and it is the Revisionists who control this Committee." For instance, if I will tell you that there were meetings in Philadelphia where there were representatives of the Committee for a Jewish Army, and those people said, "why give money to the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth? What is the sense of buying land in Palestine now, what is the sense of planting trees in Palestine, what is the sense of giving money to the Hadassah, of having hospitals in Palestine? What we've got to do is concentrate on the army." Now, you can see that type of propaganda is anti-Jewish Agency policy, anti-Zionist, in the guise of pro-army propaganda. It seems to me that it should be obvious to organized Zionists, that a front organization for the Revisionists cannot be cooperated with unless

the Revisionists come into the Zionist Organization. Now we know that in South Africa there has been an agreement, but so long as the Revisionists are on the outside and they put up one of their organizations, how can we possibly cooperate?"

MR. SAUL SPIRO made a motion to the effect that we carry in the New Palestine and by communication to the Zionist Districts a simple and lucid explanation of the present situation of our relation to the Committee for the Jewish Army. The motion was seconded by Herman Weisman.

MR. DANIEL ELLISON felt that if you will tell the people who are not so intimately connected with Zionists, as some of us are, that the Committee for the Jewish Army is a Revisionist controlled group, it will mean nothing to them. They will say, "look at the people behind the Revisionists. It must be a good organization. There can't be anything wrong with them, else why these names?" Mr. Ellison felt we ought to join the Committee and then filter from the inside so that we will have control.

RABBI JAMES C. HELLER replied to Mr. Ellison that he underestimated the political knowledge of the Revisionist group. He also said that he learned during the past ten days that several members on the letterhead of the Committee for a Jewish Army do not understand their participation in it and believe that it is under Zionist auspices, and have no realization whatsoever that the Revisionists are running that Committee and that the Revisionists are not officially connected with the Zionist movement. He therefore suggested the sending of a letter to the members of the Committee who are not Revisionists and apprising them of the exact situation.

MR. SIMON SHETZER replied as follows to a point raised by Mr. Ellison. "It is now at least ten days since the national office sent out to the Chairmen and Secretaries of every Zionist District throughout the country a very large kit with instructions to organize mass demonstrations in favor of a Jewish Army under the auspices of the General Zionists, and affiliated participating constituent bodies of the Emergency Committee. Now you don't have to go to the newspapers and tell them not to accept the other publicity, because we sent you sufficient material to furnish the newspapers with publicity. The way to handle the thing is on the basis of the new instructions to organize yourselves in your communities. We are prepared, on this side of the table, to admit that there has been a deadlock in the negotiations, which has caused indecision and confusion, but there is no longer any indecision now and the platform has been established so that there is no occasion for the Districts not to move forward."

MR. ALBERT SCHANZER reported that in the Borough of Brooklyn, when on a very limited number of occasions this matter came up, and he was able to explain it as Mr. Shetzer, Judge Levinthal, Mr. Neumann have explained it. He sent a letter to the most prominent Brooklyn paper on the subject, and is now organizing a borough-wide meeting on behalf of a Jewish army. Mr. Schanzer was opposed to sending letters to any of the members of that Committee who were ignorant about Zionist troubles and differences. He urged the general Zionists effectively and militantly to carry on their own propaganda.

MR. ELIHU STONE felt we should make it clear that the Jewish army as advocated by the Revisionists, does not represent the Zionist Organization, but at the same time we must discourage other bodies from trying to promote the very same thing in which we are concerned.

MR. JOSEPH HALBERT expressed agreement with Mr. Stone's point of view.

MR. NEUMANN pointed out that Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Judge Levinthal and he were among those in the Emergency Committee who were anxious to bring about an accord with the Committee for the Jewish Army. Others took a different position. Mr. Neumann deplored the misunderstanding and lack of information of some of the Zionists. He urged as follows: "We ought to make it clear to the Zionists that the real efforts for the Jewish Army have been going on unremittingly, for the past two and a half years since the war broke out by the Zionist leadership, by Weizmann in London, by Ben Gurion and Shertck in Palestine. We ought to emphasize that the two most substantial things which have been done in respect to the Jewish army have been done by the Zionists. In September of 1940 Dr. Weizmann actually secured a favorable decision by the British Cabinet in favor of the organization of the first Jewish division. They went further. They even named a British general to organize and lead this first Jewish division. They opened up offices in London. Of course, there was again a reversal of policy - it happens in the British Cabinet just as it happens in the Emergency Committee - and they began to postpone decisions, but the fact is that there was a great political victory attained in September of 1940 by Dr. Weizmann in conversation with Churchill and others. And we have the document that was approved by the Cabinet outlining the various points.

We must be aware that the second most important thing done was in Palestine, namely, although we had no Jewish army proclaimed, the Jewish Agency encouraged young Palestinian Jews to join the British forces in considerable numbers, and the contribution made, although it is not under a Jewish flag, is nevertheless there. It does carry, even today, considerable weight - some 13,000 young Jews have enlisted, which in proportion to the population of Palestine, is a very large proportion, the equivalent of 3,500,000 of this country. Now, that is a very substantial contribution. These people are actually serving, for years now, in Jewish companies for the most part. It is true that we are not satisfied with this, but it is also true that if we should succeed at a favorable moment in getting recognition for a Jewish force, the nucleus is right there. The first thing to happen would be that the companies would become battalions, then brigades, then divisions, and you would have actually the beginning of a Jewish army right there.

It was no small feat for the Executive of the Jewish Agency to have accomplished that in the face of intolerable provocation from the Palestine Administration with regard to Palestine and the Jews. Nevertheless, we were able to put this thing through. They are continuing their campaign. They have been rendering service to the British Government in a military way other than through these enlisted people. As a matter of fact there has come about recently a very important change in the atmosphere among the British in the Near East. We have seen it from a variety of sources. There has been a growing disillusionment about the Arabs, not only because they have no troops, but because of a great many other things, such as handing out military secrets to the enemy, and sending Arab legions into Syria and the people running away, and stealing the arms in addition. So that you hear it there and you hear it here, that the Arabs are entirely and completely untrustworthy, that they are all for sale.

This thing has been happening because on the one hand they have seen the Jewish community of Palestine, the Jews of the world demanding an army, actually not waiting, but going ahead and enlisting and rendering invaluable service, and on the other hand, they have seen the Arabs behave as they do and making of

the whole Near East a quagmire of intrigue and treachery. Now these are the results of the situation, and it is no ad in the New York Times. I don't belittle the ads, but I have demanded all the time that the Zionist should carry on the propaganda. It is a misfortune that the Zionist Districts are asleep, and it is no one's fault in New York or Washington. And we know, whenever a person attempted to do something, he met with success. It is difficult to get into the local papers and radio stations only when you do not try. Why couldn't we have 50 or 100 local chapters of the American Palestine Committee which could have carried on local propaganda for a Jewish army? They (the Revisionists) have only one thing to do - namely, propaganda for a Jewish army. They aren't burdened with membership or receipts or KH or UPA or JNF or Hadassah or anything else.

They have a handful of youngsters who have nothing else to do. They are active, intelligent, clever, zealous, not over-scrupulous, which is sometimes a help, and they are going ahead with this one thing, collecting money not for a Jewish army, but are collecting money for carrying on propaganda for big space in the papers which is perhaps useful, and for other things not so useful. But they are doing it and are, incidentally, reviving the Revisionist movement which was half dead, particularly since Jabotinsky died, and since they have nothing else to do they can concentrate upon that, and since we have been unwilling to go out and create confusion among the goyim - I could have stopped those people from printing that statement, but I would have to unroll before them the whole thing, and I was reluctant to do it. I still am, and I think that we ought to be clear about several things.

They have not produced a Jewish army. This propaganda hasn't produced it. Nor has ours. They have rendered a certain service, I think, by developing this propaganda, this Committee for a Jewish Army itself, but we must not overrate or exaggerate it. It helps, but it hasn't produced the army. We don't know whether it will. As far as political negotiations are concerned, they can only be carried on by the official Zionist bodies. Neither the United States Government nor the British Government are going to give a Jewish army to Ben Ami or any of them, or even Harden Church or Van Paassen. If they want to negotiate, they will do it with the responsible Jewish bodies, and all these people can do is to create a certain propaganda which is useful.

As far as the idea of making propaganda for a Jewish army is concerned, my opinion is that their propaganda on the whole has been beneficial. On the other hand there is no doubt in my mind that because they are doing it, and because on the other hand our Zionist groups are not sufficiently active, their propaganda is resulting in harm not to the idea of a Jewish army, but to the Zionist movement in this country, to the Z.O.A. in particular. The Hadassah wouldn't lose its members. Neither would the Poale Zion. Hardly the Mizrahi. But as for the Z.O.A., there is no doubt that you are undermining the position of the Z.O.A. and there is only one thing to do, and that is for the Z.O.A. itself, for the Districts to take the ball away from them. It is not so difficult.

We had a meeting in Carnegie Hall. They have tried to hold meetings in New York which were poorly attended. They didn't have the crowd. The Yiddish press is now, on the whole, supporting us. We have to explain to the Zionists that they are not under Zionist control. It is the business of Zionists to carry on their work, of the Zionists, through Zionist media, and not through them. We can and should go to that extent. We should not engage in a special campaign of breaking them down, nor should we break down the goyim who are giving them some measure of support. What we should do is to get the Zionists

steamed up to do something themselves. We can't help this competition and if in the end a Jewish army should come about, then there will be a question among the future historians as to who contributed more to a Jewish army. So we can leave that to the historians of the future."

JUDGE LEVENTHAL made the following remarks: "I want to refer to one statement made by Pierre Van Paassen in a letter which he wrote to the Reconstructionist. Some of you have not read it. Otherwise Mr. Stone and some of the others would not have said, there is no harm to the Z.O.A., that we can cooperate even if they are on the outside. Van Paassen made the charge that a delegation of the Z.O.A. informed Lord Halifax and our State Department last year, that the Z.O.A. "had nothing to do with the idea of forming a Jewish army".

Now we looked through our minutes of the Emergency Committee. There is absolutely not the slightest scintilla of fact which would warrant such a charge. There never was any such delegation or such representation, and in my reply to the Reconstructionist, I made it clear that there couldn't have been such a delegation making such representation, because the State Department knew and the Embassy knew, as I knew, just what Weizmann and Shertok and the others who represent the Zionist movement, were doing. I haven't found such confusion as Mr. Shapiro and others have intimated, after the facts were told.

We had a joint meeting in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, attended by about 100 Zionists. Dr. Goldmann was there. And I realized at that time that things had to be clarified and I made a statement. I didn't vilify Jabotinsky or his memory or the Revisionists. I made a simple statement of fact, and after that I have been assured by hundreds of persons that they understand the situation and they will carry on propaganda for an army, but under Zionist auspices - not Revisionist.

Now, I don't think we have to disillusion those non-Jews who are working with the Revisionists unwittingly, but it does seem to me that if we have an opportunity to enlighten Hadden Church, I think Mr. Spiro could very well do it, not in a vilifying way, but if you went to work under the auspices of the Zionist movement, we could say, join the American Palestine Committee and let them do it."

RABBI SIMON GREENBERG made the following remarks: "I'd like to say one word about this thing, because I was personally very much involved right here locally, and I don't personally see why we are taking such a broad-minded attitude on this question. You may get your army. But the Revisionists will claim the credit, and in the meantime their propaganda is definitely anti-Zionistic. Let's make no mistake about it. I know what is going on here locally. They hold Jewish parlor meetings and they say, the Zionist Organization is dead. They have been asleep. Weizmann has been an impediment to the Zionist movement. If it weren't for him we would have had 3,000,000 people or 5,000,000 in Palestine today."

"They are undermining everything we have tried to build up. This is an absolute secession movement within the Zionist Organization. What should we tell our Zionist Districts? Should we permit them to listen to this? If what I have heard here today is so good, why shouldn't we permit Ben Ami to speak at all kinds of meetings and encourage all their speakers? And when somebody calls me and says, 'shall we have Ben Ami', should I say 'yes, only understand

he isn't a Zionist?' Well, these people can't make those differences of opinion. The Revisionists are going to fire the Zionist leadership with their imagination, and if these men put this army across, they will bury the Z.O.A. If they put it across - not only will they claim the credit, but the average Jew will give them the credit today. Now, that is the situation today. The average Jew knows about it through the ad in the New York Times, through the ad in the Record here, and if we take the attitude that merely because these things are being done they are good and we are not going to question the method - we will be encouraging secessionism in the Zionist movement and we will be strengthening not the army, because it will fall. We will be strengthening Revisionism in this country."

MR. MAURICE BOUKSTEIN amended Mr. Spiro's motion as follows: "That the ZOA, through the New Palestine and through such other methods which it may deem appropriate, shall inform the Zionists, first, that the Committee for a Jewish Army is at present under Revisionist auspices and not under Zionist auspices, second, that it shall couple to that a complete statement of the relationship of the Zionist Organization itself to the project for a Jewish army and what it has already done, and third, that it shall engage in a much more active campaign or attempt to induce Zionists throughout the country to engage in a more active campaign themselves on behalf of a Jewish army - the exact methods later to be defined."

The motion was seconded by Rabbi Isadore Breslau and was UNANIMOUSLY CARRIED.

HYMEN GOLIMAN asked for instructions regarding the holding of protest meetings with respect to the Struma disaster.

MR. SIMON SHETZER replied that such instructions were sent to all District Chairmen and Secretaries, suggesting that communities hold either memorial or mass protest meetings, or both. In some communities mass protest meetings cannot be held because they have completed mass meetings with reference to the Jewish army, and there is a point of diminishing returns with reference to them. In such a community, a memorial meeting in a synagogue under religious auspices would be an appropriate kind of demonstration at this time. In other communities, a mass meeting with reference to the army obviously might be combined with a mass meeting in reference to the Struma.

MR. SHETZER also informed the Council that Judge Levinthal enclosed with the instructions a memorandum giving the whole history of the Struma disaster and similar experiences, and urged the necessity of publicizing the Struma outrage and the facts with respect to the other refugee boats that have been involved in similar circumstances. The kit also contained a copy of the editorial in the Washington Post with the suggestion that similar editorial expressions be obtained in local papers. A new portfolio will be sent to the district Chairmen and Secretaries within the next week with additional material containing the following: A memorandum giving the facts with regard to these refugee boats, the highlights of points to be made in the speeches in the press and on the radio and otherwise, a statement of policy, giving a line to the Zionists as to how they should go about it, and finally a draft resolution similar to the one adopted by the Administrative Council.

RABBI JAMES C. HELLER informed the Administrative Council that the Central Conference of American Rabbis of which he is president, adopted a strong resolution in regard to the Jewish army which was carried by a vote of almost two to one.

AFTERNOON SESSION

III. REPORT ON THE U.P.A.

HENRY MONTOR: "The Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization, meeting in Jerusalem, confirmed the budget of \$8,000,000. That budget covers the activities of the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth for the period ending October 1, 1942. If \$8,000,000 is to be spent in Palestine this year, without increasing the indebtedness of the two national institutions, which at the moment happens to be \$11,000,000, the Jews of America will have to provide the sum.

The question is, of course, how the Jews of America can provide the sum within the framework of a body called the United Jewish Appeal, which concerns itself with the Joint Distribution Committee and the National Refugee Service as well as the United Palestine Appeal. I note that the 1942 agreement for the U.J.A. provides that the first money that is to be made available from the 1942 campaign is to be distributed as follows: \$4,525,000 to the J.D.C., \$2,575,000 to the U.P.A. and \$2,000,000 to the N.R.S. The latter amount is guaranteed to the N.R.S. by the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. through the payment of ten equal installments of \$200,000 each. The N.R.S., however, is not entitled to receive any additional funds from the Allotment Committee. The only beneficiary after the initial distribution will be the J.D.C. and the U.P.A., which is a completely different procedure from that which obtained last year and the year before.

You may be interested to know the development in New York City with respect to the U.J.A. A permanent corporation has been created. Up until this year, the U.P.A. in New York was merely an offshoot of the national U.J.A. The corporation in New York is composed of the J.D.C., the U.P.A. and the N.R.S. The corporate charter as well as the by-laws provide that no additional beneficiaries may be included in the New York United Jewish Appeal without the individual consent of each of the agencies.

The U.P.A. is engaged at the present time in two main lines of activity, outside of the fact that it is included in the fund-raising effort which is the United Jewish Appeal. The U.P.A. in the last six years has received for the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth over \$16,000,000, and I think it will be agreed that that is a very substantial equity which the Zionist movement has in American Jewish sentiment with respect to Palestine. And because the U.P.A. is aware of the fact that there are other bodies raising funds for Palestine, other Zionist bodies which are competing for the attention and the interest of American Jews, it is engaged in a program outside the framework of the United Jewish Appeal in trying to broaden the interest of Jews in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

It is, therefore, issuing films, literature, engaging radio programs, sponsoring conferences in various parts of the country. It is trying to maintain contact with a group of some 40,000 key leaders throughout the country. These are the men and women who are the backbone of campaigns throughout the country.

In other words, it is a procedure directed almost entirely to individual leaders rather than to communities as a whole.

I am glad to say that the campaigns which have been initiated for the U.J.A. since January 1, 1942, have been uniformly more successful than those initiated last year. I think that that is particularly encouraging in view of the fears that many had had that because of taxes, the patriotic ardor of some individuals in some communities, the priority situation, many communities might fail, but not a single community which has thus far launched its campaign, with the exception of one, has not raised more money than last year. Your Chairman, Dr. Heller, has just returned from one of the communities - Houston - and there when he left they had raised \$10,000 more from the same group than had been given the year before.

And that is an index for the greater part of the communities that have had campaigns up to this time. I don't believe, however, that it would be fair or judicial to base our prospects for 1942 exclusively on these communities which, in the main, do not exceed some 10,000 or 15,000 or 20,000 in population. We must still depend for some 65% of the proceeds of the U.J.A. on 13 of the largest communities in America, and only one has thus far inaugurated its campaign - New York - and all the others are still to begin in the latter part of March and April. In New York, however, I am informed, from the Trade Divisions which have thus far initiated their campaigns, there has been raised more money this year than the year before. Whether that will be true of the big contributors is something that only time can tell.

There is only one thing I believe ought to be repeated here, as at every Zionist meeting - that the Zionists can once again make their contribution to the United Jewish Appeal through their work in the Welfare Funds. Welfare Funds are today the medium through which all fund-raising is done, with very minor exceptions, and also by acting very vigorously in allotment committees. As you know, unfortunately, sometimes, our Zionists in some isolated instances, become interested in small projects and they present and represent these projects if and when they are members of the allotment committee, instead of adhering almost exclusively to the championship of the cause of the United Jewish Appeal, so that their voice can have a maximum effectiveness. If the Zionists will embrace the cause of the U.J.A. as their own, I think it would be helpful for the Zionist cause as well as to the individual agencies embraced in the U.J.A."

In answer to a query regarding the purpose served by carrying on the U.P.A. conferences and contacts with 40,000 of our key people through America, Mr. Montor replied: "When the U.J.A. was formed in 1939, Dr. Silver, as National Chairman, proposed that the U.J.A. serve not merely as the fund-raising instrument for the three agencies which the U.J.A. embraces, but as the educational instrument. He proceeded on the assumption that if it was good enough for these three agencies to unite for fund-raising purposes, they thought enough of each other's purposes to join in financing and furthering propaganda on each other's objectives and achievements. That, however, was not the point of view taken by the other agencies - the J.D.C. and the M. R. S. And those bodies have proceeded on with their separate activities involving regional conferences, literature, radio broadcasts, and all the activities which they had previously conducted outside of the United Jewish Appeal. In fact, there has been an intensification on the part of both of them of these activities.

The suggestion was renewed only six weeks ago by the U.P.A., that the U.J.A. channel all the literature and all the radio programs, all the conferences, so that throughout the country there would not be U.P.A. and J.D.C. and N.E.S. conferences, but one U.J.A. conference. In the three years and three months which the U.J.A. has existed, there has not been a single U.J.A. conference throughout the country because of that attitude. We were hoping, as a matter of fact, to have a U.J.A. conference nationally in April in order to stimulate the thinking of the people with respect to the needs of the U.J.A., and although that has been nurtured and fostered by several of the leaders of the U.P.A., the indifference of some of the others in the other organizations has caused that project to fall down. Now, if you believe that the U.P.A. has an equity in the interest of the Jews of America in Palestine as a campaign, then the activities which the U.P.A. is conducting, validly or invalidly, are justified by that token."

MR. ELIHU D. STONE urged the Zionists, and particularly Z.O.A. members join the local welfare organizations everywhere, because the Council of Federations is becoming stronger and the strongest determining factor in American Jewish life, whether we like it or not. They are the agency of fund-raising, and they will have a great effect not only in fund-raising but on the ideology of Jewish life. Zionists should make it their business everywhere to join these Funds.

IV. REPORT ON THE J.N.F.

MR. MENDEL FISHER: "I am privileged to present in summary form a report of our operations from October 1, 1941, to March 1, 1942. In the light of the discouraging and heart-rending reports that have been given here dealing with the political situation and with the tragic events arising out of the sinking of the Struma, the J.N.F.'s registering an upswing in its income, and what is equally significant, increased participation on the part of American Jewry in the work for Gushath Haaretz, ought to serve in strengthening us all and in giving us greater faith in the work in which we are all engaged.

A thesis had been developed immediately after America's entry into the war that our fund-raising efforts generally would suffer, and that we ought to expect a marked decline in our income for Palestine work. Thus far, the thesis has not been sustained, although none of us can, or ought to attempt to prophesy what will happen in the future.

The Jewish National Fund reports a remarkable increase not only in the amount of money raised but in the tempo of our work. Beginning with Pearl Harbor, when we had the first large J.N.F. function in Los Angeles only a week after the Pearl Harbor tragedy, we have been very much heartened by the interest manifested in the work for the redemption of the land. The income from our traditional collections for the period under review, five months - October 1, 1941 to March 1, 1942 - was \$270,032.42. This compares with \$204,577.23 for the same period of last year. The increase is approximately over 32%. The total income for this period, including our share of the U.P.A. income, which was \$426,347.92, makes a total income of \$696,380.34. We have remitted to Palestine for the same period \$657,044.65 compared with \$454,698.87 for the same period of last year.

As you already know from previous reports, when we closed our books for the last fiscal year, on October 1st, 1941, our income from traditional collections was \$609,572.46 and our share of the U.P.A. income was \$1,103,750.30, making a total of \$1,713,322.76.

Engaged as we now are in our 40th Anniversary effort, in which American Zionists are participating, if we can maintain the same tempo of progress, we ought to report a record year.

I also wish to take this opportunity of registering the appreciation of the Jewish National Fund Administration to the Zionist Organization of America and to its National Chairman of J.N.F., Mr. Abraham H. Cohen and his associates who have cooperated with us in our work during this past year. A growing consciousness of interest in support of Goulath Haaretz is being manifested thanks to the stimulation which is being given to our work. A report of the Z.O.A. activities will be given by Mr. Cohen together with such observations as he will make."

MR. ABRAHAM H. COHEN: "I regard the J.N.F. as the controlling project in the strength and vitality of our organization, and particularly our Districts throughout the country. I was particularly interested in taking hold of this job because I wanted to get an idea myself just how strong or how weak our organization is in America, and I think I found out after working with this problem for nearly a year.

You recall that last year Mr. Kaufmann asked me to serve as the National Chairman for the J.N.F., and the first job was to activate some of our Zionist Districts for the J.N.F. Unfortunately, the response that we have received from the Districts was not very satisfactory and very discouraging in some respects. I might tell you that even though we have been working with this problem for more than a year and trying to contact each and every one of our Districts, they have not responded to the degree that we had a right to expect. We have been unable to get all of our Districts to designate J.N.F. Chairmen or to organize J.N.F. Committees. That in itself is a tremendous indictment against our organization. We have succeeded, however, in getting 184 of our Districts to designate J.N.F. Chairmen, and these chairmen, in turn, have organized around them committees that have functioned, some better and some worse. I will give you the figures in regard to their functioning a little later, but there still remain 214 Districts throughout the country who have refrained from responding to this elementary request made not alone by the chairman of the committee, but of course, by the President of the Z.O.A. The office of the Z.O.A. endeavored through correspondence and by means of speakers who have come to the various Districts to get them to respond to the degree of designating a chairman, and unfortunately there still are 214 Districts throughout the country which haven't taken this elementary step.

Perhaps the situation might be further clarified if I tell you that out of a total of 184 Districts who have Chairmen, only 91 Districts have reported any monies to us. That doesn't mean that only 91 Districts have been doing work for the J.N.F. I am sure more than that have done some little thing for the J.N.F., no matter what credit they have obtained or activities they have had for J.N.F. They must have gotten some results. However, we have the record in the J.N.F. office of only 91 communities or Districts. There are many more communities throughout the country that contribute money, but as far as our Zionist Districts are concerned, only 91 of them have received credit or have asked for credit in our office, and that seems to me is the best proof that it is essential to develop some kind of discipline, some kind of activation, as I call it, of our Districts throughout the country.

We are working at this problem. I don't know how successful we can be with the limited facilities that are at our disposal, but I want to say that the administration of the J.N.F. has given us every possible cooperation in this matter. In fact, we have put a girl in charge of just this job and we have tried

to stir up activity in our Districts by personal contacts with the chairman of the various Districts, but unfortunately these are the facts and these are the figures.

I want to confine myself to the matter of credits. I can't seem to make clear to our people throughout the country that it is imperative for them to claim credit for whatever J.N.F. activity they engage in. I have here a whole sheaf of letters from people throughout the country who insist that Hadassah does the J.N.F. work and that the Council does the job, and therefore they are out in the cold and don't claim any credit, even though they actually do some work for J.N.F. Now we will never know what the work they do is unless we succeed in persuading them to claim credit for that work. Personally, if you ask me this in confidence, I would say that wherever people don't claim any credit, they don't do any work, and though you may differ with me in some individual cases, that may not be so, but by and large those are the facts.

I urge the members of the Administrative Council who are gathered here to take back this message to the chairman of the J.N.F. in their districts where they have them, and where they don't, I wish they would designate them, because that is the only J.N.F. contact we have with the district organization and unless we do it in some organized fashion, we can't hope to have any results. I want to emphasize too, the fact that our problem is to get the districts to do something. I know of no better way of keeping alive the interest in Palestine among our own people and activizing them for other Zionist purposes than to contact them directly with the work of the J.N.F., in making them feel that they are participating in the work of the J.N.F.

As soon as we have succeeded in rounding out our organization and getting our people to respond to what we ask them to do, we hope to develop a manual that will be put into the hands of all of our people. I have deliberately refrained from developing that manual, although it is in manuscript on my desk, because I have felt that there was no purpose in sending a manual to people who won't read it or do anything with it. As a matter of fact, it adds to their confusion if you send them material of no value. It simply adds to the literature they throw away. When Hadassah sends out its literature to the J.N.F. chairmen, Hadassah is absolutely certain that some attention will be given to that communication. When we send them, we are absolutely certain that nothing will result, for the most part. We have to bestir them in some other way. Therefore, I have tried to develop this question of personal contact.

This year we tried a new innovation in the sense that we have given each of our districts a specific quota to fulfill. We have assigned each district in the country a quota, based largely upon their own membership and their local strength, and I want to tell you that it is very disheartening to read the results, particularly, when one finds very strong Zionist districts throughout the country with a credit of \$5.00 for J.N.F., with a quota of over \$1,000. That doesn't mean that \$5.00 is all the money raised by this district. It may mean that the Hadassah wives of the Zionist District members have insisted upon getting the credit for certain J.N.F. work which the districts themselves have produced.

About 50 J.N.F. committees throughout the country have been complaining through the years that they have been unable to get the full cooperation of the Zionist District members, and that the officers have been the least cooperative of the

people. That is very significant because of the fact that in many districts throughout the country the chairmen of the councils are our own people. In other words, the J.N.F. had found its most active men in the community as a member of the Zionist District, and that man has, therefore, been made the chairman of the J.N.F. Council, but the moment he becomes the chairman of the J.N.F. Council, somehow or other he loses his contact with the Zionist District and fails to take credit for the work that he does for the J.N.F. in his community. Thus far we are left in a position where our best workers are siphoned out of the Districts for the work of the J.N.F., and we are trying to develop a feeling on the part of the District officers and district membership that they should participate as an organized body in these Councils in order to enable us to activate the entire membership of the district in the J.N.F."

V. REPORT ON THE KIBBUTZ HAYESOD:

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: "At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A., a revised list of the members of the Z.O.A., 92 of them, was unanimously qualified to be members of the Board of Directors of the K. H., and at the last meeting of the general membership of the K. H. held in New York last year, 125 directors were unanimously elected, and of those 125, 92 members of the Z.O.A. approved by the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A., were unanimously elected. The next meeting of the newly elected Board of Directors will be held on Thursday, March 12th at 4:30 at the Astor Hotel, and the members of the Z.O.A. who have been elected members of the Board of Directors are urged to attend that meeting, because at that meeting there will take place an election of officers and of an Administrative Committee of 17 of the K. H. under the by-laws and constitution of the K. H. The officers and the Administrative Committee constitute the regular governing body of the K. H. It is most important that as many of the 92 members of the Z.O.A. who are members of the Board should attend that meeting on Thursday afternoon without fail."

MR. HERMAN WEISMAN urged Judge Levinthal to call a preliminary meeting of our 92 directors to decide upon our slate of officers and Administrative Committee on the K. H. and to decide on policy. In that way the Coordination Resolution can be better implemented. The Administrative Council unanimously adopted Mr. Weisman's suggestion.

VI. REPORT ON POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN: "I hope that as soon as Dr. Weizmann arrives in this country, a special conference of leading Zionists from all over the country will be called together in order to discuss for a day or two nothing else but the obligations and duties of American Zionism in the present situation. American Zionism is today not being rhetorical about the decisive factor in the whole Zionist world, and if American Zionism will not live up to its obligations, then our position will become still worse than it is. I think that the position, especially as manifested by the last statement of the British Government, endorsing this policy of the High Commissioner in Palestine with regard to the Struma, may be one of the worst statements I know about in the history of our political negotiations with the British Government. I don't think that we should fool ourselves by distinguishing between the Palestine Administration and the British Government. The British Government is not naive, and after two and a half years of permanent work it knows what it talks about, and has endorsed in a complete way this inhuman attitude of MacMichael, which is a policy that can only lead

to a breach of relations and a state of permanent conflict between the Yishuv and the Jewish people and the British Government. I, personally, believe one of the purposes of MacMichael is that he wants to arouse so much anti-British feeling among the Yishuv that he can show Britain that the Jews in Palestine are pursuing such policies in the Near East.

There are many acts of this administration which have no other explanation, because to have admitted the 700 passengers of the Struma would have been easy under all the laws and rules of the White Paper, and permission from London was not required. The same thing applies to the people in Atlith. It is a permanent policy of provocation to the Yishuv, and if there would be no war situation, I am sure the Jewish Agency would close up the office in London and break up relations with Great Britain. We did it after the Passfield White Paper. We cannot do it now. We are at war and we have to give our support to the successful prosecution of the war. I don't think that there is much chance left, and I am by nature not a pessimist. I rather always take an optimistic view, but in the light of what has happened in the last two and a half years, I don't think that there is much chance left that we will bring about any drastic change of the situation with the present British Government.

I don't want to explain why it is so because I personally cannot even explain it. I haven't been in London for a year and a half, but I cannot explain why a government composed of allegedly pro-Zionist friends pursue such a policy unless they have just left things completely to the Colonial Office. I can understand their difficulties about the Jewish army since a political issue is involved, but this test case of the Struma is not understandable from the humanitarian point of view. This brutal, rude, cold answer of Lord Cranborne, who is personally not an anti-Zionist, of complete solidarity with such an act on the part of MacMichael in the light of such a tragedy, is much worse than if young MacDonald or another man committed to an anti-Zionist policy would have given a similar answer.

This means that we have reached a point of a certain reorientation of Zionist policies. We will not break with Great Britain. We cannot do that, but the chances of the success of Zionist political activities don't lie for the time being with the present Government in Great Britain. I think that hopes connected with Churchill by many of us may have some basis, but perhaps not until for some time after the war. You know the permanent answer of Churchill whenever he is approached. He says, "leave me alone. After the war I will see the Zionists through," and he may believe it. I don't even think it is just a Machiavellian answer. He is a friend of Zionism. Maybe he has come to the conclusion that during the war he can't do anything for Zionism. But we know from experience that if a situation crystallizes for a number of years and becomes a fait accompli and a permanent position in a country, it is very difficult for even a very good friend to change it immediately.

Churchill spoke against the White Paper. He made the best speech in Parliament ever made on the Zionist claim. But when he came to changes, there was a certain fait accompli created in political life which you can't change unless you adopt revolutionary methods, which a Prime Minister cannot do. If he allows this situation to develop for a number of years, then even our best friends in charge of the British Government will not be in a position to reverse the position which has become petrified and crystallized over a number of years.

All this makes it more imperative to look for other possibilities, for other friends to change and reverse this whole situation. To base Zionist policies primarily as it was done during the last 20 years on Great Britain, would be wrong after this war. I don't think the British Empire will play the role after this war that it played 20 years ago. It will be a combination of three powers, at least, after this war - the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. Personally, I don't give up the hope that we may find friends and support even within the Russian Government for Zionism after the war, but this is a long and complicated story. It cannot be dealt with even en passant.

To change the Zionist position today depends 80% to 90% on the United States. The more England will suffer defeat, the more the United States will occupy a commanding position even in fields where Great Britain was regarded as leading in the Near East and the Far East and elsewhere too. The growing strength of the U. S. position increases the importance of our political work here.

If I were to sum it up, I would say that we are strong enough with the administration of this country to prevent Zionist political catastrophes. To give you an example: we know from certain sources that when the Arabs pressed against the British during the last half year for the establishment of an Arab Federation, and the implementation of the third part of the White Paper which promises an Arab government in Palestine, they were told by the British, that - "we can't do it because of the United States. They wouldn't allow it" We have enough influence and position with the administration of this country that they wouldn't agree today to a complete change of the position of the Jews in Palestine and of the promises given to us in the Mandate and the Balfour Declaration.

However, we are not yet strong enough here to bring about an active intervention of this administration to tell the British that their line of policy has to be changed, and I am sure that if Washington would say it, it would be done. The more contributions America makes to the Near East in the military field and manpower, the more we can command the situation.

One of the worst things is that the United States is used to taking the lead from Great Britain. This is unanswerable. I am afraid there is a kind of general inferiority complex within the United States with regard to the political wisdom and experience of Great Britain. I hope it will change during this war. But such questions and changes will come about only if they take the lead. Britain has more experience than we. They say the Arab world will be aroused which is all nonsense. Then the United States says, after all Great Britain knows more about Palestine; they are there and we are far away and what can you expect? We cannot bring pressure to bear. Merely with friendly remarks by the United States, by a Senator, or an official of the State Department expressing a nice, sympathetic voice about Zionism, we will achieve that change in the situation unless this government takes action and tells Great Britain that things have to be changed and that they can be changed. I don't think we will achieve a positive change, but we may prevent a major deterioration of the situation.

The increased necessity of political activity on behalf of the Zionist and Jews of this country is mandatory. The movement of the Z. O. A. is the only one which we have and which can, by its influence in this country, arouse the Jews and the non-Jews in all this work, to ameliorate our situation. There is no guarantee for it, but unless you hope and you have faith, you can't do anything.

We must pursue political work intensely. I don't think that the Zionist movement in America has really lived up in its concrete activities to this unique and responsible and historical position it occupies today.

Mr. Neumann quite properly expressed it when he said that a certain lethargy, a lack of aggressive spirit on behalf of the movement, of the rank and file of the movement, is at least as responsible as a lack of organization and effective handling of the situation in the leadership of the movement. I was amazed by this discussion regarding the Army Committee which is controlled by a few young aggressive irresponsible boys, whom I regard as a dangerous element to Zionism not because they are bad Zionists, but because they are irresponsible, and irresponsibility in the political world can sometimes do more harm than a lack of Zionist devotion and conviction. I don't want to go into details, but some of you know what this group has done in Palestine and some of them here are still doing it. I was in favor too of taking over this Army Committee; perhaps, by a more clever handling of the situation we might have achieved it. But to allow this group to come out and become the standard-bearers of the Jewish army proposal would be fatal. To allow them to take over this issue indicates a failure on behalf of the movement. I am not in favor of fighting them openly and publicly or advertising that they are a bunch of irresponsible boys, but Mr. Neumann rightly said, if we did do it, they wouldn't disappear, but they wouldn't at least appear as the real representatives of this vital issue in Zionist life today.

When we called upon the country to organize a movement of mass meetings and press conferences for a Jewish military force based on Palestine, the country did n't respond very eagerly. Naturally, if you don't follow instructions and propagandize for a Jewish Military force, the Revisionists, will do it, and then you will come and complain that they have stolen the show. We are an organized movement and we should do it! If we tell people not to give them money it is quite right, because you never know what they use it for. And if some of the spirit expressed in this meeting will permeate the country, you will lose the Zionist movement in this country and we will allow them to take it over by their greater aggressiveness and devotion to their work.

Someone said we adopted the program of the Revisionists. Their program was never any different from the Zionist program, but their foolishness and tragedy particularly of Jabotinsky, was that he always put forth the right demand at the wrong moment, and politics consists mainly of the right timing. This is not abstract ideology and an eternal truth, but you must know when to put forward a demand. A demand in 1942 may be silly in 1932, and what they did was to proclaim a maximum of Zionism, which we all want. Weismann wants Trans-Jordan too and many other things. But the question was never about the program. It was about the timing - when to say it and how to say it. That is the difference between a responsible and an irresponsible movement.

We are facing a wall, an impasse, as it is today within the British Government. Maybe a complete reversal of British governmental policy may bring about another situation, America, however, is the main political front line of Zionism today, and it has to go on with this activity. For a year or two I have been attending meetings of the Z.O.A. Executive Committee, and the same thing is always repeated - what can Zionists in the local districts do? To arouse public opinion and to mobilize this continent to Zionism is a work which could fill up twenty years! Don't leave it to New York alone to do it. Political work means nothing - if it hasn't a solid basis, if the whole country is not behind it!

in itself will work miracles, unless your communities are organized to follow through immediately thereafter. It makes no difference whether the speaker comes to address a political demonstration, a meeting designed primarily to promote Zionist membership or to promote an interest in Zionist youth or adult education. Our Districts are not sufficiently organized to capitalize on the public address.

This whole discussion that took place this morning and the point to which Dr. Goldmann addressed himself this afternoon would not loom so large if our Districts had followed our instructions, given them almost a year ago, to organize public relations committees in their respective communities. We are sending material into the communities. We sent material in relation to the Jewish army. We have only recently sent another portfolio in connection with the Struma tragedy, but I am certain that there aren't enough committees organized in our Districts to utilize this material intelligently, with a properly organized follow-through. It is a waste on the part of the national organization to prepare this material and to send it on to our Districts if the Chairmen and the Secretaries do not even read the material to learn what is in it.

Now, may I say a word about our New Palestine. It has been the one department which has suffered most grievously because of our financial position. From a weekly we have had to change our New Palestine to a fortnightly and beginning this month it becomes a monthly. The next issue will not appear until March 27th. We have had two excellent special issues during the period under review - the UPA edition after the National Conference in Cleveland, and more recently, the special JNF issue - both of which have evoked widespread commendation. Except for these special numbers, the New Palestine has been reduced to 16 pages per issue. We hope, as fast as our financial condition improves, to increase its size, and then to return it to a weekly publication. With reference to the resolution adopted this morning following the discussion on the Jewish army, I think it would be a splendid idea if the Emergency Committee would do as the UPA and the JNF have done - to arrange for a special political issue of the New Palestine in which there would be a detailed story of the reorganization of the Emergency Committee, its structure, its functional activities, and the whole program which was the subject of our discussion today.

Despite the fact that war news has largely displaced general news in our metropolitan papers, it is gratifying to note that in the period since our last Administrative Council meeting, it is estimated that some 375 columns have been devoted, in the general and in the Anglo-Jewish press to releases from the ZOA.

Most of you should be familiar with the little bulletin that was put out by Mr. Barbarash's department, "Inside Palestine" in which are included items received directly from Palestine by the Washington office and items gleaned from other sources that do not ordinarily get into the general or Anglo-Jewish press. This little bulletin has been very well received. We have had special requests from the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Information Section of the United States Department of State and other institutions of learning and information, to provide them with this publication. We also have a large number of universities and colleges which have specifically requested to be put on our mailing list.

The Publicity Department during the last three months has prepared and distributed material for Chanukah and Purim celebrations, and in cooperation with the Educational Advisory Committee, is now preparing a portfolio for

Passover programs.

The eight-page illustrated bulletin which the Department put out in connection with the Brandeis Memorial Membership Campaign, entitled "In Time of War Prepare for Peace", has been very well received. Without any special advertising or soliciting, the first printing of 50,000 was quickly used up and a second edition is being printed. This has also been our experience with the multi-colored posters which we have distributed.

Our Publicity Department is geared to close cooperation with the Emergency Committee and many of the most important releases of the Emergency Committee have been channelized through our Washington office. Two of the most recent are in relation to the military force and the Struma affair.

A new publication, the "Z.O.A. News Letter", appeared for the first time on February 27th. The Z.O.A. News Letter will supplement the regular, formal and official communications between the national office and the officers of our local Districts; We have already received a number of letters since the first issue of the News Letter which have all been uniformly commendatory. It is an experiment but we hope that we are on the right track. We are very anxious to have the reaction of our District leaders to the News Letter as regards form and content.

Now to a report on our membership status. You will recall that last December when I reported to you one week after Pearl Harbor, there was reason to believe that our membership would take an awful beating and there have been times within the last 90 days when we have been behind as much as 1,000 members in comparison with the figures of a year ago. I am glad to report today, that we ended the month of February with an increase of 761 members, the figure being 25,526 against 24,765 last year. The increase is only nominal, but it is important because it indicates a definitely upward trend. There is every reason to believe that if our District officers and membership committees will exert more of the same sort of pressure which they have been exerting in the past 90 days, we shall end the year with a substantial increase. Our President's Chapter membership top, exceeds last year's. An analysis of our membership status reveals both pleasant and disheartening features. We have today 4,767 members representing approximately 19% of the total membership, who are new people affiliated with us for the first time. That is a most heartening figure, but on the other hand, there are over 4,600 members whom we had a year ago on February 1st who have failed to renew their membership, which represents a 16% loss. Now it must be very obvious that if we could reduce this annual, recurring loss of from 16% to 22% to a minimum of 4% to 5%, and if we could increase the percentage of new members from 18 to 25 automatically our membership would double every 4 to 5 years.

In connection with this membership report I want to advise you that we have established four new Districts in the Bronx and two in Manhattan. This is directly the result of the efforts of our new field men.

The report of our comptroller at the end of the first five months of the fiscal year shows a very marked improvement in the financial position of our organization. On October 1st, the beginning of the fiscal year, the ZOA was burdened by an onerous deficit, which exceeded \$75,000. By November 30th the deficit had increased to \$85,600. Since then, however, the deficit has been continuously reduced, by \$6,400 in December, \$11,000 in January, and by

I wish to assure every member of this Council, that every possible effort is being exerted towards increasing the income of the organization and that a vigilant check is kept upon all expenditures. Barring unforeseen circumstances, therefore, our expenses for the entire year, based on the operation of the first five months, will be kept well within the budget.

And now, one word, about our progress in implementating the regional re-organizational program. I won't go into detail, but I want to read to you a list of names which, better than anything I can say, will indicate the great progress which we have made in the last four months. At this time we have seven specific regional areas where our own field men are operating, and through those who have already been in the field for 60 days or more there has been revealed the wisdom of the regional reorganization program, - in the new districts that have already been established, in the increase of membership, in the heightening of interest, in the reestablishment of a liaison between the districts and the national organization which has not existed for many years.

Here are our field men: Dr. Harry A. Cohen in the Connecticut-Rhode Island area. Mr. Max Cohen is operating in the Bronx-Upper Manhattan and Westchester regions. Adelbert Freedman continues in the South Eastern Region - where he has served for a number of years. Rabbi Abraham Haselkorn in the Empire State and Western New York Regions. Sidney Marks is the latest addition to our field staff, serving the Seaboard Region, New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania. Robert Nelson is in the Midwest and I. G. Simon who for nine years was the Regional Director of the Tri-State area, is, in addition, servicing Ohio Valley Region and the unaffiliated areas of Northern Ohio and Michigan. Mr. Simon is also serving the J.N.F. in the same area and we have found by experience this Z.O.A.-J.N.F. joint field service most satisfactory. I had hopes and still continue to hope that we can work out a similar relationship with the U.P.A. for joint field service.

Brooklyn has already accepted the regional reorganization plan, and we are now selecting a field man for that territory. Negotiations are going forward with the Long Island Region and New England.

There are only two other items to which I ought to refer briefly to make my report complete. On February 8th we had the first meeting of our National Educational Advisory Council, which was attended by some 50 - rabbis and educators - under the chairmanship of Dr. Samuel M. Blumenfield of Chicago. This year we were not able to replace Dr. Blumenfield with a full-time professional director of the department of adult Zionist education and we have, therefore, to rely upon the voluntary service being given to us by this group of professional educators. They responded generously to the appeal of Judge Levinthal and myself at this meeting, and we have established for the first time in a long time a splendid spirit of cooperation between the professional Jewish educators and the Z.O.A., which augurs well for the future.

On February 5th we held, for the first time in two years, a Greater New York conference to which were invited the chairmen and secretaries of all the districts in the Metropolitan area and their key membership workers. We had over 400 local Zionist leaders at a conference which lasted from 1 o'clock

approximately \$9,600 in February, making a total reduction of \$27,000 and bringing the deficit to the comparatively low figure of \$57,000 on February 1, 1943.

The income was according to expectation. Our budget, which was approved by the Executive Committee early in the fiscal year, envisaged a total income of \$190,000 this year, made up of \$129,000 to be derived from membership; \$54,000 from U.P.A. and \$7,500 from miscellaneous sources, such as affiliation dues by various organizations, advertising revenue from The New Palestine etc.

During the past five months, i. e., since October 1st, our income expectations have not only been realized but in addition approximately \$8,800 was raised towards the Deficit Fund. To complete the picture, may I state that our total income during the period under review was \$104,276.14 made up of \$71,539.49 derived from membership and affiliation dues, \$32,500 received from the monthly allotment of the U.P.A. and \$8,807.11 of contributions toward the Deficit Fund. The balance, \$1,450, was received from miscellaneous sources.

As compared with the same period of last year, our total income is \$6,000 larger, notwithstanding the fact that this year we have not received the \$2,500 from Hadassah received in previous years.

Our total expenses for the period under review amounted to \$86,387.48 as compared with \$100,520.89 for the same period last year, representing a reduction of approximately \$14,000. This reduction was achieved despite the employment of a number of field men to service various regions and the subsidies given to regions for carrying on their activities under the regional reorganization plan. I am glad to report to you again that, as heretofore, every department has limited itself to the budget allotted to it at the beginning of the year. The reduction of expenses to a very large extent is a result of our continued effort to economize on all fronts.

Plotted on a chart, the financial activities of the Zionist Organization shows a trend which spells progress all along the line.

However, it is important to emphasize that notwithstanding the conditions which I have described, the financial position of the Z.O.A. is far from satisfactory. There is a heavy yoke around our necks, represented by total liabilities of \$78,000 against assets of \$21,000 our deficit of \$57,000 is still an exceedingly burdensome factor, delaying of our progress. The Z.O.A. must not only rid itself of this deficit, but must quickly accumulate a reserve to enable it to expand in many directions such as: field service, publications, education, public relations, etc. The Z.O.A. must wipe out its deficit completely before the forthcoming convention. For this we need your cooperation. Several Districts have already formed committees for the purpose of raising money to help liquidate our Deficit. Every District should have such a committee. Special letters to our districts in this connection have met with rather indifferent responses.

At the risk of repetition, I again ask district treasurers and secretaries not to withhold membership dues. Most districts are very cooperative in this respect. Some, however, still accumulate dues for a month or two. By doing so they prevent the members who paid their dues from receiving the New Palestine and their membership cards.

I wish to assure every member of this Council, that every possible effort is being exerted towards increasing the income of the organization and that a vigilant check is kept upon all expenditures. Barring unforeseen circumstances, therefore, our expenses for the entire year, based on the operation of the first five months, will be kept well within the budget.

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until after six o'clock at the Astor Hotel. We had a splendid program in which Judge Levinthal, Dr. Bardin, and Dr. Neumann participated. The conference was convened for the specific purpose of intensifying membership activities in the Metropolitan area. A fine spirit was exhibited throughout the sessions.

The results of our work to date are encouraging. We have established very cordial and cooperative relations with Zionist leaders and workers throughout the country, without whom none of this progress could have been achieved. We have strengthened the financial basis of our organization. We are making great headway in the improvement of our organizational structure and in placing the relationship between the national organization and local units on a more realistic basis. Much more remains to be done.

RABBI JAMES G. HELLER: "I am sure I express the opinion of the Administrative Council that the staff under the leadership of Mr. Shetzer has done a magnificent job and at a very difficult time."

VIII. REPORT OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST YOUTH COMMISSION.

MR. HERMAN L. WEISMAN: "About fifteen months ago, Hadassah and the Z.O.A. decided to set up on an equal basis financially and through representatives, a Zionist Youth Commission. The Commission has a very general objective, by various means, educational mostly, to increase the general body of informed Zionist youth and make Jewish youth responsive to the Zionists as a people, to the Zionist ideals and objectives, to what the Zionist heart and mind conceive of as the program for American Jewry. That we do by trying to reach youth wherever we may find it.

The other branch of our work is more specific, i. e., to make jurisdiction over the four youth organizations in the ranks of general Zionism - Junior Hadassah, Masada, Avukah and Young Judaea and see how they may be strengthened in membership and influence. This step has been taken after a long period of what really was then a haphazard interest in what Jewish youth was doing from a Zionist point of view. As soon as the Commission was created, some people thought that it would be able to wave some magic wand and remove the ill effects of this haphazard treatment or neglect. Such has not been the case. We have uncovered certain difficulties and we shall encounter more, but I think we are making progress.

Now, the nature of these difficulties it is easy for you to guess, because the Z.O.A. has met the consequences of neglect in other fields in exactly the same form. While the Z.O.A. did not attempt any direct interest in the Zionist Youth organizations, there were other adults not affiliated with the Z.O.A. and not the source of the subsidies which these youth organizations were receiving, who did somehow manage to get themselves in the position to influence and direct, nay, even to control what these youth organizations are doing. And this has been the result of the neglect, and, as you know, it is not so easy to come into a crystallized situation and say to adults who have had their way and their control with youth organizations - "out!" Or, "listen to us and take the cue from us."

We have not had any such trouble with an organization such as Masada or Junior Hadassah. We have had and are having some trouble with Young :

Judaea and Avukah. In connection with our program, the first thing, therefore, that we wanted to tackle was to improve the organizational democracy of the youth organizations. We took as our premise the dictum that youth should lead youth, that their own organizational structure should be such that youth leadership can come up in their own ranks and have a real voice in relation to people who are responsive to the Z.O.A., and coming from the Z.O.A. and Hadassah, have been working with them all along in their endeavors to promote Zionism in America.

We tackled Young Judaea first, because it is not only the largest but embraces the youngest element in these youth organizations. We found there a governing board. We found that not a single member of this governing board, who proclaimed good intentions and vested interests in the control of Young Judaea, was a member of the Z.O.A. In a speech that I made last April, at the first convention at which I appeared of a regional conference of Young Judaea, I trotted this point out to the youngsters, and lo and behold they picked it up with great enthusiasm, and within the next few months we were able to reorganize and get rid of the governing board and set up an organization known as the National Leaders Association of Young Judaea. Now they are not used to it, and I am not going to pretend to you that this new democracy of Young Judaea is working very smoothly. As a matter of fact, we had some trouble with it. It happens that one was elected chairman of the youth leaders group who might properly be more accurately classified as an adult, and he was in one city and most of the executive was in another city, and they just didn't get together. Recently, however, he has resigned and the successor is working in greater harmony with the executive committee and with the youth commission, and I have much ground to represent to you that this new reform within the organizational structure of Young Judaea will bring about real results.

In connection with Avukah, negotiations are still in progress. Even there I think we shall make significant progress which we will soon be able to report.

The second main line along which the Youth Commission was organized is the very real need to train youth leaders, to pick the people who had the personal qualifications and give them this necessary educational and leadership background, the progressive educational background, the club technique background, so that their leadership may be effective. A second great product of this earlier neglect was the lack of qualified youth leaders in this country.

The first thing we did in a significant way was to have the camp institute last year in New Hampshire, which we were able to do through the cooperation, indeed even the liberality, of the Levine Brothers, and the cooperation of the New England Zionist Region. We took 50 qualified picked youngsters and had them there for a solid month and they just weren't swimming and canoeing and playing tennis. For eight hours a day they were given a course in Zionism, and the result, to make a long story short, was felt almost immediately, because these youngsters came from 28 different cities and after they were released in the fall, there was an altogether new tone in the kind of youth work that was taking place in their activities. In addition to the camp work which we managed on our budget, we devised educational material programs.

A lot of people have been copying the precise technique which Dr. Shlomo Bardin, our Educational Director, has concocted. Dr. Bardin put out a portfolio. Rabbi Israel Goldman of Providence tells me that from his experience in adult education - it is the first kind of educational program material which in its very form invited attention. The portfolio had a very short outline of what the subject matter was,

Every Zionist in every community can contribute personally. He knows the members of his Chamber of Commerce. Let him go out and contact them. Don't wait! The Z.O.A. has instructed every Zionist what to do every day. Do it in a spirit of Zionist aggressiveness and of political-minded Zionism.

I think that a very good opportunity will develop soon to start such a new chapter in the activity of the Zionist movement in this country. Dr. Weizmann is coming here because he has nothing to do in England. He can see one Cabinet Minister after another, which is not difficult, but the result of two and a half years of such meetings is manifest. America, however, is the main political front line of Zionism today, together with Palestine. In Palestine we have a Yishuv which does its best and takes care of the situation as far as it can.

This year we will have in this country even from a technical point of view, nearly half of the World Zionist Executive. Let us use this coming year for the opening of a new chapter of political activity in the Zionist movement led by the Zionist Organization of America. This is not a question of membership. The Zionist Organization can play a decisive role together with all the others."

VII. REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR.

MR. SIMON SEETZER: "I have never heard Dr. Goldmann speak so gloomily as he spoke here this afternoon. I think you will agree with me that it is not easy to follow in the mood which he has created with a discussion of organizational and administrative problems, and yet, I think you will also agree with me that if the Z.O.A. is to assume that decisive role in this historic moment which Dr. Goldmann has placed upon our shoulders, it is of first importance that we build strongly and deeply the foundations of the Z.O.A. and to that end it is important from time to time, to review our administrative and organizational progress, to determine whether we are moving in the right direction.

This will be my second report as your Executive Director, and, as on the first occasion in December, my report to you represents a composite of the reports to me of the heads of the various functional departments of the Z.O.A. And I should like, to say here publicly, after four months of association with the men who head up our departments - Mr. Carl Alpert, Editor of the New Palestine, Mr. Ernest Barbarash, Director of Publicity, Mr. Zvi Levavy, Comptroller and Office Manager, and Mr. Hyman Schulson, Director of our Speakers Bureau and General Administrative Assistant - that in them we have a small but exceedingly competent, conscientious and loyal staff, and if we are making any progress at all, the credit is due largely to the work that this small group of men has performed under most difficult circumstances.

Mr. Schulson reports for the Speakers Bureau that from December 15th through March 8th, the national office booked 220 Zionist speakers for as many public Zionist meetings. In addition, during the same period our Districts have independently booked speakers for approximately another 125 public meetings. These figures are important only that statistically they give some notion of the measure of our forensic Zionist propaganda. I think it ought to be said that we should not rely too completely upon public speeches in our Zionist work, as important as forensic Zionism is in our whole propaganda and educational program. It is of no great value to send a speaker into a community, to spend the time, money and energies that are involved in assembling a public gathering, and to expect that the speech

and in these envelopes there were short little printed articles, excerpts and reproductions, and it took like wildfire over the country, and I am very glad to see other organizations are copying the idea. I mention that because that is only a sample of what the national office of the Commission has been putting out and what Dr. Kessler, the Educational Director of Young Judaea, has been putting out. The best approach that I have seen for adults, let alone youth, in connection with the immediate Zionist needs are contained in the two most recent pamphlets released by Young Judaea to the children.

The third main line along which the National Commission worked has been to provide the youth of the country and throughout the country with immediate contact with people in the Z.O.A. and Hadassah. You can't do it simply through a national office. If you do it, then the adults outside of the Z.O.A. and outside of Hadassah will continue to have their way with youth, and so far it has not been to the good of the Zionist cause to let that condition continue. We, therefore, encouraged the formation of local youth commissions.

Now, gentlemen, this is most important. This is the point where you can help us. So far I owed you the report, but now you owe us something. You owe us a little cooperation. We have asked that Hadassah and the Z.O.A. cooperate in the matter of local youth commissions. And once again, I don't like to make this a singsong, but several other people - Mr. Cohen and Mr. Shetzer and now Mr. Weisman come with the same song - that is, that the Districts are not responding. Hadassah has gone forward and have their representatives on these local youth commissions and have even raised some small budget for the local youth needs. There are 280 of these local youth commissions. Even if the commissions don't do anything but meet once a month and just talk, the contact with the organizations will result in a stimulated interest in the whole community - parents as well as youth - in Zionist interest.

A significant percentage of the 280 local youth commissions formed represent the efforts of Hadassah people alone. Won't you please correct that condition right away? If you get the invitation from Hadassah representatives, send your own people who know something about youth and who have an interest in youth and who, if I may suggest it, are young themselves, to sit with the Hadassah groups in these local youth commissions. Don't leave it simply to the Hadassah members.

We are planning to have another camp this year and we would like you to send in to Dr. Bardia at the national office in New York the names of the likely candidates that you would recommend for this camp. Bear in mind that all you have to do is give us the name and address, and we will check their qualifications by our own methods."

RABBI HELLER: The trouble is that people ask to be put out of order on the agenda. The Youth Commission was placed at an early point but we had to change it. If there is no other matter to come up on the floor, Judge Lovinthal has a number of matters of interest which he would like to present before we adjourn.

IX. CLOSING REMARKS.

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: "There are a few matters I would like to refer to. In the first place, what I regard as an important event was the last meeting of our Executive Committee. Part of the last meeting of the Executive Committee was a joint session with the Hadassah National Board, and that, I think, is the first time in many, many years that we had such a joint meeting. A Committee has been appointed by the Hadassah and a similar committee by the Z.O.A. to explore possibilities for further cooperative action between the two general Zionist bodies in America. There is even the possibility of having our national conventions held simultaneously. That doesn't mean joint conventions, but held in the same city at about the same time.

Since our last meeting of the Administrative Council, I personally have visited some of the Districts - Boston, Chicago, Baltimore, Washington. And I find wherever I go a spirit which is very much alive and enthusiastic. It is up to us really to utilize the spirit which is there. It is latent but it can be brought to life. The Zionists must take the initiative.

I have been working on the publication of Brandeis on Zionism, which now in the hands of the printer. It is going to be a very worthwhile book. And some 25 or 27 years ago Justice Brandeis said, "An aggregation of democrats is an aggregation of equals. Members of such an organization ought not to require policemen to see that they do their duty or inspectors to see that they perform their tasks. It is a part of the Zionist duty of each and every member to press forward in the work of propaganda instead of leaving it to the officers. The duty extends to every private in the ranks. Each and every member must realize that with him or her rests the power and the duty to spread the Zionist movement, spread the ideal and the work by word of mouth, by act, and by constant sacrifice. So also each member should, as far as possible, relieve the officers of all other kinds of work that can and should be done by the members throughout the land. The more task of direction is a serious one. When once a rule has been laid down, when once a direction has been given, it ought to be the eager desire of every affiliated Zionist to obey the rule, to enforce the law upon themselves and not have it enforced upon them."

That message, it seems to me, is one that was re-echoed today in the fields of public relations, political work, youth education, etc. The Zionists know what has to be done and they must do it!

In the next few weeks I am going to visit Minneapolis, Omaha, St. Louis, Nashville, Miami, Jacksonville, Atlanta, and several other places. I find it really very fascinating and delightful to visit Zionist friends throughout the country. I am tickled to death when I get a letter from a Zionist criticizing The New Palestine or some letter that goes out from our office. It shows at least that they are reading the communications! What I hate to find is that there are no responses, so often, to our communications. We sent out a letter about the deficit and most of the districts did not reply at all, as if they were non-existent. That is, of course, a most disheartening future for our work. Some checks have come in - otherwise we couldn't have had that promising report of Mr. Shetzer. It isn't so little when you consider there has been no organized effort. I am perfectly confident that with the cooperation of the Zionists throughout the country, we can wipe out our deficit and have a reserve fund, and we ought to

have it. I am calling on every one of the ladies and gentlemen here to cooperate. Make this administration successful, not for my sake, I assure you. It will make very little difference to me personally whether I get any credit or if Mr. Shetzer gets it. He says he doesn't want any credit and the staff doesn't want it either.

We are all interested in getting results. We are not interested in credits or honors or offices. We are interested in getting results for the cause, and I think we have a glorious opportunity to achieve success, but we can't do it alone. We've got to have your cooperation.

I want to take this opportunity to call your attention to the Young Judaea program portfolios. They are excellently done. Most of that material could be used by our adult Zionists.

Let's all get together and with a will we can achieve results!"

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 P. M.

Respectfully submitted

Simon Shetzer



ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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

April 21, 1942

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVENTHAL
President

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TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AND ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL.

Dear Friend:

The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, consisting of representatives of all Zionist parties in America, has issued a call for an Extraordinary American Zionist Conference to be held in New York City at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on May 9th, 10th, and 11th, to discuss and formulate general Zionist policy which will serve as a guide to Zionists as well as to the general Jewish and non-Jewish world, to mobilize all the Zionist forces of this country, to correlate and coordinate political Zionist activities of all Zionist groups, and to re-educate the Zionists of America to think in political terms and strength.

The program of the conference will review the Jewish position in the world today and particularly the position Palestine occupies in Jewish life, will survey Palestine's war effort, will discuss the war and its effect upon Zionist thought and action, and will consider our tasks after the war and what to do to prepare ourselves for them.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who recently arrived in America, David Ben Gurion, and other prominent Zionists will address the conference. Discussion of various phases of the above problems will be led by well informed representatives of the various Zionist groups. The proposed conference is intended to be a working conference. Several commissions will be set up to consider seriously our problems and submit reports to the conference.

In addition to the ZOA Executive Committee, the ZOA will be entitled to designate 75 delegates and 38 alternates as its representatives to the conference. Since the Administrative Council of the ZOA is the supreme governing body of the ZOA between conventions, we are inviting every member of the Administrative Council to be a delegate or alternate to this conference. Will you, therefore, please advise us before April 27th whether you can definitely assure us of regular attendance at all sessions of the conference. Please indicate on the enclosed card whether you will, or will not be able to attend. As we want to be certain well in advance that we will have our full complement of representatives at the conference.

With warm regards and Zion's greetings,

Faithfully yours,

Simon Shetzer
Simon Shetzer



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MINUTES OF THE Z. O. A. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON SUNDAY,
APRIL 26TH, 1942, AT 10:00 A. M., AT THE PENNSYLVANIA HOTEL,
NEW YORK CITY.

PRESENT: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding; Robert M. Bernstein, Maurice M. Boukstein, Albert K. Epstein, Daniel Frisch, Abraham Goldstein, Harry Grayer, Murray I. Gurfein, Mordecai Konowitz, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Louis Lipsky,, Rabbi Irving Miller, Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Tamar de Sola Pool, Louis P. Rucker, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Lillian Schoolman, Ezra Shapiro, Robert Szold, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

GUESTS: Miss Juliett Benjamin, Joseph Cohen, Abraham Duker, Mendel N. Fisher, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Leo Guzik, Jeannette Leibel, R. Lewin-Epstein, Arthur Lourie, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Meyer Weisgal, and Aaron Weiss.

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF: Zvi Levavy, Hyman A. Schulson, and Simon Shetzer.

EXCUSES FOR ABSENCE WERE RECEIVED FROM: Rabbi Isadore Breslau, Rabbi Earnett R. Brickner, Judge Harry M. Fisher, Jacob Fishman, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Cecil Gordon, Dr. James G. Heller, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, Judge Julian W. Mack, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Bernard G. Rudolph, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Louis E. Spiegler, Leway D. Stone, Elihu D. Stone, and Harry Takiff.

I. REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: - Mr. Shetzer

Our membership as of Friday, April 24th, was 32,669 paid up members, which represents an increase of 634 over the membership as of the same time last year, which is only satisfactory in that we have been maintaining right along this upward trend as against the predictions of a considerable loss. There is one aspect of these figures that I think ought to be noted for the record: in this 32,669 members as of Friday, we have 6,400 new members. There are 5,700 members who were on our rolls for April 24th last year who have not yet been renewed. Our principal task in the membership work at this time is the renewals of these and to devise some scheme to make renewals more automatic than in the past years.

The President's Chapter membership as of Friday, April 24th, was 363 as against 334, the same date in 1941, representing a gain of 29 for the six months period.

Mr. Levavy will report on our finances in the absence of Mr. Lipkewitz, but I want to make this reference, that in March we reduced the deficit by \$4,764, which means that for the fourth consecutive month since December we have been reducing the deficit, so that now it stands at approximately \$52,000 in comparison with \$85,000 on December 1st - and \$55,000 on April 1st a year ago.

During the past month we received a bequest of \$100 under the will of Mr. Abraham M. Miller of St. Paul, Minnesota.

On March 8th, a splendid meeting was arranged for Judge Levinthal in Brooklyn at the home of his brother, Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal, where a small group of men subscribed \$5,000 toward our deficit fund, which included another \$1,000 gift from our friends Abraham Goodman and his brother, in addition to the \$1,000 which they subscribed and paid at the convention. It included \$1,000 from Moses Ginsburg, \$500 from Isidore Fine, \$200 from Mr. Gerson, and various other subscriptions. We have received most of that money. We have received \$700 to apply against the deficit on a \$7,500 pledge made by the Executive Committee of the Chicago District at the time Judge Levinthal visited there. Another meeting is being arranged at Mount Vernon for this coming Tuesday evening, at which we hope to raise another sum for the deficit fund.

I was in Pittsburgh recently and received a check from Charles Rosenbloom, for \$500 to apply upon a larger subscription to the deficit fund.

Since the first of the month, we have paid to the Hamilton National Bank in Washington an additional \$5,000, which makes a total of \$15,000 paid to the bank on the \$25,000 which we borrowed in November.

Regarding our regional reorganization program, I want to report considerable progress to date. We have all of the country from the Atlantic to the Mississippi under the regional reorganization plan with the exception of New England and Long Island. New England will be under this program by June 1st. We have since my last report added several new field men to our service. Dr. Harry Cohen, who has been the President of the District in Norwich, Connecticut for a number of years, is giving part-time service in Connecticut and Rhode Island. We have engaged Sidney Marks for New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania and the Seaboard region. Yale Goldberg is our field man in Brooklyn. We have been very fortunate in securing the services of Saul Spiro, who is known to all of us and he will be our new field representative in Chicago and the midwest territory. On the basis of his achievements in Pittsburgh and the Tri-State area, we have every reason to believe that Chicago may shortly represent a focus of substantial strength for the Zionist Organization.

All of the unaffiliated districts which previously have been paying on the basis of \$3.00 to the national office, are on a \$4.00 basis with the exception of Chicago, which I believe will be on that basis during the month of May. Los Angeles and the Cleveland Society will be on that basis by October at the latest.

In the field of coordination, I should like to report that several weeks ago I had a meeting with Mr. Fisher, Mr. Montor and Miss Leibel at which time we explored the possibility of translating coordination in form into coordination in substance, at least on the administrative level. We discussed the possibility of arranging meeting dates of our governing bodies to make it more convenient for out-of-town members of all of them to attend a greater number of meetings, if they are held successively. We took up the question of joint regional and state conferences, the creation of a single Zionist Speakers Bureau, a centralized Zionist film exchange, a single Zionist press bureau, the coordination of Zionist publications and radio publicity and joint field service. This was the first meeting of this kind of the four executives of these four bodies. Although we spent several hours, there were few definite conclusions. We established a Zionist calendar for the clearing of dates. I should like to tell you that so far as joint conferences are concerned, Mr. Fisher of the Jewish National Fund and I have been

working very closely. We are arranging to have the J.N.F. join with the Z.O.A. in state and regional conferences and thus avoid the necessity of having separate conferences. We had a successful Z.O.A. - J.N.F. - Hadassah conference in the State of Iowa and we found from our experience in that instance that great good can come from joint conferences of this kind.

In the field of joint field service, we have had a single experience only. Mr. I. G. Simon, our Z.O.A. field man in the Tri-State, Ohio Valley and Michigan territories also represents the J.N.F. and is on a joint payroll. We have not been able to work out a similar arrangement with J.N.F. elsewhere; several efforts to do the same thing with the U.P.A. last fall were not very conclusive.

Mr. Barbarash, the Director of our Publicity Department, has been very ill for the last four weeks with bronchial pneumonia and will probably be out for another four weeks, but he is making progress. Because of his absence there has been a bit of a letdown in the work of our Press Department, but within the limit of his other duties, Mr. Alpert has been handling that work.

The Executive Committee should know that at the request of the Emergency Committee, our office, principally Mr. H. A. Schulson of our staff, is handling all the arrangements for the American Palestine Committee dinner, which is scheduled to be held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington on May 25th.

To complete my report, and for the record, I shall read the reply we received from Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, to the letter dispatched to him subsequent to our meeting on March 8th and enclosing a copy of the resolution we adopted on the Struma affair. (A copy of the Welles' letter is hereto attached as Appendix A.)

A meeting of the Z.O.A. Sub-committee to meet with the U.P.A. Budget Committee to discuss the U.P.A. budget in order to ascertain what functions might more properly be performed by the ZOA has been fixed for Wednesday, April 29th, at 3:30.

Mr. Montor meanwhile furnished us with a copy of the budget under which the U.P.A. is operating at this time. (See Appendix B. attached hereto.)

JUDGE LEVINthal reported that Mr. E. I. Kaufmann telephoned him. He came up specially from Florida to attend this meeting, but unfortunately Mr. Morris Simon of Washington passed away and he had to attend his funeral today. Mr. Kaufmann informed Judge Levinthal that he is ready to proceed immediately with the work of the President's Chapter, and he is planning to visit a number of communities alone and with Judge Levinthal to promote the membership of the President's Chapter.

II. FINANCIAL REPORT - Zvi Lovavy:

(See Appendix C. attached hereto.)

III. REPORT ON THE AMERICAN PALESTINE FUND: - Mordecai Konowitz

The following recommendation was made to the Executive Committee at its last meeting, after the meeting of the Z.O.A. Committee on the Palestine Fund:

"The American Palestine Fund, having expressed to the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. that it desires that members of the Z.O.A. shall serve upon the governing board of the American Palestine Fund and shall constitute 50% of the members of such board, and having requested the Executive Committee that it approve of service on such governing board by members of the Zionist Organization itself;

"RESOLVED, that the request be granted and that service upon the governing board of the American Palestine Fund by members of the Z.O.A. shall be approved upon the following conditions and with the following limitations:

- (1) That the name shall be changed so that it shall not conflict with the national Palestine funds or other national funds of which Palestine is the beneficiary, it being suggested that a suitable name would be "The American Fund for Palestine Institutions",
- (2) That no less than 50% of the governing board shall be members of the Z.O.A.
- (3) That members nominated for elections of such board shall be approved by this body in accordance with the Coordination Resolution.
- (4) That the functions and activities of the American Palestine Fund shall under no circumstances impair the proper functioning of the United Palestine Appeal, Keren Hayesod, Jewish National Fund, and that suitable relationships be established between the American Palestine Fund and these funds."

This was the resolution submitted at the last meeting of the Executive Committee but not adopted. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee it was decided to refer the matter back to the committee for further consideration and to receive the views of the J.N.F., the K.H., and the U.P.A. I called a meeting of this committee this past week and invited to this meeting Mr. Montor, Dr. Goldstein for the J.N.F., and also several members of our committee, but unfortunately the time has been ill-chosen because they were unable to attend, with the exception of Mr. Montor, with whom I had a very lengthy talk."

MR. BOUKSTEIN pointed out that the above resolution was reached after the Committee had talked to Mr. Montor.

MR. KONOWITZ: "Mr. Norman and Mr. Montor were at the original meeting attended by Judge Levinthal and Mr. Shetzer ex officio. As I see the picture as it confronts us at the moment, there seems to be a feeling on the part of the U.P.A., as it was indicated to me by Mr. Montor, that this is a matter for the consideration primarily of the U.P.A. rather than the Z.O.A. He felt that if the passage of this resolution should in any degree impair the funds of the U.P.A., it was objectionable, but there was another view expressed by the members of the committee to which I think I ought to refer very briefly.

We are dealing here with the question as to whether we as the Zionists of America have any responsibility to the other Zionist agencies and institutions in Palestine which do not come within the benevolence of the U.P.A. or the Jewish

Agency, and which have representatives in this country who solicit funds. The question is whether we, as the Zionist Organization, shall assume responsibility as a body to encourage coordination of these funds or the fund-raising in this country, so that there may not be any duplication, overlapping, or any unpleasant conflicts in applications to Welfare Funds.

The problem seems to be: first, is it desirable that there be a coordinated attempt to gather funds for these agencies of a cultural and kindred nature in Palestine, such as the Technical School in Haifa, Habimah, Julian Mack School, the Orchestra, the Hechalutz, the Hadassah Sefrim, etc. i.e., agencies which do not receive any funds from the Jewish Agency directly or indirectly. The other questions are: do we have a responsibility as Zionists to these funds; is it desirable that we have a coordinated attempt to raise these funds; and shall we go to the Welfare Funds through the agency of a fund like the American Palestine Fund and request monies to subsidize these different institutions? Mr. Montor is opposed to it on the sole ground that it might impair the amount of money that would be allotted to the U.P.A. Mr. Montor thinks that in a general way it would be a good thing to encourage the institutions, but he is opposed to going to the Welfare Funds. Of course, if we don't go to them, the whole project would be useless. If we are going to have campaigns for the Palestine funds in different communities, these institutions, knowing that we cannot approach the Welfare Funds, might decide not to come within the American Palestine Fund and go directly to the Welfare Funds.

It seems to me that all of these questions that I posed are co-related. Should we have one agency, and participate as the Zionist Organization to the extent of 50%, in the directorate, no matter by what name the committee is called, so as to bring all of these other institutions under one general control and go to the Welfare Funds for help. The argument that is advanced in favor of this plan is that it may well be that if there may be some impairment of the amount of funds raised for the U.P.A., that the impairment would be slight, if at all. On the other hand, it would be possible to raise large sums of money for these other institutions from individuals, communities of this country, and the Welfare Funds. It was felt that the funds we could raise for these institutions would be so large as to overbalance whatever might be the impairment of the amount of money that we would raise for the U.P.A. That presents the questions involved. This is a matter for this board to decide rather than the U.P.A., because the U.P.A. is just one of the elements in this picture.

JUDGE LEVINTHAL read the list of institutions included in the estimated budget of the American Palestine Fund for 1942.

Hebrew Institute of Technology	\$30,000
Palestine Symphony Association	25,000
Hebrew Teachers College, Jerusalem.	20,000
Hechalutz	25,000
Mikveh Israel Agricultural School	15,000
Habimah Theatre	10,000
Haifa Technical School.	10,000
Haifa Nautical School	10,000
Julian Mack School and Workshops, Jerusalem.	15,000
Trade School for Yemenite Girls	10,000

Biram Physical Training School	\$10,000
American Economic Committee for Palestine	10,000
Palestine Conservatoire	25,000
Keren Hatarbut	10,000
Ohel	4,000
Total	<hr/> \$229,000

There will be other institutions added, if they get the money.

JUDGE ROSENBLATT pointed out that the danger in this whole plan would be that a good number of these institutions, no matter what allocation you make, will go out for their own drives.

JUDGE LEVINTHAL replied that one of the conditions of inclusion of any of these agencies is that they must agree by contract not to solicit funds outside of the American Palestine Fund. That is the one big advantage of the entire plan, because it will prevent the separate solicitation of funds by worthy institutions. All of the Zionists know that scarcely a week passes without somebody's asking for money.

MR. A. K. EPSTEIN felt that the work undertaken by Mr. Norman should be supported by the Zionist Organization and pointed out that we have a responsibility to all Palestine-created institutions of this type, especially public. He did not agree that all the institutions listed should be supported, but if the ZOA gets proper representation on the board, we can eliminate some of these institutions which are more in a private than in a public category. It is important that Zionists control the fund-raising bodies in the United States if such Palestine projects are to be maintained.

MR. DANIEL FRISCH spoke in favor of the recommendation of the Z.O.A. Committee on the American Palestine Fund submitted at the last meeting of the Executive Committee.

DR. WISE stated that originally he disliked profoundly the idea of the American Palestine Fund. It was definitely a non-Zionist undertaking at the outset. He said he knew from private conversations that it was colored by the will to take things out of the hands of the Jewish Agency. He said that this was not true with regard to Mr. Norman, who has drawn much nearer to us and is much more ready to be serviceable to us than he was two or three years ago. He felt that before the Z.O.A. Executive Committee take any action, it should consult the U.P.A. officially and that the chairman of the Committee, Mr. Konowitz, and President Levinthal, call for the earliest possible conference with Dr. Silver to discuss this matter.

(At this point Dr. Weizmann entered the room.)

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: "My dear friends, we are very grateful to Dr. Weizmann for honoring us by his presence here today. I know that I need not assure you, Dr. Weizmann, of the welcome expressed by our Executive Committee, by the Zionists generally. We are very glad to have you with us, not only because we like you but because we need you. We need you to help us grapple with the baffling problems that confront us. In this current issue of The New Palestine, which I think none of you have received in the mail as yet, the leading editorial is headed 'Welcome, Dr. Weizmann'. I am going to take the liberty of reading it:

"American Jewry extends a warm and affectionate welcome to Dr. and Mrs. Chaim Weizmann on their return to these shores. More than any other person, Dr. Weizmann is today the spearhead of Jewish hopes and aspirations as well as the effective and stalwart leader who is looked to for directive action leading to realization of these hopes. Coming here at a moment when the war has occasioned a tragic loss in his intimate household, he earns additional respect for his courage. From such mold are statesmen cast. To Dr. Weizmann go our greetings, our support, our confidence, and a hearty *boruch haboh*."

DR. WEIZMANN: "My dear friends, President Levinthal, I thank you most heartily for your kind welcome. I have come here this morning to make no lengthy statement of the affairs I understand are being pursued on this occasion. I haven't had much time to get my bearings. I arrived here just Tuesday and I had to go to Washington. But here I am, once more among you, to continue the work which I have begun on my previous visit and to see what further steps can be taken to organize the work of a year ago. I have had a brief opportunity to give a short statement before the Emergency Committee about affairs as we see them from our fortress in England.

But it seems to me there are two sets of problems; one of short-range and one of long-range. The short-range policies are perhaps more important because they affect our daily work and performance and consist of, in my opinion, creating a tolerable measure of unity within our own ranks, within the Zionist ranks. It seems to me that within the Zionist ranks there should not be any difficulty except that I feel we should have to scrap the methods which we used in peacetime. We should create a well-knit organism which is capable of functioning hour to hour, day to day, and that requires a certain amount of self-obligation, sacrifice, tolerance. It seems to me that in a world which is changing so fundamentally and where all structures are being broken down and great empires are toppling, that all our old party divisions may for the moment be set aside and unity created in order that there should be an effective performance of our tasks.

I don't know how you picture the tasks here, but in England we have come to the conclusion that one of our main tasks is to really get effective public opinion to bring to bear its influence on the government. We have, to some extent, to abandon the methods of beginning with the government and going downwards. We are starting downwards and working up to the top of the pyramid. And it is proving quite effective. We have a central public relations committee in London, and then we have provincial relations committees and we contact practically everybody — radio personalities, union leaders, members of Parliament, clergymen, lawyers, workmen and educators, and publish a good deal of information. You will recall a most unfortunate occurrence — the Struma — there was a widespread and spontaneous reaction to the Struma incident, on the part of the public. We didn't ask them to do anything. But their reaction impressed the government in official circles. I am quite certain also that in the way pressure was applied here, it made it more effective.

At any rate, the short-term measures which seem most important to me are unity, to some extent foregoing the old party affiliations, if you like, for the time being perhaps to have only a single group so that we can have workers capable of exercising influence on public opinion and official connections. That opinion, of course, will be even more important as time goes on.

The long-term policy is to clarify our whole minds - what we want and how we want to achieve it. I think the first problem is what we want - Palestine. To put it more concretely, we want free emigration, free land purchases, autonomy, life in a way of our own, our own methods and modes of life. We want freedom from fear and freedom from want. That would be, if you englobe that in a term, what you call a Commonwealth or State.

And another great problem against which we run up is the Arab problem, analysis of that problem. After numerous conversations with all sorts of people, people in India, statesmen, I believe one statement can safely be made - England alone cannot do it, partly because she has heavy burdens which depend on her own will. Secondly, perhaps, this will is not so strong as it was in 1917. At least 20 years ago it was altogether different. But England and America together can do it. And when I say America, I don't mean that America should tell England how to do it or offer good advice. That is not enough. This was the fault, if I may say so, historically at the last Peace Conference. In the end America left Europe to her own devices and this was the origin of practically all the trouble. I am not accusing. I am merely stating the facts. I was unfortunately bound up with the circumstances in this country. President Wilson was more or less unsupported here and this affected the whole chain of circumstances which led up to this war.

This must not happen again and I don't think it will happen. I believe the Anglo-Saxon countries will probably create some sort of unity. There is, I am sure, going to be an Anglo-Saxon bloc after this war. Whether the Capital of the British Isles will be on the Potomac River, or not, I don't know, it is not for me to say, but I am concerned with the part the Anglo-Saxon world is going to play in combination with certain other countries - Russia, China, possibly India. The attitude of America to great problems like the whole Middle East, of which Palestine is the hub, ought to be, and I am sure will be, different from what it was in the past. Previously it was a theoretical proposition where America took a benevolent interest in our Jewish welfare. Her attitude was friendly. The influence of American Jewry, of course, was an important factor in causing the American government to take this benevolent interest. But in the future cooperation between England and America, the reaction of this country and its sympathetic understanding of the idea will be of first-class importance.

America is getting acquainted with the Middle East. It has its representatives and missions and people who travel back and forth and who see what we are doing, and this will and ought to go on increasing. I think most of the American travellers who come back from the Middle East or from Palestine are on the whole delighted with what they have seen of us. I have the opinion of Mr. Donovan, of James Roosevelt, of Mr. Bullitt. They are all very delighted. But Americans are used to thinking in terms of big countries and when they see Palestine they say; there I was; I got over the desert, and in three-quarters of an hour I was in Haifa. It is a tiny country. From New York to Chicago you sit in a plane for four hours and that is not the end of America. There is still a long way to go. And they put the question, what can we do in so small an area. It is essential, that we should make it clear what we can do with Palestine. We can't make it bigger in area, but we can by work and by intelligence vastly increase its possibilities. This was partly the purpose of my article, published in Foreign Affairs to try to prove that a small country is big enough for us and it is of sufficient size to demand the exercise of all our energies.

To come back to what I said earlier, I believe if we could bring about this real cooperation between America and England on the problem of the Middle East, with Palestine as the hub, we would probably be able to tackle the Arab problem much more easily and more simply than was the case the last time.

Well, out of that, my friends, (I don't want to detain you very much longer), follow the great tasks which arise - the tasks of enlightenment and propaganda, of spreading knowledge, and of getting together our Zionist groups, knitting them strongly one with the other. You said, Mr. President, you are glad I have come to help. I am not a stranger in this country. I am acquainted with the organization and set-up and layout of the country, and I am anxious to do my share for whatever contribution it will be given to me to make, provided that neither you nor myself shall fritter away our energy on unnecessary friction or arguments about things which have no relation to these problems which face us, and we shall go forward.

I am not able to determine or to set a limit just at present on how long I shall stay. It may be that my work will demand that I should go back to England soon. However, while I am here I am anxious to see the work done. There are only two or three great communities left - yourselves here, and Palestine, which is smaller in numbers but great in quality. Palestine is straining every nerve to get everything we can throw into the melting pot so that they should be able to raise their voice when the time comes. Happily the Executive is not doing badly. Things in Palestine are going tolerably well. Of course, it is again under a cloud. There is danger. If, as we all hope, Palestine will escape the danger this summer, then it will be time to really devote ourselves out to plans for the future. I hope that this danger may be averted.

Of course, there are things to be done now. For one, to try to get in touch with the Washington people. And we have found sympathy there with our problems. Again, in a sense, new matters of foreign relations are arising. India may become emancipated in one form or another. I think the Indian leaders have declined the British offer, if I may say so, for the same reason partly for which a great many Zionists have declined to take the partition offer. They were frightened of the responsibility. They were suddenly confronted with a State. Statehood is a dangerous story. It is tremendous responsibility and whereas we may have the highest opinion of Ghandi and the others, they have not had the practical training, and suddenly to take over 350,000,000 people with such deep social differences - religious, linguistic and so forth - is a task and a responsibility which can come as too great a shock. I don't blame them. However, it is coming. It is unavoidable. Whether or not it will come next month or next year, it may have one bearing on our affairs. It will relieve Great Britain of the pressure of 50,000,000 Moslems for whom the Jewish problem was held up as a great hindrance. Once the Moslems have their own fish to fry, they will probably not think so much about Palestine, which is usually for them a stick to beat the dog. They have not been interested in Palestine itself, but as a means of pressure.

Taking it all in all, if we could see these two great powers cooperating on the resolution of the problems in Palestine, a real opportunity will come about to convert platonic sympathies into definite political tasks. I am not pessimistic about our own future. Though God knows we should be. I don't know what the rate of destruction of our people is at present. How many Jews will be left when the end comes, that we shall find, I don't know. But I have faith in our Jews,

even right now. In England we still collect money for the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth - there is in spite of all a sort of Jewish communal life, and money is still being collected for Palestine, proudly and with dignity. Although there are people who think that Eastern Jewry can be written off they are making a serious mistake. Eastern Jewry is bleeding from a thousand wounds, but it will arise again. It will come. You may perhaps hear from Russian Jewry which has not been vocal for a while. It may be able to pull its weight more after war than it did before.

I would like to think with you that if you within the free Jewries will keep the structure of Palestine going, utilizing all our forces in order to prepare the ground for the great day, I say we may still see a Jewish Palestine and a Jewish Commonwealth."

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: We have been inspired by your utterances. You have not only the affectionate regard but the loyal support of the membership and the leadership of the Z.O.A. I want to take the liberty, if I may, of asking Dr. Wise, as the mentor of the American Zionists, to say a word in reply to Dr. Weizmann.

DR. WISE: It is not necessary to reiterate, Judge Levinthal and Mr. Chairman, what you have just said. Some of us have looked forward with keenest anxiety for a number of months to the return of Dr. Weizmann to this country. As you have rightly said, we need him. After all, we have too long had divided councils. I am not going to dwell upon that. Dr. Weizmann hinted rather significantly at certain trends and tendencies, but in any event we need the unification of Zionist effort and Zionist purposes in America, and Dr. Weizmann, the leader, is the person calculated to help us bring that about.

I hardly like to refer to it because it is too personal and intimate to bear dwelling upon, that after all Dr. Weizmann comes to us with a new title, a title which he has through his high fortitude and through great suffering of which I tell, if I may, for myself, that with all my heart and all of us are at one in this - we still hope that out of that fortitude based upon a great pious hope there may yet come to Dr. Weizmann and Mrs. Weizmann the happiness which would be theirs if it were found in the end, as God give it that it shall be, that their beloved and brilliant son is to be restored to them out of the depths of that unoccupied or occupied France wherein he may at present be confined. I could not permit myself to welcome Dr. Weizmann, to speak this word of greeting to him, without making some reference to that which we honor in you, Dr. Weizmann - your selfless devotion, despite difficulties, despite a very very heavy burden which has come to rest upon you.

And, Dr. Weizmann, to you I want to say that we mean to work with you. We have had divisions and differences and perhaps it would be slight overstatement to say, that all differences have ended. But I am very very glad and grateful that you struck this note. After all, we never could afford to be divided, and now we cannot at all afford to be divided. For example, Dr. Weizmann, Judge Levinthal and gentlemen, we got an example of what we mean when we look at the agitation for a Jewish army. If there were not that division, if there were not that committee outside with some goodly purposes and some sinister, absolutely sinister implications, we might be much further than we are in relation to our own government in the matter of furtherance for a Jewish army or Jewish military units based on Palestine. That is for us today the locus classicus of the hurt that comes from division. But I needn't cite that classic example.

For example, here a fortnight from Friday, from last night to be accurate, we shall be entering into that national Zionist conference which is, I think, it is not too much to say, the first important Zionist meeting that has been held since the day of Geneva on the eve of the "orld War. Are we ready for it? Have we been big enough as Zionists and wise enough as Zionists and understanding enough as Zionists to put aside those things which divide and minimize us and even to use the term of another, destroy what ought to be a great and united effort. The question will shortly come up for discussion and I do not mean to elaborate upon it here. All I mean to say, and my personal thought is the result of the work of 45 years of unswerving allegiance to our great cause - I cannot help saying to you, if over there was a moment in our life as comrades in the Zionist cause, for unity, fundamental, constructive, significant unity, this is the hour!

After all it is not two things, but just one thing. Note that at last after forty years a group of men, I am sorry to say, not in my own corner and have lifted up their heads and have announced that the third or second of July they will call a meeting. It isn't a meeting against the Jewish army. It is a meeting against the fundamentals of Zionism. In the face of that unity against us can we not have a corresponding unity within our ranks?

I think we must understand today that the more powerful the Z.O.A. is, the greater its responsibility. Not the larger its claims to representation in this body or another. And I think, Judge Levinthal, I want to say, understands that well. The same is true of Hadassah with its tremendous numerical preponderance. But after all, the power of a giant must be used with humility and with wisdom. Therein alone wisdom lies, and the same is true of Mizrahi and the Peale Zion. We have had enough of divisiveness. We have had enough of contention and disputation over minimal things. I would love to think that Dr. Weizmann's coming to us is going to bring about an understanding of the pricelessness, the indispensableness of absolute unity in our ranks. We needn't be of one mind. We may still hold to our own convictions, whether we are Mizrahi or Peale Zion or general Zionists. But after all, the one great commanding cause for which we have lived and which may be on the verge of achievement when the war shall have ended, is our cause. God give it that Dr. Weizmann's coming to us may bring reinforcement of his own courage and hope, and how glorious it would be if while he was here there might come to him happier, more glorious, more blessed tidings. We wish it for him for his sake, for Mrs. Weizmann's sake, and for the sake of the Jewish people!"

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: We shall now proceed with the routine matters of business on our agenda.

DR. WEIZMANN: "As an after-thought, I can't help rising again to thank my friend, Dr. Wise, for his words of comfort. Like him, my wife and myself believe that our son will come back to us. He is somewhere amongst the living. I would like to add one more thought to what I said. I feel, and like him, and other responsible Zionists too, a certain weakness in the present situation. If times were normal we would have had the Zionist Congress. The Congress might have ratified or otherwise passed on our efforts of these last two or three and a half years. As it is, there has been no Congress. There has been no opportunity for the great body of Zionist adherents to criticize or support or encourage or discourage the actions which we had to take in this time of stress and emergency.

I feel that in this office which I hold, I am there by force majeure, and I feel there are explanations to make, not that it is being thrown into my face, I have no reason to complain of the attitude of my fellow Zionists on the whole - but I feel in my own innermost self I would have to explain a little more carefully than I would have if my mandate had been renewed. It can't be renewed now. And we have to work with a substitute. One of the substitutes is very important - the conference which we are calling. And full opportunity should be given to everybody to express his views there. The Executive could give full expression to its views and give guidance for the future. And not that I plead leniency - I have never pleaded for that - but in this respect I plead for unity as an absolutely essential prerequisite for any success which we expect; and Dr. Wise, I subscribe to every word you have said, and I cannot emphasize strongly enough the necessity of this thing. If we are not united, our hopes will dwindle to nothing, and it is no use then turning back to our leaders and saying, you have not been successful. The leaders can give only what you put into them, the energy, the courage, the hope, the faith and the judgment. If what you give the leaders is divided counsel, well, you won't expect any definite results. The example of the Jewish army is classical. I think we have sent most of the documents over here. I believe really that we have done all we possibly could to bring it about. From the very first moment of the outbreak of the war, and it is easy to get up and say, well the Zionist Organization has failed because they never wanted it properly, they never put their heart and soul into it and we shall show you how we can do it. I hope to God they may be successful, but I feel that the opposite may be the case.

And I still believe that this army or contingent can be achieved with not quite too much hullabaloo. I think it may be achieved in a comparatively short time, if we make real and practical proposals. I believe that the American administration is willing to support us, but the American administration for all it is an ally of England, is not going to exercise undue pressure on the British Government. And I have sufficient experience to say that if there is a showdown between the British Government and our pressure, the British Government will tell the American administration they are willing to do it but they can't. They are frightened. They are in a delicate position. They can give fifty reasons out of which 45 may be wrong. The American Government with all its friendliness and good-will will hesitate to exercise its discretion. I have seen it over and over and over again, and after all, one has to learn from experience. Possibly younger men will step in where we fear to tread. But it is a delicate position.

We can bring it about, and if I may say so, perhaps the way in which it is likely to come about is this: there are Jewish companies already fighting. There is a need for manpower. That is definite. That is admitted. Then the next step should be, I think it is achievable, to get the Jewish companies organized into battalions or regiments. Give the battalions a name. After all, there are Scotch and Welsh and Irish battalions and there would be no particular departure from the routine of an army to make it a Jewish battalion. Every battalion in the British army has its own commander, its own name and its own flag. We could ask for that and probably get it. Once you have battalions with commanders, it is an easy step to brigades and bigger units and divisions as the case may be. I believe that is the way in which a realization of this great day is possible. This is shared partly by Mr. Eden, and certainly shared by Mr. Winant, who has used his great influence in this behalf.

I understand this view is shared by a number of distinguished men in this country in the present administration. That is a feasible practical way to do it, because the companies are already there. To take three companies and make them a battalion is simply a matter of organization. I don't believe that all the other ways are realistic. I don't believe it is useful to talk of armies of hundreds of thousands of people whom we haven't got. We might have another 25,000 or 30,000 in Palestine. Possibly a few will come in from the outside, but there is the question of shipping and transport. You know all that. It is not real, and we can't afford to put out projects which are merely figments of somebody's imagination. This is a way which we can safely tread, and the day before yesterday when I saw Mr. Winant and he asked me for a statement which Mr. Neumann and myself and Mr. Weisgal drew up on the way back. It is in his hands now, and we insisted that now is the time to put it into effect. As I have stated, General Dill too, is not unfavorable, and I believe it may be done. As for the campaign of the army Committee, it has a great many colors and is very attractive, but from the point of view of "tachlis" it is not likely to succeed. It is likely perhaps to have the opposite effect, because of the methods with which this committee is familiar. This is a classical case of disunity which ought to be avoided.

MRS. TAMAR POOL: I'd like to ask a question of Dr. Weizmann. Dr. Weizmann, you referred to the successful development of what we call here public relations work in England, the strengthening of public opinion in favor of our movement and bringing that opinion to bear from the bottom up, on government circles. Could you amplify that and tell us how it is working and who are the main people doing it, and so on?

DR. WEIZMANN: Yes, it is of comparatively recent growth. It is under Professor Brodetsky, who has formed a central committee in London, consisting of some people on the Emergency Committee, and it meets every fortnight or every week, as the case may be; they have formed provisional committees in every big city - Manchester, Leeds, Scotland, Ireland, and every month these people are summoned and receive a report, and they themselves report and get instructions. They meet in their respective cities with local members of Parliament, clergymen, journalists, writers, union leaders - they inform them, distribute pamphlets, leaflets, some big, some small, on current questions concerned with Zionist policies. They formulate questions for the House of Commons, for the Government, and it has become quite a big movement.

Incidentally, as I am again on my feet, perhaps it is right that I should say, we have quite a strong Zionist movement in England, as Dr. Silver may have reported to you, which is remarkable in view of the very difficult conditions in which England finds itself. I should also say that Dr. Silver's visit was an unqualified success. It was a success morally, it was a success politically and a success financially. His speeches were magnificent. They were simple, they were full of content, they were excellent in form, and though he was put through a very severe grilling, he carried it through with great ability and courage and had an enormous success. If I tell you that the Keren Hayesod this year will probably reach 100,000 Pounds, the per capita contribution is very great.

The J.N.F. too has two or three programs which are at present being worked out and if they get going, the J.N.F. may bring in perhaps 1,000,000 Pounds. The rise in acquisition of land is primarily due to English contributions. People in England today have a great deal of ready money. How has this money come about?

You know that we have to deliver all foreign securities for which the British Government gives us pounds. There is no room to reinvest in England today except in war loans, which everybody does; and still there is a good deal of ready cash lying in the pockets of the people and they invest it in land in Palestine in sums of 20,000 pounds, 10,000 pounds, 5,000 pounds - great substantial sums of money by substantial people. And a great deal of land is being bought even outside the pale; something like 30,000 or 40,000 dunams has been acquired only recently, and that goes on. We have about seven or eight Cholutz farms which train people, English boys, boys from Oxford and Cambridge. Of course they are originally Russian born. There is no Jew not Russian born.

But there is a great substantial movement which is pushing its work right into the depths of the Jewish community. If you take into consideration that the Jewish community was an organized body is non-existent, most of the institutions are dispersed all over the country, they are bombed out, it is a very encouraging phenomenon physically and morally. I can again say that Dr. Silver's visit, although it was a difficult experience to travel nowadays and he was tired, was a brilliant success, and we do hope that this may be repeated; for instance, we are looking forward to Dr. Wise coming over. One or two other leaders possibly. We need some sort of exchange - I am here from England, but there is a really sound healthy movement with new people, young people from universities, from trades, which is bearing fruits. You can see it almost every day. I thought I should give this information to you."

JUDGE ROTHENBERG: "I'd like to put this question to Dr. Weizmann. In your first observations you gave expression to the fact that Russia is not unsympathetic. Have you had any cases of changing attitude on the part of Russia toward the Zionist movement?"

DR. WEIZMANN: "Yes, we had two or three instances, merely straws, but still, out of three or four straws you can begin to make a bundle. First of all, you remember the first time - there was a big public meeting in Moscow and they addressed themselves to the American and British Jewish communities? When the message came I ask Maisky, can we speak to the Jews of Russia as Jews? Would that embarrass the Russian Government? Would it embarrass the Jewish community or whatever they have there if we were to send a fraternal greeting there? He said it would not only not embarrass them but they would be delighted, and I said I could only send one on behalf of the Zionists - and Zionists are not quite kosher in Russia. He said, forget about it. As far as he knew they were under the impression that the Zionists are against the Soviet. I said the boot was on the other leg. We couldn't arrest the Soviet people, but they have arrested our Zionists. So he said it would be an excellent thing if I could send a message and he wanted to know if other great Jewish organizations would do the same. I said the only one I could think of was the Board of Deputies but that I had no jurisdiction over them. What we could do was to send a message on our own behalf which I am sure would be shared by other Jewish bodies. I could mention it to others but I couldn't guarantee what they would do. There were messages from myself, the Vaad Leumi and the Board of Deputies.

This was received with great pleasure in Russia and published in their official organ. When Silver was in England we went to see Maisky again and Maisky was most anxious about the attitude of America. Silver gave him the necessary reply and again we raised the question that a great many Zionists are still under arrest

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though we realize that this is done by Jewish opponents of Zionism. Maisky asked us to give him a short memorandum on what we want to achieve through Zionism; this we did. When we saw him again he said he had received our memorandum which was very interesting and he had forwarded it to Russia. He said our aspirations for a Jewish state seemed to him a perfectly natural thing. It was all, of course, merely an exchange of conversation with an ambassador, and one never knows how much weight a Russian ambassador carries. But I am certain that there is something to be done in that direction and it is being continued in London and will also be continued here.

Maisky made one remark - he said that perhaps it might be well for me to go over to Moscow. We were speaking Russian. I said my Russian was a bit rusty as he could see, but that I still knew enough to talk to his people, and when the time comes we might speak again of this. I believe that they take our attitude seriously, particularly the attitude of the American Jews. That is an important factor which should not be neglected.

You perhaps know or have read the remarkable story of the visit which a Russian ship made to Haifa. The ship called in Haifa and there were Jews among the crew. They were deeply impressed and the captain of the ship said to his Jews on board, "do you know anything about this? You should have told Stalin about this." I believe when the road is open for communication with Russia, we will be able to make some progress. All these are merely straws, as I have said, but they are not unimportant. They indicate the trend of events.

I saw the Chinese ambassador, a very distinguished man, and he was very friendly to us. He likes the idea of a Jewish force fighting in Palestine. As much as we could we have kept in touch with these people. We also kept in touch with most of the free governments - the Czechs, the Poles, the Belgians, the French - they are all friendly from before the war; among them too new forces are coming up. I believe the Czechs and the Poles will rise again. Well, one can't do enough. I would like you to know that we have borne this in mind enough to have a special man detailed to get in touch with these people. We are only a small group in London but we are a closely knit group. Our political committee meets every day. They number about four or five people.

MR. FRISCH: "Is there any anti-Zionist element there?"

DR. WEIZMANN: "We are negotiating with them too by correspondence. It is the same there as here. They are a small element. They are not vicious. In fact, they are very pleasant."

MR. BUKSTEIN: "There are reports current here that the High Commissioner, MacMichael, has been recalled or has been called back to England. Is there any information you could give us also whether there has been any change in the tendencies of the local administration?"

DR. WEIZMANN: "No. When I left it was just at the moment Cranborne had come in. He is considerably more favorable, but after all he has a commission. England did call MacMichael back. Whether he will return or whether he will not, I know not. And perhaps on some other occasion I will tell you more about it, but that was the first thing done under the impact of the Struma incident. For the first time in my life I wrote an official letter to a Colonial Secretary to say that I

consider his High Commissioner unfit to preside over the destinies of Palestine, I expected rather a violent reaction from Cranborne but there was none."

MR. SHAPIRO: "Can one ask what is the general state of defense in Palestine in the event of attack or invasion?"

DR. WEIZMANN: "There is a Home Guard and a great many English troops, and there are Jews fighting in Palestine, but it is not satisfactory. I am sorry, but I have to leave now."

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: Dr. Wise has an important motion to make. Ladies and gentlemen, before Dr. Weizmann appeared, Dr. Wise had the floor and was about to put a motion.

DR. WISE moved that the Executive Committee name a committee of two consisting of Judge Levinthal and Mr. Konowitz to meet with two representatives of the U.P.A., Dr. Silver, Mr. Montor and Mr. Norman or someone else for the American Palestine Fund, and that this committee be empowered to approve or disapprove the recommendation of the Z.O.A. Sub-committee.

JUDGE LEVINTHAL reminded Dr. Wise that at the last meeting of the U.P.A. Executive Committee, Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky were appointed as a committee of the U.P.A. to present the U.P.A.'s position at the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. and to suggest that the Z.O.A. defer decision on the problem, leaving it to the final judgment of the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A. in view of the fund-raising issue involved. Judge Levinthal urged that Dr. Wise and Mr. Lipsky should join Mr. Konowitz and himself and Dr. Silver and Mr. Montor and try to arrive at an expedient conclusion.

Dr. Wise's motion was seconded by Mr. Murray I. Garfein and unanimously carried.

IV. REPORT OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE - Emanuel Neumann

"You all read in The New Palestine an account of the activities of the Emergency Committee in connection with the Struma disaster. Through various political channels a cable was sent by a group of 30 distinguished American Clergymen, headed by Reverend Dr. Harry E. Fosdick and Monsignor Ryan, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Public meetings regarding the Struma disaster were arranged in New York, one large meeting at the Mecca Temple, and another meeting at Dr. Israel Goldstein's Temple, but were not reported in the press. We have had it confirmed that this was no accident due to pressure of war news, but to the deliberate policy apparently inspired from above. We understand that the British have made representations to American officials and they apparently have passed the word that it would not be wise to allow what seemed like anti-British propaganda.

An attempt was made to get a number of Senators to speak on the floor of the Senate with regard to the Struma disaster. Some were prepared to do so. One of these Senators thought it advisable and necessary to speak to someone in the State Department and he was urged not to do so because of certain delicate situations which existed between the American and British governments,

and he was not only asked to refrain, but asked to use his influence with other colleagues in the Senate to avoid such a discussion on the floor. And so that did not take place. Nevertheless, the other things which were done did have certain repercussions. A strong editorial in the Washington Post was sent across to England. There was an editorial which succeeded in getting into the New York Times, not a very strong one, but nevertheless it was a fairly satisfactory editorial coming from the New York Times. Editorials were also printed in the Nation, New Republic, and Free World.

Action was also taken with regard to the Jewish army matter after the protest by the 70 reform rabbis. Within four hours after the statement of these reform rabbis, protests appeared. We secured telegrams from several hundred rabbis, and we published an ad in the New York Times. At the time the ad appeared we had about 350 telegrams and next day another 200 arrived. This particular action was useful particularly since we were able to get statements from the heads of three leading rabbinical organizations, the Central Conference, the Rabbinical Assembly and the American Orthodox Rabbis. This was communicated to the proper channels in Washington. A great deal of interest seems to have been displayed by certain government departments in this matter. They wanted to know from us just how the Jews stood, what evidence we could bring to show the proportions in which Jews stood for or against the Jewish army idea.

I should like to mention a new piece of work which is being done with a great deal of devotion and promise. We have formed a small squad of young rabbis, headed by two volunteers - Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester and Rabbi Milton Steinberg of New York, to work among and with the general clergymen and Christian movements. They have personally been going about contacting the leaders of important Christian organizations, and are now trying to form a special committee of Christian clergy for Zionism. They have gotten the support of a number of important people for this committee. They have been consulting regularly with Dr. Niebuhr and other gentlemen. They have been contacting the denominational press to place articles in various magazines. An article by Eugene Kohn has appeared, but this was arranged for some six months ago. We have been sending out releases to the denominational press and calling conferences. They have contacted several of the commissions of Christian churches dealing with post-war reconstruction and they found that none of these commissions included the Jewish question in their studies of post-war problems. They have taken steps to have that brought in as the subject for serious discussion. They also have helped to get the signatures to telegrams which went to the Archbishop of Canterbury. They have also contacted a number of rabbis' consent to address Christian groups like the Christian Student Movement, etc. That is an excellent piece of work which I hope will prosper, and the next step is to try to form a similar group to deal specifically with academic circles.

The articles by Niebuhr in the Nation created quite an impression in liberal and intellectual circles. We have made reprints of them and will probably have to print a third edition since there has been such a demand for them.

During the war there have been practically no books appearing on the Zionist question, either by Jews or non-Jews, and that lack has been acutely felt. We found out through Mr. Schulson that there was a book about to appear on British policy in Palestine, published by an important group in Washington, the American Council for Public Affairs. We were put in a position to read the proofs for this

Council and to suggest revisions. The book on the whole is alright excepting for one major premise which one can't very well change without altering the whole character of the book. It isn't our book. The underlying thesis is that Britain failed in Palestine, that British policy has failed due to the failure from the start and throughout to take a strong and definite position one way or the other. In other words, the irreconcilability of the Arab nationalists as against the aspirations of the Zionists is the finding of the whole book. On the whole, the book is unbiased and objective. Insofar as any slight bias is concerned, it is biased rather in favor of the Jewish position than the Arab position. We succeeded in accentuating that somewhat in our corrections. We succeeded in getting the consent of Josephus Daniels to write a pro-Zionist introduction to that book. We expect to have it back any day and the Council has agreed to include that with the book.

There is a plan for the publication of a book by Dr. Lowdermilk dealing with the actual progress in Palestine, its absorptive capacity, the economics of Palestine, etc. and we hope that book will be written before Lowdermilk leaves for an extended stay in China, where he is heading a governmental agricultural commission. It is our task to do as much of the research work as we can to supply

Dr. Lowdermilk with additional data and we hope that we will have the possibility of organizing this research work for it. We hope it will be published under the auspices of a very important research institution which publishes scientific rather than popular volumes, so that the book will carry weight when it appears.

Another project which is at present being worked on is a book dealing with the Near East, to be written by a pro-Zionist, a Hindu scholar who has been very friendly, and we have been having contacts with him. He is a lecturer on the Near East affairs and I am tying up between him and the institutions to publish such a book. He has undertaken to show us his outline, so that a book dealing with the Near East with a pro-Zionist point of view will appear.

Finally, only on Friday, I induced Professor S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College who agreed to put down some of his findings in writing, a short volume of some 125 pages, directed to the Christian mentality, and he agreed to do it and to submit an outline and would be glad to have our criticism of it. I hope that in the course of the coming twelve months there will begin to appear a number of volumes which directly or indirectly promote our points of view in the intellectual sphere.

With regard to the American Palestine Committee, it is slowly but steadily growing. The most recent chapter organized was in Albany where there was a dinner addressed by Professor Harlow, and one in Los Angeles addressed by Dr. Heller. Both of them were quite successful and did a great deal to influence the lay leadership and clerical leadership in these communities. This is a piece of work which can and should be continued steadily. The Second Annual Dinner meeting of the American Palestine Committee will be held in Washington on May 25th. The Z.O.A. office in Washington, Mr. Shetzer and Mr. Schulson, with the help of Mr. Kritzer of the Emergency Committee, are arranging it.

I suggest that a number of important Zionists and even people who are not necessarily strong or active Zionists but who have some political influence, be induced to contact their respective Senators and Congressmen, urge them to attend the dinner, be there themselves, and have the Congressman or Senator sit with

them as their guests in order to insure the maximum attendance on the part of these people.

I have just spent a week in Washington and I have the definite feeling that our position has changed for the better. Our stock stands somewhat higher than it has and in trying to analyze and to explain this development, I have come to attribute it to three factors. One is that the British stocks have fallen so that there is less of an inclination to accept at par whatever point of view or arguments are advanced from the British side. These things stand in some relation to each other. Secondly, the stocks of the Arabs have fallen markedly. I think it is partly due to the fact that there are Americans who have been in the Near East and have reported and from the few reports which I have heard, some things have been said to me by various people, they have begun to recognize the Arabs for what they are. They are unreliable, untrustworthy, unconstructive, and uncooperative. In this critical situation that is something which makes its mark. Some American government officials said to me, as one man did who had been everywhere, that the only thing he could see the Arabs can create is a desert, and another man in the War Department said that the Arabs are all for sale. This is not the result of our propaganda against the Arabs, but simply the natural outcome of the developments and the facts as they appear."

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AFTERNOON SESSION

JUDGE LEVINTHAL: Supplementing Mr. Neumann's report announced that the Z.O.A. will shortly publish a collection of the addresses and papers of Justice Brandeis on Zionism, edited by Dr. Solomon Goldman and annotated by Abe Duker and Carl Alpert. Mr. Felix Frankfurter will write the introduction to the volume.

Referring to the Niebuhr article, it is interesting to note that the Nation itself sent out many thousands of letters throughout the country, not only to Zionists but to Jews generally, referring to the Niebuhr articles and making a special offer over a special period including the two numbers, in which the articles appeared, and at the head of the letter they had three quotations from letters sent to the Nation by Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, Director of the Commission on Jewish Education of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, one from the President of the Z.O.A., and one from Rabbi Joachim Prinz. The letter itself ought to be helpful because it puts the stamp of approval and endorsement of the Nation on the articles by Niebuhr.

With reference to Dr. Weizmann's article in Foreign Affairs, the public relations committee of the Emergency Committee tried an experiment. They sent out letters through an individual who has never been identified officially with the Zionist Organization, but a rather distinguished American Jew, who sent out letters to his friends and colleagues - distinguished editors, statesmen - and enclosed a copy of this article of Dr. Weizmann's reprint. He tried to elicit from these gentlemen to whom the letters were sent what their reactions were, and it is very interesting to note the replies. Men like George Wharton Pepper, the former Senator, Morris Leeds, the lay head of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Rufus Jones, head of the Quaker Society, Clarence Pickett, the president of Princeton University, and a number of distinguished citizens, and in letters two and a half pages long they analyzed their reactions to it - favorable and unfavorable. These letters indicate

what we must meet in the minds of the non-Jews, the uninformed and the informed non-Jews, we might follow up this same experiment in other parts of the country. There are some distinguished people in Chicago who might send out similar letters, somebody in Los Angeles, etc. All letters should be cleared through the public relations committee so that the same individual won't receive two letters from different persons. Every letter should be a personal individual letter.

JUDGE LEVINHAL reported that he had a long session with the former editor of the Saturday Evening Post who is now no longer with them, and he did plan to have another article to reply to the three printed. Mr. Hibbs, the new editor, wrote me a letter in which he said that the correspondence that he had had with Stout was turned over to him, that he felt that the Saturday Evening Post had worried the Jewish question far enough and that they were not disposed to write any further articles on the subject. That was about a week before the editorial which appeared in the newspapers.

V. REPORT OF THE KEREN HAYESOD: - Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt

We have appointed a Constitutional Revision committee headed by Herman Weisman, our Secretary, including Judge Emanuel Greenberg, Mark Eisner, David Wertheim, and Mr. Harry Grayer. We have had two meetings and are having another tomorrow. Despite certain difficulties I hope we will be able to implement at least the principle passed by the Z.O.A. Convention and Executive Committee.

Much more important in the sense of daily operation was the question of finance. We had appointed a very good Finance Committee headed by Mr. Abraham Goodman, one of our new treasurers, and includes Louis Rucker, Sol Reiter, and David Wertheim, because we were immediately confronted with the old type of demands.

We have the problem of the Library and Archives which costs us about \$10,000 a year. It ought to be continued. We have appointed a committee to try to work out some system not merely because they have some money in the bank, but because we can utilize it for expanding our library facilities, and that will be done. Mr. Rucker is chairman of that committee.

There are also demands on us constantly for what you may regard as Palestine problems, and yet it is just a fine line whether we have to make that decision or not. For example, before this administration came into office, it was decided by the Administrative Council to spend \$2,000 to buy Palestine wine. There was nothing for us to do but to finish and to honor the rest of the bills that were presented up to the amount of \$2,000. But when you are confronted with a problem such as met us last week when the Hechalutz shows us they need \$20,000 a year, and that they are doing very good work, our first reaction frankly was that it was our business to send money to Palestine and not to have a Hechalutz colony in New Jersey. The Hechalutz brought to us not only recommendations but some very fine people who have contributed money and who think it is a very worthwhile activity, and so far they have taken loans from us in the shape of \$18,000. We have the title to the two farms and after going a little bit into the financial problem, I found that at their own estimate, the farms and all the appurtenances were worth \$50,000 against which they owed over \$40,000. We haven't really titles. The titles were deposited with us, and the last thing I want to do is to own two farms because you will have to pay taxes in addition to the loans.

There are these important problems: Is the K. H. simply a pipeline to transmit funds to Palestine, or can the K. H. here exercise its discretion over certain funds expended outside of Palestine in America. I don't want to foreclose that problem. In fact we have had a sub-committee headed by Mr. Lipsky to study that whole problem and at our board meeting in the next two weeks he will report, and we will endeavor finally to implement the coordination resolution."

The report of the K. H. was discussed at great length by Louis Lipsky.

JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG pointed out that the American K. H. has established a Jerusalem K. H. as its agent and that the American K. H. is not in duty bound to do everything here that the Jerusalem office asks us to do.

VI. REPORT ON EXTRAORDINARY ZIONIST CONFERENCE - Moyer Weisgal

"It was originally conceived that on the occasion of Dr. Weizmann's arrival and the presence of Mr. Ben Gurion, and in view of the very important issues that are involved in Zionist affairs today, the importance of clarifying our own minds with regard to Zionist problems both vis-a-vis the outside world as well as for ourselves, there should be called a conference in New York for the purpose of clarifying all these issues. This was not to have been a conference in the sense in which a U. E. A. conference is held, purely for propaganda purposes, but to clarify our thinking. Certain data and certain memoranda were prepared in order to achieve this objective. A program was prepared, not perfect, but more or less in line with meeting the problem. In other words, a conference that would deal with primary purposes:

One, to strengthen the Zionist movement politically vis-a-vis the outside world, and two, that we strengthen the movement internally and bring about a greater unity for purposes and a greater clarification of the fundamental Zionist problems involved at this time. Certain forms were adopted.

As it stands today, all the parties will be represented. There will be a conference of about 500 delegates, the Z.O.A., Hadasah, Poale Zion, and Mizrachi who are getting 75 delegates each plus their governing bodies and the members of the Actions Committee who happen to reside in the United States or sojourn in the United States. This new representation arose out of a certain difficulty about the withdrawal of the Mizrachi from the Emergency Committee because they felt that an injury had been done to them by giving them only 35 as against 45 which was allocated to the Poale Zion.

So the Emergency Committee in its wisdom when they asked for 45, struggled so long with that formula that they suddenly gave up and said they would give them 75. I really think, Mr. Chairman, that if it had been decided that all the parties without regard to their numerical strength or proportion in the movement should have equal representation at the conference, and whatever votes are to be taken, there should be such a vote by unanimous consent given in advance by the Emergency Committee, and then there would be no great harm done.

With regard to the program of the conference, it will open on Saturday night. There will be reports by Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Ben Gurion and Dr. Wise will preside. Various questions with regard to Palestine will be discussed. The program is practically divided into three parts: one, Palestine in all its aspects. A survey

of the world situation, and how insofar as it is possible to project one's self into the future, what this Jewish position is going to be throughout the world after the war. And third, two or three sessions devoted to the American scene which will deal with three aspects; one, the internal Zionist situation, two, the relationship between Zionists and non-Zionists, and three, the relation of the Zionist world vis-a-vis the outside world that has to do with public relations and opinions and politics in the Zionist movement in this country.

It is contemplated and I hope it will be carried out, that there shall be as much discussion as possible in as few set speeches as possible. But even in this particular case it is also a dangerous thing to do unless it is properly and carefully planned. Because organized spontaneity is very good, but unorganized spontaneity is very dangerous to a conference. And that is likely to happen unless the committee will finally make up its mind to hold the reins of the conference and not let them get out of their hands, and really make the best out of a bad job. I hope we shall have the time to do it, and of course finally, there is expected to be presented a manifesto or set of resolutions. I think there will be one which will set forth both for public consumption as well as for internal consumption a Zionist charter. It is being worked on and as soon as the first draft is in some measure prepared, the committee will be called together and will begin to dissect it and tear it to pieces and do all the things that are usually done at committee meetings.

An extended discussion ensued regarding plans for the conference. Several members opposed the holding of the conference because of lack of preparation and planning, but it was finally decided to hold it as scheduled.

VII. REPORT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE NON-ZIONISTS - Meyer Weisgal

There have been any number of meetings with full and sub-committees between the Zionists and non-Zionists for a number of months. There have been private conferences going on and the sub-committee is meeting again this Wednesday night in order to find whether there is any basis at all to continue negotiations. I suppose negotiations will continue and we will carry on until we either have unity or not.

VIII. A statement by Emanuel Neumann with reference to his resignation from the Emergency Committee will be issued with the minutes of the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

IX. SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MR. SHETZER: "At the meeting of the Executive Committee in February, we had a discussion on the desirability of holding our annual convention concurrently with Hadassah. That same evening we held a joint meeting of our Executive Committee with the National Board of Hadassah at which the question was reopened and both bodies were authorized to appoint sub-committees to explore that possibility. Our committee consisted of Rabbi Breslau as Chairman, Robert Bernstein, Herman Weisman, Maurice Boukstein, and Dewey Stone. Our committee met with the committee of Hadassah and subsequently I have met a number of times with Miss Leibel.

When we arrived at some definite ideas I communicated with four of the members of our sub-committee. I couldn't get in touch with Dewey Stone, and this is the recommendation of our sub-committee: It is agreed that it would be desirable to hold concurrent conventions of the Z.O.A. and the Hadassah. In order to hold such conventions, we would have to hold ours this year in October. The tentative program is for our convention to open on Thursday morning, October 15th and to last through Sunday evening. On Thursday and Friday we would meet during the morning, noon, afternoon and evening, and on Friday as late as possible for our own Z.O.A. sessions. Friday evening we would meet jointly with Hadassah at a Shabbas dinner. Saturday afternoon would be a joint Oneg Shabbath devoted to a discussion of youth education. The Youth Commission, in which we are both participating agencies, would prepare the program. On Saturday night there would be a joint executive session devoted exclusively to political affairs and public relations. Our Sunday sessions would be our own to conclude our unfinished business and elections and the convention would be concluded on Sunday afternoon or evening with a joint session open to the public in the nature of a mass meeting.

Our convention last year was held in Cincinnati. It was the thought of the committee that we ought to hold it this year in the East. We have been considering either Atlantic City and New York. It seems Atlantic City is not too anxious at this time to provide the facilities for us and we have been exploring the possibilities of holding the convention in New York. We have had proposals from the New Yorker and the Pennsylvania Hotels jointly and other proposals from the Commodore and the Roosevelt jointly, and the set-up would be to have all the necessary facilities for housing each of the conventions in a separate hotel where the headquarters would be and where the separate sessions would take place.

For the purpose of our joint sessions the Manhattan Center would be made available to us without charge by the New Yorker and the Pennsylvania Hotels together, both for Friday night and the Sunday mass meeting.

The Hadassah Board met and I have a letter from Miss Leibel telling me that the board went on record as approving these suggested arrangements for concurrent conventions, and this is the recommendation also of four members of our Committee of five."

MR. EPSTEIN moved to adopt the recommendations of the Committee in principle and to allow a committee to work out the details for the arrangements.

The motion was SECONDED AND UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED.

It was decided to postpone the hearing of Mr. Firsch's report on Constitutional changes of the Z.O.A. until the next meeting and to submit a written memorandum on the subject to all the members of the Executive Committee so they will have the recommendations of the committee before the next meeting and so they may study them.

Mr. Mendel Fisher's report on the Jewish National Fund is incorporated into the record. Appendix F hereto attached.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:05 P. M.

Respectfully submitted

Simon Shetzer

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

April 2, 1942

My dear Judge Levinthal:

The receipt is acknowledged, through reference from the White House, of your letter of March 9, 1942 enclosing a copy of a resolution which has been adopted by the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America with regard to the sinking of the S.S. Struma in the Black Sea.

I am sorry to say that the information which the Department has obtained from its own sources confirms the extent of this disaster.

It seems pertinent to point out that the intolerable conditions to which the greater portion of European Jewry has been subjected as the result of German policy and actions, and which prompted these unfortunate persons to seek refuge in Palestine, are the basic cause of this tragedy.

I may also say that the German radio has been seeking energetically to utilize this disaster as a means of sowing the seeds of discord between the American and British peoples.

Nevertheless, the tragic circumstances under which these unfortunate refugees lost their lives can not go unnoticed. Accordingly, this Government has requested the Honorable Myron Taylor, American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee for Political Refugees, to bring the Struma disaster to the official attention of the member Governments on the Steering Committee of the Intergovernmental Committee with a view to devising some method which would serve to preclude such tragic happenings in the future.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Sumner Welles

APPENDIX BUNITED PALESTINE APPEALPROPOSED 1942 BUDGET

	<u>1941 BUDGET</u>	<u>1942 PROPOSED BUDGET</u>
1. Salaries - General Staff	\$ 30,779.32	\$ 34,076.08
2. Salaries - Field Staff	22,869.19	23,930.00
3. Traveling, per diem and expenses	16,175.26	14,900.00
4. Maintenance of Regional Bureaus	11,433.31	2,000.00
5. Speakers' fees and expenses	9,445.64 */	5,000.00 **/
6. Printing and publicity	12,536.01	10,000.00
7. Mailing and letter shop	4,857.72	6,000.00
8. Rent and electricity	6,970.49	7,800.00
9. Postage	2,338.40	2,000.00
10. Telephone and telegraph	5,543.72	4,000.00
11. Stationery and printing	3,473.87	3,500.00
12. Insurance	1,168.88	1,000.00
13. Office maintenance	811.15	1,000.00
14. Auditing and statistical	4,750.00	4,750.00
15. Conference and meetings, including Cleveland	14,301.47	12,000.00
16. Furniture and equipment	1,615.12	1,500.00
17. Automobiles	2,147.00	2,500.00
18. Chaim Weizmann expenses	3,000.00	---
19. Atlanta meeting and National Budgeting	5,359.19	---
20. Interest on loan	1,704.85	---
21. 1941 Campaign - not reimbursed	8,811.66	---
22. New York (City) Region UPA	5,742.81	---
23. Contingencies	3,500.00	3,500.00
	<u>\$179,325.06</u>	<u>\$ 139,446.08</u>

*/ Includes the sum of \$3,134.75 paid to Levy Bakstansky, and
the sum of \$2,166.72 paid to Dr. Martin Rosenbluth.

**/ Includes provision for Dr. Rosenbluth at \$40 per week.

FINANCIAL REPORT

By

Zvi Lovavy

March 31 marks the end of the first half of the current fiscal year. It is gratifying to report a considerable improvement in the financial condition of the Organization as of that date.

Members of this Committee will recall that on October 1st, 1941, the beginning of our fiscal and membership year, the Z.O.A. was laden down with a burdensome deficit of more than \$75,000. In November, the deficit mounted further, to approximately \$84,500. But from then on we have been able to reduce the deficit by successive stages: \$6,400. in December; \$11,000. in January; \$9,600. in February; and approximately \$5,000 in March, making a total reduction of \$32,800. and bringing the deficit down to \$52,500. as of March 31st.

The income during the current fiscal period was in accordance with the budgetary estimates.

The budget which was approved by this Committee early in the fiscal year envisaged a total income of \$190,000. for the year, made up of \$129,000. or 68% to be derived from membership; \$54,000., or 28%, from the U.P.A.; and 4% from miscellaneous sources, such as affiliation dues from various organizations; advertising revenue from The New Palestine, and other miscellaneous items.

During the period under review, our expectations relating to income from regular sources have not only been realized, but, in addition, the sum of \$12,000. was raised toward the deficit fund. All around, the total income received during the first half of the year amounted to \$126,500., as compared with \$118,000., in the same period last year, marking an increase of \$8,500. in our revenue.

It must be borne in mind that while last year's income included the sum of \$2,500. received as affiliation dues from Hadassah, this year Hadassah makes its contribution of \$20,000. directly to the Youth Commission.

It is also gratifying to report that during the first half of the current year our expenses were reduced by approximately \$17,000. as compared with the expense for the corresponding period last year. This reduction was achieved, despite the employment of a number of field men to service various Regions and despite the subsidies granted to the Regions for carrying on the activities under the Regional Reorganization plan.

You will be glad to learn that every department has limited itself to its budgetary allotment and that the reduction of our expenses is attributable to a very large extent to the economies that have been effected in all branches of our organizational activities.

My report would be incomplete were I not to emphasize the cooperation received from members of the Budget Committee and of those members of this Committee who have advanced to the Organization substantial loans to tide us over during the summer months.

Our main problem of financing arises always during summer months, when our income is reduced materially while most of our expenses such as salaries, rent, electricity, and telephone have to be met.

Permit me to conclude with a word of assurance to every member of this Committee that every possible effort is being exerted toward increasing the income of the Organization and toward keeping a vigilant check upon all expenditures.

REPORT SUBMITTED BY MENDEL N. FISHER
FOR THE J.N.F. TO THE ZOA

The report of the activities of the Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael, Jerusalem, for the year 5701 has reached this country recently. According to this statement 45,479 dunams of new land were redeemed, which compares with 43,180 dunams for the same period of the previous year. The activities of the Fund in the period of World War #2 were not reduced, but the purchase of land was exceeded by over 100,000 dunams. It was one of the most productive years in the history of the Fund. The number of dunams purchased during this year have only twice been exceeded - in 1929 when the Emek Hephher and the Emek Zevulun purchases were completed - that represented an acquisition of 59,549 dunams - and in 1939, when 53,499 dunams were acquired, including large stretches in Upper Galilee and the Jordan Valley. We are all interested in knowing where land is now being acquired. Of the total purchased this last fiscal year, 16,671 dunams are situated in Judaea. The total landholdings distributed in nine areas, according to the report issued by the Head Office of the Keren Kayemeth in Jerusalem, totals 561,429 dunams.

We have just received by cable a summary of the six months activities for the new fiscal year - that is, for the year 5702. We ought all to be encouraged and heartened by that report. In the first place, the income of the K.K. throughout the world was exceeded by some 14% for the same period of last year. We have also learned from this same statement that new purchases of land have been made and while we do not have all the details we have reason to believe that if we can maintain the same ratio of income as last year, and it should be exceeded, the K.K. will probably report a record year in the acquisition of new land.

It is important to emphasize this point for two reasons. First, even in Zionist quarters inquiry is made as to whether land can be bought in Palestine because of the White Paper edict. Second, whether it is desirable to acquire land at a time when the world situation is so uncertain. The answers to these questions are contained in the facts revealed. We must believe and have confidence in those who are responsible for our work - the Keren Kayemeth and the Jewish Agency and that it is even now more important than it was before the outbreak of the war to acquire new areas of land. It is no less important to report on the settlement activity. Though the war has slackened the pace of new settlements, we are informed officially that the new settlements have continued to be established on J.N.F. land during the war.

Despite all the difficulties, such settlements as Kibutz Rodges at Tavneh, Ramat Hashofet, in which we are particularly interested for it is being established in honor of Judge Julian W. Mack, have made considerable progress. This settlement is to be similar in nature to Ein Hashofet, named in honor of Justice Brandeis. A road is now being finished and water will be brought by pipes from the well on the borders of the Yokneani lands. Other settlements, such as Avukah Beth Shan Mira and others are continuing. A great deal has also been done by way of new development and consolidation of existing villages. The drainage of swamps in anti-malarial work and a rather extensive program in the development of water supply have continued even during the critical period of the war.

A word about afforestation is also in order. Trees in Palestine are not a luxury. They represent an urgent necessity. For the period of 5701, 155,460

new trees have been planted. It took approximately 900 dunams of land on which to plant these trees. When you compare the record of tree planting for the previous year, which was 166,925 trees, all of us should feel gratified and heartened that this important phase of our work is not being neglected. The total number of trees in J.N.F. forests is now 3,102,747. It represents an area of 32,372 dunams distributed in 32 centers. Since we are reviewing the period of the Hebrew calendar 5701, you will be interested in a brief statement of the income.

The total income for this period was 1620,000. This is 13,000 more than in 5700, which year in itself was a record year in the history of the JNF. Whereas, the major part of the receipts in previous years came from European countries, the distribution of receipts has changed considerably. We are told in the cable which I referred to a bit earlier that 90% of the income now comes from the United States and the British Empire. For the year 5700 the United States contributed 64% of the receipts, with the British Empire coming next with 24%. Palestine's contribution itself should be of great interest to us. Many Zionists feel that they are overburdened with Zionist responsibility. You know what the Yishuv has gone through and yet their contribution for the year 5701 was 7% of the income. These figures reveal the tremendous rise and the share of the U.S.A. in particular in the amount raised for the JNF. The total net income of the JNF during these forty years of its existence was 15,984,700. According to these statistical tables, the United States provided 38% of the income, the European countries 30%, the countries of the British Empire 22%, Palestine itself 6% and the other countries 4%. The picture has changed since the outbreak of the war. The main responsibility in providing funds to maintain our work and to acquire new land must now come from the United States.

Another question that is frequently asked is, what is the income from the lands leased by the Keren Kayemeth? We have only time for a brief statement. The total income, for example, for the Hebrew calendar year of 5692 was only 12,500. This last year the figure was 116,344. The income from rental, of course, does not yet stand in a proper proportion to the value of its property, but there has been a constant increase in this item each year. It has been a healthy growth from year to year.

One more observation in evaluating the report of the JNF for 5701. Whereas, the total dunams purchased from 1902-11 was 16,400, representing 4% of the total Jewish land possessions, the period from 1932-41 in terms of percentage represents 39% of the total Jewish land possessions. At the end of 5701, the total area of land in Jewish possession was 1,432,000 dunams, apart from an area of 163,000 dunams held by Jews under concession, which makes a total in round figures of 1,594,000 dunams. Of the total number of Jewish villages numbering 263,157 are on JNF land, representing in terms of percentages 60%.

This brings us to the American picture, which we shall summarize very briefly. As we reported to the last meeting of the Administrative Council following the tragic Pearl Harbor incident, we were all fearful that there would be a tremendous decline in interest and support, not only of the JNF but of our other Palestine fund-raising activities.

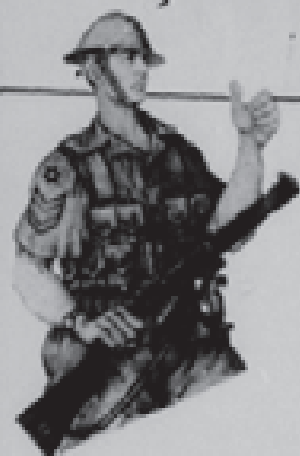
We have now the figures of income from our own traditional sources for the period of October 1, 1941 to March 31, 1942. The income for this period was \$357,103.69. This compares with \$295,843.73 for the same period of last year, 1940-41. There has been a gradual increase beginning with December and continuing through March. The record month for this period was the month of December,

the month of Pearl Harbor, when over \$96,000 in traditional collections came to the National Headquarters of the JNF. The income from the UPA for the same period was \$435,861.86. This compares with \$383,960.09 for the same period of last year. The total income from our own traditional collections and from the UPA was \$792,975.55 compared with \$679,803.82 in the year 1940-41, a six month period.

We have remitted to Eretz Israel for the period under review, exclusive of a remittance which has just been made and which is not reflected in this report the sum of \$790,437.78 compared with \$595,429.68.

More important than these figures is the tremendous sentiment that has been created throughout the United States for the work of Palestine land redemption. Every Zionist traveller who has been around in the country will reveal that one of the most popular causes which commands the respect of the large masses of our people is the Keren Kayemeth. It is true of Seattle, Washington as it is true of San Antonio, Texas. Behind these figures, there is represented the great bulwark of strength throughout the United States. It represents thousands of small gifts. It represents auxiliary and supplementary income outside of the large campaigns. This amount has been raised from traditional sources.

In concluding this report, we wish to express our deep sense of gratitude to the ZOA and we express the hope that the goal of \$250,000 which we set for ourselves at the ZOA Convention will be realized. Your Chairman, Mr. Abraham H. Cohen, has given unstintingly of his time and of his energy in making the Zionist Districts more JNF conscious. Many Districts have responded. Equally many have not yet answered his call. We are confident that under the leadership of Judge Levinthal, and with the cooperation of Mr. Shetzer and the entire ZOA, the members of the ZOA will make this JNF year a record one in terms of income and in terms of wider support for Eretz Haaretz.



1942 — 60th Anniversary of Jewish Colonization in Palestine

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD)
JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (KEREM KAYEMETH)
For the Defense and Upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: MURRAY Hill 2-3320

Cable Address—Paltund

July 15, 1942

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Honorary Chairmen

Albert Einstein
Herbert H. Lehman
Julian W. Mack
Henry Monsky
Nathan Straus
Henrietta Szold

National Chairman

Abba Hillel Silver

National Co-Chairmen

Stephen S. Wise
*Chairman,
Administrative Committee*
Louis Lipsky
*Chairman,
Executive Committee*
Solomon Goldman
Israel Goldstein
Louis E. Levinthal
Morris Rothenberg

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Vice-Chairmen

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Leon Gellman
James G. Heller
Edmund I. Kaufmann
Charles Reis
Elihu D. Stone
Robert Szold
Joe Weingarten
David Wertheim

Executive Director

Henry Montor

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Tenth and Ansel Roads
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am wondering whether you have had an opportunity to read the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. held on June 9, 1942, with special reference to pages 15 to 17 dealing with the U.P.A.

To one who has watched the U.P.A. grow in stature, prestige and strength under your leadership, it is a source of dismay that there can be Zionists who would cavalierly, whether it be for personal reasons or out of ideological convictions, undermine and prepare to destroy one of the most effective institutions for Palestine in this country.

I am concerned, of course, with the continuous carping and bitterness displayed at these meetings. I am equally disturbed by the repercussions which these observations have, not merely on the morale of this organization but on the status of the U.P.A. in the eyes of its partners. The advocates of the position taken at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. do not restrict their comments to private meetings of the Z.O.A. They blazon them forth at every opportunity, including public gatherings wherever they go.

I feel certain that if you would speak in vigorous terms to Judge Levinthal about this situation, it would have an effect. It is impossible to have a meeting of the Z.O.A. time after time with its emphasis on the valuelessness of U.P.A. without registering an effect ultimately. The only way to avoid this systematic campaign of self-vilification is for you to speak out now. You are the only person who can do it. The justice is so clearly on the side of the U.P.A. in terms of its effectiveness in the directions which constitute its responsibility, that your speaking out on the subject will, I know, cause a diminution if not an end to all this nasty and destructive business.

The discussion is obviously not honest. It is allegedly based on the ground of economy and yet the men who say those things immediately observe that if the U.P.A. would reduce its budget, then "the

"We in the United States must help strengthen Palestine"

—HON. FRANK KNOX, Secretary of the Navy

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

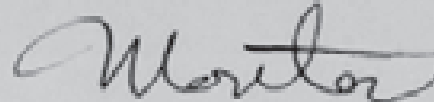
July 15, 1942

grants asked by the Z.O.A., Mizrachi, Poale Zion, etc. could be given." When money is spent less fruitfully, these organizations can be counted upon to do so.

I am most anxious to have your observations on this matter because many things would have to be done in this office which are dependent on long-time planning.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,



Henry Montor
Executive Director

HM:JB
Encl.



August 26, 1942

Mr. Henry Montor
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

I am enclosing this letter which I have received from the ZOA. I would suggest that you contact Mr. Schulson and inform him that I have requested you to report on the UPA on the day indicated. It is very nice for the ZOA to set aside as much as fifteen minutes for the UPA...

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHB: BK
Enc.

(undated)

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
TENTATIVE BUDGET
FOR THE PERIOD FROM
OCTOBER 1, 1941 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

Appendix "A"

<u>S U M M A R Y</u>		Actual Expense 6/1/40 to 5/31/41	Proposed Expense 10/1/41 to 9/30/42
<u>EXPENSES:</u>			
President's Office - - - Page 2 - - - -		\$ 2,410.72	\$ 4,000.00
Executive Director - - - " 2 - - - -		6,888.04	14,500.00
Executive Committee - - - " 2 - - - -		2,485.07	2,500.00
Education & Public Relations Department - - " 2 - - - -		4,283.96	21,500.00
Youth & Education Dept. - - " 2 - - - -		17,343.84	
Subsidies - - - - - " 2 - - - -		21,650.00	
Youth Commission - - - - " 2 - - - -			20,000.00
Palestine Bureau - - - - " 2 - - - -		3,098.54	3,000.00
The New Palestine - - - Page 3 - - - -		44,085.63	29,000.00
Dos Yiddishe Folk - - - " 3 - - - -		8,641.00	5,750.00
Library & Archives - - - " 3 - - - -		2,247.86	
Membership Dept. and Speakers' Bureau - - Page 4 - - - -		57,324.58	50,000.00
Internal Administration- Page 5 - - - -		32,842.79	27,000.00
General Expenses - - - - Page 6 - - - -		12,233.34	5,250.00
<u>Total Expenses</u> - - - - -		<u>\$215,546.17</u>	<u>\$184,500.00</u>

<u>INCOME:</u>		Actual Income 6/1/40 - 5/31/41	Expected Income 10/1/41 - 9/30/42
Gross Membership Income- - - - -		162,092.94	175,000.00
Less Refunds to Regions - - - - -		39,820.00	
Membership Income - - - - -		\$122,272.94	\$175,000.00
Less Reserve for Regional Adminis- tration - - - - -			46,000.00
Net Membership Income - - - - -		\$122,272.94	\$129,000.00
Hadassah - - - - -		7,500.00	
Order Sons of Zion - - - - -		1,000.00	2,000.00
United Palestine Appeal - - - - -		54,000.00	54,000.00
Advertising & Sale of New Palestine -		5,007.02	3,000.00
Miscellaneous Income - - - - -		1,909.99	2,000.00
<u>Total Income</u> - - - - -		<u>\$191,889.95</u>	<u>\$190,000.00</u>
Excess of Income over Expenditure - - - - -			\$5,500

The sum of \$14,000.00, representing uncollected pledges made by Delegates at the Cincinnati Convention, was not included in the expected income.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
TENTATIVE BUDGET
FOR THE PERIOD FROM
OCTOBER 1, 1941 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

	Actual Expense 6/1/40 to 5/31/41	Proposed Expense 10/1/41 to 9/30/42
<u>PRESIDENT'S OFFICE</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	\$ 988.91	\$ 1300.00
Postage & Cables - - - - -	490.10	500.00
Travelling - - - - -	667.60	1700.00
Printing & Stationery - - - - -	220.27	250.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	43.84	250.00
<u>Total President's Office</u>	\$ <u>2410.72</u>	\$ <u>4000.00</u>
<u>EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR (and Secretary)</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	5085.00	12,000.00
Postage & Telegrams - - - - -	354.70	500.00
Travelling & Miscellaneous - - - - -	1448.34	2,000.00
<u>Total Executive Director</u>	\$ <u>6888.04</u>	\$ <u>14,500.00</u>
<u>THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE</u>		
Travelling, etc. - - - - -	2485.07	2,500.00
<u>Total Executive Committee</u>	\$ <u>2485.07</u>	\$ <u>2,500.00</u>
<u>EDUCATION & PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	3195.60	9,000.00
Hebrew Culture - - - - -	-	7,500.00
Printing - - - - -	350.00	2,500.00
Postage - - - - -	363.25	1,500.00
Travelling - - - - -	45.10	200.00
Cuts, Mats & Photos - - - - -	184.55	300.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	145.46	500.00
<u>Total Education & Public Relations Department</u>	\$ <u>4283.96</u>	\$ <u>21,500.00</u>
<u>YOUTH & EDUCATION DEPARTMENT</u> - - - - -	-\$17,343.84	
<u>SUBSIDIES</u>		
Hadoar - - - - -	5000.00	
Histadruth Ivrit - - - - -	2500.00	
B itzaron - - - - -	1550.00	
Masada - - - - -	3500.00	
Avukah - - - - -	1500.00	
Young Judaea - - - - -	7500.00	
<u>Total Subsidies</u>	\$ <u>21,550.00</u>	
<u>YOUTH COMMISSION (All Youth Organizations)</u>		\$20,000.00 *
<u>PALESTINE BUREAU</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	2599.92	2650.00
Rent - - - - -	173.34	250.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	225.28	150.00
<u>Total Palestine Bureau</u>	\$ <u>3098.54</u>	\$ <u>3000.00</u>

*Negotiations are now in progress with a view towards securing Hadassah's participation in youth work in an equal amount.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
TENTATIVE BUDGET
FOR THE PERIOD FROM
OCTOBER 1, 1941 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

	Actual Expense 6/1/40 to <u>5/31/41</u>	Proposed Expense 10/1/41 to <u>9/30/42</u>
<u>THE NEW PALESTINE</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	\$ 9,620.87	\$ 10,000. ⁹ CO
Printing & Mailing - - - - -	30,660.81	17,500.CO
Postage - - - - -	201.22	200.CO
Addressograph Plates & Supplies - - - -	271.67	250.CO
Cuts, Photos, etc. - - - - -	351.68	250.CO
Editorial Contributions - - - - -	1,524.00	1,000.CO
News Service - - - - -	670.00	350.CO
Travelling - - - - -	196.10	250.CO
Audit Bureau of Circulation - - - - -	375.11	
Miscellaneous - - - - -	<u>214.15</u>	<u>200.CO</u>
<u>Total The New Palestine</u>	<u>\$ 44,085.63</u>	<u>\$ 30,000.⁹CO</u>
<u>DOS YIDDISHE FOLK</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	3,293.92	2,650.CO
Printing & Mailing - - - - -	3,923.94	2,200.CO
Editorial Contributions - - - - -	1,117.25	
Rent - - - - -	173.36	250.CO
Miscellaneous - - - - -	<u>122.53</u>	<u>650.CO *</u>
<u>Total Dos Yiddishe Folk</u>	<u>\$ 8,641.00</u>	<u>\$ 5,750.CO</u>
<u>LIBRARY & ARCHIVES</u> - - - - -	<u>\$ 2,247.66</u>	

* - Includes an allowance for Editorial Contributions.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
TENTATIVE BUDGET
FOR THE PERIOD FROM
OCTOBER 1, 1941 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

	Actual Expense 6/1/40 to 5/31/41	Proposed Expense 10/1/41 to 9/30/42
<u>MEMBERSHIP DEPARTMENT</u>		
<u>ADMINISTRATION</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	\$ 18,550.48	\$ 20,500.00
Stationery & Printing - - - - -	3,879.83	4,000.00
Postage - - - - -	2,600.09	2,600.00
Travelling - - - - -	2,073.82	1,000.00
Telegrams - - - - -	322.05	350.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	<u>1,279.13</u>	<u>2,050.00</u>
<u>Total Administration</u>	\$ <u>28,705.40</u>	\$ <u>30,500.00</u>
<u>RECORDS BUREAU</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	9,064.04	6,400.00
Stationery & Printing - - - - -	545.91	600.00
<u>Total Records Bureau</u>	\$ <u>9,609.95</u>	\$ <u>7,000.00</u>
<u>SHEKEL CAMPAIGN</u> - - - - -	655.53	
<u>SERVICES TO DISTRICTS</u> - - - - -	889.03	
<u>CONVENTION</u> - - - - -	1,332.61	1,500.00
<u>REGIONAL SUBSIDIES</u> - - - - -	4,137.25	
<u>SPEAKERS' BUREAU</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	3,999.89	5,300.00
Travelling and Fees - - - - -	7,333.65	7,000.00
Postage - - - - -	367.36	350.00
Telegrams - - - - -	140.64	150.00
Cuts and Mats - - - - -	142.07	150.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	<u>42.14</u>	<u>50.00</u>
<u>Total Speakers' Bureau</u>	\$ <u>12,025.75</u>	\$ <u>13,000.00</u>
<u>Total Membership Department & Speakers' Bureau</u>	\$57,324.58	\$ 52,000.00

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
TENTATIVE BUDGET
FOR THE PERIOD FROM
OCTOBER 1, 1941 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

	Actual Expense 6/1/40 to 5/31/41	Proposed Expense 10/1/41 to 9/30/42
<u>INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION</u>		
<u>COMPTROLLER'S OFFICE</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	\$ 7,616.13	\$ 8,350.00
Postage - - - - -	138.86	150.00
Telegrams - - - - -	66.34	50.00
Auditing - - - - -	550.00	550.00
Travelling - - - - -	265.74	300.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	51.84	600.00
<u>Total Comptroller's Office - - - - -</u>	<u>\$ 8,688.91</u>	<u>\$10,000.00</u>
<u>GENERAL OFFICE EXPENSE</u>		
Salaries - - - - -	9,532.52	5,500.00
Postage - - - - -	556.30	500.00
Printing & Stationery - - - - -	2,317.10	2,300.00
Typewriter Repair Services - - - - -	168.54	150.00
Telegrams - - - - -	54.64	50.00
Miscellaneous - - - - -	360.05	500.00
<u>Total General Office Expense - - - - -</u>	<u>\$12,989.55</u>	<u>\$ 9,000.00</u>
<u>HEADQUARTERS MAINTENANCE</u>		
Rent - - - - -	5,544.69	1,600.00
Interest on Mortgage - - - - -	2,632.94	1,600.00
Telephone - - - - -	1,202.36	1,200.00
Cleaning, Supplies & Repairs - - - - -	854.99	1,200.00
Gas, Electricity & Coal - - - - -	59.38	900.00
Insurance - - - - -	44.19	900.00
Miscellaneous & Taxes - - - - -	44.19	900.00
<u>Total Headquarters Maintenance - - - - -</u>	<u>\$10,847.67</u>	<u>\$ 6,500.00</u>
<u>EQUIPMENT - - - - -</u>	<u>825.78</u>	<u>1,500.00</u>
<u>Total Internal Administration - - - - -</u>	<u>\$32,842.79</u>	<u>\$27,000.00</u>

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
TENTATIVE BUDGET
FOR THE PERIOD FROM
OCTOBER 1, 1941 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1942

	Actual Expense 6/1/40 to 5/31/41	Proposed Expense 10/1/41 to 9/30/42
<u>GENERAL EXPENSE</u>		
<u>Unemployment Insurance</u> - - - - -	\$ 2,680.59	\$ 1,500.00
<u>Interest on Bank Loans</u> - - - - -	714.17	1,000.00
<u>Moving Expense</u> - - - - -	1,971.46	
<u>Bad Debts</u> - - - - -	19.70	750.00
<u>Severance Compensation</u> - - - - -	6,560.00	
<u>Purchase of Books</u> - - - - -	287.42	
<u>Unforeseen Expenses</u> - - - - -		<u>2,000.00</u>
<u>Total General Expenses</u> - - - - -	<u>\$12,233.34</u>	<u>\$ 5,250.00</u>

[undated]

THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL BUDGET

The session lasted about 4 hours. It terminated with an examination of the latest Administrative Budget of the U.P.A. of April 1st, 1942. It was generally agreed that the Research department of the U.P.A. required to provide the basis for urgent action of the annual agreement with the J.D.C. and to prepare the necessary material for the Allotment Committee of the U.J.A., is certainly a proper functional activity of the U.P.A.

As the other functions of the U.P.A., the members of our Committee felt that the amounts budgeted were generally not excessive in the light of the explanation given by Mr. Montor of the need for the respective activities. We urged, however, that the various budgetary provisions depend ultimately upon the validity of the major premise; namely, that the U.P.A. must continue to engage in those activities which were originally designed to implement its fund-raising program notwithstanding, it no longer operates directly as a fund-raising agency."

RABBI BRESLAU stated that the discussions at the meeting with the U.P.A. were substantially as Mr. Shetzer reported them. He said: "Mr. Montor prepared the minutes of that meeting to be sent to Mr. Shetzer. I read those minutes. They can be interpreted in one or two ways. The minutes, as sent to Mr. Shetzer, reported only that point of view which stipulated Montor's position and did not represent entirely the point of view represented by the Z.O.A. members of that committee. About the middle of the discussion I began to press a particular question which I wanted Mr. Montor to answer. I wanted to know what the function was in his judgment of the U.P.A.; whose duty it was to perform the necessary things in the U.P.A. Mr. Montor then explained in some detail that the general function was to maintain U.P.A. for a future date and therefore it had to maintain a propaganda department, field service, etc. I believe if the functions outlined by Mr. Montor are to be done properly they have to have a budget of one half million dollars, not \$130,000. A further function was that it had to be in a position to make an annual contract with the J.D.C. and U.J.A. and that for that purpose had to gather data and submit certain surveys, etc. That reason is quite proper. But I do not believe that the other matters are within the province of the U.P.A. I maintained that it is our people who should carry on the educational work and that the budget of the U.P.A. should be only of such character as to cover the cost of the committee that has to enter into negotiations with U.J.A. - in other words, the research department. Only for that function should it require and receive funds. Our policy should be to instruct our members on the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A. to vote accordingly.

A MOTION WAS MADE AND SECONDED to instruct the Z.O.A. members on the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A. to vote along the lines discussed by Rabbi Breslau.

It was decided to take this matter up again at a larger meeting of the Executive Committee, for there were not sufficient members present.

MR. KONOWITZ WANTED to know what part of the budget was allocated for research work.

MR. SHETZER read the various items listed in the latest U.P.A. budget, which is attached hereto as Appendix "D". The U.P.A. is now operating on an annual budget of \$130,546.40.

MR. SZOLD wanted to know whether it was true that the U.P.A. does no fund-raising in any place in the United States.

It was pointed out by Mr. Shetzer that 85% of the money raised outside of New York City comes from Welfare Funds. The U.P.A. as such does not raise these funds.

MR. NEUMANN felt that one argument the Z.O.A. will meet in the U.P.A. and which he felt has some force, is that to a great extent this heavy expenditure is forced upon it as a matter of competition by the kind of thing which the J.D.C. does. The J.D.C. apparently has even less concern about the amount of money that they spend. "I have no doubt that there is much less critical analysis in that camp than there is in ours, so that the J.D.C. goes in for heavy expense for the purpose of maintaining its position. The U.P.A. has proposed to the J.D.C. to have an all around reduction of propaganda, but the J.D.C. declined. It does not meet every argument to say the Z.O.A. can do that work for the U.P.A. It is also true, of course, that that money is covered by the U.J.A. The net result is that three fund-raising organizations have double expense because of competition.

MR. SHETZER supplemented his remarks by saying "I have a feeling that in the last year or two the Z.O.A. stands higher with the Federations and Welfare Funds than it has in previous years. I have the conviction that if we Zionists were prepared to cut down the U.P.A. budget to a size commensurate with the size of its real functions at this time, then Federations and Welfare Funds would exercise a similar pressure on the J.D.C. and N.R.S."

JUDGE LEVINTHAL thought that the neutral members of the Allocations Committee would be tremendously impressed if they saw a substantial reduction in expenses. Also if the U.P.A. could reduce their budget, the grants asked by the Z.O.A., Mizrahi, Poale Zion, etc. could be given.

RABBI BRESLAU felt that in the absence of definite action tonight there ought to be a further meeting. He thought at the next meeting of the Executive a further report should be rendered and the Executive should take definite action.

JUDGE LEVINTHAL asked why any action is necessary at this time. The U.P.A., he pointed out, is created annually by the K.H. and K.K., and why not, he suggested, take care of these matters when the U.P.A. is recreated next Fall.