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183

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68

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United Jewish Appeal, Morgenthau-Montor controversy, 1949.

Statement to Am. Section
Jan. 3, '49

1. I opposed consideration at the last meeting of the UJA chairmanship by the Jewish Agency on the ground that this matter is not within its competence and that the UPA has not referred this matter to the Jewish Agency for an opinion. This is true not only as regards the competence of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, but as regards the Jewish Agency as a whole.

The UPA is an autonomous body by its constitution and by the agreement which was recently reached with the Committee of Contributors and Workers. The Board of the United Palestine Appeal elects its own officers and executive committee, determines its own administrative budget and all matters of staff personnel, and defines its own rules of procedure. The UPA also has the responsibility for negotiating an agreement with the JDC for the joint campaign of the UJA, subject to the final authority of the head office or head offices concerned and the Executive of the Jewish Agency. From its context and from the discussions which preceded it it is clear this referred exclusively to the matter of allocation of funds and not to administrative or personnel matters.

At no time in the past did the Jewish Agency intervene in the matter of selecting chairmen or a general chairman for the UJA campaign. This would be tantamount to usurping authority which has not been assigned to the Executive by the Actions Committee or the Congress, nor by the United Palestine Appeal.

2. When the controversy developed around Mr. Montor's resignation and the activities of the Committee of Contributors and Workers the matter was first brought to the attention of the American Section by a communication addressed to it on September 27th by its secretary, Mr. Shulman, who requested that the Agency promptly take steps to reorganize the UPA. The American Section voted in reply to Mr. Shulman, which reply was sent on September 29th, to the effect that "the problem you raise in your letter is in the first instance the concern of the UPA. Questions concerning the organization or reorganization of the UPA should be addressed to the governing body of the UPA for consideration. To our best knowledge your group has made no such approach to the UPA. The American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine accordingly suggests that as a matter of procedure your group should direct itself to the UPA and present its ideas to it. Should the UPA desire to consult the Executive of the American Section of the Jewish Agency on this matter they will, of course, hold themselves in readiness at any time for such consultation. You must realize, of course, that the UPA is an autonomous body and that the Jewish Agency for Palestine in no way determines its structure or form of organization."

This has been our consistent line in determining the relationship between the American Section of the Jewish Agency and the UPA. On the same day we notified the Executive in Jerusalem: "No need at this time for intervention Executive Jerusalem or here in matter of Henry's resignation stop UPA will consider matter this week and as yet requested no intervention." Most of the

unpleasantness as between the Executive in Jerusalem and here developed as a result of the hasty action of the Jerusalem Executive in intervening in this situation ahead of the American Section and before the American Section itself had been requested to do so by the UPA. It was the unanimous feeling of this body that the American Section should have the first opportunity to consider such a matter when referred to it, and that no action should be initiated in Jerusalem; furthermore, that spokesmen of the Government of Israel should not intervene in matters which are within the competence of the Jewish Agency.

When the negotiations between the representatives of the UPA and the Committee of Contributors and Workers reached a point where the opinion of the American Section was considered desirable and was accordingly requested, the American Section then discussed at great length and at a series of meetings the proposed agreement. The chairman of the UPA, the UPA negotiators, and at a subsequent stage, the chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the Council for Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds were in attendance at one or all the meetings. The American Section approved of the agreement and later on of the reinstatement of the five executives who had resigned, and so informed the UPA of its recommendation.

At no time did the American Section intervene on its own in this matter, but was pleased and eager to make its good offices available on a matter so vital to the UPA which eagerly solicited the opinion of the Agency. Thus, the autonomy of the UPA was scrupulously respected and the helpful cooperation of the Jewish Agency was not wanting.

3. It has been stated that on the basis of a cable received from the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem on December 13th the American Section has been given full authority over the UPA, that it can intervene in all matters within the competence of the UPA, and that it can over-ride decisions of the UPA.

In the first place, it should be stated that the cable of December 13th gives no such authority, and in the second place, that the Jerusalem section has no power to grant any such authority. The cable, you will recall, was drafted here by Mr. Locker and was requested by the American Section: a) to re-instate into respectability the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth in the United States which had been subjected by the dissidents to so much hostile criticism, and to uphold the status and authority of these historic Zionist funds; b) to reaffirm that the UPA will continue to function in the future as in the past, as a unifying central fund-raising agency for the upbuilding of Israel; and c) to stress that the "American Section of the Jewish Agency is entrusted now as heretofore with full responsibility for ^{reporting} representing, guiding and supervising all activities on behalf of the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency on the American scene and all organized effort connected with the upbuilding of Israel."

A re-reading of the discussions which took place at our meetings will indicate that the purpose of this last clause was aimed against the independent efforts which were being made in this country by various groups presumably speaking in the name of some sanctions which they had received from Israel, launching activities on the American scene without consulting the Jewish Agency here, or even in defiance of it. Involved also was the question of multiplicity of campaigns, which problem the members of the American Section have felt right along could not be tackled in any satisfactory manner unless authority was vested in the first instance in the American Section. This cable of December 13th in no way suggests that the rights of existing and long-established Zionist bodies such as the UPA should be curbed or interfered with. I call your particular attention to the words "entrusted now as heretofore with full responsibility." If one wishes to place a broad construction on the wording of this cable, then the phrase "the American Section of the Jewish Agency is entrusted with full responsibility

for reporting (or representing), guiding and supervising all activities on behalf of the Zionist movement on the American scene and all organized effort connected with the upbuilding of Israel," to mean/that the American Section will from now on have the power to supervise all the activities of the Hadassah, the Gewerkshaftern campaign, the ZOA and, of course, all other Zionist activities in the United States, this, I submit, is under the existing constitution utterly unrealistic. Only the action of a Congress can bring about such a radical redistribution of authority in Zionism.

4. As a by-product of the negotiations between the UPA and the JDC for 1949 allocations the JDC thrust prominently to the fore the question of multiplicity of campaigns and the chairman of the UPA, Mr. Weisman, cabled on January 3rd to the Agency in Jerusalem stating that it is imperative that you realize that an agreement with the JDC is impossible without the definitive granting of authority to the American Section of the Jewish Agency to deal with the multiplicity of campaigns. Here again what was involved was not the authority of the UPA, but the question of the many campaigns outside/ of the UPA which are being conducted in the United States, over which the UPA, of course, has no control. The UPA, therefore, suggested to the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, inasmuch as many of these campaigns claimed to have the sanction of Jerusalem or of the Government of Israel, to grant the authority to the American Section to deal with the problem in the first instance. In reply to this cable the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem replied on January 5th that with reference to those funds which are recognized by the Congress it can do very little. It, accordingly, suggests that the timing of these campaigns be coordinated by the UPA according to the last year's declarations. With reference to all other campaigns it requests that the American Section should convey whatever declarations and information it has to Jerusalem and that they would take the matter up

with the Government and inform us here of their conclusions, to which, you will recall, we decided to inform the Jerusalem Agency, and this was done on January 16th, that their suggestion is acceptable subject to the following conditions: 1) that all decisions with reference to the multiplicity of campaigns should be by the full Executive, not just the Jerusalem section; 2) that applications by American organizations for certification as bona fide fund-raising organizations should be referred in the first instance to the American Section; and 3) that a statement should be issued in Israel that no new campaign should be started without prior approval of the Jewish Agency and the Government.

You will see clearly that in this matter likewise the authority of the UPA is in no way impinged upon. The question was solely that of sanctioning and co-ordinating independent campaigns on the American scene.

I submit it as my considered judgment that it was a grave mistake for members of the American Section of the Jewish Agency to intervene in the matter of the appointment of a 1949 chairman for the UJA, a subject which is entirely within the competence of the UPA and the JDC. However keenly some members of the Executive may feel about the desirability of this man or that man for the post of general chairman, others on the Executive may have contrary opinion. It was most unfortunate that the judgment of the chairman, who has sought to guide the affairs of the American Section always within the framework of its designated authority, was overruled and that a recommendation made to the UPA by these five members of the Jewish Agency was voted down by the UPA, entailing a loss of prestige to the Jewish Agency, whose authority in such matters, until otherwise ruled by the Congress, lies in voluntary consultation and cooperation, and not in coercion. I submit further that continued attempts to override the UPA or to brush it aside and carry on independent negotiations with the JDC concerning the UJA campaign leadership for 1949 -- a situation in which we have no status whatsoever -- will lead to irreparable confusion and disruption in our ranks and may seriously affect the 1949 campaign.

1) Do not need to be impressed - Proper response
extraordinary effort - ... opposed to M.M. - 2 reasons

① Ex. effort must be predicated on Harmony -

Not to intensify disharmony + conflict -

Maj. VPA - Board, 20A - leadership 920A

and those loyal - don't want him -

- Impossible to impose so hated employee

- Reason - give in a moment =

② Do not regard 1948 a success - ⁴⁶

Time to explode ^{- N.Y.C. - (3 cities)} high of hissaculous could
of the indisp. Chair was impossible Ex.

F.D.R.

③ Whatever small glamor - petred out

(C) Good with Franklin - Personal giving

③ Bee. I - & many like me - do not regard
Mr. - indispensable - permit him to

impose - an unwanted + faithless

④ The compelling appeal in '49 - which
will work - is not Mr. - Inal-Jam

- a well org. camp - Exe. in far

harmony - good - will -

2/ Mentor Affair - does not date from a letter -
+ is not legitimized by a belated restriction.

① Letter sent to a head - series of unwanted
partisan pol. meddling - by one who
occupying - should have observed
UJA - He was ~~not~~ - not to
be Mentor + Guide - Tech. policy

② Never content - Take over Policy
Making - Take sides -

③ I had my first experience - 1943 -
~~UJA chair~~ - My first public
appearance as Chair. of A.Z.E.C. - at
Am. J. Conf. - It fell to me to
defend them of J. State - ~~State~~
Shortly thereafter - understand reorg. &
Expansion of Em. Council - launch
Great pol. campaign under slogan
of J. State
Still serving on UJA chair
arranged for transfer -

Master - policy unstable one! Wanted (3)
that every General uses its policy - not
I State - but as which 1968 - + I may not

(a) Cleveland Meeting - consent - my
displeasure led to his resignation -

Harry Shapew

(b) Tech. ability - could not be has -
found at the press of an which 2 has
+ Employee cannot impose his

3/ Bengal VPA - 40 - Under other chairs
Mr. incurred his will politics - attacks
of Funds - Running down 2 units
seventh part - two -

(a) His wedding - chance - ZOA Conventions
Span - had - "Progressive" - disgruntled
+ a few others who had a desire live
who preferred to work there rather
than any else where - See below -

(b) This is quite different - Opposition
But what has had Master in all this

Telegram to "Times"

(4)

④ Subsequently went to Israel - Even
Meeting - saw discord + darkness

⑤ I don't know what encouragement
he received - & from whom
but soon after his return Allen
declared war + launched his campaign
"I want to be fully free to say those things
that is why I resigned" -

what followed - (Allen & Weissman)

⑥ As a result of this faithless conduct
UPA. beset ^{Supremacy} Baragany president IDC
Forced to accept reorg. SUPA - no
such reorg. IDC - Warfar Fed.
Seriously weakening Zion's stronghold.
Accepted all this - under black mail
- even 5 employees - my whom -
All for Peace - no matter -

⑦ But we counted without an still
manipulation - shortly before A.H. City
- launched new campaign to buy back

4 is Committee - Letters Cables Goldenrod (5)
3 others - Meeting - 5 - UPA - democratic
call for help - Att. Cdr. Draft - Cable
to Pol. for plenary meeting -
How you are! To do what?

8/ Is it really your intention to force UPA?
Do you really mean to deprive this long
established - deserved well earned right to
say who shall be Chairman - Ex. Pres.
Apart from legal questions - within conference
boundaries - we operated here always on
assumption - Polish Euro - tentacles
Good things - Canada
Are you losing any ahead? lead to?
Remember - a voluntary movement -
free cooperation - not coercion
Or are you perhaps thinking that
enormously refuse - two-thirds
will be more obedient to your authority

9/ There are those who think - new type of
org - enlarging role - Enlarged

"Agency" - by-pass don't need them - 18
Funds - Private Investments - in Israel

(Matter) - 50-100% - Am. Zionist

① Kept / my that - ~~the~~ dangerous
delusion - Hwy - work - Unpleasant - Too
much tension - heads at home -

Who will stand by - if you undermine
2. ag. - ~~Am. Zionist~~ UPA - discredit

2 leaders - for sale - a few fair work
plausible with other people's names

② Even Private Capital - waste
ag. Zions - (My Vision)

1/ This concerted attack on UPA could
have been averted - if no emergency had
stopped us its tracks - cable - not for sale

any conspiracy Fused to UPA

Our request went unheeded -

A most dangerous situation developed

attempt to inform H - exposure

11/ - give me - terminate UN - no war is preferable
Must begin = OPA - if you are - disuff
everywhere in every city
dirty linen Everybody will be hurt.
P.R. Material 204

12/ That is the way to chaos - (Comm. Control
- without - but 204)
Campaigns do not depend on Army
Campaigns will be struck a mountain blow by
the return Winter
Your authority should be used to
tell Winter to remove himself
If any - ask - alone - will good
If not - let 3 chambers get on
with their work -

13/ I urge - removal from Georgia -