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THE New Palestine

NEWS REPORTER ISSUE

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Statehood Aim Reaffirmed The Convention Spoke the Will Of American Zionism

The 50th Annual (Golden Jubilee) Convention of the Zionist Organization of America will go down in history as the Convention of Reaffirmation through Action. The huge portraits of Herzl and Nordau which flanked the platform in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania were symbolic of the spirit of basic Zionism which animated its proceedings and which were reflected in the actions taken. The powerful presidential address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and the inspiring words of his successor, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, at the opening session in Carnegie Hall, set the keynote for the entire proceedings which were climaxed by the adoption of the political resolutions which reaffirmed the ZOA program in the following indelible words: "The Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organization of America solemnly reaffirms the basic principles which have guided the Zionist movement from its inception 50 years ago."

The 2,000 delegates who attended the four-day sessions were singularly alive and alert to all the burning issues which confronted the Convention. Every phase of Zionist activity, ranging from education and public relations to membership, General Zionism and Palestine funds was fully discussed. Every bit of ground was covered. Veteran observers conceded that this Convention was the most democratically conducted Zionist assembly, considering the extraordinary number of delegates who attended and

asked for the floor. The democratic character of the ZOA structure was concretely demonstrated, not only in the plenary sessions, but in the meetings of the various committees where the respective chairmen gave delegates the full opportunity to voice their "gripes" and their views on all the issues on the agenda. Some meetings were reminiscent of certain sessions in the United States Senate when members did not relinquish the floor for extended periods at a time. The democratic procedure was particularly noted in the Political Committee and in the debate in the political session Saturday night. The respective chairmen bent backwards to accord the opposition their prerogative to give full voice to their views.

The election of Dr. Emanuel Neumann as president of the Zionist Organization of America was viewed as an assurance for the continuance of the militant policies of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. His election, coupled with the vote on the political resolutions, demonstrated the will and desire of the overwhelming majority of American Zionists.

The ensuing pages of this publication graphically depict the dramatic moments of the Golden Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organization of America. They assume added significance in the light of the decisive battle which our movement is being called upon to wage as the Palestine issue will again come before the Assembly of the United Nations in September of this year.

Message from Field Marshal Smuts

Prime Minister, Union of South Africa and co-author of the Balfour Declaration

It gives me pleasure to greet you, my Zionist friends, as you assemble in conference to celebrate this year of your Golden Jubilee. You meet in difficult times, difficult both for the world and for your cause in particular. But greater difficulties have been overcome in our day and there is no reason to doubt that we shall also overcome those that confront us. The problem of Palestine's future is now being investigated by a commission of the UN. They will no doubt have due regard to the policy of the Jewish National Home embodied in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate which was adopted by the League of Nations in an international treaty. Means must and will be found to continue that policy and this can be done with justice to the legitimate Arab interests also.

Ban News Reporter in Palestine

The New Palestine News Reporter has been banned from Palestine for the past 4 months, it was learned here recently. An investigation has shown that none of the Palestine institutions and individuals to whom the publication is being mailed have received the paper. It seems that The New Palestine News Reporter has incurred the displeasure of the Palestine government for the outspoken articles and cartoons which it has been publishing on the Palestine situation.



"We are the heirs of a rich and noble tradition, keepers of a deathless flame kindled by the ardent spirits that gave birth to our Movement by their prophetic vision and creative passion . . . I envy the young men and young women in our midst . . . because I feel certain that they will live to see the complete realization of our dream—Judaea reborn!"

—DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN,
President, Zionist Organization of America.

Opening of The Convention

BY PHILIP RUBIN

Carnegie Hall, among the world's most celebrated auditoriums, the place where many a musician won his spurs, the arena for many a noted gathering at which the state of the world was discussed was never in a more festive mood than on Thursday evening, the eve of the Fourth of July, 1947, when the Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organization of America gathered there for its opening session.

Packed from orchestra to the topmost gallery at which the elite among American Jewry were assembled and unable to accommodate the many who clamored for admission to its 4,000 seats, the historic Hall with its four tiers of balconies was permeated that evening with the atmosphere of a victory celebration. It seemed as if the very walls of the big auditorium were participating in the triumph of the Zionist ideal after a half-century of struggle, of toil and



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

suffering, on the part of Jews in Eretz Israel and in the Diaspora.

Victory in Offing

The battle is not yet completely won, the Jewish State has still to be fought for, as the main speakers of the evening, Abba Hillel Silver and Emanuel Neumann, made it clear, but victory is in the offing and all who have faith can now see the first faint glimmer of a new Jewish statehood in the ancient Land of Israel.

Dr. Silver's long address, which took about an hour to deliver, was often interrupted by enthusiastic applause. But the greatest enthusiasm was reserved for those passages in the address in which Dr. Silver called for courage, for steadfastness, for political wisdom, in this last hour of the battle for Jewish statehood, passages such as: "Sound and just proposals are bound to be made to us sooner or later, if we do not lose our nerve and if we are not misled by artful political manipulators who outsmart themselves," or "It is along the line of our historic claims and legal rights to the whole of Palestine that we must continue our struggle."

And finally, toward the end of the address delivered with the dynamic force that is at Dr. Silver's command, it was this which stirred the great audience to the highest pitch of enthusiasm:

"The surest mainspring of our confidence is the superb and irrefragable resolution of the Yishuv in Palestine to continue to build the Jewish National Home in the face of all opposition, in the very teeth of repression, obstruction and administra-

Political Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted by an overwhelming majority at the Convention's political session.

I. ZIONIST AIMS AND DEMANDS

The Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organization of America solemnly reaffirms the basic principles which have guided the Zionist Movement from its inception fifty years ago. Time and experience have proved the Zionist thesis that national homelessness has been the chief cause of the insecurity and of the recurrent catastrophes which have blackened the pages of world history for centuries. The undeviating aim of the Zionist Movement has therefore been to end the abnormal position of the Jewish people in the world, by re-creating the Jewish State on the ancestral soil of the Jewish people. At the same time the determination and creative effort of the Jewish people have performed wonders in Palestine and have built a Yishuv which has all the attributes of nationhood except for the international recognition of its sovereignty.

The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine were designed to facilitate the repatriation of large masses of the Jewish people and their resettlement in Palestine, and the creation there of a Jewish majority, and in due course, of an independent Jewish State. Now that the future of Palestine is again under international consideration, we deem it proper to re-assert the position to which we have consistently adhered, and the demands of the Jewish people at this juncture.

1. We ask for international assistance for the re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State in which full equality of rights and status would be guaranteed to all its inhabitants.

2. For the time being, and as long as the Mandatory Power continues in occupation and control of Palestine, we insist that the terms of the Mandate shall be scrupulously observed and carried out, in letter and spirit, failing which, the Mandatory has no moral or legal right to continue its control and administration of the country.

3. In view of the tragic failure of the Mandatory to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine and to speed the development of the country, full authority shall be vested in the Jewish Agency for Palestine to organize and direct the unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine and their re-settlement in town and country; and to promote the economic development of Palestine in the interest of its present and future population.

II. RESISTANCE IN PALESTINE

1. The Convention reaffirms the resolutions of the 22nd World Zionist Congress, asserting the right of the Yishuv to resist unceasingly and with utmost vigor, the present policy of the Mandatory which being based on the White Paper, is devoid of all legal or moral validity and extends to the Yishuv and the Haganah, its only legitimate defense force, the promise of full support in their determined struggle to protect the vital interests of the Jewish people and its inalienable rights, including the right to immigration, settlement and self-defense.

2. The Convention also reaffirms with equal vigor, the position taken by the Zionist Congress in unqualified repudia-

tion and unreserved condemnation of those acts of violence committed by dissident groups within the Yishuv, in defiance of the policies laid down by the responsible Jewish authorities in Palestine. It is our conviction that the fundamental cause of such acts is the mood of desperation growing out of the cruel, brutal and oppressive acts of the mandatory government, such as the suspension of civil rights, the use of extreme forms of punishment, the imposition of ruthless and despotic military rule and especially the turning away of refugees from the shores of the Jewish homeland, to which our pioneers came not with weapons but with tools. Nevertheless, we condemn the anarchic activity of these dissident groups as indefensible and fraught with disastrous consequence. We join with all responsible elements in the Zionist movement in calling upon them to desist, and we call upon the Zionists in America, to withhold moral and financial assistance from any persons or groups in this country, acting or purporting to act on their behalf.

3. We give simultaneous expression to our earnest desire that all possible steps be taken to avert the danger of armed strife between various elements of the Yishuv by achieving full internal unity based upon a common program of responsible and disciplined action under the control and direction of the competent Jewish authorities.

III. PALESTINE POLICY ON THE PART OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

We regret that our government at the recent session of the United Nations, according to the information supplied to us, considered that the legal and technical nature of the proceedings prevented a statement by the United States of its position on Palestine at that session. No doubt should exist in any quarter as to the clear intention of this government to honor any of its international commitments and we are convinced that grievous harm may result not only to Zionism but to the whole structure of world peace built on the faith of nations unless the United States with dispatch makes a matter of record before the United Nations its traditional policy that Palestine shall be re-constituted a Jewish Commonwealth, and unless this country presses the adoption of that policy by the United Nations together with appropriate measures of assistance for the realization thereof.

The president of the Zionist Organization of America is respectfully instructed to forward appropriate communications including copies of this resolution, to the President of the United States and to the State Department.

An amendment was adopted that the United States should implement its policy on Palestine with the same vigor as it pursues its policy on Greece and Turkey.

IV. APPROVAL OF ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

The 50th Annual Convention of the ZOA, having received and considered the reports rendered, records its full approval of the policies pursued by the Administration, under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, on the major questions which have confronted the Movement during the past year and adopts this Resolution as an expression of confidence and appreciation.

tive lawlessness. A people which in the last six months of political unrest, martial law, curfews, mass arrests and endless governmental interference, could build 24 new colonies, some of them in the waterless wastes of the Negev, striking roots into barren, blistering sands, overcoming the hostility of nature and the enmity of men, and bring life into the very valley of the shadow of death, is an unbeaten and unbeatable people.

Dr. Neumann opened his address with a five-minute talk in the Hebrew language. That served to remind me of a gathering in this city three decades ago during World War I when Eamon De Valera came here to plead the cause of a restored, free Ireland, and spoke for a few minutes in the ancient, and newly-revived, Irish language. Then in Ireland as today in Palestine, a nation was in the travail of birth, had re-discovered its own tongue and was carrying its message of national will to survival in that tongue to a distant land.

Stubborn Adherence

Dr. Neumann's message, too, was a ringing call for a stubborn



DANIEL FRISCH

Newly-elected ZOA Vice President who presided at political session.

adherence to Zionist ideals in this final hour when the nations of the world are to decide upon the fate of Palestine. Great applause was reserved for passages such as:

"No disposition of the Palestine question can be effective, and no settlement they can devise will endure which would deny to an ancient people, fighting desperately for its very survival, the right to life, liberty and a secure national existence. . . . It was Britain's war-time leader, Mr. Winston Churchill, who once proudly declared that he had not been called to be the First Minister of the Crown in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. Surely British statesmen will understand it if we say that no Zionist Congress and no Zionist Convention will ever call to leadership any man or group of men in order to join in the liquidation of the Zionist ideal."

Thrice during the evening, the great gathering sang Hatikvah, first at the opening of the session, then when Dr. Silver rose to speak and again when his address was over. It was the touching tribute on the part of the rank and file of American Zionism to a leader who has imbued American Zionism with a faith in the justice and the ultimate triumph of Jewish nationhood in a new Judaea.

Silver Calls for U. S. Leadership on Palestine

Opens Convention With Denunciation Of American Dilatory Tactics; Neumann Stresses Strength of Zionist Movement

Before a jam-packed Carnegie Hall, all four tiers loaded with enthusiastic delegates and alternates of the 50th Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, retiring president, delivered a weighty and fighting speech to open the convention on July 3.

Reaching heights of eloquence time and again, to the enthusiasm of cheering thousands, Dr. Silver presented history in the perspective of current events. Quoting copiously from last year's resolutions, and pointing out how matters have changed in this short period, Dr. Silver revealed that he feared the United States may now be cooperating with the British in presenting a plan even worse than last year's Morrison-Grady plan.

Speaking bluntly, Dr. Silver declared that "with Great Britain we have come to the end of the road, and at the end of the road there is a stone wall." And in castigating the dilatory tactics of the American Government on Palestine, the golden-voiced Zionist leader told his strongly-supporting audience, "Our Government is not unwilling to assume the role of leadership in the affairs of the world today . . . When it wishes to, it speaks and acts clearly and forcibly. We wish that our Government would take the same clear and firm position on the subject of Palestine."

Russian Endorsement

Time and again, Dr. Silver pointed out that the advocates of partition have failed in their political battle and that, in any case, the British have never announced themselves willing to support partition. He also said that "Russia has spoken in words that I hoped would come from the American delegate to UN, but didn't . . . It acknowledged and endorsed the national aspirations of the Jewish people."

Ending his hour-and-fifteen-minute speech in a tremendously eloquent vein, Dr. Silver cried out that "a people which in the last six months of political unrest, martial law, curfews, mass arrests and endless governmental interferences, could build 24 new colonies, is an unbeaten and unbeatable people."

The frenzy which Dr. Silver aroused in the delegates was so overwhelming that the thousands of people rose to sing Hatikvah after he concluded, just as they had when the meeting opened.

The session was begun auspiciously when the Jewish War Veterans of America presented the colors of the American flag, the Jewish flag and the JWV flag. The invocation, delivered by Rabbi David Polish, was brief, moving and pertinent. Dr. Harris J. Levine, chairman of the National Convention Committee, opened the convention and Dr. Emanuel Neumann was chairman.

There were reports by Dr. Sidney Marks, executive director, and Abraham Goodman, treasurer. A moment of solemnity was introduced when Dr. Neumann, in stirring language, paid homage to the Zionist leaders who passed away during the year. As Dr. Neumann intoned the names of Frank Abelson, Jacob Fishman, Mrs. Richard Gotthell, Max Levy, Henry Monsky, Col. Patterson and Simon Shetzer, the audience was swept with the feeling that

these personages had passed on at a crucial stage in Zionist history, a period which would soon see the establishment of a Jewish state. It was in such a spirit that the 50th Jubilee convention was officially opened.

Neumann's Address

Dr. Neumann opened his remarks in Hebrew and thereafter proceeded in English. In his address, Dr. Neumann stressed the growth and maturity of the American Zionist movement and the potency of Zionism on the world political scene.

Speaking of the ZOA directly, he pointed out that "we come to this convention not only as the largest Jewish membership organization in America—indeed in the world—but probably also as the strongest and most influential."

"It is perfectly true," Dr. Neumann stated, "that American Zionism has grown and matured to a point of knowing precisely where it stands. A sense of political realism should reconcile the (British) Foreign Office to the fact that as long as American Zionism is animated by its present spirit and guided by its present leadership, it will continue to offer political resistance to any plans or proposals which would defeat the aims of Zionism."

Dr. Marks, after touching on the magnitude of the ZOA accomplishments during the past year, called on the delegates for a reaffirmation of faith and a rededication to the Herzlian ideal. "We are going to need self-confidence, even egotism, to stand firm and stalwart in the coming year," he said.

The annual treasurer's report, delivered by Mr. Goodman, was



DR. HARRIS J. LEVINE

Convention Program Chairman

received with interest by the delegates especially when Mr. Goodman pointed out that the size of the ZOA had reached such proportions that it was now a million dollar organization.

Dr. Levine, in his opening remarks, outlined the work of the Convention Committee in its preparation for the Convention and spoke of the conclave as a demonstration of the unity that exists in American Zionist ranks.

Message From Dr. Friedenwald

Convening in the midst of turmoil and struggle, the ZOA does well to mark this half-century anniversary. I regret that I am unable to be present but I am glad of the opportunity to send heartfelt greetings.

It has been granted to me to take part in the Zionist movement during all those many years, for my father was one of the first vice-presidents, and I held the honor of second president. Thus I have been witness to our progress and our achievements, material and spiritual.

Half a century it is since the days of our modest beginnings, when few in numbers, we were looked upon as dreamers; we were weak in all, save spirit! Our growth has taken place during years in which our long-suffering people endured the greatest cataclysms. Zionists have struggled hard to infuse our brethren with understanding and appreciation of the noble aims of Zionism, to inspire them with courage, with fortitude and with hope; they have inculcated a spirit,—not of "rugged individualism," but of sacrifice, of united and devoted service to our people of Israel, for their welfare and for their honor. Thus, through us again they hope, "shall all the nations be blessed with the blessing of Abraham."

Zionism won moral leadership by reason of whole-souled and noble devotion and service. It has restored self-respect and honor. It has brought back pride in our history, pride in the manner in which Israel has undergone its struggles and has refused to yield to force and oppression. And we are most proud of what our pioneers have recreated in Eretz Israel, in the land and in the people.

And Zionism has reawakened the idealism of living and serving for our people. It has restored unity, the sense of oneness of Israel, in all time and throughout the world.

It is with such spirit that we look into the future.

—HARRY FRIEDENWALD.



Carnegie Hall was filled to overflowing to hear the addresses at the opening session.

Neumann Elected ZOA President

Miller Named Administrative Council Chmn.

The election of officers—one of the highlights at any convention—was accomplished by this convention with a minimum of clashes and in a spirit of unity seldom attained by large organizations. On July 4, in mid-afternoon, the nominating committee, led by Rabbi Irving Miller, offered the convention its list of nominees.

The previous day, Rabbi Miller had been chosen chairman of the nominating committee by the committee itself and listened to arguments concerning the geographic and political representation of Zionist districts. Although



RABBI IRVING MILLER

The only nomination from the floor was that for Major William Kapelman, active as a war veteran Zionist. But the youthful ex-soldier, himself a member of the nominating committee, took the convention floor to assert that he was honored by nomination but was unable to accept it.

Silver Presides

Dr. Silver presided at the session. The slate was presented jointly by Rabbi Miller and Dr. Morton J. Robbins of Nashua (N.H.), chairman of the nominating sub-committee.

At the elections, Rabbi Miller was chosen to serve as chairman of the National Administrative Council. He succeeded Daniel Frisch of New York, who was elected a vice-president. Mort-



MORTIMER MAY

some committee members thought that geographic locations should be given greater consideration when executive and administrative members were nominated for high office, there was full and open debate ably guided by Rabbi Miller on all nominating issues.

That the nominating committee was a democratic and representative one was demonstrated by the results before the entire convention in the Grand Ballroom, when those named were acclaimed by the convention. When Dr. Emanuel Neumann was elected president, the entire convention paid tribute to a veteran Zionist whose entire life has been devoted to the cause and who was being given the highest honor which American Zionism can bestow upon faithful and devoted leaders.



ABRAHAM GOODMAN



MARK SUGARMAN

mer May of Nashville (Tenn.), was elected vice chairman of the Administrative Council and Jacob Richman of Philadelphia, secretary of the Council.

Other national officers elected are: Honorary Vice-President, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore; Past Presidents: Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago; Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York; Edmund Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia; Louis Lipsky, New York; Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York; Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland; Robert Szold, New York; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York; Treasurer, Mark Sugarman, Coatesville (Pa.); Associate Treasurer, William Sytk, Philadelphia; Vice Presidents,

National Administration

1947-1948

President

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York, N. Y.

Honorary Vice-President

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.

Past Presidents

Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York, N. Y.
Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.
Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.
Louis Lipsky, New York, N. Y.
Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, O.
Robert Szold, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents

Rabbi Leon Feuer, Toledo, O.
Daniel Frisch, New York, N. Y.
Abraham Goldstein, Hartford, Conn.
Abraham Goodman, Miami, Fla.
Charles Ress, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Abraham Redelheim, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, New York, N. Y.
Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Elihu Stone, Boston, Mass.

Chairman National Administrative Council

Rabbi Irving Miller, Woodmere, N. Y.

Vice-Chairman, National Administrative Council

Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.

Secretary, National Administrative Council

Jacob Richman, Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer

Mark Sugarman, Coatesville, Pa.

Associate Treasurer

William Sytk, Philadelphia, Pa.

National Secretary

Dr. Sidney Marks, New York, N. Y.

Chairman, Finance Committee

Milton H. Pollack, Brooklyn, N. Y.

National Executive Committee

Rev. Martin Adolf, Paterson, N. J.
Abraham Berkowitz, Birmingham, Ala.
Benjamin G. Browdy, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Abraham R. Cohen, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sol Cohen, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
Benjamin Doft, Lawrence, N. Y.
John J. Fox, Hartford, Conn.
Ben Zion Ginsburg, Chicago, Ill.
Rabbi Robert Gordis, Rockaway Park, N. Y.
Joseph W. Greenleaf, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.
Samuel Goldstock, Pittsburgh, Pa.
I. R. Goodman, St. Louis, Mo.
Jack Goodman, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Benjamin E. Gordon, Teaneck, N. J.
Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia, Pa.
Morris M. Jacobs, Detroit, Mich.
Paul Kaminsky, New York, N. Y.
Edmund A. Koblenz, Albany, N. Y.
Judge Harry E. Kalodner, Philadelphia, Pa.
Julius Livingston, Tulsa, Okla.
David Moskowitz, Bronx, N. Y.
Boris Margolin, New York, N. Y.
Judge Hyman J. Reit, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Morton J. Robbins, Nashua, N. H.
Jochanan Rudavsky, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Albert Schiff, Columbus, O.
Dr. Hyman D. Silver, Bronx, N. Y.
David Spiegel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dewey D. Stone, Brockton, Mass.
Rudolf Sonneborn, New York, N. Y.
Jacques Torczyner, New York, N. Y.
I. S. Turover, Washington, D. C.
Morris Weinberg, New York, N. Y.
Herman L. Weisman, Scarsdale, N. Y.

The convention authorized appointment of additional Executive members by the President and Administrative Council.

Leon Feuer, Toledo, Daniel Frisch, New York; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford; Abraham Goodman, Miami; Charles Ress, Mt. Vernon (N. Y.); Abraham Redelheim, Brooklyn; Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, New York; Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh; Elihu Stone, Boston.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the new American Zionist head, has been a key figure in world Zion-



WILLIAM SYLK

ism for the past quarter of a century. He is a member of the World Zionist Executive, president of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), one of its founders. As head of the commission on Palestine Surveys, he was responsible for organizing the engineering survey of the Jordan Valley Authority project. He resided in Palestine for five years from 1934-1939.

Dr. Neumann is considered one of the leading political and economic authorities on Palestine. He testified at the hearings of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine both in Washington and in Palestine. At the last special assembly of the United Nations, Dr. Neumann took a leading part in the preparation of the Jewish case.

During his long and distinguished record of service to the Zionist movement, Dr. Neumann has held many high posi-



MILTON H. POLLACK

tions in American and world Zionist movement. Since 1918, Dr. Neumann has served in various capacities, including educational director of the Zionist Organization of America, national director of the Palestine Foundation Fund, president of the Jewish National Fund, and chairman of the executive committee of the United Palestine Appeal. He holds a Doctorate of Law.



A view of the crowded Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Pennsylvania during one of the Convention business sessions.

Youth Problems Discussed At Convention Banquet

Youthful enthusiasm, aggressive idealism and more than a touch of maturity were the keynotes of the ZOA Youth Dinner. Although the theme was: "What Should ZOA Do For Youth?", the speakers delved and probed even more deeply and came up with all of the significant problems which assail Jewish youth in general and Zionist youth in particular.

The chairman, Herman L. Weisman of Scarsdale, who heads the American Zionist Youth Commission, attempted to clarify the role and meaning of the Youth Commission. His talk illumined many of the problems facing American Zionist youth, but the incarnation of the very problems he discussed trooped to the microphone when the young men and women of the various Zionist youth groups told the vast audience which jammed the ballroom of their activities, their dreams, their accomplishments and their further hopes.

The youngest speaker, Joseph Mayer, national president of the Senior Young Judaeans, captured the fancy of the audience with his complete sincerity, his statements of the problems facing the young Zionists under the age of 18. In declaring that Young Judaea stands ready to aid with all its strength and, at the same time, wants greater support both financially and morally, young Mayer spoke with heat and with passion and clearly revealed that the Young Judaeans spirit is a strong and healthy one. He spoke to resounding cheers and as he described the difficulties under which his organization works, it was evident that he won the entire audience to his side.

The opening speaker of this session was tall, serious-faced Rabbi Seymour J. Cohen, ZOA

Hebrew University Scholarship winner, who told the audience of his impressions of Palestine. Thanking the Zionists present and their constituents for making his trip possible, Rabbi Cohen told of the deep interest the Yishuv has in America and American Zionism. "I was welcomed everywhere," Rabbi Cohen said, "and everywhere the people wanted to know about American Zionists." He related illuminating incidents concerning the life in the Yishuv under British terror and told of the intense determination of Jewish DPs in Italy to get to Eretz.

Milton Arm, national vice president of Masada, in describing the Masada program, also advocated that there be a large single Jewish youth organization. Like the other youthful speaker, Arm impressed with his sincerity and his devotion to the cause of Zionism. As he spoke, cheers broke out time and again as the audience realized that these young people were here to reveal that their interest in Zionism was both intense and deeply felt.

Judith Tannenbaum, a member of the central executive committee of the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation of America (IZFA), spoke with scholarly thoroughness and at length on the outlook for Zionism on the university campuses of America. Revealing that IZFA has more than 5,000 members on 100 campuses, Miss Tannenbaum stressed that the college student, attracted to a myriad of activities on an always-active campus, must be won over by Zionism in open competition with other functions. "But," she said, "we are winning new students all the time against this competition because we must

make, and do make, Zionism attractive."

The final speaker of the evening was Dr. Shlomo Bardin, executive director of the American Zionist Youth Commission. Reporting on Zionist youth work on a national basis, Dr. Bardin spoke fascinatingly, in English blended charmingly with Hebrew and Yiddish idioms and psukim. His report, however, was not a rose-colored one. Paying tribute to those young men and women enrolled in active Zionist youth groups, and highly praising the youngsters at Camp Brandeis, Dr. Bardin nevertheless said that the average American Jewish youth is maladjusted. Castigating American Jewry for its general indifference to Hebrew and Jewish culture and tradition, Dr. Bardin declared that there is still a tremendous amount of work to be done. Although this session contained speeches which were optimistic and talks which were shot through with phrases clearly indicating the hardships under which American Zionist youth labors, the over-all impression was one of great enthusiasm and as the delegates trooped out of the hall, one felt that they were uplifted by the evidence at hand that American Zionist youth, while capable of greater growth and maturity, is of the stuff of which true and lasting Zionism is made.

Sabbath Services

A capacity congregation of ZOA delegates filled the Georgian Room of the Hotel Pennsylvania, where Sabbath services were held during the Convention.

Cantor Maurice Erstling, president of the Cantors Association of America, chanted the services, accompanied by a choir of 19, which was led by Samuel Sterner.

Rabbi Robert Gordis of Rockaway Park (N.Y.), delivered an eloquent sermon. (Excerpts published elsewhere in this issue.)

The Haftorah was read by Dr. Emanuel Neumann. Dr. Harry A. Cohen, executive director of the Southern New England Area of the ZOA, was the officiating Rabbi at the services. Meyer Peskoff of New London, was the Baal Koral.

Chumoshim and talesim were supplied by the ZOA. The arrangements committee for the services was headed by Max Cohen, executive director of the Bronx Region.

The Convention Committees

COMMITTEE OFFICERS

BUDGET AND FINANCE

Bernard Singer (Brooklyn, N. Y.), *Chairman*.
Julius Livingston, (Tulsa, Okla.), *Co-chairman*.
Louis Dince (New York, N. Y.), *Secretary*.

CHALUTZIUT

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Seated (l. to r.): Dr. Shlomo Bardin, executive director of the American Zionist Youth Commission; Herman L. Weisman, chairman of the Commission; Max Helfman, of the Hebrew Arts Committee. Standing are young Zionist leaders who were prominent at the Convention.

THE NEW PALESTINE

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The Controversial Political Session

By HAROLD RIBALOW

Passionate political debating, heated and edged controversy plus freedom of speech marked the political session of the 50th Jubilee Convention of the ZOA, which was presided over by Daniel Frisch. Preliminary to this open and above-board discussion was the highly partisan political committee debate, in which the crucial issues facing American Zionism were thrashed out by ZOA delegates from all over the land. But on the open convention floor the issues broke wide open, with the result that tempers were frayed, voices were raised and cleavages were obvious.

Major Issue

The major issue was whether or not the resolution on resistance should name the extremist groups and call them "terrorists," or whether the groups should remain unnamed, lumped under the phrase "dissident groups," and called anything but "terrorists."

It was on this issue that the convention was split, with the vast majority unwilling to call the violent opponents of the British "terrorists," and just as unwilling to name them. The spirit of the convention was to call these groups dissidents who were breaching the discipline of the Yishuv and thereby harming the general Zionist cause.

But long arguments and discussions were heard by the thousands of delegates and guests who attended the convention before final approval was given to the resolution as drafted by the political committee.

Sees Confusion

The first speaker of the evening's stormy debate was Harold Goldenberg of Minneapolis, who had talked forcefully at the political committee meeting. Unable to win the committee to his side, he now attempted to sway the convention itself, tensed to listen to all sides of the debate.

Goldenberg declared that the resolution, as originally drafted, was unclear. Pointing out that lay Zionists throughout the land were confused by the campaigns of the Irgun and Bergson groups throughout the land, Goldenberg emphasized that the Irgun and Sternists and Bergson groups were, among other things, breaching the national discipline of the Yishuv. His aggressive speech opened the gates of debate.

The very next speaker, Harry Torczyner of New York, replied to Goldenberg with the same logic he used in the political committee debate. He said that the "terrorists" were not the brave, death-defying Jews who fought the British at every turn in Palestine, but the British themselves. He declared that it was not within the realm of American Zionists, far away from the scene of combat, to make judgment on the Palestinians who sabotaged the Palestine Government. And he decried the naming of the Irgun and the Stern group as "terrorists," as playing into the hands of the British.

As though these two fiery speeches were not enough to rouse the audience to a highly-pitched tenor of excitement, Henry Montor fanned the fires even more than the previous debaters when he took the floor.

Montor Deliberate

Montor, speaking calmly, slowly and arousing a fever pitch of comment both pro and con, called the dissidents "terrorists" and

named the Irgunists and Sternists as "bandits." As he spoke the word, there were cries of protest against this description. But unheeding, the speaker continued and listed what he called the crimes of the "terrorists" against the Yishuv itself. He flamed the various acts of violence which resulted in the death of many Jews, not Englishmen or Arabs. His deliberate manner of speech, his calm acceptance of the audience's opposition to his views left him unmoved. There were many interruptions as he spoke, but when he finished, there was a scattering of applause.

The first Yiddish speaker of the evening was Abraham Goldstein of Hartford, who stirred the delegates with his arguments. He was against the naming of the Irgun and the Sternists; he decried the instigation of civil war in the Yishuv and stressed that these young men who some people were willing to call terrorists were in reality sacrificing their lives for the Zionist ideal.

To counterbalance Goldstein's views, Ezra Shapiro of Cleveland asked that the resolution name the groups because confusion would result if these groups remained unnamed and generalized. He asked pointedly if Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann were for or against the Irgun and the Sternists.

Shubow Flays British

Volatile Rabbi Joseph Shubow of Boston, who spoke in a violently anti-British vein throughout the whole convention at every opportunity which came his way, reiterated the views he originally expressed at the political committee session. Recalling that the British were responsible for the unrest and terrorism in the Holy Land, Rabbi Shubow cried out against labelling the brave fighters against British terrorism, terrorists themselves. As he called down the British and praised the fighters in Israel, the crowd cheered loud and lustily.

Moshe Ephraim Zeldin of Brooklyn, speaking in Yiddish, won the plaudits of the delegates when he took issue with Montor's phraseology and denied that the Jewish oppositionists in Palestine were bandits. He reaffirmed that he was against the Irgunists and Sternists because they breached Zionist discipline, but he rejected the statement that they were either bandits or had no ethics. He stated that the extremists were as ethical as many of their detractors in this country. But, like all the speakers before and after him, Zeldin reaffirmed his belief that the Haganah was the sole fighting organization of the Jewish community in Palestine.

When Louis Lipsky rose to speak, everyone expected that at this time a final clarification would be forthcoming. White-



A portion of the capacity audience at the political session.

haired and still a magical public speaker, Lipsky immediately won the attention of the audience when he said that he knew he was speaking for a minority, but that it was helpful to hear a minority view.

Lipsky made the pertinent point that the Irgunists and Sternists were not merely attempting, through violence, to fight the British. He was the first to point out that these groups had political views, differing with the Jewish Agency. He said he felt that the Irgun wanted to displace the Haganah as the national Jewish army. And, Lipsky declared, they should be considered not merely militant Zionists,

but should also be recognized as critics of and opponents of the present administration. Emphasizing that confusion should not reign in Zionist ranks, Lipsky recommended that the ZOA should send circular letters to its members asking for the support in America of the Haganah and not the Irgun and various Bergson groups. Clarity, he said, was the most important objective we had to achieve.

Neumann Says Resolution Clear

The debate, to all intents and purposes, was terminated when Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the ZOA, rose to speak. He reread, with care and delibera-

tion, the resolution word by word, paragraph by paragraph. His very re-reading revealed that the resolution specifically named the Haganah as the sole authorized Jewish resistance group. He read the phrases which expressed the ZOA condemnation of the violence of these groups and asked the audience, "Is this soft?" "Is this equivocation?" The answer was a resounding "No!"

He listed the steps taken by the ZOA in combatting the influence of real and self-styled representatives of the extremists in Palestine and pledged the ZOA to taking further steps in that direction. The resolution was carried as drafted with an overwhelming majority.

Debate Flares at Political Session On Issue of Naming Dissidents

That the delegates to the Zionist convention had the democratic opportunity to discuss fully, heatedly and sometimes with eloquence, the political issues facing world and American Zionism was amply demonstrated at the Saturday night Political Affairs session, chaired by Daniel Frisch. Mr. Frisch probably had the toughest single job of the convention, as the delegates milled to the front of the microphone and attempted to speak their minds on an issue which was, to many, the most pertinent and fascinating of the convention: the resolution to be drafted on resistance in Palestine.

A day earlier, the Political Committee met behind closed doors to deal with the complex issues of international policies. But if anyone suspects that the convention was dictated to by the decisions of the Political Committee itself, a sad error is being made. This reporter sat through the entire Friday political committee meeting, took copious notes on the various viewpoints expressed by many talented, impassioned and partisan speakers. The talk was so frank, straightforward and without punches pulled, that there was a momentary uneasy feeling that the convention floor itself should not be a platform for such heated talk.

Naming Groups Debated

The issue, the main issue, it seems, at the Political Committee meeting was whether or not to draft a resolution calling the extremists in Palestine by the name of "terrorists," and whether the groups should be named, or merely lumped as "dissident groups," who were breaching the discipline of the Yishuv and thereby hurting the general Zionist cause.

Speakers on both sides were eloquent and had a good deal of justice on their sides. One attitude was that the true and only terrorists in Palestine are the British, whose every repressive act is a further illegality of a highly illegal Government. Although this side declared that the dissident groups were breaching Yishuv discipline, an attempt should be made to bring them into the framework of the Yishuv and not that the ZOA should condemn them by name, thus isolating and branding them with names which they

do not deserve.

Proponents of naming the dissidents and branding them "terrorists" claimed that the Zionist membership is confused as to who does really represent the Yishuv and that, as a result, American Zionists are helping support these various groups while, actually, the ZOA supports only the Haganah and the national authority of Palestine. The debate was fast and furious. Every argument in the books was tossed about at the committee meeting. And what was more significant is that each argument advanced behind closed doors was also propounded from the floor of the convention. As a matter of fact, many of the same men, whose arguments were voted down, or were supported by the committee, took the convention floor in an attempt to sway the delegates to their way of thinking.

Lengthy Discussion

Louis Lipsky, Henry Montor, Harold Goldenberg and Ezra Shapiro were among those who spoke at length, at variance with the resolution as introduced on the floor of the convention, which did not call the dissident groups "terrorists" and which did not name these groups. As one delegate put it, "Why name them? What if after we were to name them, they change their names?" And some speakers stressed that it would be playing into the hands of the British to brand these Palestinians as the English want them branded.

Harry Torczyner spoke passionately in favor of the resolution, as did Rabbi Joseph Shubow and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who in a clear and lucid talk, pointed out that the resolution as drafted, was open in its support of the Haganah and condemned the acts of violence of dissident groups. The debate raged heavily as many more delegates wanted to talk than there was time for speeches. It was obvious that no matter which resolution the convention would adopt, it would do so only after having heard all sides and as many speakers as possible. When, finally, the resolution was adopted, it was the will of the convention, the majority will, thus showing that the administration was representing the majority on this vital problem and question.



DANIEL AUSTER

JWV Backs Jewish State

With Ben Kaufman, past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans and a Congressional Medal of Honor winner in the first World War, emphasizing that his organization was pledged to the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, special exercises in honor of Independence Day were held at the Convention.

Speaking as a representative of Milton N. Richman, national commander of the JWV, Mr. Kaufman asserted that "I bring you greetings from the Jewish War Veterans, as a Jewish organization intensely interested in Palestine, and which has pledged itself to the support of a Jewish State." The pledge, he added, was also devoted to "the opening of immigration into Palestine, and the revocation of the British White Paper which is a complete violation of the terms of the Balfour Declaration, on which the growth of Palestine is predicated."

The activity of the Jewish War Veterans, he maintained, "has been invaluable to the cause of Zionism in this country," adding, "this is so, because as veterans, no one has a right to challenge our Americanism; no organization, or individuals, can speak of dual nationalism or lack of patriotism in castigating an affirmation of support of Palestine enunciated by the Jewish War Veterans."

Major William Kapelman, formerly a fighter group intelligence officer with the U. S. Army 8th Air Force in the European theatre, and national co-chairman of the ZOA War Veterans Committee, in another address, indicated the marked similarity of the 171st anniversary of the Declaration of Independence with that of the Palestine crisis.

"Our compatriots in Palestine," he declared, "are fighting the same forces today that were prevalent and oppressive to the American colonies 171 years ago."

Albert D. Schanzer, the other co-chairman of the War Veterans Committee of the ZOA, stressed the disappointment of the veterans of this war over "the bitter fruits of victory," saying, "where tolerance and democracy should have raised their proud pennants after the foe had conceded unconditional and absolute defeat, bigotry, prejudice and totalitarianism still hold their ugly sway."

Jewish State Only True Democracy In Middle East, Says Goldstein

That General Zionism is beginning to flex its muscles and to organize as a potent force as well as a fund-raising body was more than indicated at the July 5 luncheon, at which Dr. Israel Goldstein presided and at which five speakers stressed the activities and importance of the General Zionist movement.

Dr. Goldstein, former ZOA president and now chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists, which was formed at Basle during the World Zionist Congress last December, pointed out the significance of this new organization. The World Confederation, he said, aimed to organize the General Zionists of the world and to strengthen the General Zionist program in Palestine itself. "When a Jewish state comes into being in Palestine," Dr. Goldstein said, "it will be the only truly democratic state in that part of the world, thanks to the training and the precedents established by the Zionist movement."

Manpower Wanted

Jacques Torczyner of the ZOA, speaking dynamically and with passion, stressed the necessity for such a General Zionist organization and listed many of its accomplishments in the short period of its existence. Mrs. David Greenberg of Hadassah and Itzhak Karpman, executive director of the American section of the Confederation, also spoke. Daniel Brisker of the Hechalutz, making a fine impression with a brief speech in both Hebrew and English, told the audience of the importance of Hechalutz work and said that "We want your sons and daughters more than your money." He was cheered to the rafters.

Daniel Auster, the first Jew to serve as Mayor of Jerusalem since the destruction of the Temple, 2,000 years ago, told of his experiences in Jerusalem during the past few years and, speaking with bitterness, described life in Jerusalem under the British. Calling Palestine a police state, Mr. Auster said that the curfew was an insidious aspect of Palestine life. He described the situation as follows: "They say in Palestine that if you leave your house after seven in the evening you are a hero; if you go out after eight, you are an adventurer; and if you are seen out after nine, you are committing suicide!" This,



ITZHAK KARPMAN

he said, is life in Palestine today under the British.

"If the United States government is concerned with the spread of democracy in areas where it does not now exist, it will take to heart the character of the Zionist movement and the service to the cause of democracy which can be rendered by a Jewish State as a haven of democracy in the Near and Middle East," said Dr. Goldstein, in his address as chairman of the luncheon.

Middle Course

He discussed the role that the General Zionists must assume in Palestine in steering a middle of the road course between the Mapai or Labor Zionists and the Mizrahi, who are the orthodox Zionists.

"It would seem reasonable to suggest that a good, strong liberal center group could be a wholesome influence on the Yishuv," he remarked. He stated that the General Zionist program for Palestine emphasized national unity in the face of separatist tendencies from the right and left, and wished to see education, health services, sport activity, banks and industries, which are now controlled by party agencies, placed on a national basis either under the Jewish National Council of Palestine or the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Dr. Auster, who recently attended the bi-annual meeting of the General Zionists of Argentina, reported that "95 percent of Argentine Jews are General Zionists." Of the Palestine scene, he said that despite "the tense atmosphere, houses and towns are being built, new settlements and new factories opened, schools and the whole cultural life are going on as normally."

Unites Labor, Employers

The constructive program being carried on by the General Zionists in Palestine since the organization of the World Confederation was described by I. J. Karpman, its executive director, a former Palestinian who grew up in a General Zionist settlement.

"General Zionism is the only Zionist party in Palestine which has proved that kibbutzim (settlements), private farmers, manufacturers, business men, professionals, etc., can and should cooperate. Groups of liberal minded manufacturers and business men perform, on our behalf, important tasks in the Association of Palestine Manufacturers, Chambers of Commerce and numerous other economic institutions. Their valuable contributions in the efforts to create understanding and cooperation between labor and employers in Palestine has not been fully appreciated as yet."

Gordis Preaches Sermon

Rabbi Robert Gordis of Rockaway Park, Long Island, preached the sermon at the Sabbath Services of the Convention the same morning. He said:

"Yesterday American hearts turned to an old cracked bell which rang out the paean of liberty on July 4, 1776. On its rim is inscribed a verse from Leviticus, 'Proclaim ye liberty to all the inhabitants of the earth.' America has unfinished business—to fulfill the Divine injunction and proclaim liberty not to some, but to all men, including that tiny and long-suffering people which first proclaimed the God of righteousness and liberty to the world. There will be no true peace for mankind until there be justice for the Jew."

"In helping to save Israel, the Zionist also serves America. He is not merely as good an American as the anti-Zionist, he is a far better and truer one—because he refuses to accept the status of second-class citizenship for himself, his children or his neighbors, whatever their race, color or creed, because he demands for all who live beneath the American heavens, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Daniel Brisker, leader of the General Zionist Chalutz (Pioneer) movement in Palestine, the Hanoar Hazioni and Hechalutz, urged American Zionist support to the General Zionist Chalutz movement and its cooperative colonies in Palestine. "Palestine has created a very healthy concept," he said, "that only the one who, with his own hands and life, devotes himself to its building can and will be a factor in its life and future." Calling upon the General Zionist party in America, he urged support and encouragement for the General Zionist Chalutz movement in its kibbutzim (colonies) in Palestine and the Chalutz movement in America. "Only by living up to this demand," he added, "will you be able really to contribute to this great task."



JACQUES TORCZYNER

Old Truth, New Technique

Excerpts of Sabbath Sermon By DR. ROBERT GORDIS

What has the role of Zionism been this half century? Put very simply, it has reaffirmed an old truth and created a new technique. The old truth was one that 18 centuries of Jewish life in the Diaspora had never been forgotten—the homelessness of the Jewish people. Whatever the specific conditions of life for Jews individually in a given time and place, traditional Judaism reminded the Jew at every turn of the Galut. The daily prayers, the breaking of the glass at weddings, the leaving of the corner of a home unfinished—these and



DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

a thousand other customs and sentiments were for the Jew a reminder of the destruction of the Temple and dispersion of Israel. For all the fluctuations in the Jewish position throughout ancient and medieval times, the truth of the homelessness of the Jewish people was never lost sight of.

With the French Revolution and the political emancipation of the Western Jewry, this fundamental truth was denied, disguised and soft-pedaled. To the favorably situated Jewries of Western Europe who were enjoying political rights, civic equality and opportunity it seemed as though the millennium had dawned. They failed to note the strings attached to the gift-package of emancipation. One right was missing among the others the absence of which corroded and debased them all—the lack of the right of spiritual self-determination.

Historic Role

The historical role of Zionism has been to reaffirm the truth of the homelessness of the Jewish people. Whatever the fortunate circumstances under which one or another community might live, the violence of the resistance to Zionism among its opponents was an index of the "uncertainty and foreboding which prevailed among those who declared most loudly that they were merely German, French or English citizens of the Mosaic faith, who no longer needed the outworn prophecies of Isaiah "from Zion will go forth the law and the word of the Lord in Jerusalem."

The events of the past few years have ended the debate. The Western democracies which guaranteed freedom to the Jew, have been perilously shrinking, both in their extent and in their zeal for democracy. This is true of Czechoslovakia, France and Britain. The United States remains virtually alone in retaining wholehearted allegiance to the democratic ideal and in granting freedom for all citizens, in the letter and the spirit.

Today Zionism must quicken the traditional Jews' yearning for home. The Jewish people is in desperate need not merely for a physical refuge, but for a home. What is a home? It is the place where we are welcome, a place where they have to let us in when we knock. In spite of all the vast open spaces in the world today, only tiny Palestine qualifies as home for hundreds of thousands of survivors of Hitlerism.



ZOA Committee on Unity and Movie booths at Convention Exhibits.

The Council's Failure

By DR. DAVID POLISH

Co-Chairman, ZOA Committee on Unity for Palestine

In recent weeks, spokesmen of the Council for Judaism called on the UN to protect the Jews of the world against "Jewish nationalism" by ensuring "a clear and complete severance between the political structure developed in Palestine" and the rights and obligations of Jewish citizens elsewhere in the world. In the times that await us, when the destiny of the Yishuv and world Jewry will be weighed and debated, we of the Committee on Unity will have to carry on our campaign on that sector where Jewish loyalties are clouded and muddled. We will have to reach those remaining Jews who out of sheer confusion have been drawn into the anti-Zionist camp. By addressing ourselves to them and by tackling all the old shibboleths by which they have been anaesthetized to our tragic circumstances, we shall cut the ground from under the Rosenwalds and Bergers who still claim a semblance of a following. Once we achieve this, they will be unable to resort to even a pretence of speaking for even a single cell in the Jewish body politic. They will then be forced out into the open where it will be recognized by every Tom, Dick and Harry that they are not a council, but a privately financed office at 201 E. 57th Street, New York City. This the Committee on Unity has been achieving ever since its inception. Reports reach us from Rabbi Unger, our director, that the strength and influence of the Council are dwindling in communities throughout the country.

Council Dwindling

As you doubtless know, the Council, which began as a Rabbinical anti-Zionist organization, is now left with a meager handful of Rabbis. Many a Rabbi has withdrawn from the Council and others have resigned from office in disillusionment and in protest against its ruthless conduct which progressively comes more and more into line with Arab policy. Rabbinical recruits to the Council are non-existent. We may look forward to the time when there will not be a single Rabbi left in that body to say Kaddish for it.

We are likewise pleased to report that lay members, as a result of Rabbi Unger's persuasion, have been withdrawing from the Council upon discovering the character of the group with which they had been identified. Some of these very people have subsequently joined the ZOA. All of which underscores the necessity for unremitting activity in this area of Zionist affairs. You will be heartened to know—and this deserves the fullest publicity—that at its recent annual conference, the Council could attract to its greatest functions, dinners

addressed by Rabbis Berger and Irving Reichert, 120 persons made up largely of family groups representing 30 or 40 families and 75 persons made up largely of family groups representing 20-25 families respectively.

The Council continues to function through no intrinsic value of its own. Frequent exposures to the light of public judgment of its inept and hollow slogans fully corroborate this. The Council continues to function through the double stimulant of money and *chutzpah*. Even this should give us courage, for we are told in the

those fundamentals for ourselves.

More than anything else, the Council for Judaism has belabored the theme that statehood and nationalism are repugnant and Zionism is therefore an evil to be destroyed. In a world overflowing with the most monstrous kinds of nationalism, the Council strategists have singled out *davka* the Jewish people, *davka* Palestine, *davka* Zionism as their special target. They are inviting the sheep to a disarmament conference. They have not yet gotten around to inviting the wolves.

Varied Meanings

Let us not be afraid of the word state. Let us not be afraid of the word nationalism. It requires more than the juggling of words to identify Jewish aspirations with the blood-lust of fascist states, to equate the victims of Buchenwald with Peron's bullies, simply because they use a common term to identify their respective movements. The word nationalism as applied to us and as applied to Franco Spain, for example, has meanings and overtones as opposite as the name Rosenwald itself has in different branches of the same family. If we were to judge institutions and movements by the labels they bear and by the evil context in which these labels have acquired in their passage through history,



World Confederation of General Zionists display.

Talmud that "with the approach of the Messiah, *chutzpah* will increase."

Yet despite all this, we should inflict great damage upon ourselves were we to diminish the intensity of our campaign. Our objective must be nothing less than the liquidation of the Council. Our objective must be to reveal it for what it has been—a private agency using a flimsy and scattered membership as a facade for its destructive program. Our objective must be to strip the facade away and reveal the private office in all of its barrenness, a wildcat corporation speculating with the hopes and anguish of our people.

To this end we must continue to discuss fundamentals with some of our fellow Jews, and it would not be amiss to re-examine

then even the family, even religion, could not survive. This is the penalty that the family and religion must pay for certain degenerate families and certain decadent religions. We loathe the Spanish state under Franco. We would welcome a Spanish state under the republicans. There is nationalism in Argentina, and there is nationalism in Mexico. Which of these nationalisms, springing alike from Spanish soil, shall we condemn? We Jews, who know that even such a hallowed word as *brocho* contains the dual meaning of both blessing and curse, need not tremble before a word which can curse or bless mankind, depending on its application. For the Jewish people, the abuse of nationalism would be both morally repugnant and politically impossible.



Book Department exhibition of ZOA.

Hebrew Language Values Stressed at Oneg Shabbat

One of the high cultural spots of the convention, both in spirit and in content, was the happy and enthusiastic Oneg Shabbat held Saturday, July 5. This affair, held in cooperation with the Histadruth Ivrit of America, featured an Hebraic spirit which reached its peak with happy singing at the end of the afternoon.

Samuel J. Borowsky, chairman of the Oneg Shabbat, tracing the eternal bond between Zionism and Hebrew, stressed that "in Palestine, Hebrew is the vernacular and the way of life. Deriving its vigor and beauty from the Bible, the Mishnah and Rabbinic literature, medieval Hebrew creativity and modern renaissance, the living Hebrew of Palestine forges ahead, creating new forms of expression for new world visions and ideals." A veteran Hebraist and member of the praesidium of the Histadruth Ivrit, Mr. Borowsky asserted that the ZOA "must become militant in support of Hebrew culture. The ZOA must find ways and means of energizing and channeling a Hebrew revival that will be reminiscent of the heroic epoch of 50 years ago."

Stress Hebrew Value

The first speaker of the afternoon was Aaron Zeitlin, noted Hebrew and Yiddish poet and writer, whose brief remarks, spoken in beautiful Hebrew, stressed the importance of the Hebrew literature and the Hebrew word in the lives of Jews and Zionists during the past 50 years of political Zionism.

Following Mr. Zeitlin, was young, blond Batsheva Fishman, whose dynamism and fluent Hebrew enthralled the audience, who cheered her wildly when she concluded her remarks describing her experiences in Europe, where she taught Hebrew to Jewish refugee children. What was impressive to the large audience that that this slip of a girl, about 21, but even younger-looking, seemed to be, not an American youngster interested in bobby-sox crazes, but in Zionism to such a degree that her Hebrew was Palestinian, her outlook dynamically Zionist and her idealism so deep that she spent a good deal of time in going to France, one of 12 such idealists, to help the young DP's study Hebrew so that in a happier time they will be able to use in Eretz Israel what she has taught them. Young Miss Fishman, by the way, is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Fishman, indefatigable Zionists and Hebraists, whose son Aryel won headlines during the convention, when the UN Inquiry Committee was greeted by Aryel, who is a member of a settlement in Palestine.

Way of Life

What was a rare moment during this convention were the remarks of Dr. Emanuel Neumann, newly-elected president of the ZOA. The guest speaker of the afternoon, Dr. Neumann, in words bordering on the eloquent, bespoke the importance and significance of Hebrew; the different shadings a person takes on when he changes languages and the deep meanings of Hebrew to Jews and Zionists. Speaking informally, relating anecdotes, winning the attention of the delegates through sheer force of personality, Dr. Neu-

mann clearly indicated that Hebrew demands the support of all Zionists and, although admitting that one can be a good Zionist without a working knowledge of Hebrew, he said these men are exceptional. He stressed, however, that Hebrew incorporates a culture, a tradition, a way of life—all closely connected with Zionism itself.

Rabbi Judah Nadich, the featured speaker of the afternoon, told the audience that the Yishuv's literary labors, so much greater proportionately than America's literary output, is an indication of the aliveness of Hebrew and its importance to Jews everywhere. Linking Hebrew with Jewish survival and with Zionist basic principles, Rabbi Nadich told moving stories of how the Jews in the DP camps understood Hebrew to be inextricably tied up with their own survival.

Former advisor on Jewish Affairs to General Eisenhower and a Colonel in the American Army, youthful Rabbi Nadich told one tale which elicited gasps of wonder and understanding from the audience. An old Jew, he said, who was jammed with many hundreds of other Jews in box cars headed for a crematorium, revealed true Jewish heroism and understanding. As the Jews were being herded to their deaths, Nazi SS men taunted them and gloated over the fate of the unfortunate Jews. Intermittently, they cried, "Heil Hitler, Heil Hitler." And then, Rabbi Nadich said quietly, the old Jew turned to the heiling Nazis and said in a voice which carried all over the box car, "Long after your cry of 'Heil Hitler' is forgotten, our Hebrew call of 'Shema Yisroel' will continue to live." And as the rabbi spoke these words, a shudder was felt throughout the hall, as the delegates realized, in a brutal and yet sensitive way, that Hebrew, its phrases and traditions, will always remain in the forefront of Jewish and Zionist survival.

Ben Ari Recitation

The Oneg Shabbat was concluded with an artistic recitation by R. Ben Ari, veteran Jewish actor of Habima and Pargod. Mr. Ben Ari declaimed a portion of a modern version of Shylock's speech, of the Pargod version of the play, called "Shylock—'47."

In the enthusiastic singing of songs which ended the Oneg Shabbat, there was a note of sadness to those who closely observed Aaron Zeitlin, whose great scholarly father Hillel Zeitlin and his family, were destroyed by the Nazis.



BERT SICANOFF, Indianapolis
The singing spirit of many conventions, including this one.

Convention and the Press

By M. Z. FRANK

The press tables at the ZOA Convention were crowded. More newspapers sent representatives than at any other time before. Not only the metropolitan New York press, but non-Jewish publications from all over the country and leading foreign publications, sent correspondents. Needless to say, the Palestine press was amply represented.

The Yiddish and the Anglo-Jewish press naturally showed the greatest interest.

The editorial comment in the American Jewish press expresses overwhelming satisfaction with the results of the Convention—the election of Emanuel Neumann and the endorsement of Silver's militant policies.

"American Zionism Consolidated" is the title of an editorial in the *Jewish Morning Journal*, noting with pleasure that "American Zionism continues to be dynamic, aggressive and definite in its program both with regard to the American scene and to the international scene." Several days earlier, the same newspaper, in an editorial, welcoming the Convention, notes that "Zionism in America has finally become a mass-movement," and that it has "seldom enjoyed a leadership such as the present which inspires the membership and is, in turn, inspired by it."

Silver, Neumann Strength

S. Dingol, in his weekly review of Jewish events in *The Day*, finds that Silver and Neumann are so popular with the rank-and-file that "were it not for the Constitution (banning more than two consecutive terms for one president), the ZOA would have in Silver and Neumann two everlasting presidents."

The writer notes the strong hold the two leaders have on the delegates so that "there was not a thing they would not have been able to put through at the Convention." He finds their strength, "first, in their powerful logic and great oratory; second, in their energy and devotion to the work; third, in their political technique."

"Dr. Neumann," says Dingol, "enters upon his office as president of the American Zionist Organization at a critical time in Zionism and at a time when much more is expected of American Zionism than at any previous time. But he assumes office without opposition, with the good will of all loyal Zionists for whom Zionism is an ideal and the only — perhaps the last — Jewish hope. We are sure that Dr. Neumann will fill his office with dignity and that he will realize the best expectations of his friends."

In an editorial after the Convention, *The Day* endorses Neumann's statement made to a reporter of the same paper that "patience is needed, but victory is certain."

The *Jewish Daily Forward* made no editorial comment, but devoted an article in its Sunday edition to a biographical sketch of Emanuel Neumann.

Comment on Extremists

The question of minority groups within the Yishuv carrying on a resistance of their own against the British and employing terrorist methods, was touched upon in the press.

Says an editorial in the *Morning Journal*:

"If the standpoint of those

were adopted who would declare war on the extremist groups, the outcome would be an internal rift and a real fratricidal war which must not be permitted under any circumstances. On the other hand, it is logical for Jewish public opinion to voice its opposition against extremism as a political method. . . . What is required now is the unconditional enforcement of national discipline. If we have a Haganah which submits to such discipline, it is hardly to be permitted that the Irgun and the Stern Group should wage a war on their own account."

"Whatever else may be said about the Fiftieth Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America," says an editorial in the *National Jewish Post*, "the Convention itself was conducted in a thoroughly democratic manner. All sides of any argument and all points of view were allowed the floor. . . . In the last analysis, those opposed to the administration would probably concede that the Convention expressed the will of the majority of the Zionists of the United States as they understood the problems confronting the movement today."

Other Views

This evaluation by an editor who was fully informed about the newly-formed opposition and who gave it full and sympathetic coverage on the front page, is in direct contradiction to the article in the current issue of the *American Hebrew* by the usually unreliable and usually inaccurate William Zuckerman. "It is characteristic of this Convention," says Zuckerman, "that the opposition had found it necessary to voice its ideas and programs outside the Convention hall," and he proceeds to state that "a group of 50 or more delegates to the Convention assembled Friday evening at the Manhattan Hall," when, in fact, there were several hundred opposition and pro-administration delegates by the time the meeting was half through. "There were among those who spoke," says he, "a number of past presidents of the American Zionist Organization," when, in fact, the only former president who spoke was Louis Lipsky, who, incidentally, paid tribute to the democratic manner of the discussion on the floor that afternoon under Silver's chairmanship, and the only other former president present there was Robert Szold, who did not take part in the discussion.

In his widely syndicated column, Boris Smolar, of the JTA, says: "As has been expected, the 'Silver-Neumann line' emerged victorious at the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America. . . . American Zionists have long been tired of the nickname 'Dollar Zionism' sarcastically given by the World Zionist Movement to Zionist activities in the United States. . . . The Silver-Neumann line for the first time introduced a policy of active political work, relegating fund-raising activities to the background. . . . And it is because of this line that the Zionist movement in this country gained more prestige in the Yishuv in recent months than it had from the dollars American Jewry has been sending to Palestine. . . . The movement in this country is taken very seriously as a political power."

"Come what may," says an



Dr. Emanuel Neumann addressing a meeting of the ZOA Executive and Field Staffs following Convention.

Neumann Confident of Ultimate Triumph

In an interview with representatives of the Yiddish press, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, shortly after his election as president, voiced confidence in the triumph of the Zionist cause but cautioned against undue optimism.

"We must have patience and be forewarned against disappointments," he said. "It is true, that in the first days of the UN sessions, we scored a substantial victory, which has given us much hope and encouragement. However, we must not forget that the UN Committee on Palestine is limited in its scope and authority

and that the UN General Assembly will be called upon to render its decision following which there will come into play such deciding elements as the Mandatory power—England and other countries. It is especially important to us that the United States assume a friendly attitude and support us by action and not only by words."

In his interview, Dr. Neumann paid tribute to the Yiddish press for the determined manner in which it helps to wage the fight for the recognition of the Zionist ideal.

editorial in the *Cleveland Jewish Review and Observer*, "American Zionism, now half a century old, is ready to assume its role as a mature campaigner for the Jewish Commonwealth." The editorial writer thinks "we are bound to be confronted with increasing Anglo-American cooperation under the Marshall plan and with its natural reluctance on the part of our government to embarrass the British position in Palestine," and that "Dr. Silver, therefore, acted wisely in asking the State Department to state its stand on this question."

"Militant Zionism" is the title of an editorial in the *Jewish News of Detroit* approving of the Silver-Neumann policy and welcoming Neumann's election to succeed Silver as president.

"The ZOA is in good hands for another year," says an editorial in *The Jewish Times of Philadelphia*.

"Dr. Emanuel Neumann, one of the political philosophers of Zionism, has now been elected president of the Zionist Organization of America. . . . We believe that the choice is a happy one, and a merited one. . . . He is a clear thinker and an eloquent and convincing interpreter of the philosophy of Zionism. Moreover, he has been a member of Dr. Silver's administration, and may, therefore, be expected to carry on the policies of the administration." The quotation is from an editorial in the *Jewish Ledger of Hartford (Conn.)*, edited by Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman.

An editorial in the *National Jewish Ledger of Washington*



DR. SIDNEY MARKS
National ZOA Secretary
reelected.

ZOA Staff Lauded

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, outgoing president, in his presidential address, as well as Dr. Emanuel Neumann, his successor in office, paid tribute to the National Executive Staff of the ZOA in their Convention addresses. Both leaders mentioned by name the heads of the various departments whom they characterized as devoted and highly efficient servants of the Cause.

(D. C.), commenting on the unanimous election of Neumann, says:

"American Jews are so firmly convinced of what they want and what is needed to cope with the stealthy callousness of Bri-

tain that there was no room for disagreement."

In Good Hands

The *Jewish Ledger* of Newark, maintaining that the Convention did not give an indication as to what the Zionist policy should be when the UN reports, declared:

"The Convention was called partly to give guidance to the new administration. Dr. Neumann was given a tremendous vote of approval and it is pretty accurate to say that when the Convention closed, the delegates felt the reins of authority were in the hands of a man who would do a yeoman job, a man who is fit and qualified par excellence for the gruelling difficult task ahead of him." Incidentally, Simon Bloom, its editor, did a good reporting job.

The *American Jewish Worker* of Minneapolis and St. Paul, agreeing with Dr. Neumann's implied remarks that opposition was a sign of health and wholesome interest, declared that the "choice of Dr. Neumann as successor to Dr. Silver has a poetic appropriateness. Both entered the Zionist fold at the same time and in the same place—on New York's teeming East Side, as members of the Dr. Theodor Herzl Zionist Club, the first junior Zionist organization of America."

"Since then, Emanuel Neumann has persevered in his Zionism. It has never been a partial Zionism. He has lived in Palestine. He is a brilliant Hebrew scholar and a militant fighter in every phase of the movement."

143 Newspapermen at Convention

A total of 143 representatives and correspondents of American, Palestine and foreign newspapers registered with the Press Department at the ZOA Convention.

In addition to representatives of all great metropolitan dailies in New York, as well as the largest news agencies such as the Associated Press and the United Press, the Convention was regularly covered by special correspondents and by such outstanding out-of-town papers as the *Baltimore Sun*, *Toronto Star*, the *Boston Globe* and newspapers of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and other states.

The Yiddish press, the Anglo-Jewish press and the Jewish news agencies—Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Press Agency and Seven Arts Syndicate—were represented by a full complement of reporters and feature writers. All Palestine newspapers, with few exceptions, were

represented by their American correspondents. For the first time, the Zionist Convention was also covered by correspondents of the major South American newspapers. The sessions were also covered by correspondents from England, Holland, France, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia, Australia and South Africa. A unique feature in the press coverage of the Convention was the transmission abroad over short-wave broadcasts in various languages of the various Convention highlights of international significance.

The extraordinary number of correspondents caused the available supply of press badges to be exhausted to such an extent that the public relations director himself, Ernest E. Barbarash was left without a badge. He was forced to borrow a badge to enable him to gain admission to the sessions.

'An Unbeaten and An Unbeatable People'

An Analysis and

Since our last convention, a World Zionist Congress was held and the issue of Palestine has been referred to the United Nations.

The World Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, in December, following by about two months our convention which was held in Atlantic City. The ZOA played an important role at the Congress. Your delegation to the Congress worked for the acceptance by the Congress of the political resolutions which were adopted, I believe unanimously, by the convention in Atlantic City. We took no position that had not been previously approved by our convention, and all the important issues which were discussed at the Congress had been thoroughly discussed and acted upon by the Political Committee of our convention and by the convention plenum.

'Undivided and Undiminished'

Let me recall to you the political resolution which was adopted by our convention last year. "The annual convention of the ZOA re-affirms the historic claims and aspirations and the legally established rights of the Jewish people to Palestine. These rights which have been formally embodied in solemn international covenants apply to the whole of mandated Palestine, undivided and undiminished, as the territory in which the Jewish people shall re-establish its national existence as a free and equal member of the family of nations. . . . Only the early establishment of a free Jewish State can guarantee free entry of Jews into the homeland, full opportunity for colonization and economic development, security against oppression and the attainment by the Jewish people of national freedom on their ancestral soil. . . . The convention directs the officers of the ZOA and requests the delegates to the forthcoming World Zionist Congress to pursue a firm policy for the fulfillment of the legal rights of the Jewish people to Palestine and the early re-establishment of the Jewish State."

This is the position which the American delegation advocated and championed at the Basle Congress.

This, substantially, was also the resolution which was adopted by the World Zionist Congress: "The 22nd Zionist Congress re-affirms the following political demands repeatedly voiced by the organs of the Zionist Organization: that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth in the structure of the democratic world; that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration; that the Jewish Agency be vested with the control of immigration into Palestine and with necessary authority for the upbuilding of the country."

Both the convention of the ZOA and the World Zionist Congress refused to adopt partition as the Zionist program. To this day no competent Zionist authority has adopted it. The Executive of the Jewish Agency, meeting in Jerusalem in March of this year, adopted the following resolution: "(a) When appearing before the United Nations and its member states, the Executive and its representatives will present the full political program of the Zionist Movement as formulated by the last Zionist Congress; (b) Representatives of the Jewish Agency will insist upon full discharge of the Mandate as long as British authority remains in Palestine wherein it has no other legal basis than the Mandate; (c) Representatives of the Jewish Agency will be empowered to examine the possibility of other solutions which will safeguard the rights of the Jewish people to uninterrupted immigration and wide settlement and assure the creation of a Jewish State—without committing the Zionist movement to an advance acceptance."

No Policy Departure

There is no new departure here from the position adopted by the ZOA or by the World Zionist Congress. You may recall that in my message to the convention last year in Atlantic City I stated: "When proposals will be made to us by Governments

which we will find truly reasonable and which will meet our fundamental needs and satisfy our national aspirations and our sense of justice, the whole movement will be prepared, I am sure, to give them very serious consideration. But such proposals have definitely not been made to us by anyone. So far they represent the wishful thinking of certain Zionists who have begun to act, in relation to the Zionists who disagree with them, as if partition were actually in the bag. Sound and just proposals are bound to be made to us sooner or later, if we do not lose our nerve, and if we are not misled by artful political manipulators who outsmart themselves.

"Until such time there is nothing else for us to do but to carry on as energetically and determinedly as heretofore, insisting upon our historic and legal rights to Palestine, our rights under the Mandate. There are no other legal or political realities in the situation, at present. There are no partition proposals before the Zionist movement. It is along the line of our historic claims and legal rights to the whole of Palestine that we must continue our struggle—and unfortunately the whole of Palestine has now come to mean one-third of Palestine, for we have already been victimized by catastrophic partition in 1922 when Trans-Jordan was torn away."

Agency Position

This is the position which we took at the World Zionist Congress. Before the Political Committee of the United Nations, I and the other spokesmen of the Jewish Agency likewise presented the full Zionist program and demands—and, I hope, not unworthily. I trust that this sound and logical position will be maintained by us at the hearings before the Special Committee of Inquiry of the United Nations, which is now in Palestine.

The eloquent proponents of partition in our midst played their trump cards in London and lost. They came back chastened. But their drooping spirits have since been revived and they are again impatiently tugging at the leash, eager to rush forward with partition proposals, unwilling to wait and see what proposals will be made to us.

On the subject of resistance, your convention last year adopted the following resolution: "The ZOA recognizes that the Yishuv, through its appropriate organs, must be the decisive factor in determining the extent of its resistance to the illegal policies of the British Government and the forms which such resistance may take, and it resolves that in so far as the responsible elements of the Yishuv embark upon policies of non-cooperation or resistance, they shall receive the wholehearted support of the Zionist movement, of the whole Jewish people and of freedom-loving people everywhere."

Coordination Urged

You will note that the resolution states that "the appropriate organs" of the Yishuv must decide on all questions related to resistance and that we shall support the "responsible elements of the Yishuv" when they embark on policies of non-cooperation or resistance. Our organization never recognized the right of dissident groups to carry on resistant activities on their own in defiance of the control and discipline of the appropriate organs of the Yishuv. We recognized, however, the fact that these dissident groups did in fact exist. We saw the dangers of civil strife developing between Jews and Jews in Palestine as a result of possible conflicts between these dissident groups and the Haganah, to the great comfort and delight of the Mandatory regime, which is the prime disturber of the peace of Palestine, and which is primarily responsible for the bitterness which exists and which expresses itself at times in acts of desperation which we all deplore. While condemning the acts of these dissident groups, we have urged that a way should be found to coordinate the activities of all elements in Palestine who are determined

to resist the iniquitous regime of the White Paper.

The World Zionist Congress adopted a similar position: "The Congress declares that the persistent violation of the rights of the Jewish people has placed the Zionist movement and the Yishuv under the necessity and moral compulsion to resist unceasingly and with utmost vigor the present policy of the Mandatory, which being based on the White Paper, is devoid of all legal or moral validity. The Zionist movement will continue to extend to the Yishuv every possible support in its determined struggle to protect the vital interest of the Jewish people and its inalienable rights including the right to immigration, settlement and self-defense. The Congress is confident that in this struggle the Jewish people has the sympathy of all friends of freedom and lovers of justice throughout the world."

Those who would mute the forces of the resistance are violating the spirit of the Congress resolution.

"While upholding the right of the Yishuv to resist the policies of the present oppressive regime in Palestine, the Congress condemns murder and the shedding of innocent blood as a means of political warfare. The terrorist campaign to which certain dissident groups in Palestine have resorted in defiance of Jewish national authority serves to distort the true character of the Yishuv in the eyes of the world and to defeat rather than promote its legitimate struggle. The Congress pledges its full support of the Zionist movement to the Yishuv in its efforts against terrorism. It calls upon the members of the dissident organizations to desist from further bloodshed and to submit to the national discipline of the organized Yishuv and the Zionist movement."

Convention, Congress at One

This has been and this is our position, though we are averse to the indiscriminate use of the term "terrorist." It was not so long ago that British propaganda called the members of the Haganah "terrorists" and they may do so again. Our attitude to the subject of resistance is best summed up in the words of the most loyal Christian friend of Zionism that our movement ever had in England, Lord Josiah Wedgwood. Speaking in Warsaw, in May, 1939, he declared:

"Laws are made in Palestine to stop Jews entering Palestine, to punish those who harbor them, to stop Jews from buying land wherefrom to feed themselves. Taxes taken from the Jews of Palestine will be used to enforce these laws—for police, for motor boats, for gaols and judges to drive them off God's earth. These are not laws or taxes passed by any representative assembly; the victims have had no voice in them. If they had, as a minority, even then they would still be laws of man and contrary to a higher law. If ever there were laws to be broken, it is these laws; and if ever it were necessary—the time is now. For these laws are contrary to human instincts, or in other words, to the law of God. Now! For if you lie down now, you will never rise again."

To all of which I say, Amen.

Thus, on the three principal issues, the World Zionist Congress and the Convention of the American Zionists were substantially at one. Those who favored partition, who insisted upon going to the London Conference unconditionally and who were opposed to all forms of resistance were naturally disappointed with the results of the Congress. They were bitter and unsparing in their criticism and they heaped mountains of abuse upon the delegates of the ZOA to the Congress for the role which they played in faithfully carrying out the instructions which they had received from the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America.

I believe now, when one can see the Congress in better perspective, as I believed then, that in spite of the personal embroilments, party strife and the difficulties resulting from the fact that it was the first Congress after a lapse of seven



years during which time Jewish life was shaken to its very foundations, the World Zionist Congress acted wisely and responsibly and that it gave directives to our work which it would be well for us to continue to follow most scrupulously.

Active Political Participation

I am proud of the role which the American Zionist Organization played at Basle and I sincerely hope that American Zionists will continue to exercise independence of judgment and continue to assume a large measure of responsibility for the political conduct of our movement. Ours is the largest Jewish community in the world today, as well informed and mature as any Jewish community in the world, and the United States is the most important center for the political activities of our movement. We have much to give to our movement besides money, bureaucrats notwithstanding. Palestine has a right to expect of us active and eager participation in political planning and direction.

Our case is now *sub judice* in the United Nations. A new Committee of Inquiry, this time an international one, is at work, to ascertain the facts about Palestine. Within two months, it will make its reports to the Assembly of the United Nations. One advantage to us in the referral of the Palestine matter to an international body is that now the nations of the world and not only Great Britain will have the right to express themselves on our claims which, after all, were originally defined by the nations of the world, in an international document—the Palestine Mandate. With Great Britain we had come to the end of the road, and at the end of the road there was a stone wall.

Tactical Gains

At the Special Session of the United Nations on Palestine which was held on April 26-May 15, we scored a few tactical gains. They are not to be confused with ultimate and substantial gains. The status of the Jewish Agency was recognized, though a determined effort was made in pursuance of a long established policy on the part of the Palestine Mandatory, to reduce the status of the Jewish Agency and to elbow it out of the picture whenever possible. You are undoubtedly acquainted from press reports with the long debates and the protracted maneuverings which finally resulted in the instruction which was given by the Assembly of the United Nations to the First Committee (Political and Security) which is coextensive in membership with the Assembly to grant the Jewish Agency a hearing. The Jewish Agency was the only body to speak for the Jewish people at this Special Assembly. Since that time the Jewish Agency has been granted the right of a permanent liaison representative with the Committee of Inquiry.

Another tactical gain was the defeat of the efforts of the Arab bloc to place the

ple'—Address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

and A Program



world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited on the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the good will and helpful cooperation of the closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character."

At the convention of the American Jewish Conference held in February, 1946, I stated: "In this connection I should like to suggest that we should be on guard against those who would like to tie the Zionist movement to one or another of present-day rival ideologic groups, Soviet Socialism vs. Social Democracy. There are those who resent every approach which we make to win over the sympathy of the Soviet Government to our cause. They call it 'flirting', and point the finger of derision at Zionists whenever some anti-Zionist statement or act emanates from Soviet or pro-Soviet sources. This is an amazing phenomenon in Jewish life which can only be attributed to a blind and bitter partisanship which carries over from an area which is not related to Jewish life to a specifically Jewish issue of gravest moment."

Not Tried Hard Enough

"We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over Great Britain even though we have been grievously disappointed time and again, and the latest developments are the most disappointing of all. We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over the President of the United States and our State Department even though heretofore we have encountered considerable misunderstanding and resistance there. No one has criticized or derided us for carrying on intensive work with those governments. No one has criticized or derided us for trying to establish contacts with other governments in Europe, South and Central America and other parts of the world. Why, then, should the Zionist movement regard itself as in any way inhibited from trying to win understanding and friendship for our movement from one of the greatest powers on earth?"

"The Arabs are certainly not averse to carrying on their propaganda both in the direction of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union. My regret is not that we have tried, but that we have not tried hard enough, or soon enough. At the moment, the attitude of the Soviet Government—insofar as the sparse evidence can indicate an attitude—does not seem to be favorable to us. But there is nothing final about it. Some of us recall that up to a few months ago, even more definite evidences seemed to point to a favorable and a friendly attitude. The present attitude may or may not change again in the future. We may not succeed. But we certainly owe it to ourselves to do everything in our power to see that that attitude does change, and in our favor."

It may be assumed that the British Government will press for the acceptance of its Morrison-Grady proposals in a revised and perhaps even less acceptable form. Clearly there is no hope for a solution there. If the United States will continue to remain in Great Britain's corner as it did throughout the sessions of the Special Assembly of the United Nations, then whatever the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry will be, they will be utterly doomed. It will not be very long before they, too, will be gathering dust on the shelves alongside of the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, and all the other reports. In fact it is quite difficult to understand how a serious minded committee of inquiry can bring in any recommendations for a political solution of a political problem without first ascertaining the prospects of such recommendations being accepted by those powers who, in the last analysis, must assume the responsibility for implementing them.

Great Britain has indicated its position time and again unmistakably. It wishes to

Realization of Our Dream

Remarks at Closing Convention Session

By DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

The Jubilee Convention will go down in the annals of the Zionist Organization of America as one of its great conventions. It was one of the best attended, most spirited, most significant and constructive in Zionist history. It was also a fine demonstration of the democratic function of our movement on a high plane.

The Convention took definite and clear-cut positions on the major questions confronting the movement. It overwhelmingly approved and endorsed the policies pursued by the administration of the Zionist Organization of America, under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, during the past year. It reaffirmed our adherence to basic Zionist principles, and the full Zionist program—the reestablishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. It pledged support to the Yishuv and the Haganah in their resistance to the White Paper and the oppressive policies of the Mandatory regime, and in their legitimate and responsible struggle in defense of Jewish rights. At the same time the Convention repudiated in unequivocal terms, the unauthorized and undisciplined activities of the dissident groups in Palestine and of those who purport to represent them here. The Convention also defined its attitude with regard to the present policy of our government in Washington in relation to the Palestine question now under examination by the United Nations.

At the World Zionist Congress, held in Basle seven months ago, the position of the American Zionist delegation on most major issues prevailed. Some of the elements who were defeated at the Congress set up a hue and cry, charging that the ZOA dele-

remain in control of the country for as long as possible and to confine the Jewish development in Palestine to as narrow limits as possible. It can find no fault in its administration of Palestine up to now. It is infallible, as always. The fault is always with the Jewish Agency, the Jewish educational system and the higher social and cultural standards of the Jews, sometimes with the Arabs, but never with the mandatory regime. It is opposed to the establishment of a Jewish State in the whole or in a part of Palestine. It is opposed to granting the Jewish people full control of immigration even in a limited area within a cantonized Palestine. The Soviet Government has indicated in broad outline what it is prepared to approve. The Soviet influence in the United Nations is considerable, but not as extensive as that of the United States.

Where does the United States Government stand at the moment? No one knows. At the Special Assembly of the United Nations, the U. S. delegation gave no indication whatsoever, although many governments expected the United States, in view of its long record of declarations on the subject of the Jewish National Home, to give some lead to the deliberations and to indicate an attitude, as did the Soviet Union. The United States delegation contented itself with taking a position which technically may have been justified, namely, that the sole purpose of the Special Assembly was to appoint a Committee of Inquiry and that therefore it should not declare itself on the substance of the question. It vigorously opposed the granting of a hearing to the Jewish Agency on the same ground, although the Arab delegations in the Assembly took occasion, time and again, to argue their case substantively, and to carry on a vigorous anti-Zionist propaganda. It was only under the pressure of public opinion that the United States delegation rather ungraciously yielded and agreed that the Jewish Agency should be allowed to appear before the Political Committee.

gation, headed by Dr. Silver, did not reflect the sentiments of the rank and file of American Zionists. An agitation was started here, in Palestine and other places, for the purpose of undermining the authority of our leadership and some had entertained the hope that this Convention would repudiate that leadership or reject its policies. It is clear now that they have miscalculated and misjudged the sentiments of American Zionists. The great masses of our constituents are more firmly and solidly united behind the policies and leadership of the ZOA than ever before. We emerge from this Convention with our forces unified, strengthened and consolidated, and with clear directives as to policy.

In every movement and in every organization, there are majorities and minorities. There is a minority element in our organization today, of course. I doubt whether one could properly call it an opposition. But to the extent to which it is that, I feel confident that it will be a loyal opposition and that irrespective of individual views, it will cooperate fully with the administration, in carrying out the democratically expressed will of the majority.

The Zionist Organization of America now enters upon the sixth decade and second half-century of its existence, confident of the ultimate triumph of our ideal. We have made great strides and have achieved much more than could have been foreseen and predicted by the founders of our movement 56 years ago. I envy the young men and young women in our midst, not merely because they are young, but because I feel certain that they will live to see the complete realization of our dream—Judaea reborn!

U. S. Stand?

Since the conclusion of the Special Session, our government has continued to remain rather tight-lipped. It has taken the position, again on technical grounds, that inasmuch as the Committee of Inquiry is now at work it would be interpreted as an attempt to influence it if the U. S. Government were to make any declarations at this time. The government is not presently inclined to define in more specific terms the policy announced by President Truman on October 4 of last year. Nor have we been able to receive any additional information on the reply which the President made to King Ibn Saud on October 28, 1946, in which he stated that "the Jewish National Home, however, has not as yet been fully developed" and "it is only natural that this government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home."

It appears that our government is not yet prepared to make any statement formally or informally with regard to its future policy. For the present it prefers not to outline any position with regard to the future of Palestine which it might take.

Must Remain Alerted

It is clear that for our movement the coming year will be a very critical one. It is clear that for the success of our movement the role of the American Government will be a decisive one. It is clear therefore that the Zionists of America for the next few months, for the next year, must remain fully alerted and thoroughly mobilized. They must act with wisdom and with courage. They must rally support from every section of our population and from both political parties. Both of the great political parties of the United States stand firmly committed to the Zionist program. The Republican Party is now in

(Continued on Page 19)

subject of the immediate independence of Palestine on the agenda of the Special Sessions of the United Nations, and later on to embody it in the Terms of Reference for the Special Committee of Inquiry. This was followed by another defeat for the Arab bloc—the effort which was made to dissociate the problem of the Jewish refugees in the DP camps from the Palestine problem, and to direct the Committee of Inquiry to limit its investigation to Palestine exclusively.

Soviet Stand

A more positive and substantial gain for our movement was the declaration of the spokesman for the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko, which disclosed for the first time the official attitude of the Soviet Government to Zionism. In a real sense it was a revolutionary statement. It acknowledged and endorsed the national aspirations of the Jewish people. "It is well known," he said, "that the aspirations of an important part of the Jewish people are bound up with the question of Palestine, and with the future structure of that country. This interest is comprehensible and completely justified." He spoke movingly of the terrible sufferings of the Jewish people, words which I hoped would come from the mouths of the American delegation, but didn't, during the last war and of the frightful condition in which "the great mass of the Jewish people find themselves after the war." It is the duty of the United Nations to concern itself with this problem. "The experience of the past," he said "particularly during the time of the second World War, has shown that not one state of Western Europe has been in a position to give proper help to the Jewish people and to defend its interests or even its existence." This fact explains the aspiration of the Jewish people for a creation of a state of their own. He expressed the thought that the creation of a single Arab-Jewish State with equal rights for the Jewish people and the Arab people might be a possible solution, but if their relations have deteriorated to a point where that was no longer realizable, the division of Palestine into two independent, separate states, one Jewish and one Arab, should be considered.

It was heartening to have this encouraging support for the basic contention of Zionism from a Great Power whose position up to that moment was very uncertain. You will pardon me if I refer to a statement of mine which I made before the 1945 convention of the ZOA when I assumed the office of Presidency which at that time was subjected to considerable criticism:

Global Character

"We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the

Greetings from Labor

WILLIAM GREEN

President, American Federation of Labor

The doors of Palestine should be opened wide to the admission of Jewish immigrants. This is particularly true at this time when starvation, hunger and poverty prevail throughout Continental Europe. We maintain and hold that the Palestine Mandate is in effect and for that reason we respectfully call upon our own government to take a firm stand that the Mandate be carried out religiously and in full measure.

This action should be taken prior to a decision upon the Jewish Homeland problem in Palestine by the United Nations organization.

PHILIP MURRAY

President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

The Congress of Industrial Organizations adheres firmly to the principle that solemn commitments should be observed by the parties who enter into them. This principle is not capable of limited application. From our point of view, it applies not only to business organizations and labor unions but to the representative governments of the world. Specifically, the CIO believes that the original provisions of the Palestine Mandate establishing Great Britain as the administrative government of Palestine be observed. We have expressed our opposition officially to unilateral amendment of that mandate by the 1939 White Paper. Our conventions, have on a number of occasions expressed our views, and we see no reason for amending them at this time.

We encourage the efforts of the Zionist Organization of America to establish observance of the Palestine Mandate. Please convey my greetings to the delegates at your convention.

Support the Haganah!

Excerpts of Address
By **RUDOLPH SONNEBORN**

It is my privilege to speak on behalf of that one dynamic force in Palestine which at this time more than any other expresses the will of a people to live—the force that supports a people's army—the force that provides the sinews of war—the force that purchases rescue ships and mans them—the force that expresses to the fullest the organized and disciplined resistance of a people to all those who seek to destroy it.

I speak of that organization of men and women to which the vast majority of the Yishuv bear allegiance and to which the majority of the able-bodied Jews in Palestine, youths and adults, are honored to belong. I speak of the Haganah.

The tasks of Hagana today are twofold: to bring refugees to Palestine and to stand watchful over the safety of the Yishuv. We all know the position with regard to the refugees. There is a vicious conspiracy to keep the Jewish survivors locked up in Europe, unable to move except back to the pogrom-tainted air of Rumania and Poland. This conspiracy, evolved by Bevin and the Colonial Office, aims at sentencing the last survivors of European Jewry to suicide or a living death and at the same time to assure a permanent Jewish minority in Palestine. The methods are known. Unscrupulous pressure has been brought to bear on foreign governments to close their borders. A blockade is maintained not only along the territorial waters of Palestine but at all Mediterranean ports and at all the frontiers that our unhappy people must cross on the continent of Europe. Officials in key positions have been corrupted and bribed; an elaborate network of espionage is maintained all over the world—its purpose to spy on the movements of the Jews. These measures have made our work more difficult—but they have not succeeded—and will never succeed—in blocking the second exodus of the Jewish people from slavery to freedom, from death to life.



RUDOLPH SONNEBORN

The second task of the Haganah is inside Palestine—the defence of the Jewish people at home.

Confusionists

It is strange that these words need be repeated, told and retold to Zionists, to delegates to a Zionist Convention. And yet, because of a barrage of propaganda by unprincipled and unscrupulous men, the minds of many have become confused. Little doubts have crept in and have been magnified. Aren't there other groups that are more militant than the Haganah? Aren't there other armed forces whose exploits are more daring, more thrilling, who make the headlines more frequently? Shouldn't they get some of our support?

And so we have among our membership those who have one day contributed to the Haganah and the next day to the Irgun or Bergson group.

Let this be made clear. These groups, and what is more, their ways of life, are mutually exclusive. One cannot, at one and the same time, contribute to an armed force of a country and also contribute to a segment of a population that seeks to undermine and overthrow, if not to destroy, the armed force and the supreme

The Role of American Zionists

Excerpts of Address
By **LOUIS LIPSKY**

It might not be fitting just now to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the organization of the modern Zionist movement. These are bad days for the Jewish people. The Mandate issued by the League of Nations to Britain is under review by the United Nations. The Jewish people face this moment of decision with casualties incurred during World War II mounting up to an appalling figure.

At the same time the National Home, the product of the creative energies of the whole Jewish people during the 50 year period, is an amazing revelation of Jewish national spirit, resources and experience; but all they have created is under a persistent attack of the defaulting trustee. Once again, the Zionists of America are being called upon to take over heavy responsibilities for the Jewish State.

The Zionists of America have been preparing for these responsibilities through a half century of devotion and sacrifice. At the beginning, all groups in American Jewish life turned their backs to the appeal of national redemption. Zionists had to overcome almost universal opposition in Jewish ranks. This opposition came not only from the assimilationist forces assembled in the reform Jewish movement, but also from the orthodox religious wing. The activities of Isaac M. Wise and Emil G. Hirsch, leaders of reformed Judaism, were directed to a challenge of the loyalty of Zionists to their adopted home. But on the other hand, the loyalty of Zionists to God's Torah was also being challenged in most of the orthodox synagogues. The Jewish Labor Movement was conditioned against acceptance of Jewish nationality. Many Jewish labor leaders who wandered over into Zionist fields were immediately disqualified from leadership in the Labor movement.

authority of a government, through which it acts.

The fact is that the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Group are endangering the efforts and sacrifices of three generations by their insane actions. Their indiscriminate bloodshed is bringing ruin upon the Yishuv, threatening to destroy our last chance for survival as a nation. This might be the third destruction in our long and tragic history. Politically and morally, they are playing into the hands of our enemies. They are undermining the authority of the democratically elected bodies by their refusal to accept the discipline of the Yishuv. They waste precious lives on senseless adventures which bring no advantage and which give practical aid and comfort to our enemies.

Problem Here

The Yishuv will deal with the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Group—but we in America have to deal with a Frankenstein monster which has sprung up in our midst. The Bergson-Ben Hecht Group, under eight or nine aliases and fronts, varying in slogans and in window dressing, is interested only in sowing confusion and doubt in the minds of American Jewry, seeking to destroy confidence in the organized Zionist bodies, and undermine the prestige and authority of the



LOUIS LIPSKY

It may be said that the whole American Jewish Community with very few exceptions are now allied in spirit and devotion with the Zionist Movement. This was demonstrated beyond any doubt in the formation of the American Jewish Conference in September 1943 in New York. An assembly of over 500 delegates including every group and category in American Jewish life, after lengthy and thorough discussion, approved with only a few dissenting voices a resolution which calls for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

This formal organized approval reflects the backing of Zionism, by the cultural, religious, and philanthropic agencies of the communal life of the Jews of the United States. In every phase of Jewish life, Zionist thought, Zionist activities, Zionist ideals and principles are receiving the continuous attention of every Jewish community in the land. The few dissenters find themselves in pitiful isolation.

The decimation of Jewish life in all of Europe has produced a situation in which two great Jewish communities must cooperate in the leadership of Zionist affairs. They are the Jewish National Home in Palestine, soon to become the Jewish State, and the American Jewish community. These two communities are called upon to establish a fraternal partnership in which both are equally concerned in the strengthening and development of the Jewish State until the time comes when the Jewish State itself takes over responsibility for the destiny of Jewish national life.

Worthy Partner

In this situation, the Zionists of America must enter into their tasks with humility and understanding of the difficulties that will be encountered by the partner to whom perforce must be entrusted the building of the National Home. We have wealth; we have understanding of a great ideal. We have the experience of about 100 years of free life under American democratic conditions. There are certain tasks only we are able to perform. There are certain other tasks that only the Jewish National Home can perform. These tasks must be assigned to them with a certain respect for the experience, their desires, for the ideas they have developed in the course of the building.

The Zionist Movement in America has made great contributions to the creation of the Jewish National Home. It has a great deal more to contribute now in the form of an interest not limited merely to the giving of the material resources. They will have to raise themselves to the stature of worthy partners of the fine army of builders of the Jewish State.

Jewish Agency. They are fishing in muddy waters, and hope to inherit the mantle of leadership.

Let one thing be made crystal clear. There is nothing that the British Government or Bevin would prefer than to see the Jewish Agency and the Haganah superseded by those who have no standing in the eyes of the world, in the forums of the United Nations, or any following in the Yishuv. Those who cry for the scalp of the Agency, those who seek to circumvent and sidetrack the Haganah are unwittingly playing the game of the British.

Position Clear

I am very glad that President Emanuel Neumann made the position of the incoming Administration clear in the debate on the resolution dealing with Haganah and the dissident groups. He emphasized that moral and material support should be given by the membership of the ZOA to Haganah, and only to Haganah. The resolution and his interpretation allow no misinterpretation. No aid and comfort can be given by disciplined Zionists to the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Group and their allies in this country which sow discord and confusion.

Let us close our ranks and spew out these sowers of discord and confusion. Let the

American Zionist movement stand firmly on record as disavowing any sympathy with these poisoners of the wells of public opinion.

More than ever before in our history the solution is in our hands. More than ever before we realize that the rescue of Jewish life and the creation of Jewish nationhood cannot be entrusted to others. No nation on earth ever received its freedom as a gift—nor will we—our friends can help, but the solution is in our hands alone.



DEWEY D. STONE
National ZOA Expansion Fund Chairman

Land and Water— Reconstruction Keystone

By JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG
President, Jewish National Fund of America

The historic event of October 6, 1946, when in one-day "Operation Land", the Jewish National Fund succeeded in establishing 12 new settlements in the Negev, has become a world-acclaimed saga which will live long in the memory of men. But this event was only an earnest of what is to come, a forecast of what Jewish scientific planning, dogged determination, inspired vision and heroic pioneering can and will do for the reclamation of the most difficult regions of Palestine.

There are 31 settlements in Southern Judea and the Negev today. Sixteen of these settlements were established before October 1946 and 15 outposts in the desert came into being since.

The total number of Jewish settlements in Eretz Israel today is 327, of which 230 are on Jewish National Fund land. At least 14 more new colonies are being planned before the United Nations Assembly begins its fateful session in the Fall.

Only a fortnight ago, the Palestine Government promulgated an Ordinance which prohibits the extension of water supply without permission of the Palestine Government. While the Ordinance is couched in plausible terms, nevertheless, in view of the sad record of British misrule in Palestine, this Ordinance can only be regarded as in furtherance of the ruthless course of the Palestine Government to stifle further Jewish settlement in Palestine by cutting off the water supply to new settlers.

Keystone of Reconstruction

Should this design against the necessary water supply be carried out, Britain will forfeit its last claim to govern in Palestine and prove how utterly recreant she is to the trust which was placed in her hands by the League of Nations representing the bulk of the civilized world.

We must ever keep clearly in mind that land and water are the keystone of Jewish reconstruction in Palestine. Without land, a Jewish Homeland is a misnomer. The land on which the settlements are established, the land on which the refugees are housed, the land on which the national institutions are located—this land is owned by the Jewish people through the Jewish National Fund. In 1947, the needs of this Fund will total \$27,733,000.00. The bulk of these funds are for new land—for 90,000 dunams in four main regions, and for housing land near large villages and in towns. For, despite all the heartbreaking restrictions, the land redemption program in Pal-



JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG

estine goes on under the resourceful and energetic leadership of Dr. Abraham Granovsky and his able associates.

Palestine still occupies the central solution for the survival and the renaissance of a broken but undefeated people, and despite all difficulties and the heart-breaking obstacles which Britain is placing in the path of the Jewish people, Jewish immigration into Palestine will continue and additional land holdings will continue to be acquired by the Jewish National Fund.

Not in relation to any single development, nor to any specific number of Jewish immigrants who may reach its shores within a limited space of time can Palestine's influence be measured. It transcends the narrow confines of the immediate accomplishment. Its meaning is not restricted to the few fortunate certificate-holders, but it is just as concrete for those whose eventual arrival seems now to be remote.

For those continuing in the emptiness of life in Western Europe, for the bewildered transient in the DP Camps, for the Jew who fears death in the concealment of a Polish cellar; for the stalwart Jewish underground worker who stands guard over a caravan of children enroute to nowhere, for the cough-racked tubercular adolescent in Vienna, for all these and more, there is only one reason for existence—the hope of tomorrow in Palestine, which to Jews is not only a refuge, it is the symbol of a new and creative national life for the Jewish people.

We, American Jews, living in a land of freedom, democracy and opportunity, are today the voice and the hands of the pitiful remnants of our people, who have suffered, bled and been broken on the rack; we are the voice of millions of our dead who cry out from their graves in behalf of the pitiful handful who were spared their cruel fate. We shall not fall them. We shall stand shoulder to shoulder with them until the foundations of the Jewish Commonwealth are firmly laid, and a place is assured to the Jewish people in the family of nations.

McDonald Sees Jewish Palestine In Best Interest of Britain, U. S.; \$14,000,000 Contributed—Rothenberg

"National self interest quite as much as common honesty require that the British and we should expedite the fulfillment of the Jewish dream in Palestine," said James G. McDonald who was one of the American members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, speaking at the Jewish National Fund luncheon session of the Convention.

"The obsession of British and American experts with 'realpolitik' does not even have the justification of being sound from a selfish British or American point of view; it is not merely immoral, it is unrealistic and self-defeating," Mr. McDonald said.

He urged that the United States remain committed to a policy "of urging Britain to carry out its clear obligations to facilitate immigration and close settlement of the land" as a means of developing the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Rothenberg Presides

Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund of America and chairman of the luncheon, reported that the contributions of American Jews for the purchase of land in Palestine, making possible the establishment of new agricultural colonies and the absorption of newcomers from DP camps reached the unprecedented height of nearly \$14,000,000 during the past nine months. He criticized British interference with the reclamation and cultivation of Palestine's southern desert.

Other speakers at the luncheon session were Aaron Wright, of London, president of the Jewish National Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, who urged that American Jews invest capital in Palestine and build homes on JNF land in order to relieve the critical housing shortage there, Mendel N. Fisher, executive director of the Jewish National Fund of America, and Dr. Harris J. Levine, national JNF chairman for the ZOA.

In sharp disagreement with those in the British Foreign Office and in our State Department who argue that the Arab world must be placated in order to prevent Russian expansion southward, Mr. McDonald said they were basing their case on "two fantastically unreal assumptions—first, that there is effective unity among Arab states, and second, that the extremely conservative leaders of these states would risk jeopardizing their personal positions and their regimes through flirtations with Communism merely to penalize Britain and the United States in the event that these two powers loyally adhered to their plighted words about Palestine."

Praises JNF

Mr. McDonald praised the far-sightedness of the Jewish National Fund through which Jewish land in Palestine is purchased and held in perpetuity for the Jewish people, and "Jewish leaders, who, repeatedly in the past 25 years, have risked their official positions by taking chances which seemed to some of their colleagues unwarranted." He cited as an example, the great



JAMES G. McDONALD

Valley of Esdraelon reaching from Haifa to the Jordan, which, when purchased 26 years ago, seemed waste, and which today, compares in richness to any valley in California.

Rendering an account of the achievements of the Jewish National Fund of America since he became its president three years ago, Judge Rothenberg reported that during this period the Fund remitted the amount of 34 million dollars to the Zionist land acquisition instrumentality which was thus enabled to carry out the extensive settlement program in the Negev, Palestine's southern region and in other parts of the Jewish National Home.

"Despite the cruel and illegal attitude of the Mandatory Power towards Jewish land acquisition in Palestine during the six months from October 1946 to March 1947, the Jewish National Fund acquired close to 18,000 dunams of new land in Judea, in the Valley of Sharon, in Samaria, in Emek Zebulun, in Emek Jesreel, in the Jordan Valley and in Galilee," he reported.

"During the same period, the Jewish National Fund provided the land for the founding of 24 new settlements and defrayed a considerable part of the cost of their establishment. Twelve of the new settlements were found-

ed between dawn and dusk on October 6, 1946, in the Negev, an operation which has become a world-acclaimed pioneering saga."

Judge Rothenberg accused the British Mandatory regime of seeking "to deny to the builders of the Jewish National Home two indispensable elements of life—land and water."

Mr. Wright, who is on a brief visit to the United States in connection with certain housing projects on JNF land, said that the Arab population has grown most rapidly "precisely in the areas where the Jewish National Fund has been most active in acquiring land, as a result of which the Arabs have obtained capital with which to irrigate and develop the land which they have retained. It is in these areas that the Arab peasantry is most deeply rooted in the soil and where they have increased the produce of their land to the greatest degree," he said.

Mr. Wright appealed for the investment of American Jewish capital in Palestine in order to remedy the acute housing shortage there.

Fisher Reports

There are 900,000 dunams of land out of the 27,000,000 dunams in Palestine (a dunam is one quarter of an acre) in the possession of the Jewish National Fund, it was reported by Mendel N. Fisher, executive director of the organization in America.

"For the period of the 45 years since the inception of the Jewish National Fund, the American Jewish community has contributed 51.8% of the total world income," he revealed. "Not even the cruel White Paper policy which was issued by the Mandatory Government to frustrate our hopes has stopped Jewish determination to redeem the land. Even today, we are purchasing land at the rate of 45,000 dunams a year."

Dr. Levine, as chairman of the ZOA's National Committee of Jewish National Fund activities, reported on the steps that have been taken to acquire a 50,000 dunam tract of land in Palestine to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the ZOA.

Report on JNF



MENDEL N. FISHER



AARON WRIGHT

Rothenberg Reappointed

Judge Morris Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund and former ZOA president, was reappointed to the Magistrate's Bench by New York's Mayor William O'Dwyer for another ten-year term.

'The Eyes of the World Are Upon Us'

By Dr. Emanuel Neumann

Once again we meet in the shadow of great events, fraught with the most far-reaching consequences. The drama of our struggle is unfolding before our eyes with unanticipated speed, sweeping toward a climax. We and the many thousands whom we represent are not idle spectators of this drama, but in a true sense its actors. To us it has been given to participate in that epic struggle which has engaged our thoughts and energies and our deepest emotions. We are immersed in the swiftly moving current of events. Our proximity to them is too close for historic perspective and the scene too vast to be fully encompassed by men of our generation. Perhaps our posterity will be better able to view our times and our exertions in their true relations and correct proportions. The historians of the future may evaluate more accurately and more justly, the human and political factors involved, the clash of conflicting interests and the interplay of world forces—all of which are shaping Jewish destiny.

Immediate Needs

Here and for the moment we are concerned not with the suspended judgment of history, but with the imperious necessities of the hour. We must take inventory of our resources and plan wisely for the most effective disposition of our forces. Standing as we are in the midst of battle, we are faced with problems which brook no delay. In Palestine, in America and on the international scene, there are pressing issues to be resolved and critical decisions to be made on questions of high policy.

Since we last met in Convention eight months ago, our distinguished president and others associated with him in the leadership, have been continuously preoccupied with the major problems of our movement. Our membership as a whole, was likewise under pressure to continue and intensify its collective political effort. Fortunately this has not been done at the sacrifice of our regular activities. Our organization has not diminished in numbers, but increased. Its varied and ramified activities in every field have not contracted, but expanded. We come to this Convention not only as the largest Jewish membership organization in America—indeed in the world—but probably also as the strongest and most influential.

As I had occasion to point out at our last Convention, this great accretion of strength which has come to our organization, and the commanding position it has acquired, has imposed upon us responsibilities incomparably greater than any which rested upon us in the past. I remarked then, "Our happy adolescence lies behind us and the burdens of maturity are now fully upon our shoulders." And I added, "Let us not shrink from the implications of this position. Too many of our people in all parts of the world look to us for leadership. We are summoned to action and high responsibility not only on the American scene but in the arena of international affairs."

I believe that on the whole, our organization and its elected representatives have responded to the challenge of the hour. They

did so both here and abroad, at the World Zionist Congress and since; in London and Jerusalem; in Washington and at Lake Success. It is conceivable that judgments may differ on the lines of policy we have pursued. As to that, the Convention must render its verdict. But no one will be disposed to question the fact that everywhere and on all fronts, we met our responsibilities and played a substantial and not insignificant part in the shaping of Zionist policies. It has come to be recognized that insofar as the fate of our Movement lies with the Jewish people, it will be largely determined by two major factors in the Zionist world: the Yishuv on the one hand and American Zionism on the other. In their joint and concerted effort lies the best hope of Israel. The closer the ties, the stronger the bonds of comradeship and understanding, which unite us across the seas, the more surely we will advance toward the consummation of our ideal.

The 50th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America sends its fraternal greetings and its pledge of unlimited support and cooperation to the Yishuv, to the Vaad Leumi, to the Palestine Executive of the Jewish Agency, and last but not least, to the Haganah, the ultimate guarantor of the Yishuv's security.

World Issue

The eyes of the Jewish world are upon us. The numerous messages we have received from all portions of the globe, are but a slight indication of the deep interest with which our deliberations will be followed in all continents and in all countries where Jewish life pulsates. We should also be cognizant of the fact that now more than ever before and to a greater extent than may be realized, the proceedings of our Convention will not be without interest to the chancelleries of the leading nations of the world. Whether we like it or not—and certainly we have not willed it so—the destiny of Palestine and the destiny of Israel, bound up with Palestine, constitutes today one of the critical issues of world politics. The interests of great powers, the ambitions of empires, converge and meet in that small but precious land. Whatever these interests and ambitions, whether they are motivated by economic, strategic or political considerations, whether they are centered on harbors or pipelines or military bases—we cannot ignore them. But we assert that there is one overriding interest, infinitely greater and incomparably superior to all other interests involved. It is the vital interest and the overwhelming stake of the Jewish people, the one people in

the world to whom Palestine is not a matter of relative advantage, but a matter of life and death!

Because that is so; because we have acted upon that conviction; because our pioneers went forth to reclaim a wilderness and build a nation; because we, in the Diaspora, have greeted a world-wide movement and converted that movement into an active political force—we are now a factor which prudent and clear-minded statesmen are not inclined to ignore. It is more than probable that unofficial observers of some of the interested powers are seated in this hall tonight. Certainly the record of our proceedings will be examined with interest by the diplomatic officials of more than one government. If they do so and if they also gather something of the mood and spirit of this Convention, I am sure they will be confirmed in the view that no disposition of the Palestine question can be effective, and no settlement they can devise will endure which would deny to an ancient people, fighting desperately for its very survival, the right to life, liberty, and a secure national existence on its ancestral soil.

U. S. Zionists' Influence

There is one Foreign Office which has yet to accept that truth and to realize the nature of our inflexible determination. It is perhaps not without reason that Foreign Secretary Bevin has complained so often and so bitterly, as he did in my presence in London, of the influence exerted by American Zionism, which according to him has prevented him from achieving the solution of the Palestine problem. Repeatedly Mr. Bevin has charged that he could and would have reached agreement with Jews brought up in the British tradition, but that he could do nothing with the Jewish Agency, so long as its policy was so largely influenced from New York. (He said New York but perhaps he meant to include also Cleveland). If the Foreign Secretary meant to suggest that but for the position and influence of American Zionists, he might have succeeded in forcing or inducing the Jewish people to acquiesce in his solution, by accepting the Morrison-Bevin Plan for Palestine—I believe he is mistaken. But insofar as he chose to place at our door, a major share of the responsibility for the miscarriage of his plans, I, speaking humbly on your behalf, and on behalf of American Zionism, would plead guilty to the indictment and accept the implied compliment.

It is perfectly true that American Zionism has grown and matured to a point of knowing pre-

cisely where it stands. It is wholly false that we are in principle opposed to cooperation with Britain or that we are motivated by a basically anti-British sentiment. But a sense of political realism should reconcile the Foreign Office to the fact that as long as American Zionism is animated by its present spirit and guided by its present leadership, it will continue to offer political resistance to any plans or proposals which would defeat the aims of Zionism. It was Britain's war-time leader, Mr. Winston Churchill, who once proudly declared that he had not been called to be the First Minister of the Crown in order to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. Surely British statesmen will understand it if we say that no Zionist Congress and no Zionist Convention will ever call to leadership any man or group of men in order to join in the liquidation of the Zionist ideal.

50th Anniversary

This Convention is invested with special solemnity and draws added significance from the circumstance that it is not only the Jubilee Convention of our organization, but also marks the 50th Anniversary of the World Zionist Organization. We cannot open the proceedings without invoking however briefly, but reverently, the memory of the Founding Fathers of our Movement and their historic strivings. There is a sanctity which informs such an occasion. There are hallowed memories, imperishable names, the echoes of unforgettable utterances and evocations of a glorious and heroic past which must permeate our thoughts and consecrate our proceedings. We are the heirs of a rich and noble tradition; the keepers of a deathless flame kindled by the ardent spirits that gave birth to our Movement by their prophetic vision and creative passion. However earnestly we of this generation may labor to build upon the foundations which they laid, and into which they poured so much love and selfless devotion, we must turn our thoughts to them, with deep humility and grateful remembrance of their historic achievements. We cannot hope to emulate their deeds, but we can strive to approach the tasks which face us, invigorated and purified by our communion with their spirit.

Nor can we enter upon our business without pausing to pay a brief tribute to some of our own generation who have departed from us, in the course of the past year.

Patterson Cited

I will mention first, a non-Jew, a devotee of the Zionist idea, Colonel John Henry Patterson, who commanded the Jewish Legion during the First World War and subsequently devoted the remainder of his life to defending and furthering the Zionist cause; soldier, explorer, man of letters, he was above all, a Christian gentleman in the best and highest meaning of the term; one of the Chassidei Umoth Haolam.

Mrs. Emma Gottheil, wife of one of the great figures of American Zionism, the late Professor Richard Gottheil, and a Zionist personality in her own right. She attended the earliest Zionist Con-

gresses, one of the founders of Hadassah, was a friend of Theodor Herzl, was founder and head of the Women's League of the Keren Hayesod, 25 years ago, and maintained an active interest in the affairs of our movement until her death a fortnight ago.

Max Levy, an officer of the Seventh Zionist District and of the Manhattan Zionist Region; and a leading spirit of both organizations, scholarly, modest, devoted. He will continue to be missed by thousands of his fellow Zionists who loved him dearly for what he was.

Shetzer Eulogized

It is with deep sorrow that we record the passing of Simon Shetzer who served as Executive Director of our organization during 1941-1943. A man of brilliant mind and sterling character, he assumed his duties with a sense of consecration and discharged them with distinction. He has left behind a host of friends throughout the country whose admiration for his qualities is equalled by their grief over his untimely death.

Frank Abelson, an outstanding community leader of Birmingham, Alabama.

We recall with affection, the name and personality of Jacob Fishman, a vice president of our organization and one of its founders 50 years ago. One of the leading Jewish journalists of his generation, he was widely admired and universally respected for his keen insight, his analytical powers, his literary talent and above all, for his unsurpassed moral integrity. He was one of our delegates to the 22nd Zionist Congress and succumbed in Basle, dying as he would undoubtedly have wished, in harness, in the very midst of his unflagging Zionist activity. The name of Jacob Fishman will be enshrined in our hearts as it is enthroned in our affections.

Tribute To Monsky

Finally we pay our measure of tribute to a fellow Zionist who stood at the head of the largest non-Zionist organization in this country, Mr. Henry Monsky, the late president of B'nai B'rith. His sudden and untimely death is an irreparable loss, not only to his own circle, but to the American Jewish community, to the Zionist cause and to the Jewish people as a whole. It is, in large measure, to his efforts and co-operation, that we owe the formation and continued existence of the American Jewish Conference, of which he was chairman. More than any other single individual in recent years, he helped bridge the gap between Zionists and non-Zionists. Devoted to the public good and to the cause of his own martyred people, he brought to his work, personal gifts of a high order, a genius for conciliation and a talent for statesmanship. May his memory be blessed!

This Convention marks the close of one of the most fruitful and eventful administrations in the history of our organization—that of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. By the terms of our constitution, he is not eligible for re-election. We are all aware of course, that there has been a strong sentiment in favor of amending the constitution and drafting Dr. Silver for another term, and there is little doubt that if he had

(Continued on Page 19)



Shown conferring at one of the Convention sessions are (l. to r.) Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Israel Goldstein and Bernard Singer, who headed the Budget and Finance Committee at the Convention.

Convention Calls for Maximum Support of UJA

Immigration Slowdown Due To Lack of Funds—Goldstein

The slowdown in the flow of Jewish immigration to Palestine was attributed to a critical lack of cash funds by Dr. Israel Goldstein, national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, who urged an immediate stepping up in the campaign of the United Jewish Appeal, of which the United Palestine Appeal is a part, to raise \$170,000,000, the highest goal ever undertaken by any private agency anywhere in the world.

Speaking at a session on Palestine Funds during the closing day of the Convention, Dr. Goldstein revealed that the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) and the Keren Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund) all are now laboring under an accumulated deficit of almost \$45,000,000, of which close to \$15,000,000 was incurred during the current fiscal year.

"Even proposed plans for the transference of immigrants, particularly children, from the internment camps in Cyprus to camps in Palestine were deferred because of lack of funds for their housing and maintenance," he said.

Dr. Goldstein told the delegates attending the morning session, that the care which we have until now provided for the refugees arriving in Palestine has been decreased even below our minimum standards because of the lack of funds. He said further that "settlements throughout Palestine have had to assume heavy debt burdens because they were unable to get from the Jewish Agency the funds necessary to create the facilities for the new people they are willing to take."

Housing Need

He spoke of the desperate need in Palestine "for adequate housing for a growing community whose population has more than doubled in the last decade and a half," stating that "even settlers in the fully established settlements have to live once more in barracks and tents because their houses had to be put at the disposal of the children and refugees taken in." Despite this acute shortage, Dr. Goldstein said that "many of our housing projects which are desperately needed to relieve the congestion existing in Palestine have had to be cut or eliminated" for lack of funds.

Though more than \$20,714,000 was spent by the Jewish National Fund in 1946 for the purchase of land and its development, Dr. Goldstein said that "the purchases cannot keep pace with the need. More land must be bought and settlements must be established on that land. Every new settlement provides the nucleus for a farming colony, for more men, women and children who will find a home and security in the Jewish National Home. Thirty-four new settlements were established last year, each of them a promising potential, but now they are still infants with skeleton forces which require all of our support and encouragement."

Dr. Goldstein put at 40,000 the number of Jews brought to Palestine since the end of the war.

In conclusion, he stated that the spring campaign of the United Jewish Appeal was still 10% short of its \$127,000,000 goal, and "that this small margin is needed to transform failure into success." He called upon American Jewry to meet its obligation "to our people."

Charles Ress, chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Palestine Foundation Fund, extended the greetings of this organization to the Zionist Organization of America upon its 50th anniversary. He paid tribute to Dr. Emanuel Neumann for his foresight and courage in helping to bring into being the Palestine Foundation Fund 26 years ago, and making possible its great achievements.



Training schools throughout Palestine are converting unskilled Jewish immigrants into mechanics, electricians, engineers, chemists, precision workers. United Palestine Appeal agencies, currently raising their funds through the United Jewish Appeal's \$170,000,000 campaign, support vocational schools as part of their program of rehabilitating and resettling immigrants.

Emergency Council Thanks Congressmen for Support

An expression of thanks to the Congress of the United States "which has demonstrated time and time again that it is not prepared to let the Palestine issue rest with the passage of pro-Zionist resolutions" was given by Harry L. Shapiro, executive director of the American Zionist Emergency Council, speaking at a ZOA Activities session during the Convention.

"Leaders of both parties in both Houses have shown that they mean to have those resolutions translated into action," he stated. "Only a few days ago we saw a striking demonstration of this heartening attitude when a group of our nation's leading Senators called upon the State Department to clarify its attitude on Palestine."

He also informed the delegates that the Council, which is the political arm of the Zionist movement in this country, helped to bring about a change of attitude on the part of the United States delegation to the UN on the question of Jewish Agency participation in the Special Session.

Arab Activities Here

"Arab propaganda, which has been sponsored and supported by certain of the oil companies, by certain missionary organizations based in the Near East, by certain anti-Zionist elements in our State Department, and, of course, by those elements in our country who gladly endorse anything directed against Jews, has been intensified over the past few years. Arab speakers have gone through the country addressing meetings, especially on university campuses. A strong pro-Arab group has entrenched itself in and around Princeton University. The visits of the Saudi-Arabian princes and other Arab dignitaries have been skillfully taken advantage of by propagandists."

The speaker praised the "invaluable cooperation" which the Zionist movement has received from the American Christian Palestine Committee, which, he pointed out, "has won the support of thousands in churches, civic groups, women's clubs and colleges." He also expressed the Council's appreciation for the support received from veterans' groups, particularly the Jewish War Veterans, and the American Veterans Committee, and from both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

groups, particularly the Jewish War Veterans, and the American Veterans Committee, and from both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Hadassah Greetings

Mrs. Elliot F. Glassberg, national secretary of Hadassah, delivered a message of greeting from Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, national president, which said, in part: "Were the UN and its special commission truly motivated by a desire for a peaceful and stable world, it would be forced to the logical conclusion that the Jews, who return to their ancient land not as exploiters nor as absentee landlords, but as workers who bring with them from western lands the great knowledge of our century, are serving as a great demonstration center to the rest of the Middle East, showing the way in which to raise the standard of living and to bring well-being to the masses of underprivileged and oppressed. They would then welcome Jewish Palestine which brings the twin gifts of democracy and technical skill."

Mrs. Epstein warned, however, that "in a world beset by inherited cruelties, ancient hatreds, standardized errors, power politics and economic envy, it is entirely possible that the UN recommendations may have little to do with the well-being of either Arabs or Jews, or with the future of mankind." She expressed the hope that "the UN, realizing the significance of the first great decision which it is called upon to make, will truly evoke those standards of ideals and justice and morality which were first evolved in Palestine."

At the morning session of the Convention's second day, Dewey D. Stone, of Brockton, Mass., chairman of the National ZOA Expansion Fund, urged all communities to intensify their fund-raising activities on behalf of the Expansion Fund which maintains many ZOA activities including its educational and public relations projects. He stated that the income from this year's drives shows a substantial increase over last year.

Message From Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

Dr. Israel Goldstein, National Chairman

United Palestine Appeal

Will you convey my best wishes and appreciation to the men and women who will be gathered at the ZOA Convention Session of the United Palestine Appeal.

Were I present at the meeting, I would have stressed two points. First, is the great responsibility that rests upon all friends of Palestine to give unstinted, primary support to the United Jewish Appeal. The other involves the critical position in which the United Jewish Appeal finds itself as a result of the deteriorating position in Europe.

As to the first, I would wish to pay the warmest tribute to the officers and constituency of the United Palestine Appeal for the leadership, the labor, the generosity with which they have served the United Jewish Appeal campaign for \$170,000,000. In my visits throughout the country, it has been my privilege to meet with many of them and to observe at first hand the manner in which they consecrate themselves to community activity. Their examples in generosity have also been heartening.

May I also use this occasion, Dr. Goldstein, to extend to you my deepest appreciation for the loyalty and earnestness with which you have worked by my side as my associate in the United Jewish Appeal. The giving of your time, your efforts and your counsel in unsparing measure has been a noteworthy contribution to the United Jewish Appeal.

UNRRA Finished

The session of the United Palestine Appeal occurs in the midst of an historic transition affecting the Jews of Europe. UNRRA has passed. Frantic efforts are still being made to establish a substitute organization, IRO, which will have but a shadow of the resources and facilities of UNRRA. Furthermore, the budget to the United States Army, which rendered such notable service to the DPs, no longer carries provision for the feeding of DPs. These developments, which will undoubtedly bring serious consequences in their train in the coming days, underline the necessity of renewed, rededicated action for the United Jewish Appeal.

Insofar as Palestine is concerned, we are all conscious of the fact that far more funds must be provided if advantage is to be taken of the opportunities for development and if even the barest minimum necessities are to be provided for the tens of thousands of Jews being brought into the country. Immigration, colonization, economic integration involve large sums of money for a program which has one objective; to enable men and women to become fully self-sustaining and no longer to depend upon the resources of others.

I have had occasion to study the budgets for Palestine and I am distressed beyond words at the economics that have had to be instituted, at the expense of the happiness of individuals and of the sound development of the country, because of inadequacy of funds.

It is my hope that the delegates attending the United Pal-



HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.

estine Appeal session will consider a program which they can bring back to their communities, along the following lines:

(1) See to it that no community campaign anywhere in the United States is permitted to cease until the full share of that community toward the \$170,000,000 campaign of the United Jewish Appeal is realized.

(2) Undertake immediate action, through personal example and community stimulation, to transform pledges already made into cash to be transmitted to the United Jewish Appeal. The pledges recorded by American Jewry to date have established history for their generosity. But the work in Palestine or elsewhere can be carried on only with cash.

(3) See to it that when campaigns have been completed, the last dollar available for the maximum allotment should be assured to the United Jewish Appeal. We cannot be unmindful of the fact that the stirring generosity of American Jewry has been stimulated, preeminently, by the deep desire to help our people survive in Europe and to build the Jewish homeland in Palestine.

I would appreciate the assurance of the delegates that they will consider such a program.

With best wishes to you and to all the delegates, I am

Cordially yours,

HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.



JUDGE BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT

Recently returned from Palestine who spoke at the convention.

World Dignitaries Greet Jubilee Convention

Senate Leaders, Outstanding Church Members Urge U.S. Take UN Lead For Just Verdict on Palestine Issue

Bi-partisan leaders of the U. S. Senate as well as prominent church leaders of all denominations called for a prompt and just decision on the Palestine issue by UN coupled with a demand that the United States take the lead in assuring such a decision, in statements addressed to the Golden Jubilee Convention. The messages on the occasion of the convention came from Senators Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Claude Pepper, Florida; Irving M. Ives, New York and Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Massachusetts.

Senator Taft, in his statement, declared that "at this trying time in the lives of those thousands of Jewish refugees who have been denied admission to Palestine it is more important than ever that we redouble our efforts to secure the fulfillment of the terms of the Palestine Mandate."

Emphasizing that "the American policy has been frequently stated both by Congress and by the Executive in favor of the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine and the opening of Palestine to immediate unrestricted Jewish immigration," Senator Taft added: "In the hearings now being held by the United Nations, the United States authorities should reaffirm our position and insist on the performance of the terms of the Mandate."

Pepper Asks Faith in UN

Asserting that "for some time I have advocated that the problem of Palestine and the Jewish National Home be placed before the UN," Senator Claude Pepper, in his statement, declared that he felt that "no solution would be reached bilaterally between representatives of the Jewish people and the government of Great Britain unilaterally."

Voicing his expectations that the UN proceedings will bring "good results," Senator Pepper said: "We all look forward to the day when the displaced Jews of Europe who seek a homeland will find a haven of peace and security."

"Any democratic proceeding is slow, its course is uneven. There will be delays in UN proceedings, but I anticipate some good results."

"I ask the Zionist Organization of America and its members to place their faith firmly in the United Nations because it is the only hope of the Jewish people and the members of every other religious faith to prevent the occurrence of World War III," Senator Pepper added.

Lodge, Ives Messages

In his statement, Senator Lodge, maintaining "that the discussions and decisions of the convention will demand the careful and thoughtful attention of every citizen who is interested in matters affecting Palestine and the Zionist movement," said: "I have always been very much in sympathy with the proposal that the Jews should have a national home in Palestine and I believe that the need for such a home is more pressing today than at any other time in history. I have noted with profound concern the developments in Palestine during the last few months and it is my earnest hope that the United Nations will deal

justly, thoroughly and competently with this grave problem."

"I join with you in praying for a speedy and peaceful issue from our troubles."

Giving expression to the hope "that the countries of the world will take definite action upon the recommendations of the United Nations Committee of Inquiry with respect to Palestine, Senator Ives reiterated his views on Palestine as expressed in his speech in the Senate on March 7, 1947.

"I stated then, among other things, that the problem of Palestine is a matter of concern for men of all faiths. I stated then—and repeat here once again—that assistance to victims of persecution and tyranny is a major test of our war and peace aims."

"It is my fervent hope that a just solution to this complex problem not only will be found by the Special Committee of Inquiry but will be acted upon promptly."

Church Leaders' Support

Joining Christian church leaders of various denominations in asking for support for a Jewish Palestine, Dr. John H. Holmes, Minister of the Community Church of New York and Chairman of the Board of the Civil Liberties Union, in a statement to the Convention declared that the Zionist cause is a matter of honor for mankind. "England, America and the world stand pledged to the establishment and protection of the Jewish homeland."

Father George B. Ford of the Corpus Christi Rectory, New York, voiced the hope that "the year of the Golden Jubilee of the Zionist Organization of America brings to the Jewish people the realization of their hopes and their rights for a homeland in Palestine."

Declaring that "wherever people are not free, are full of fear, insecure and suffering, then we, too, are not free or secure, or free from suffering or fear," Rev. Frederick E. Reissig, Executive Secretary of the Washington Federation of Churches, Washington, D. C., in his message asked for joint action "to overcome courageously all forces that deliberately seek to prevent people from living a full life."

Rev. Henry A. Atkinson of New York, General Secretary of the Federal Peace Union, declared that "no worthwhile settlements can be made except on the basis of justice and righteous judgments, and foremost among these judgments must be justice in Palestine and to the Jewish people throughout the world."

Rev. Harold W. Ruopp, Minister of the Central Church of Chi-

cago, in his statement to the Convention, declared that there are many Christians throughout the nation "who are one with you in the goal you are trying to achieve of making Palestine a Jewish National Homeland."

World Jewish Opinion

In a cable from Jerusalem addressed to the 2,000 delegates, David Remez, chairman of the Vaad Leumi, Jewish National Council of Palestine, declared that "Palestine Jewry is convinced that the key to the just solution of the Palestine issue to a great extent lies in the hands of America."

"The Jewish National Council calls upon American Jewry to be on guard at this hour unitedly demanding Jewish independence in Eretz Israel."

"Jewish self-government alone can enable us to fulfill the great tasks incumbent upon the Zion-



THAT'S MY EVIDENCE!

ists of this generation," Remez said.

National Commander Milton H. Richman of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, in a message of greeting, expressed his "personal devotion to the ideals and aspirations of Zionism and to your inspired leadership during the past years."

Messages of support were also received by the Convention from Rt. Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, Secretary of the Treasury of the Union of South Africa; the World Zionist Executive, Jerusalem; Dr. A. Granovsky, executive director of the Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem; Moshe Kolodny and Isaac Gruenbaum, General Zionist members of the Jewish Agency Executive, Jerusalem; Zionist Organizations and Federations of Czechoslovakia, Brazil, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Swit-

erland, Mexico, Australia and New Zealand and Uruguay; Confederation of General Zionists in Palestine; General Zionist Confederation of Mexico; European Office of the Confederation of General Zionists in Paris; Isaac Kubowitzky, Director, General Zionist Fund for Constructive Projects, Jerusalem; Peretz Bernstein, General Zionist member of the Jewish Agency Executive, Jerusalem; Dr. Joseph Sagall, honorary chairman of the General Zionist Administrative Committee of Great Britain and Ireland; Moshe Kolodny and Zvi Herman, General Zionist labor movement in Palestine; Joseph Serlin and Benjamin Tomkiewicz, outstanding Palestinian General Zionists; and Shatz Kizelshtein, of the General Zionist agriculture movement in Palestine.

One Leadership Imperative

Address by DANIEL FRISCH

Mr. Frisch, who was elected a ZOA vice president at the Convention, presided at the Convention session at which the political resolutions were debated and adopted. —Ed.

The last eight months, since our convention in Atlantic City, were months of depressing moods, despairing experiences with but a glimpse of light and hope here and there.

History, our unfriendly companion for the last two thousand years, challenges us as no other generation of Jews was challenged before, since the second destruction of the Temple.

Your administration met this challenge in a constructive spirit of determination, courage and historic continuity. What our individual opinions may or may not be, as to the attitude and point of view of this administration, one thing is certain—that it acted in full letter and spirit with the decisions of our last convention, as well as with that of the overwhelming majority of American Israel.

We are here to provide a forum for the free airing of the respective views regarding the present political scene. It is the purpose and intention of your chairman to promote a thorough and comprehensive discussion of the issue involved by the delegates.

Varied Views

For the purposes of orderly procedure and in the interests of continuity, I wish to state briefly the various points of view which have been advanced at various times regarding the treatment of Palestine's future.

(a) There are those who seek the establishment of the Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan.

(b) There is a school of thought which seeks to create the Jewish State in Palestine within its present boundaries and whose policy would be to have the British Government continue the Mandate provided it would be willing to implement the letter and spirit of the Balfour Declaration in the interim. Others think that a United Nations trusteeship should take over the interim mandate.

(c) There is a strong group which is urging the acceptance of a Jewish State in a viable portion

of Palestine.

(d) There are those who would accept cantonization, as conceived by an improved Grady-Morrison plan.

(e) There are those who are for partition at any price as long as a Jewish State will be created.

(f) There are still those who urge a state based on political parity between Arabs and Jews and political independence along bi-national lines.

It would be a catastrophe if all these opinions were proposed by the different groups to the leaders of international politics. Whatever our own individual points of view are, we must be represented before the UN by one leadership whose guiding principles must reflect the point of view held by the majority of the Jewish people. Here, however, before the final resolutions and directives are adopted, all opinions have the right and privilege to receive a fair hearing. There must be a complete freedom of discussion.

Clear Directive

Let us resolve to make this session a constructive one to the end that the new administration receive a clear directive which should guide it in its work, which may have a telling effect upon the destiny of our movement and the future of our land.

The ZOA is celebrating its 50th Anniversary. It has come of age. We are the largest segment of our movement, and next to the Yishuv itself, it is we who seem destined to shape the line of action for many a day to come.

We again stand at the perpetual crossroads of Jewish destiny. The United Nations Commission will return to this country and present its recommendations to the Assembly. It is this body which must determine for itself what shall be its line of action.

To this end, it is the business of the Chairman of this session, as I see it, to afford a free and uninhibited discussion protecting the right of a minority to present its point of view as long as such minority does not attempt to filibuster and deprive the majority in this convention from their equitable share of the limited time available.

Jubilee Convention Impressions Of A Rank and File Delegate

By MARK M. KRUG, Buffalo

When the annals of the Zionist Organization of America are written, the Fiftieth Jubilee Convention will undoubtedly merit considerable attention. Meeting as it did in a grave and confused political period in Zionism, the Convention could have easily become bogged down in interminable debates and squabbles and become a sorry spectacle of discord and disunity. None of the forebodings entertained by some delegates came true. The ZOA came out of the Convention united and strengthened.

It was inspiring and heart-warming to see over 2,000 delegates from all parts of the country, who gave up their Fourth of July weekend to help in shaping the destiny of American Zionism in the hot and muggy New York City summer weather. It was also a pleasant surprise to see that all sessions were extremely well attended and the interest of the delegates in the problems discussed did not wane until the very last minutes of the Convention. In fact, when the Convention was solemnly adjourned on late Sunday afternoon, groups of excited delegates were seen for hours in the lobby of the Pennsylvania Hotel engaged in animated discussions.

Full, Free Discussion

As for inner democracy, the 200,000 members of the ZOA can be rightly proud of their organization. It will be difficult from now on for any Jewish organization in America to match the freedom of discussion and the freedom of voting which were characteristic of the Fiftieth Zionist Convention. When the Political Committee presented its resolutions, the chairman announced that he would allow a free and uninhibited discussion and give the floor to any delegate who desired to address the Convention. He kept his word to the letter. When occasionally, after hours of discussion, an impatient delegate moved to close the debate, the chairman invariably appealed for the withdrawal of the motion and the discussion continued.

It was a folksy debate. Those who participated in it were preponderantly rank and file delegates. The majority spoke well and intelligently, others had little to contribute, but all were given a full opportunity to express themselves and influence their fellow delegates. I have often heard complaints that the ZOA regional and district leaders were not "distinguished enough" and that many of its leaders are "plain businessmen" and not well-informed Zionists. The political debate of the Convention must have proven to all unprejudiced observers that while it is true that the ZOA is led in many places by "plain businessmen," it was also evident that those grass-roots leaders have Zionism close to their hearts, know the problems of our movement and what is more important, are determined to see to it that the Zionist objectives are fully attained.

Youth Prominent

There were, probably for the first time, many young people in evidence who proudly displayed their delegates' badges. Being for the most part veterans, they urged the ZOA to make a determined effort to enroll at least

a goodly portion of the 500,000 Jewish young men and women who served in the armed forces of the U.S.A. It is significant that these young people urged more emphasis on Chutzot and the total abandonment of the conception of Zionism as "refugeism."

It was also a fine demonstration of democracy in the ZOA when in spite of recommendations brought in by the Budget and Finance Committee and in spite of a strong appeal made by newly-elected president Dr. Emanuel Neumann, the Convention voted overwhelmingly to keep the dues at its present level. While convinced that the dues should be raised, Dr. Neumann found it necessary to emphasize that he did not intend to influence the voting of the delegates.

As the co-chairman of the Education Committee, I can further testify that the Administration did not make the slightest attempt to influence the resolutions adopted by any committee. This "hands off" policy was carried so far that two committees brought conflicting recommendations to the floor of the Convention.

Firm Political Stand

It must have been clear to all objective observers that the political policies pursued by Dr. Silver and Dr. Neumann had the endorsement of the overwhelming majority of the delegates. The Convention was not receptive to any reference to partition or to a bi-national state. The delegates seemed to be convinced that it is not for the Zionist movement to suggest partition as a solution. As Dr. Silver put it, if any proposal for partition is presented to us, by the United Nations or by the British, it will be given most careful consideration. But in the meantime, the ZOA urges the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State as intended and provided for in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate.

The opposition, if there was an organized opposition, concentrated on a resolution brought in by the Political Committee which, while condemning the "dissident groups" in Palestine, did not specify these groups by name. A small but vocal group of delegates urged that the Irgun and the Stern groups be named. After long debate, the resolution of the Political Committee was overwhelmingly adopted. It was clear that the Convention realized that the acts of the Irgun and of the Stern group, however, irresponsible and damaging, are the direct result of the evil policies pursued by the British Labor government and refused to give comfort to the British or to do anything that would help in bringing about a civil war in Palestine.

The Fiftieth Jubilee Convention of the ZOA proved, if any additional proof were needed, that Zionism has finally captured the hearts and the imagination of American Jewry. It was also clear that the ZOA, while ready to do everything possible to transfer to Palestine the languishing hundreds of thousands of destitute Jews from Europe, has also become a dynamic force in Zionism which is determined, in the best Herzlian tradition, to see Palestine become a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.



JOSEPH GOLDBERG
National Membership Chairman
reports increased roster.

Report on Membership

At a Convention morning session, Joseph Goldberg of Worcester (Mass.), national membership chairman of the ZOA, informed the delegates that in the past two years, the total of new enrollments has reached more than 100,000, bringing the total direct membership to 226,000, and making the ZOA the largest Jewish organization on the American-Jewish scene. Mr. Goldberg recalled that the ZOA's first annual membership in 1897 was 5,000.

"American Jewry has come to realize that a strong Zionist membership is a powerful political weapon," he said. "They have become politically minded and they know that the more numerous we become, the more influential will we be when we plead our case before any and all tribunals."

Levinthal Leaves For Germany

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, recently appointed advisor to the U.S. military occupation authorities in Germany, left this week for Europe to take up his duties.

Palestine Bureau Aids Tourists

Dr. Simon Bernstein, director of the Palestine Bureau of the Zionist Organization of America, reporting to the Convention about travel from America to Palestine, stated that over 1,000 people went to Palestine as tourists during recent months, due to a special grant of visas of this category by the Palestine Government to the Zionist Organization of America. He reported that on July 3, another special grant of 400 visas was approved by the Palestine Government, enabling the American citizens to visit the Holy Land, many of them making the trip in order to see their relatives there, sole survivors of large families.

Dr. Bernstein also reported that many hundreds of American citizens, formerly residents of Palestine, have been permitted to return to Palestine where many of them own extensive properties and large investments. During the fiscal period, the Palestine Bureau handled more than 3,000 cases of the various categories.

UNSCOP Ends Palestine Hearings; Agency Members Testify on Jewish Case

As this issue goes to press, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) has completed its hearings in Palestine and departed for Lebanon where they will hear representatives of Arab countries.

Comprehensive testimony on the Jewish case was presented by members of the Palestine section of the Jewish Agency and by other leaders of various factions. The leading testimony was given by David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive; Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who spoke in his personal capacity; Moshe Shertok; Rabbi

(Continued on Page 20)

Organizational Problems Debated at Convention Session on Resolutions

In one of the hottest sessions of the convention, presided over by Rabbi Irving Miller, the convention discussed the various resolutions introduced by the Resolutions Committee and other committees.

The UJA, UPA, Keren Hayesod and JNF were warmly supported by the convention and Morris Rothenberg, Mendel Fisher and Harris J. Levine were commended for their work in collecting large sums of money for Zionist endeavors. But the fireworks began with what was, on the surface, an innocuously-worded resolution. This was a resolution which proposed that young people's Zionist districts be formed of veterans of this past war, and others. The "and others" opened a warm debate. Some interpreted it as meaning that the ZOA was trespassing on Hadassah grounds. Others said that the General Zionists are free to invite young women to join them. A debate ensued and the final victory went to the committee, whose resolution was accepted as introduced. That is, veterans "and others" are invited to form young Zionist districts.

It was also resolved that the Jewish Gold Star mothers lend their names to a petition to President Truman to open the gates of Palestine to the Jewish DPs attempting to make new homes and new lives in Palestine.

Dues Unchanged

Another important discussion took place at this session when the budget committee made its report and, in recognizing a prospective deficit on the normal budget based on membership income, attempted to raise the dues of the members, so that a five dollar membership should go to the national office and the region or district should decide how much more each member should pay to maintain the local office. After heavy and protracted debate, in which all the delegates were intensely interested, the proposal was voted down. Dues remain as they were—and the problem of raising more money and extending Zionist educational work, remains a No. 1 problem for the ZOA Expansion Fund.

It was during this debate that Dr. Neumann made some comments which bear repetition. Saying he was happy to see the rapid expansion of the Zionist organization and that there is political significance in numeri-

cal strength, Dr. Neumann also asserted that sometimes a too rapid growth means that not all the members are as completely aware of the deep Zionist tradition which should be the birth-right of all members. Thus, he said, it is sometimes more important to stress educational values of Zionism than numbers. But other veteran Zionist field workers argued that it is extremely difficult to win new members with raised dues.

Other Resolutions

Among the resolutions adopted were:

1. A resolution calling for maximum support to the UJA; resolutions on support of the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod, constituent bodies of the United Palestine Appeal.
2. A resolution calling for support of the Stratton Bill.
3. A message of greeting and encouragement to the Yishuv.
4. Endorsing the formation of the World Confederation of General Zionists.
5. Calling for support of the American Jewish Conference.
6. A resolution of congratulation to Louis Lipsky on his 70th birthday.
7. A resolution calling for support of the ZOA Jubilee project of the Jewish National Fund.
8. A resolution of thanks to the Jewish War Veterans for their support of the Zionist cause.
9. A resolution authorizing that membership dues for newly enrolled veterans should be \$3.00 for their first year.
10. A resolution of thanks to The Nation Associates.
11. A resolution of support of the activities for the promotion of the Hebrew language and culture.
12. A resolution of thanks to the press, to the Convention Committee, to Dr. Sidney Marks, to the ZOA staff, as well as a resolution of tribute to Mark Sugarman, newly-elected Treasurer.
13. Resolutions of tribute were adopted for Judge Morris Rothenberg and Mendel Fisher.
14. A resolution calling for support of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School campaign.
15. A number of resolutions on various organizational and other items were referred for action to the incoming Executive.

Brewster, Murray Flay State Dept. at Final Session

Although fatigued from four days of hard labor, and just about ready to go home, the thousands of Zionists who attended the four-day Jubilee Convention, jammed Manhattan Center to hear prominent non-Jewish and Zionist leaders discuss the current political situation and Zionism's accomplishments during the last 50 years.

The enthusiasm of the audience remained at a peak as the "Star Spangled Banner" and "Hatikvah" were sung by the delegates. The speeches, by Senator Murray of Montana, Senator Brewster of Maine, Rabbi Silver, and Louis Lipsky, were on a high level, thorough and still fascinating to the audience which had been listening to speeches for four days.

Hit State Dept.

Both Senators blasted the State Department's deviousness concerning Palestine and recalled that America has an honorable record on Palestine which, under the pressure of Britain and oil interests, is becoming more than questionable. Senator Brewster, amiable and humorous, brought the house down with his assertion that if the present administration does not live up to American promises to aid Zionism, "the next administration will."

An interesting interlude came after Senator Brewster's remarks. Sidor Belarsky, noted basso, entertained the huge audience with Hebrew and Yiddish folk songs. The faces of the Zionist leaders on the stage was a fascinating sidelight of the evening. As Belarsky sang the song of a poor Jew who dreams of a national state in which all Jews will be kings, the Zionist leaders all reacted strongly. Rabbi Silver, imposing-looking in his seat, broke into a grin and watched the singer intently; Emanuel Neumann, the new ZOA president, chuckled softly to himself and looked down at the



SENATOR OWEN BREWSTER

floor; Daniel Frisch, mouth open, seemed to be anticipating the words of a familiar song and then smiled to himself in reminiscence; Louis Lipsky, white-haired and gaunt, closed his eyes and nodded his head; Irving Miller was gleeful and nudged Israel Goldstein, both of whom were having a huge time; the two Senators seemed a bit puzzled, but Senator Brewster was apparently aware of the nuances of the song.

'Guide and Leader'

The third speaker, Rabbi Silver, was introduced by Dr. Neumann, the chairman of the evening and Rabbi Silver's presidential successor. Calling the former president "my Zionist guide and leader," Dr. Neumann paid high tribute to the policies and accomplishments of the Silver administration and when Rabbi Silver rose to speak, the delegates rose from their chairs in tribute to one of Zionism's greatest figures.



SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY

Speaking with his usual fire and oratory, Rabbi Silver declared that no matter how much we have given to Zionism, "the movement gave us ten-fold." In a passage describing what Zionism has given to its followers, the Zionist leader reached heights of eloquence and reminded one of a Biblical prophet recalling to his people the ideals and principles for which they fought and which, in turn, recompensed them mightily. Then Rabbi Silver, addressing the young men in the movement, spoke tenderly of what Zionism has to offer youth, how it enriches and broadens one's manhood and womanhood, how it gives the Jew pride and how it offers the Jew the opportunity to build. In recalling his own great feelings for Zionism, which began 43 years ago, the Zionist leader highlighted the fact, so often stressed during the convention, that he and Dr. Neumann have been active Zionists for nearly the entire 50 years of modern political Zionism.

And Louis Lipsky, the final speaker of the evening, and one of the veteran philosophers of the movement, recalled the early days of the movement and remembered that Dr. Silver, as a very young man, was delegate to one of the earliest conventions.

50 Year Review

Mr. Lipsky, relating the beginnings of the Zionist movement in this country, had the audience enthralled with his recitation of history. Prominent names, like Henrietta Szold, Harry Friedenwald (who sent a message to the convention), Solomon Schechter, rolled off his tongue with ease. He asserted that in those days Zionists were "adherents of an ideal," which is something more difficult to be than adherents of a concrete thing. He told of how the Kishineff pogrom galvanized the Zionist movement; how Louis Brandeis played a major role in its development in America; how important has been the work of the Keren Hayesod—and how Emanuel Neumann worked to create successfully a Keren Hayesod in New York.

Speaking with his usual charm, Mr. Lipsky reviewed Zionism during the past 50 years, stressing British guilt, the meaning of Hitler to the Zionist movement, the significance of the appease-

In a festive atmosphere and in a spirit of unity, the Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organization of America came to a close with a mass demonstration for Zionism on the part of several thousand people who thronged Manhattan Center on Sunday night, July 6, oblivious to the hot weather that prevailed.

It was, in part, a celebration of 50 years of American Zionism and in part an occasion for two heartening addresses by Senators Brewster of Maine and Murray of Montana. It was also a demonstration of the affection with which American Zionists regard three veteran leaders of the movement, Abba Hillel Silver, Emanuel Neumann and the oldest of them, Louis Lipsky, still full of youthful vigor and love for Zion at the age of 70, who remembers the very beginnings of Zionism and who devoted his entire adult life to the cause from almost the day it was brought to life by the immortal Herzl.

Persons, individual human beings, some of them perhaps half-forgotten by the great audience that filled Manhattan Center that night, came to the fore again. Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, second president of American Zionism who is now in his eighties, though not present in person, was cheered to the rafters when his message of greeting was read by Dr. Neumann. The older generation of Zionists present in the hall was again reminded of Dr. Friedenwald's great contribution to the cause of a Jewish Palestine during the infancy of the movement, and it paid him touching tribute.

Personalities

Mr. Lipsky in his moving address, which was much more than mere reminiscence, which was a rousing call to Zionist courage and creative effort in the critical days that still lie ahead, brought back to life those among the dead whose service to Zionism should never be forgotten. Again, through Lipsky's eloquence, the spirit of Louis D. Brandeis—what Zionist can ever forget him?—was hovering among us. Solomon Schechter, founder of American Conservative Judaism, whose Zionist influence upon the Conservative rabbinate has borne such splendid fruit, was again hurling his splendid barbs of wit and sarcasm in the direction of anti-Zionist religionists. And it seemed as if only yesterday big, burly, great-hearted Joseph Baroness, the rough-and-ready Max Pine and the scholarly Dr. Zolotaroff had at last succeeded

ment era and concluded the analysis with the words, "Britain has no place in Palestine," but admitting that despite the UN, the British will attempt to stay in Palestine until forced out.

The session ended with the singing of "Hatikvah," which marked the third time it was sung during the evening. For after Rabbi Silver's speech, the audience, excited and exalted, rose to sing the national Jewish anthem. It was on such a note of hope and enthusiasm that the convention was called to a close.

in converting their trade-union, Socialistic, anti-nationalist working-class followers into sympathizers with the cause of Zion Redeemed. Dr. Silver, too, by his own and by Mr. Lipsky's magic word-pictures, was for a few moments transformed into an entirely different person—the youthful Abba Hillel Silver of 43 years ago, wandering through the streets of the poor, crowded East Side collecting pennies for the Jewish National Fund and striving with a group of comrades—Emanuel Neumann among them—in a young Zionist club to learn to speak the Hebrew language.

Inspiration

It was the voice of the older generation of American Zionists that was heard by Zionist youth on Sunday night as the historic Jubilee Convention drew to a close. Said Dr. Silver to that youth:

"Forty-three years ago we founded the first junior Zionist society in the United States. Whatever we gave to the movement, it gave us back ten-fold. It has immeasurably enriched our lives, as it has enriched the lives of Jews throughout the world. To you young people, I recommend that you take the Zionist ideal into your lives and I promise that it will give you such a sense of direction and such spiritual alertness as you've never experienced before. You will need these things to give you strength, endurance and self-respect in the uncertain days that lie ahead of us. For Zionism is more than a movement of national restoration. It is also a spiritual ideal, a striving to build a free society in the ancestral Jewish home that will not be based on acquisitiveness but on voluntary cooperation. As such it inspired my own generation and transformed our lives. As such it can do the same for you."

American Jewish youth nowadays, infected with the cynicism of a materialistic environment, may hesitate to embrace an idealistic movement such as Zionism lest it be labelled visionary and impractical. But the speakers at the closing session, all veterans of American Zionism, reminded American Jewish youth that they were regarded as far more impractical, visionary—even as

madmen—than are Zionists today. Yet only 20 short years after the birth of Zionism, Dr. Silver reminded them, the movement was brought a long way toward practical realization in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and, a few years later, in the approval of that Declaration and the adoption of the Palestine Mandate by 52 nations. It was the visionaries, the dreamers, led by that Herzl who was regarded as mad by the most influential German Austrian Jews, who made the practical achievements of Jews in Palestine possible, while the "practical-minded" Jewish communities of Vienna, Munich and so on are, unfortunately—no longer in existence.

Christian Allies

The appearance of two eminent American Senators on the platform that evening, their criticism of the State Department for its dilatory tactics in furthering the Jewish fight for Palestine and the story Dr. Silver told of their devotion and hard work on behalf of Zionism in Washington was also a reminder to American Jewish youth of the great achievement of Zionism in winning over to the cause so many eminent Christians who believe in justice and freedom, both in this country and abroad. And it was the effort of visionaries, dreamers, that finally won the sympathy of influential Christians for us.

"No power on earth can resist an idea when the time for its realization in life has come," said Senator Brewster. "I tell you it is now the darkness before the dawn for the great Zionist ideal. In our day, Palestine will become a Jewish Commonwealth, as surely as there is a God of Israel," while Senator Murray ended his address with the traditional Jewish "Next year in Jerusalem."

Music played an inspiring role at the closing session, because of Sidor Belarsky, eminent singer of Jewish songs, who is himself a devoted Zionist. It was Mr. Belarsky's first appearance at a Zionist convention, but to most of the audience he was no stranger. People shouted for their favorite Hebrew or Yiddish song, to which only Belarsky's glorious voice and impressive delivery can do full justice. They asked for, and they got, "Veulal," "Emek," "Kacha," the "Song of the Jewish Partisans" and others, and they were enchanted and made happy. And when finally Belarsky led in the singing of "Hatikvah," sung for the third time during the evening, the moment had arrived for the wind-up of a memorable convention.

ZOA Awards Scholarships

Announcement has been made of the awarding of four fellowships, in the amount of \$1,500 each, for a year's study at the Hebrew University under the auspices of the ZOA. The winners are: Carmel Charny of Brooklyn, Zipporah Borowsky of New York City, Rabbi Jacob Milgrom of Chicago, and Judah Stampfer of Akron, Ohio.

The Awards Committee, which was headed by Rabbi Armond E.

Cohen, chairman, consisted of a number of distinguished judges.

The winners, all of whom are under 25 years of age, have each had distinguished academic records.

These Hebrew University awards have become an annual event in the Zionist Organization of America, and are made possible by the organization's Expansion Fund (American Zionist Fund).

Silver...

(Continued from Page 11)

control of the Congress of the United States. The Democratic Party is now in control of the Administration. The Zionists of America have the right to ask both political parties to make good on their pledges at this decisive hour. Zionism has always been regarded as part of the forward-looking progressive foreign policy of the American Government. Nothing has transpired in recent years to necessitate any change in this policy. We as American citizens have the right to turn to our government and to ask that it press for the implementation of this American policy in the council of nations—a policy which is non-partisan in character and thoroughly approved of by the American people. American Jewry will watch closely, hopefully and prayerfully the actions of our government in the next few months.

We face the future not without concern, certainly not with unrestrained optimism yet not without a large measure of confidence. Our confidence derives from the essential justice and moral character of our cause which the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago recognized and acknowledged, and which the nations of the world, we hope, will soon re-affirm. We have been made aware of much good-will and friendship among many of the members of the United Nations.

Sources of Confidence

Our confidence is also sustained by the continuing good-will and sympathy of the American people and of many of the leaders of our Government, and foremost among them, the President of the United States. But the mainspring of our confidence is the indefeasible resolve of

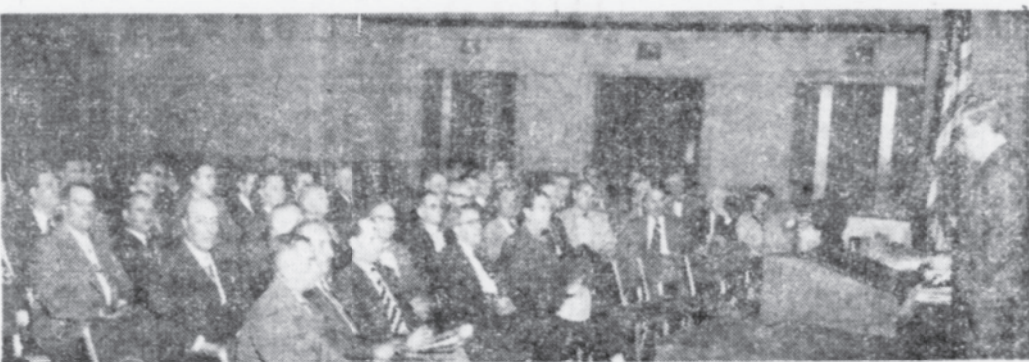
American Jewry and of the Jewries of the world that, regardless of cost and heedless of sacrifice, the millennial hope of our people for national restoration shall not at this final stage be defeated. The surest mainspring of our confidence is the superb and irrefragable resolution of the Yishuv in Palestine to continue to build the Jewish National Home in the face of all opposition, in the very teeth of repression, obstruction and administrative lawlessness. A people which in the last six months of political unrest, martial law, curfews, mass arrests and endless governmental interference, could build 24 new colonies, some of them in the waterless wastes of the Negev, striking roots into barren, blistering sands, overcoming the hostility of nature and the enmity of men, and bring life into the very valley of the shadow of death, is an unbeaten and an unbeatable people. Against the immovable, granite facts of what these, our pioneers, have built and are building in Palestine—the 300 and more colonies and settlements, the villages, towns and cities, the trade, commerce and industry, the schools, colleges and hospitals, the manifold creations of heart and mind—all the waves of opposition must break and spend themselves in helpless rage. This boundless creative energy which is plowing that land, rearing its cities and building its civilization simply cannot be cribbed, curbed and confined. It will sweep away every obstruction and obstacle in its way.

These are the sources of our confidence as we face another great crisis in the evolution of our historic movement which began 1900 years ago and which is reaching its destined consummation now that the Jewish State is about to be established.

of God, to a movement or to a people, especially in times of crisis.

Whoever may be Dr. Silver's successor in office—and I do not presume to know with certainty—this may be affirmed without fear of contradiction: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has already left his indelible impress upon the movement. He has made Zionist history. He has stood uncompromisingly by the basic principles of our movement. He has carried our banner high. Into his associates, his followers, and the rank and file, he has infused much of his dauntless spirit and indomitable will. He has taught us to walk erect, to think with boldness and to act with courage.

It was my privilege to witness that historic occasion only a few weeks ago when Dr. Silver, heading the delegation of the Jewish Agency at Lake Success, was called upon to address the assembled representatives of the United Nations as the accredited spokesman of our people. Seated between Cuba and Czechoslovakia and facing the representative of Great Britain, he spoke as Herzl might have spoken, had he lived to see that day. It was the utterance of a statesman, delivered with dignity and tempered eloquence. For 2,000 years, our people have waited for this opportunity to be heard by the family of nations. As Dr. Silver concluded his historic address and a hush fell upon the Council Chamber, I could not refrain from breathing a prayer of thanksgiving that it was the voice of Abba Hillel Silver that spoke at long last, for our martyred people.



Dr. Emanuel Neumann presiding at the first post-Convention session of the new National ZOA Executive.

New National ZOA Executive Meets; Marks, Pollack Unanimously Reelected

COMMITTEE TO INITIATE REMOVAL OF HERZL'S REMAINS TO PALESTINE

The newly elected ZOA National Executive met for the first time on Monday, July 7, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, under the chairmanship of Dr. Emanuel Neumann. The chairman gave lengthy consideration to a number of major issues confronting the new administration in the ensuing year. The meeting unanimously reelected Dr. Sidney Marks as national secretary of the organization and Milton Pollack as national chairman of its Finance Committee.

Dr. Marks has occupied the office of national secretary and executive director for the past two years. Mr. Pollack, noted New York attorney, has been serving as Finance chairman since October 1945.

The meeting approved a proposal by Dr. Neumann for the appointment of a committee to initiate, in cooperation with World Zionist bodies, the transferring to Palestine of the remains of Dr. Theodor Herzl, whose grave is still located in Vienna. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was named chairman of this committee. Dr. Neumann announced that the removal of Dr. Herzl's remains is particularly appropriate in commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Zionist Movement which Herzl founded. It is planned to transform Dr. Herzl's grave in Palestine into a national shrine.

Plans to transfer Dr. Herzl's remains have been under way in previous years within the World Zionist Movement. But these plans were not carried out due to a number of factors, particularly the outbreak of the War. It was pointed out that during the Nazi occupation of Austria, when Jewish cemeteries were destroyed, Dr. Herzl's grave escaped damage by a miracle. It is understood that Dr. Silver and Dr. Neuman will bring up the plan at the meeting of the Actions Committee which is sched-



Exhibit of ZOA projects financed by the American Zionist Fund (ZOA Expansion Fund).

uled to open in Zurich on August 24.

The meeting also took up several resolutions referred to it by the Convention. Committees were appointed which are to report at the forthcoming meetings of the Executive. The meeting also discussed at length problems of youth and the Haganah. Speakers at the session included Daniel Frisch, Rabbi Irving Miller, Herman Weisman, Samuel Goldstock, Sol Cohen, Jacques Torczyner, Judge Hyman J. Reit, I. S. Tur-over, Rev. Martin Adolf, Joseph P. Sternstein, Seymour Cohen, Abraham Berkowitz, Abraham Goodman, Elihu Stone, Benjamin J. Dof, Ben Zion Ginsberg, Mortimer May, Charles Ress, Boris Margolin, Joseph Goldberg and others.

Belle Elband Speaks

One of the speakers at the ZOA Activities session, who attracted attention was Miss Belle Elband of the Bronx, New York, who talked on "The Young People's Zionist Districts." Miss Elband described the work of a Young Zionist District, its special functions, and the methods through which the Bronx has organized a Young Zionist Council.

MZF Reception

Following the Convention's political session Saturday night, July 5, the delegates were guests at a reception of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund, headed by Paul Kaminsky, president, and I. J. Caplan, chairman of the Board. David Spiegel was in charge of arrangements for the affair.

Neumann...

(Continued from Page 14)

consented to such a procedure, an overwhelming majority of this Convention would have been happy to legislate accordingly. However, Dr. Silver not only discountenanced the idea, but has actually abridged his term of office by recommending the holding of the Convention at this time, rather than in the Fall.

Continue To Lead

We all appreciate the reasons which have impelled him to seek early relief from the burdens of the presidency. He is chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, as well as chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The duties of these offices and the conduct of the political affairs of the movement have placed a severe strain upon his energies and his physical strength. They will, I fear, continue to do so. Under the circumstances, his friends have refrained from urging upon him to continue as president of the Zionist Organization of America. But there can be no doubt concerning Dr. Silver's place in our movement. He will continue to lead—not so much by virtue of any office, as by virtue of his moral and intellectual stature, and his gift for leadership. Presidents are made and unmade by the acts of an electorate, but a leader is not made; he is born. He is a priceless gift

Neumann Felicitated by World Jewry

Messages of congratulations on the election of Dr. Emanuel Neumann as president of the Zionist Organization of America have been pouring in to the national headquarters of the organization, both by cable and through the mail from official Zionist bodies and individuals in the United States, Palestine and other parts of the world. Among the messages of congratulations received from the Palestine Yishuv are those from Rabbi Meyer Berlin, in behalf of the Mizrahi; the head of the Keren Kayemeth; members of the Board of Directors of the Keren Hayesod; the Federation of Palestine Settlers; the General Zionist Organization of Palestine; Haoved Hazoni; the Hebrew press; Rabbi Hachohen Ye-

huda Fishman and other members of the Jewish Agency Executive.

Messages of congratulations also were received from the World Confederation of General Zionists; from the Zionist Organizations in England, Canada, France, Holland, Belgium and other countries throughout the world. There were also numerous messages from Zionists and general Jewish bodies in all parts of the United States, too numerous to list due to limitations of space.

The World Zionist Executive in a cable from Jerusalem stated: "Happy impressive conclusion your Convention. We desire in behalf of the World Zionist Movement to convey best wishes for your continued successful progress towards making your great organization a living active force in American Jewry."

Delegations at ZOA Convention



The Long Island Region delegation was headed by Regional president Benjamin M. Friedman.



All the way from the Southwest Region came this impressive delegation, led by Julius Livingston, Regional president.



Irving Galt, Manhattan Region president, led a large delegation from his Region to the Golden Jubilee Convention.



The Empire State Region had a good turnout at the Convention headed by Regional Pres. Sam Braunstein.



The New England Region, headed by Dr. Morton J. Robbins, had a large delegation.

UNSCOP Ends Palestine Hearings

(Continued from Page 17)

Fishman, Mizrahi member of the Executive; Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Jewish Agency; Dr. Fritz Bernstein, head of the Agency Trade and Industry Department; David Horowitz, economist; Isaac Ben Zvi, president of the Vaad Leumi, Jewish National Council; David Remez, chairman of its Executive; spokesmen of the Hashomer Hatzair; Dr. J. L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University; and Sephardic and other figures of the Yishuv.

ASKS END OF MANDATE

David Ben Gurion, in his testimony, called for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State, rejected continuation of the Mandate, whether under British or UN supervision or a joint trusteeship, and declared that a bi-national state was "politically and biologically impossible." At the conclusion of his testimony, Ben Gurion hinted that an offer of partition may be considered. He recalled that the Zionist Executive meeting in Paris in 1946 had resolved to consider any proposal for the establishment of a "viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine." Rabbi Fishman disavowed any desire on the part of religious Zionists to establish a "theocratic state" in Palestine.

Dr. Weizmann spoke in favor of partition. "I am convinced," he said, "that partition in spite of its difficulties, in spite of the great sacrifices it means for us, is such a solution because it is final. It will give us the opportunity of continuing and expanding our work in peace, and it will give the Arabs an assurance that we are not going to encroach on their rights and their territory." He urged that the partitioned area for a Jewish State should include Galilee and the coastal plain as well as the Negev and the Jewish area of Jerusalem.

IMMEDIATE ENTRY SOUGHT

Eliezer Kaplan told the UN Committee that Palestine contains enough land and water to feed twice and thrice the present population of Palestine. He reported that Jewish colonization in Palestine is cheaper than colonization in any other country. Leaders of the Vaad Leumi passionately appealed to the UNSCOP to recommend the immediate opening of the gates of Palestine not only from Europe but also from neighboring Arab countries. Ben Zvi and Dr. Katznelson declared that the Jews of Palestine "are ready to receive millions of their saved brethren from Europe. . . . For the past 20 years, the newly-established Arab states did not provide any chance for their non-Arab minorities, whether Assyrians, Kurds or Jews. The sole hope of the Jewish minority there is exodus. . . . For every Jew employed by Arabs, 100 Arabs are employed by Jews."

Dr. Magnes, who heads the Ichud Party, advocated the establishment of a bi-national state as the "only workable solution of the Palestine problem." Chief Rabbi Herzog emphasized that "the preservation of Judaism in its religious aspect depends in no small measure on the revival of the Jewish commonwealth of Palestine."

SPECULATION ON REPORT

On the eve of the Commission's departure for Lebanon, speculation was rife as to the recommendations the Committee will draft for the UN Assembly meeting which opens in New York on September 16. There is a probability that there may be not one but two or even three types of recommendations. There may be a majority and a minority report. The latest JTA dispatch from Jerusalem reports that a "majority of the members favored the idea of partition with aspects of federalization." The same report states that "the majority have accepted the principle of a Jewish State but are now struggling over the type of partition which will produce the smallest possible non-Jewish minority. They are considering a method of partition in which both the Jewish and Arab states will jointly take over neutral services, such as railways and post offices. Bi-nationalism has apparently fallen by the wayside, with the exception of a parity proposal which still interests some delegates." However, all these reports are pure speculation and no definite idea has yet emerged as to the real character of the Committee's forthcoming recommendations. The Committee has yet to visit the DP camps in Europe before it proceeds to draft its report in Switzerland.

The concluding stages of the Jewish testimony was marked by the appearance of Moshe Shertok, Jewish Agency political head, who answered the many questions posed by members of UNSCOP during the previous two weeks. Shertok painted a picture of the compelling necessity for the immediate establishment of a Jewish State and the tremendous promises such a solution held for the country, for both parts of the population and for the neighboring states.