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Zionist Organization of America, 1930-1934, undated.

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1930 FEB 6 PM 11 19

RD NEWYORK NY 6

RABBI HILLEL SILVER

671

THE TEMPLE CLEVELAND OHIO

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

THE JEWISH DAY DESIROUS OF HELPING TO BRING ABOUT UNITY IN
ZIONISTS RANKS IS ASKING THIRTY OUTSTANDING ZIONISTS OF ALL
FACTIONS TO STATE THEIR VIEWS AS TO THE CONDITIONS PRECEEDING A
COALITION BETWEEN ZOA AND BRANDEIS MACK GROUP STOP ALSO AS TO
ADVISABILITY OF CALLING SPECIAL CONVENTION FOR THAT PURPOSE STOP
WILL YOU BE GOOD ENOUGH TO WIRE US YOUR STATEMENT THANKS

DOCTOR S MARGOSHES EDITOR THE DAY 183 EAST BROADWAY
NEWYORKCITY.

TELEPHONED
FROM MAIN OFFICE

Time 9:48a M Date 2-7-30
To ✓ By No WLS

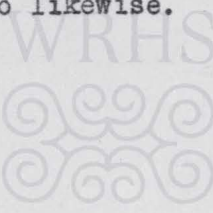

Dr. S. Margoshes,
Editor, The Day,
183 E. Broadway, N. Y.

WIRE COLLECT

Feb. 8th, 1930

XXX

Without going into the question of the success or failure of the present American Zionist administration it is my conviction that the situation calls for a new setup in the organization STOP The present officers should retire and make room for others STOP I am strongly in favor of convoking a special convention in the very near future but no convention should be called if the present officials of the organization plan to carry out another political maneuver such as was perpetrated at the Pittsburgh convention. STOP Agreements should be reached amicably by representative persons prior to the convention as to what shall be done stop. It would be a calamity if the next few critical months would again be wasted on bitter partisan controversies within the Zionist ranks STOP We will lose the little prestige which we still have left in this country STOP I am a member of the present administration though utterly out of sympathy with its methods and tactics especially of its executive officers STOP I am ready to step aside so that others may come in STOP I suggest that the other officers do likewise.

  ~~Abba~~ Abba Hillel Silver

Published

WIRE

APRIL 24, 1930

Mr. Jacob Landau,
Jewish Telegraphic Agency
New York, N. Y.

The majority report of the Palestine Inquiry Commission is a white wash of the Mufti Luke and the Palestine Administration STOP Its unfounded and unwarranted criticism of Jewish immigration and land purchase and its recommendations to restrict both are in fullest accord with the sentiments of Arab agitators and point the way to a complete nullification of the Mandate STOP The majority commissioners not only trespassed beyond the limits of the inquiry assigned to them but having done so they failed utterly to consider the national rights of the Jews under the terms of the Mandate and the pledge by the British and the Palestine Governments actively to assist in the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home STOP Every one of the recommendations of the Commission would make such an upbuilding impossible STOP The minority report of ~~Mister~~ Snell is tempered and statesmanlike and along the line of his recommendations lie the hope of a reconciliation between the peoples in Palestine and the progress of that country without a betrayal of the rights of the Jewish people under the Palestine Mandate STOP In one essential recommendation both reports agree that Great Britain must now issue a clear and unequivocal statement setting forth in detail its interpretation of the terms of the Mandate and along what general lines it hopes to give effect to them STOP Neither the Jews nor the Arabs in Palestine must be left any further doubts in regard to the policy of their government STOP Palestine needs today straight forward speech, policy and action.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

LOUIS LIPSKY
President

WILLIAM M. LEWIS
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
MAX SHULMAN
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
MRS. ARCHIBALD SILVERMAN
ELIHU D. STONE
Vice-Presidents

RABBI JAMES G. HELLER
*Chairman,
National Executive Committee*

HARRY P. FIERST
Chairman Finance Committee

MORRIS WEINBERG
Treasurer

MEYER W. WEISGAL
Secretary

March 30, 1930

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

OSCAR BERMAN
RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER
JACOB H. COHEN
MORRIS COHEN
DR. ABRAM CORALNIK
MRS. BENJAMIN DAVIS
MAX ENGELBERG
HARRY M. FISHER
JACOB FISHMAN
DAVID FREIBERGER
HARRY FRIEDBERG
JACOB GINSBERG
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
ISAAC E. GOLDBERG
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN
NATHAN GOLDSTEIN
GUSTAVE HARTMAN
BERNARD HORWICH
DR. DAVID J. KALISKI
MORDECAI M. KAPLAN
GUSTAVE KLAUSNER
GEORGE J. KLEIN
MRS. ALEXANDER LAMPORT
WILLIAM B. LEAF
LOUIS E. LEVENTHAL
ABRAHAM LIEBOVITZ
DR. S. MARGOSHES
ISAAC MEISTER
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DR. NATHAN RATNOFF
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BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT
NELSON RUTTENBERG
PHILIP SCHOTLAND
LOUIS SHAPIRO
MAX SHOOLMAN
LOUIS TOPKIS
PHILIP WATTENBERG
JOSEPH WEISS

To the Members of the
Administrative Committee:

A meeting of the Administrative Committee
will be held Wednesday, April 2nd, at the Jewish
Club, 23 West 73rd St., at 8:15 P.M.

The principal item on the agenda will be
a report of our committee which was delegated to
confer with Mr. Justice Brandeis on the possibility
of creating a united front in American Zionism. The
Administrative Committee will also take up the question
as to what further action is required of our commit-
tee in view of the circumstances surrounding the pub-
lication of the proceedings of the Conference.

It is of the utmost importance that every
member of the Administrative Committee attend this
meeting.

Very cordially yours,

Meyer W. Weisgal

Meyer W. Weisgal
Secretary

Sept. 8th, 1930

Mr. Morris A. Zeldin,
Zionist Organization,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Zeldin:-

Please pardon the long delay in answering your kind letter. I have been away from the city on a short vacation and have but recently returned.

I read your letter with a great deal of interest. I wish I could see my way clear to comply with your request. Unfortunately I can not. I do not wish to subject myself to a testimonial dinner in Cleveland. Personally I shudder at the very thought of subjecting myself to such an affair. Again the time is not opportune. Cleveland is preparing itself for its Community Fund Drive, early in November. All the efforts of Jews and non-Jews in our community are now being marshalled for the successful accomplishment of the Campaign this year, which will undoubtedly be very difficult. It would not look well for us to launch a money-raising testimonial affair at this time.

We are quietly and steadily collecting money for the Zionist Deficit. The work is slow but I believe, steady and in the next few months I hope we shall be able to send in a considerable amount on our pledge of \$10,000. There has been no organized effort made as yet by the Zionist District to raise this deficit. The money that has come in so far has been through personal effort on my part. But the District is getting ready for a concerted effort.

With kindest regards, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

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ABBA HILLEL SILVER RABBI=

10311 LAKE SHORE BLVD CLEVELAND OHIO=

PLEASE BE INFORMED WE ARE RECEIVING LETTERS FROM ZIONISTS THE
 COUNTRY OVER ENDORSING WORK OF LEAGUE STOP WE ARE PREPARING
 APPEAL TO ZIONISTS AND WOULD LIKE TO KNOW YOUR ATTITUDE AS
 MEMBER OF ADMINISTRATION WE FEEL THAT ZIONISTS ARE NOT
 INTERESTED IF "DAY" SHOULD OR SHOULD NOT HAVE PUBLISHED
 BRANDEIS CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS STOP THIS IS NOT THE ISSUE
 STOP CONFERENCE ESTABLISHED THAT BRANDEIS READY TO REASSUME
 LEADERSHIP ON CONDITION HE HAS FREE HAND AT REORGANIZATION
 STOP THIS IS THE ISSUE STOP LEAGUE THINKS WE SHOULD TAKE
 OPPORTUNITY AND ACCEPT CONDITION PLEASE WIRE YOUR OPINION
 OUR EXPENSE=

ZIONIST LEAGUE FOR BRANDEIS 2 LAFAYETTE STREET NYC J S
 BARSHAY TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN EZEKIEL RABINOWITZ TEMPORARY
 SECRETARY.

over

WIRE

4/14/30

COLLECT

IF BRANDEIS IS READY TO REASSUME DIRECT LEADERSHIP OF
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA AND NOT PROXY LEADERSHIP
HE SHOULD BE GIVEN A FREE HAND AT REORGANIZATION stop
THE PRESENT LIPSKY ADMINISTRATION SHOULD BE DISPLACED
IN ANY EVENT BRANDEIS OR NO BRANDEIS

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



I. S. WECHSLER, M. D.
1112 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK

April 16, 1930

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

After consultation with Mr. Emanuel Neumann and a number of other Zionists who are known to you, I have drawn up the enclosed open letter which we plan to release to the press some time next week. Both Mr. Neumann and I are very anxious to have your name appear as one of the signers, as we felt that the statement will have an important and very beneficial effect.

Among the men and women we have in mind as signatories are Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Mrs. Sol Rosenbloom, Dr. Rongy, Mr. Louis Posner, Mr. Israel Brody, Mr. Sundel Doniger, Mr. Israel Goldberg, and a few others.

Will you be good enough to let me know by return mail whether you are willing to append your name to the letter. I need not add that for the present this is to be held in strict confidence.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely,

I. S. Wechsler

Many Zionists have for years watched with increasing concern the gradual weakening of the Zionist Organization of America, the loss of confidence in its leadership, the progressive defection of old and tried Zionists, the grave reduction of the membership, the neglect of cultural Zionist ideals, the ~~failure~~ failure to crystalize and make articulate the widespread Zionist sentiment in American Jewry, and the alienation of important Zionist groups. Despite the fact that the Zionist Organization has in past years contributed greatly to the up-building of Palestine and that the Administration even now contains a number of sincere and ardent Zionists, the leadership has lost the preeminent position which of right belongs to it, and the Organization is practically without influence in the councils of the Agency. Everyone realizes that the Organization is in a precarious condition, that it is threatened with disintegration if not dissolution, that it is practically on the verge of bankruptcy, and that a serious debacle is impending. But the ~~cause~~ ^{tragedy} of it is that while some Zionists are brooding and disgruntled, the majority are in a state of indifference amounting almost to lethargy.

These facts are known to most Zionists. It is practically the unanimous opinion of everyone outside of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. and of a considerable number, if not a majority, within that unless help from men and women imbued with Zionist ideals and willing and able to assume responsibility is forthcoming the Organization will either disappear or remain a paper political body. Everybody agrees that there must be a complete change, a thorough house cleaning, a reorganization from top to bottom, and that a new Administration must be created; that this new Administration to succeed must contain members of the Brandeis-Mack group, and that there must be harmonious cooperation. And yet despite lip service to peace no genuine or sincere effort is being made by those

now responsible for the destinies of the Organization. There is no use ignoring the facts. Nobody is willing to join the present leadership. Even men who are not in any so-called opposition camp simply refuse to enter into the Administrative Committee as now constituted.

In view of this situation can anything be done to restore confidence, to revive old ideals and to infuse new enthusiasm? Are there enough Zionists with sufficient interest and courage to demand a change, to insist that Palestine is more important than individuals, that the Zionist ideal is greater than personal political fortunes? We believe that there are. We realize that those men and women do not want to enter a political arena, but if they will come forward and become articulate and speak out in sufficient numbers, in the full sincerity of their hearts and in words which can not be mistaken, they will be heard. Will they come forward? On their answer will depend the future of Zionism in America.

April 17th, 1930

Dr. I. S. Wechsler,
1112 Park Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Wechsler:-

Permit me to acknowledge receipt
of your letter of April 16th and the enclosed open letter.

I am very pleased to have my
name appended to it. I would, however, wish to see
a complete list of those who have agreed to have
their names appended to the letter before I give
official authorization to the use of my name.

With kindest regards and best
wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

Honorary President
STEPHEN S. WISE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Telephone Lackawanna 2570
Cable Address: "Congress"

President
BERNARD S. DEUTSCH

33 West 42nd Street

New York

Vice-Presidents
MAX SILVERSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
CARL SHERMAN
MRS. ARCHIBALD SILVERMAN
BENJAMIN WINTER
HAYIM FINEMAN

Chairman Executive Committee
NATHAN D. PERLMAN

Treasurer
MORRIS WEINBERG

Associate Treasurer
CYRUS LEVINthal

Executive Director
BERNARD G. RICHARDS

Organization Department
SAMUEL BLITZ, Director

July 9, 1930.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio

PERSONAL

Dear Rabbi Silver:

On my return to New York I spoke to Dr. Wise of our little chat at the Cleveland Convention. He insists that he knows of nothing which he has said or done to have offended you. As a matter of fact, he believes that through your marriage, you have somehow become related to him. He also pointed out that as you are now both members of the new Zionist Coalition, it is high time to re-establish friendly relations and he assured me that any communication from you will receive his courteous and friendly response.

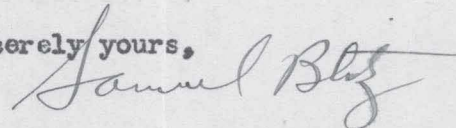
As you are no doubt aware, the next session of the American Jewish Congress will be held in Washington, beginning Sunday, October 19th and Mr. Harry Snell, member of the Palestine Inquiry Commission is coming to America to be our guest speaker. I hope you will arrange to attend the Congress and take a leading part in its deliberations.

I would suggest that you write Dr. Wise inviting him to visit Cleveland after the summer, in the interest of the American Jewish Congress. If it meets with your approval, I would come to Cleveland, a couple of weeks in advance to arrange for a dinner at which Dr. Wise could solicit some support for the work of the Congress. I am sure that with you as toastmaster, we would have no difficulty in raising a few thousand dollars, at the dinner.

I understand that the first meeting of the Z. O. A. Administrative Committee will be held next Monday evening and that Dr. Wise is planning to attend. I hope that you too will find it possible to be present so that Dr. Wise and you may exchange friendly greetings on this occasion.

Hoping to hear from you, I remain with kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,



SB:SN

AFFILIATED NATIONAL AND CENTRAL ORGANIZATIONS

INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH ABRAHAM
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH SHOLOM
INDEPENDENT ORDER FREE SONS OF ISRAEL
PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST
HADASSAH ORGANIZATION
JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS ALLIANCE
FEDERATION OF POLISH JEWS
FEDERATION OF GALICIAN JEWS
FEDERATION OF BUKOWINIAN JEWS
FEDERATION OF LITHUANIAN JEWS
RABBI ISAAC ELCHANAN SEMINARY
ORDER SONS OF ZION
AMERICAN JEWISH PHYSICIANS COMMITTEE
HISTADRUTH IVRITH
UNITED ROUMANIAN JEWS OF AMERICA
INDEPENDENT WESTERN STAR ORDER
FEDERATION OF UKRAINIAN JEWS
ORDER KNIGHTS OF JOSEPH
POALE ZION OF AMERICA
IND. ORDER BRITH SHOLOM OF BALTIMORE
UNITED HEBREW BROTHERS
ZEIRE ZION OF AMERICA
JEWISH COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

LOUIS LIPSKY
President

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

WILLIAM M. LEWIS
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
MAX SHULMAN
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
MRS. ARCHIBALD SILVERMAN
ELIHU D. STONE
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LOUIS SHAPIRO
MAX SHOOLMAN
LOUIS TOPKIS
PHILIP WATTENBERG
JOSEPH WEISS

שלם לו הלווי כהן
המורה הלווי (אז הלווי)
(כ)

July 23, 1930.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Will you please be good enough to notify this office, in advance of the meeting of the Administration of the Zionist Organization on Monday afternoon, July 28th, whether it is your intention to attend the forthcoming meeting of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization, which is to be held in Berlin on August 24th.

We would greatly appreciate it if you would let us have your reply by Monday morning.

Sincerely yours,

Robert A. Zisch
Chairman

[March 30, 1930]

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION of AMERICA

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK
Honorary Chairman

LOUIS LIPSKY
Honorary Vice-Chairman

ROBERT SZOLD
Chairman

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
Vice-Chairman

MORRIS WEINBERG
Treasurer

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

1930 מרץ/אפריל

יום ו', ה' אלול תר"ץ

The Administration

ISRAEL BRODIE
JACOB DE HAAS
ABRAHAM GOLDBERG
DR. JAMES G. HELLER
MRS. EDWARD JACOBS
JUDGE WILLIAM M. LEWIS
LOUIS LIPSKY
JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK
EMANUEL NEUMANN
DR. LOUIS I. NEWMAN
DR. NATHAN RATNOFF
SAMUEL J. ROSENBOHN
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
NELSON RUTTENBERG
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
ROBERT SZOLD
ABRAHAM TULIN
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

לכבוד רבי אבא הילל סילבר:

בשעה שיגיע מכתבי לידך הדע כבר עפ"י העיונות
שנחמתי בחור מנהל-שדה לאומי (National Field Director)
של ההסתדרות הציונית באמריקה, וחפיד הראשון הוא, קרן
הגרעון.

אחרי רב עיון באתי לירי החלטה שמן הנמנע יהיה
לרכש סכום עצום שיספיק למלך את כל הגרעון (ובלי זה אי-
אפשר להתחיל בשום עבודה ממשית) אם נפנה רק לציונים
המאורגנים. יותר מארבעים או חמשים אלף דולר לא נוכל
לקבץ באופן זה. לכן הצעה לפני ועד ההנהלה שיג את
הסכמתם של ארבעה או חמשה מהמנהיגים הפינאנסים שלנו,
להקריב את כבודם ולהשתעבד לעריכת בנקיטה לכבוד כל אחד
מהם בעיר מגורו. מחיר כל כרטיס יעלה לחמישים או עשרים וחמשה
דולר, בתנאי שחתן הבנקיטה יחליט בעצמו להקדיש את הרווח לאיזו קרן
שירצה. כמובן שבינינו לבין עצמנו ההיה הסכמה הדדית שזה יוקדש
לקרן הגרעון.

ארבעת המנהיגים הראשונים שחשבנו להשתמש בקרבנם הם: השופט מק
בניו יורק, אתה בקליבלנד, השופט לואיס בפילדלפיה והשופט פיישר בשיקגו.
בנוגע לשלש הנזכרים ולתך ~~ה~~ הסכמתם בטוחה כבר. מלבד זה פנינו
בבקשה לל.ר.ב. להשתתף בקונפרנציה שתערך בלוח אוקטובר בחשינגטון
כדי לדון על כל הפרובלמות הציוניות ואגב אורחא גם על הגרעון ולדרוש
מאת הנאספים (במה יהיו מהחשובים שבציוני אמריקה) תרומות הגנה
לשם זה.

פונה אני, אפוא, אליך בבקשה להודיעני מיד אם נכון אתה להקריב
את עצמך לעריכת בנקיטה לכבוד בקליבלנד בהקדם הכי אפשרי. אם תסרב
חלילה הגרם "מחק" נכר בחשבוננו. הסכמתך תביא לנו ישועה במצב הכספי
של ההסתדרות הציונית. אם אתה בן מפכים נכון אני לעבר לקליבלנד
לשבוץ או עשרה ימים כדי לעזור בסדור העניין.

בתקווה לשמוע ממך תשובה חיובית הנני

בכבוד ובהערצה,

ר.א. זולדין
מ.א. זולדין

התקבלה ב-1930 מרץ/אפריל
20A
152,689 \$

[July 28, 1930]

MINUTES OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
Held on Monday afternoon, July 28, at Zionist Offices, 4 P.M.

1930

#2

PRESENT: Mr. Szold in the chair; Messrs. Israel Brodie, Jacob de Haas, Abraham Goldberg, Judge William M. Lewis, Louis Lipsky, Judge J.W. Mack, Emanuel Neumann, Morris Rothenberg, Nelson Ruttenberg, Rabbi A.H. Silver, Abraham Tulin and Dr. S. S. Wise.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES:

On behalf of the Committee on Committees, Mr. Tulin reported that the committee met several times since the last meeting of the Administration, that it is only ready to report on the membership of some of the committees, and requested that the Committee on Committees be permitted to defer reporting on the other committees until a future meeting and after consultation with Chairmen of Committees, with whom, it had been impossible to consult.

Mr. Lipsky called attention to the fact that he had addressed a communication to Mr. Tulin with regard to the organization of the various committees. Mr. Tulin pointed out that the committee considered very carefully the suggestions contained in Mr. Lipsky's letter, and without adopting the principle of the letter, made appointments which, generally speaking conformed thereto. Mr. Tulin added that the committee felt it would be a mistake to limit the committees just to members of the Administration and the Executive, since there are valuable Zionists outside of these committees whose contributions to our deliberations should be sought and accepted. One suggestion, however, was adopted in toto, namely, that no one shall be a member of a committee who is not a member of the Zionist Organization of America.

Mr. Tulin then proceeded to read the names of the various committees, which were approved as follows:

Committee on Political Affairs: Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman, Elias Ginsberg, Jacob de Haas, Abraham Goldberg, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Mack, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Abraham Tulin.

Committee on Relations with W.Z.O. and Jewish Agency: Judge Julian W. Mack, Chairman, Israel B. Brodie, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Judge William M. Lewis, Emanuel Neumann, Morris Rothenberg, Rabbi A. H. Silver, Mrs. Robert Szold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Finance Committee: Samuel J. Rosensohn, Chairman; Harry P. Fierst, Edward Friedman, Samuel Halprin, Jacob Lackow, A. Liebovitz, Louis P. Rucker, S. Thau, Philip Wattenberg, Morris Weinberg, ex-officio, Joseph Weiss.

Jewish National Fund Committee: Abraham Goldberg, Chairman; Isaac Allen, Joseph Beder, Robert M. Bernstein, Phila; Mrs. Judith Epstein, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Solomon Lampport, Emanuel Neumann, Nelson Ruttenberg, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Providence;

Organization Committee: Jacob de Haas, Chairman; Miss Juliette Benjamin, David Freiburger, Abraham Goldstein, Harry J. Kahn, I. Hassin, Israel Posnansky, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Nelson Ruttenberg, David Tannenbaum, Mrs. Frieda Ullian, Morris A. Zeldin.

Committee on Publication: Abraham Tulin, Chairman; I. B. Brodie, A. H. Fromenson, Abraham Goldberg, Israel Goldberg, William B. Leaf, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Joshua N. Neumann, Dr. A. J. Rongy, David Rosenblum, Oscar Rosner, Norman Salit, Hyman R. Segal, Herbert Solow, James Waterman Wise.

Committee on Public Information: Emanuel Neumann, Chairman; Dr. Joshua Bloch, Jacob Fishman, Jacob Ginsberg, Phila; Israel Goldberg, Mrs. Rebecca Kohut, Dr. S. Margoshes, David N. Mosessohn, Bernard G. Richards, Max Rhoades, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Israel Shapiro, Samuel Spring, Dr. Israel Wechsler.

Committee on Liquidation of Deficit: Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Chairman;

(Co-workers: All members of Administrative and Executive Committees)

Mr. Tulin suggested that Dr. Ratnoff be invited to attend the next meeting of the Committee on Committees with a view to obtaining his views in connection with the Committee on Deficit.

In connection with the report on the Committee on Publications, Mr. Tulin stated that he will present a concrete report at the next meeting of the Administration.

It was the unanimous sense of the meeting that additional members of committees may be named if the approval of the Administration is obtained, whether or not such additional members are members of the Administrative or Executive Committees.

The suggestion was made by Mr. Neumann that some procedure be adopted for issuing informative material to the press, and the advisability of offering comment on certain things that appear in the press.

Rabbi Silver moved, and it was seconded and carried, that when a chairman speaking in the name of his committee is about to present a formal statement to the press, the statement should be first approved by the Administration.

RABBI JOSEPH SILVERMAN:

Mr. de Haas informed the committee that the family of Dr. Joseph Silverman requested that the Administration name Honorary Pallbearers for the funeral services to be held tomorrow.

It was decided that Mr. Louis Lipsky and Mr. Morris Rothenberg represent the Administration.

The following resolution was then unanimously adopted:

"The Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America learns with profound sorrow of the death of Doctor Joseph Silverman, Rabbi Emeritus of Temple Emanuel, for a number of years a member of the Executive Committee of our Organization.

"Rabbi Silverman was during the greater part of his life a leading figure in the rabbinate of the country, devoting himself with his voice and pen to the furtherance of Judaism and the welfare of our people, with an energy that remained unabated with the passage of the years. He won for himself a high place in the history of his people in America, and the regard and affection of his fellow-Jews throughout the world.

"More particularly do we desire to pay tribute to the splendid services rendered by Rabbi Silverman during the past eight years of his life to the cause of the upbuilding of Palestine. Upon his retirement from active service in the rabbinate, at a time of his life when he might have felt he had earned his rest, he gave himself anew to the study and revaluation of the cause of Zionism to which he had been for many years opposed. With fine and youthful courage he identified himself with the movement, and with energy and ardor equally youthful, threw himself in the work of raising funds and securing adherents to the Zionist cause. He did much more for Zionism during these last years than most men do in a life-time.

"In his passing has departed a loyal comrade who has made his mark in the history of American Zionism and whose absence from among us will be deeply felt and mourned.

"We extend to the family of Rabbi Silverman our profoundest sympathy sharing with them their sorrow, but also their solemn pride in his character and accomplishments."

NEW PALESTINE:

Mr. Tulin informed the committee that it was intended to issue The New Palestine monthly, as heretofore. The committee felt, however, that in view of urgent necessity of informing the Zionists of the country as to what was happening, that the next publication ought to appear within two weeks.

It was decided, in view of Mr. Tulin's leaving the city for two weeks, that the matter of The New Palestine be referred to the Office Committee for consideration. Mr. Tulin promised to send in his suggestions to the Committee.

DATES FOR FUTURE MEETINGS:

With regard to dates for future meetings, it was unanimously agreed that meetings of the Administration be held on the first and third Wednesdays of the month.

U.P.A. OBLIGATION RE LEASE:

In connection with the proposal of the Finance Committee to release the UPA from all obligations under the present lease, in consideration of the payment of \$7500. in cash, the committee felt that it would be unfair to discuss this matter in the absence of Mr. Rosensohn and Mr. Weinberg.

It was therefore decided to defer action on the matter until the next meeting.

PROPOSED CAMPAIGN OF JEWISH NATIONAL FUND:

In connection with the proposed campaign which the Jewish National Fund, planned to begin in the Fall with the arrival of Mr. Usishkin in October, Mr. Neumann pointed out that the Jewish National Fund is confronted with a two-fold problem; First, the attitude of the Adminis-

tration on the matter of Mr. Ussishkin's coming, about which very little can be done, since a cable has been received here that he will arrive on October 12th; and secondly, regardless of whether Mr. Ussishkin comes here, or not, there remains the question of the future activities of the Jewish National Fund.

Mr. Neumann further pointed out that the J.N.F. has refrained from going forward more strongly than they did because they did not want to embarrass the Jewish Agency and the Allied Jewish Campaign. What is proposed, however, is to so conduct the affairs of the JNF as will not conflict with the schedule of the Allied Jewish Campaign.

In presenting these matters, Mr. Neumann stated that the J.N.F. would like to have the approval, sanction and cooperation of the Organization both with regard to making Mr. Ussishkin's visit a successful one, and secondly, with regard to their fund-raising efforts, irrespective of his visit.

On motion of Dr. Wise, which was seconded and carried, it was decided to first discuss the needs of the Zionist Organization of America for the coming year, and then continue the discussion with regard to Mr. Ussishkin.

At this point it was decided to adjourn the meeting, and to reconvene at 8 o'clock at Judge Mack's home.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

The evening session opened at 8:30 at the home of Judge Mack

PRESENT: Dr. Ratnoff and members who attended the afternoon session, with the exception of Judge Lewis and Mr. Ruttenberg.

The discussion as to the proposed J.N.F. campaign, to be opened in the Fall, and also the proposed visit of Mr. Ussishkin was resumed. All of the members present participated and the following matters were considered: The continuance of the present Allied Jewish Campaign and the probable length thereof; the effect of the Jewish National Fund campaign thereon; the plans and methods for raising sufficient funds to carry on the work of the Organization in this country and meeting the necessities of the Palestine budget-both the economic work and the so-called non-economic work; the possibility of a campaign next year for raising funds for Palestine.

With regard to the Allied Jewish Campaign, Mr. Rothenberg reported that there will be 115 campaigns in the fall; that up to date there have been \$2,000,000. in pledges, of which \$600,000. has been raised in cash; and that \$6,000,000. was the proposed goal. Mr. Rothenberg pointed out that the Allied Jewish Campaign is the source for the Palestine budget.

After a lengthy discussion, the following resolution was duly adopted, it being understood that the members of the Administration who are to attend the coming meetings of the General Council in Berlin, would have the resolution as a guide as to the attitude of the Administration:

~~"That the American Zionist Organization would be glad to welcome and receive Mr. Ussishkin for propaganda on behalf of the JNF and Zionism in general, but the time of coming and the raising of~~

It is the consensus of opinion of the Administration of the ZOA that the coming of Mr. Ussishkin to America is desirable both from the standpoint of the Jewish National Fund and the intensification of Zionist feeling and activity in general. The ZOA will extend to Mr. Ussishkin a warm welcome as well as its cooperation in his endeavors.

The Committee is further of opinion that the coming of Mr. Ussishkin should be so timed as to produce the maximum of positive results for the JNF without conflicting with other activities in progress, particularly the Allied Jewish Campaign. In view of the fact that the agreement upon which the Allied Jewish Campaign is based, is by its terms in force up to December 31, 1930; that only a small number of campaigns have thus far been held, the largest number being scheduled to take place in the Fall; that the results thus far achieved are so meagre as to seriously affect the financial position of the Palestine Executive; and that this country is still in the midst of a severe economic depression, it is urged that October would be an inopportune time for the arrival of Mr. Ussishkin, and that in the opinion of the Administrative Committee, it should, in the light of all circumstances, be postponed preferably to the beginning of January.

The representatives of the ZOA who will be present at the meetings of the General Council of the Zionist Organization, and of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency are requested to explain the circumstances to Mr. Ussishkin and to others concerned in this question, with a view to reaching an agreement which will take into consideration both the interests of the JNF and of other commitments and obligations toward Palestine.

It was also agreed that the plans of the American JNF for inaugurating more intensive JNF activities beginning October 1, 1930, with particular reference to Dunam Land actions and "Nachlaoth", at such times and in such communities as will not conflict with the schedule of the Allied Jewish Campaigns, will have the approval and cooperation of the ZOA.

of funds should not interfere with the Allied Jewish Campaign, on which the present general budget for Palestine depends; and the Administration is of the opinion, in the light of present circumstances, that his coming be postponed till after January 1st."

During the course of the discussion, the obligation to cooperate whole-heartedly with the Allied Jewish Campaign was pointed out, and it was duly moved, seconded and carried

"That the Chairman appoint two members, who, together with Mr. Rothenberg and Judge Lewis, consider ways and means with the Allied Jewish Campaign of intensifying the campaign."

RESIGNATION OF MR. FREIBERGER:

The chairman informed the members of the Committee that he had received a letter of resignation from Mr. Freiburger, as President of the American Zion Commonwealth, to take effect upon the appointment of his successor.

Upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, it was decided

"That the resignation of Mr. Freiburger should not be accepted, and that he be requested to continue his services."

NEXT MEETING OF ADMINISTRATION:

It was voted that the next meeting of the Administration be held On Monday evening, August 4th, at the Zionist Offices, at 8 o'clock.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT SZOLD
Chairman

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

HELD MONDAY, AUGUST 4, 1930 - 6 P.M., CHARLES FRENCH RESTAURANT, N.Y.C

PRESENT: Messrs. Emanuel Neumann (in the chair) Jacob Fishman, Israel Goldberg, Jacob Ginsburg, Max Rhoades, Dr. Joshua Bloch, Samuel Spring.

A letter was received from Dr. Israel Schapiro, accepting membership on the Committee, but regretting his inability to be present at this meeting.

A similar letter was read from Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, containing a suggestion that the pamphlets recently published by the Agency in London be circulated widely among newspaper editors, members of Congress, prominent clergymen and other leaders of public opinion.

Dr. Silver's suggestion was unanimously adopted, and Mr. Israel Goldberg, Dr. Joshua Bloch and the Chairman were to read the pamphlets critically and determine which of them be selected for circulation, and among whom they should be circulated.

The Chairman then submitted a proposed statement of the functions and activities of the Committee on Public Information to be adopted as their recommendation to the Administration of the Zionist Organization of America.

After a discussion in which all participated, the statement was adopted, copy of which is annexed to the minutes, and made a part thereof.

The Committee adjourned at 8:30 P.M., subject to the call of the Chairman.

Respectfully submitted

EMANUEL NEUMANN

Chairman

TENTATIVE STATEMENT OF PROPOSED FUNCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION OF THE ZOA

The following statement was submitted as the recommendations of the Committee on Public Information regarding its scope, function and activity:

- A. In general the function of the Committee should be to initiate and supervise activities calculated to disseminate information regarding Palestinian affairs and the aims and achievements of the Zionist movement among the Jewish and non-Jewish public of this country.
- B. To foster the development of a favorable public opinion, particularly in non-Jewish circles.

In furtherance of these objectives, the following measures are suggested:

1. The establishment at the ZOA headquarters of a Research Division which should systematically collect, index and make available for general use all books, pamphlets, periodicals and manuscripts that can be useful for our purposes.
2. Organize an efficient press service covering the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish and general American newspapers.
3. Establish relations with a number of Jewish and non-Jewish writers with a view to the publication of informative articles in important periodicals.
4. The publication and distribution of special pamphlets.
5. In order to reach effectively newspaper editors, members of Congress, prominent clergymen and other leaders of public opinion, it is desirable that bulletins be sent to them from time to time, preferably in the name and under the auspices of a committee of non-Jewish friends. In this connection we may profit by the example of the British Palestine Committee on the one hand, and the American Foreign Policy Association in this country and similar bodies, on the other. It is suggested that such a committee should be formed with the cooperation of influential members of the Administration, and with the advice and assistance of Justice Brandeis, Prof. Frankfurter, etc.
6. Zionist Districts and Hadassah Chapters throughout the country ought to be encouraged to cooperate with the Committee on Public Information by:

(a) Placing Zionist books and periodicals in local libraries.

- (b) call the attention of the National Organization to articles and editorials in the local press.
- (c) Call the attention of the National Organization to any important contact which may exist locally with leaders of public opinion.

Direct political action, as well as the formulation of policies are beyond the purview of this Committee. It should confine itself to the fundamental work of disseminating information and fostering public opinion--the soil from which political support for our Movement must grow.

From the Administrative standpoint it is desirable that the general publicity or press service of the Organization be linked up with the work of this Committee, and if possible, the whole being placed under the supervision of one person, to be known as the Director of Public Information. This will result, first, in close coordination and economy of effort and expense; and secondly, the subordination of the usual type of day to day publicity of local and ephemeral character to the broader, more serious and more fundamental work outlined above.

Assuming that funds are available, the staff of the Department of Public Information should include the director referred to with one or more assistants as may be required, and a volunteer staff recruited from Hadassah, Junior Hadassah, Avukah, Menorah, and Zionist youth bodies. Such volunteer writers and research workers may be loosely bound together by holding occasional conferences, dinner meetings, etc., for discussion of current questions and exchange of views.

An incidental function of the Committee and of the Department should be the preparation for the use of members of the Administrative and Executive Committees, as well as the other standing committees of the Organization, of digests of articles appearing in America, in Palestine and in the rest of the world, which may help the members of these committees form judgments based upon all available data.

No attempt has been made to estimate the cost of operations but this is likely to constitute a considerable item in our budget. It is submitted, however, that the functions indicated are among the most important to be performed by the ZOA in view of the general political situation and the rather unfavorable state of American public opinion on the Zionist question. It may be possible to secure special contributions from far-sighted friends of the Cause to carry on these duties.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

Emanuel Neumann, Chairman

Dr. Joshua Bloch

Jacob Fishman

Mrs. Rebecca Kohut

Jacob Ginsburg

Israel Goldberg

Dr. S. Margoshes

David N. Mosessohn

Bernard G. Richards

Max Rhoads

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Dr. Israel Shapiro

Samuel Spring

Dr. Israel Wechsler



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Aug. 25th, 1930

Mr. Julius Tuteur,
Cleveland, Ohio.

1930 N. J. P.

My dear Mr. Tuteur:-

The historic convention of the Zionist Organization of America which brought Chief Justice Brandeis back into the leadership of the Zionist movement was recently held in Cleveland. A new era of unity and good will was inaugurated.

Friends of the Palestinian cause are anxious to relieve the Zionist Organization of the heavy deficit under which it has been laboring for some years and which seriously hampered its activities.

I am requesting a group of my friends to contribute to a ten thousand dollar fund which we have undertaken to raise in Cleveland to help wipe out this long-standing deficit.

At the last convention in Cleveland, I made an appeal to the delegates present to lift this burden of debt and over \$100,000 was pledged, of which Cleveland, being the convention city and the one in which the final peace was consummated, undertook to raise \$10,000. I personally pledged \$1500.

I will greatly appreciate any help which you may render the cause at this time.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

Sep.
Oct. 3d, 1930

Dear Friend:

A new era in American Zionism began with the union of all the forces in the movement which was accomplished at the Convention held in Cleveland last month.

Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court and Judge Mack have officially returned to the leadership of the movement. The hope is universally held that the movement will now enter upon a great period of growth and development.

One of the serious problems which confronted the new administration was a deficit which had accumulated over a period of years and which had to be liquidated in order to enable it to function smoothly and without financial embarrassment.

At the Cleveland Convention I appealed to the delegates present to wipe out this deficit and a sum well over \$100,000 was pledged by the spokesmen of the various communities in this country. Cleveland, as the convention city, pledged the sum of \$10,000.

I am writing to the registered members of the Zionist Division of Cleveland to urge upon them to contribute to this Deficit Fund, thereby insuring the uninterrupted progress of the movement in this country.

It is very difficult to appeal for such a fund to non-Zionists. It clearly evolves upon those who are members of the organization and who realize the absolute importance of enabling the American Zionist Organization to carry on a firm aggressive Zionist educational program in this country to wipe out this deficit. The burden of debt once lifted, our leaders will be able to devote themselves to the many pressing problems which are involved in the Palestinian situation today.

It is, of course, impossible to launch any extensive campaign for this purpose at this time. The appeal must necessarily be limited to a small number of interested men and women. I would deeply appreciate any helpful contribution which you may make to this cause. Please send these contributions to me.

With kindest regards and Zion's greetings, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SIGNS

DL = Day Letter
NM = Night Message
NL = Night Letter
LCO = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Letter
WLT = Week-End Letter

The filing time as shown in the date line on full-rate telegrams and day letters, and the time of receipt at destination as shown on all messages, is STANDARD TIME.

Received at

HAA90 71 DL=XQ NEWYORK NY 24 1240P

RABBI A H SILVER=
THE TEMPLE=

1930 OCT 24 PM 1 11

FOLLOWING CABLE RECEIVED FROM ZIONIBURO LONDON QUOTE URGE
YOU DO ALL IN YOUR POWER PREVENT MOVEMENT ASSUMING
ANTIBRITISH CHARACTER STOP CONSERVATIVE LEADERS BALDWIN
AUSTIN CHAMBERLAIN AMERY IN LETTER TODAYS TIMES
DISSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM WHITE PAPER STOP URGE YOU GIVE
GREATEST PROMINENCE IN PRESS SPEECHES TO THAT LETTER STOP
BRITISH NATION MUST NOT BE BLAMED FOR WHITEPAPER STOP
REQUEST YOU LIMIT RESOLUTIONS REJECTION WHITEPAPER
GENERALLY AVOIDING DETAILS STOP NO STREET DEMONSTRATIONS
UNQUOTE=

ROBERT SZOLD CHAIRMAN ADMINISTRATION.

30a

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable sign above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

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Received at

HAA220 82=NEWYORK NY 11 547P

1930 DEC 11 PM 6 24

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE=
EAST 105 ST & ANSEL RD=

THE AGENCY DRIVE THIS YEAR WILL DEPEND MORE THAN EVER ON
THE ABILITY AND ENTHUSIASM OF THE PERSON WHO LEADS IT IF
YOU WHO HAVE THE EXPERIENCE THE ABILITY AND A REAL DEVOTION
TO THIS CAUSE WILL ACCEPT THE CHAIRMANSHIP PERHAPS
ASSOCIATED WITH SOMEONE OF THE TYPE OF NATHAN STRAUS JR
THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT WORK WOULD BE IN THE BEST POSSIBLE
HANDS THOUGH I FULLY REALIZE ALL OF THE DIFFICULTIES
ENTAILED I NEVERTHELESS EARNESTLY URGE YOU TO UNDERTAKE
THIS TASK KINDEST REGARDS=

FELIX M WARBURG.

Answer N. L. 12/15/30

My work makes it impossible for me to assume responsibility
for Campaign stop Am ready to give it all my spare time
but can not commit myself to an undertaking which will
necessitate my frequent absence from the city and the
neglect of my congregational duties. stop Will be in New
York Saturday and Sunday and will communicate with you in
person explaining situation stop Kindest regards

A. H. Silver

*and
N.Y.*

1930

ZIONISTISCHES ACTIONS-COMITE
ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

Mitglieder:
Members :

Dr. Schmarya Levin, Tel Aviv
Leo Motzkin, Paris
M.M. Ussischkin, Jerusalem

Virilisten

Ersatzmitglieder:
Deputy members :

Dr. Berthold Feiwel, London
Dr. Victor Jacobson, Genf

Allgemeine Zionisten (General Zionists)

Adolf Bernhardt, Bukarest
Dr. Moritz Bileski, Berlin
Kurt Blumenfeld, Berlin
Haim Farchy, Sofia
Jacob Fishman, New York
A.I. Freiman, Ottawa
Abraham Goldberg, New York
Rev. J.K. Goldbloom, London
Dr. Alexander Goldstein, London
Dr. Anselm Halpern, Stanislawow
Leon Lewite, Warschau
Dr. Alexander Licht, Zagreb
Right Hon. Lord Melchett, London
Dr. Ben Zion Mossinson, Tel Aviv
I. Naiditsch, Paris
Isaac Ochberg, *Johannesburg*
Morris Rothenberg, New York
Dr. Josef Rufeisen, Mor. Ostrava
Max Shulman, Chicago
Rabb. Dr. A.H. Silver, Cleveland
Israel Sieff, London
I. Suprasky, Tel-Aviv
Dr. Osias Thon, Krakau

Dr. A. Coralnik, New York
Dr. Meyer Ebner, Cernauti
Dr. Josef Fischer, Cluj
Mrs. A.I. Freiman, Ottawa
Dr. Desider Friedmann, Wien
Dr. M. Glueckson, Tel-Aviv
Dr. Georg Halpern, Berlin
Dr. Hugo Herrmann, Bruenn
Dr. M. Hindes, Warschau
Dr. Alfred Klee, Berlin
A. Levin, Montreal
Simon Marx, London
Joachim Neiger, Tarnow
Dr. I. Olsvanger, London
Alfons Pazifici, Florenz
Frau Sch. Persitz, Tel Aviv
Dr. J. Rosenblatt, Lodz
Dr. Martin Rosenbluth, Berlin
Mrs. A. Silverman, Providence
Elihu D. Stone, Boston
Leonard Stein, London
Mrs. Robert Szold, New York

Misrachi

Abg. Rabb. S. Brod, Tomaszow
Gedaliah Bublick, New York
Abg. H. Farbstein, Warschau
Dr. S. Federbusch, Lwow
Rabbi J.L. Fischman, Jerusalem
E.N. Neufeld, Warschau
Abg. M. Nurok, Riga
Rabbi A. Teitelbaum, New York

Rabbi Wolf Gold, New York
Lewi Lewin Epstein, Warschau
Rabbi I. Rosenberg, New York
Rabbi I. Rubinstein, Wilna
Mosche Schapiro, Jerusalem
Rabbi Saul Silber, Chicago
Daniel Sirkis, Tel Aviv
Hermann Struck, Haifa

Hitachduth

Dr. Chaim Arlosoroff, Tel-Aviv
Chaim Gruenberg, New York
Elieser Kaplan, Tel Aviv
Dr. N. Melzer, Lwow
Levi Szkolnik, Tel Aviv
Dr. Arjeh Tartakower, Lodz
Nahum Twersky, Tel-Aviv

Ada Fischman, Tel Aviv
Dr. Jakob Hellmann, Riga
Prof. M. Lazersons, Riga
Dr. Kopel Schwarz, Lwow
Dr. A. Silberschein, Lwow
I. Skwirsky, Chisinau
I. Verlinsky, Nahalal

Poale Zion

Aisik Brudny, Tel Aviv
Abraham Harzfeld, Tel-Aviv
Berl Locker, New York
Israel Mereminski, Tel Aviv
Ing. Anselm Reiss, Warschau
David Remez, Tel Aviv
Salman Rubaschow, Tel Aviv

Dr. Schmuel Friedmann, Kaunas
Dov Hos, London
Mordechai Jarblum, Paris
Israel Idelson, Tel-Aviv
Berl Katznelson, Tel Aviv
Mosche Tschertok, Tel Aviv

Radikale

Abg. Jizchak Gruenbaum, Warschau
Ing. Robert Stricker, Wien

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Berlin
Dr. S.I. Stern, Bukarest

Revisionisten

Meir Grossmann, London
Richard Lichtheim, Berlin
Dr. S. Soskin, Tel Aviv

Dr. Jakob Hoffmann, Riga
I. Klinow, Berlin
Dr. A. Weinschall, Haifa

January 13th, 1931

Mr. Robert Szold,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Szold:-

The more I have thought over the matter of Dr. Weizmann's coming to the United States, the more convinced I am that he should by all means be urged to come. We shall need every ounce of support for the forthcoming campaign.

Dr. Weizmann is the only man who has any influence with the non-Zionists of the Agency. He corralled them into the Agency in the first place and it is now his responsibility as well as his opportunity to persuade them to give concrete evidence of their serious intentions with regards to the economic upbuilding of Palestine.

Dr. Weizmann should share in the responsibility of the forthcoming campaign which will be the first clear cut Agency campaign in this country. If we are hostile to his coming or indifferent, and if the campaign fails, we will be saddled with the full responsibility for its failure. All the considerations which have been advanced by those who oppose his coming are negligible in face of this vital fact that unless the non-Zionists assist in the forthcoming campaign the campaign will fail and the Agency will go down to defeat with it.

The meeting at Temple Emanu-El was an indication of the demoralized condition of the Agency upon which so much hope was based. I am afraid that at the meeting on the 25th the non-Zionists will be as poorly represented as they were at the preliminary meeting. I still believe that a special meeting should be called of the non-Zionist Council members of the Jewish Agency in the immediate future by Mr. Warburg or Dr. Adler and that they be made sharply aware of the responsibilities which they undertook upon entering the Agency and of the critical situation in which the whole Palestinian enterprise finds itself.

As regards the Zionist Organization of America, I am of the opinion that the members of our Administrative Committee have been too politically minded and have devoted entirely too much time to London and Palestine and not enough to America.

We should spend much more time upon building up our Organization in this country and upon putting our Organization on a sound financial basis. The attempt to control every step of the negotiations in London from our headquarters on Fifth Avenue is doomed to failure.

We should send one or two of our best people, who are conversant with our point of view, to London and let them do the best they can and the rest of us ought to devote ourselves to our local problem.

We should speak more often to our people in this country. We ought to acquaint them with the difficulties which our Organization faces and with the things we are trying to accomplish. You, particularly, as President of the Organization ought to speak more directly and more frequently to the Jews of this country. If possible you ought to visit the more important centers in the East and through the middle West. We know that we are doing our best under trying circumstances. The country at large does not know it and may get the impression that we are incompetent or dilly-dallying.

I know that our funds are very limited. Nevertheless I believe that we ought to send a few of our men on propaganda tours through the country to build up sentiment in the districts, to re-organize some of them and to increase our membership.

Has anything been done in the matter of borrowing from the banks immediately so as to send some money to Palestine. I believe that this should be done without further delay.

I do not know whether it will be possible for me to attend the meeting on the 25th but I shall make an effort to come.

With best wishes, I am

As ever yours,

TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN
OF
THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

CYRUS ADLER
PROVISIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

JOSEPH C. HYMAN
SECRETARY

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION
COMMITTEE

LEE K. FRANKEL
MRS. EDWARD JACOBS
SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
ROBERT SZOLD

A. H. FROMENSON
TEMPORARY SECRETARY

January 16, 1931.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

We have the honor to extend to you an invitation to be one of the speakers at the National Conference at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City, on Sunday, January 25th, which has been called by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in cooperation with the Keren Hayesod and Hadassah, to organize and inaugurate the American Palestine Campaign.

You fully realize the importance of this, the first independent fund-raising campaign on behalf of the work of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, and are familiar with the present situation, both political and economic, touching that country. The situation is such that unless we can speedily raise a sum sufficient to meet the Agency's budgetary requirements and also to meet a number of commitments that are falling due, grave consequences may ensue.

In view of this situation, we sincerely hope that you will accept this invitation and consent to deliver a short address during the course of the Conference.

Hoping to be favored by an early and immediate reply,

Sincerely yours,

Cyrus Adler

CYRUS ADLER

Robert Szold

ROBERT SZOLD

*מכתב לדר. אבא חילל סילבר
16 ינו 1931
המכתב יגיע אליו
ביום שבת, 17 ינו 1931
בביתו, 111 פנת און
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RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

THE TEMPLE CLEVELAND OHIO

SUPPLEMENTING FORMAL INVITATION FROM ADLER MYSELF YOU SPEAK
CONFERENCE NEXT SUNDAY DESIRE ADD MY PERSONAL URGINGS STOP ALREADY THREE
HUNDRED FIFTY ACCEPTANCES RECEIVED INDICATING SPLENDID DEMONSTRATION
BUT YOUR INSPIRATION NECESSARY TO AROUSE FIGHTING SPIRIT SO
NECESSARY IN FACE DIFFICULTIES STOP CONFERENCE WILL BE FAILURE WITHOUT
YOU THEREFORE BEG YOU INFORM ME IMMEDIATELY WE MAY RELY ON YOU
ROBERT SZOLD..

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HW157 20=XQ NEWYORK NY 20 548P

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=
THE TEMPLE=

YOUR PRESENCE AT THE CONFERENCE ON SUNDAY IS ABSOLUTELY
INDISPENSABLE MOST EARNESTLY URGE YOU TO WIRE DEFINITELY
YOU ARE COMING=

ROBERT SZOLD.



THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE

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RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE CLEVELAND OHIO=

WE ARE COUNTING ON YOU TO BE ONE OF THE CHAIRMEN OF THE
AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN TOGETHER WITH ROTHENBERG STRAUS
AND ONE OTHER STOP PLEASE WIRE STOP YOU CAN MAKE
ACCEPTANCE CONDITIONAL UPON ROTHENBERG ASSUMING
RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTIVE DETAILED DIRECTION HERE STOP
HOPE TO SEE YOU SUNDAY NEXT-

DAY LETTER 1/23/31

CYRUS ADLER,

On condition that someone else take responsibility for the detailed management of the campaign I shall be pleased to be one of the chairman of the American Palestine Campaign stop Regret exceedingly will be unable to attend meeting in New York next Sunday. Have

THE QUICKEST, SUREST AND SAFEST WAY TO SEND MONEY IS BY TELEGRAPH OR CABLE
addressed letter to you and Szold containing brief message to delegates Kindest Regards

200
Jan. 20th, 1931

Dr. Cyrus Adler,
Mr. Robert Szold,
The Jewish Agency,
111 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friends:-

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and telegram requesting me to address the Conference on the 25th. Nothing would have given me greater pleasure but unfortunately I have been away from Cleveland so much of the time during the past two months that I can not in justice to my work and to my congregation absent myself again, particularly on a Sunday when I must occupy my own pulpit.

I stand ready to help you to the utmost of my abilities in the forthcoming campaign. I realize fully the urgency of the situation and the desperate economic plight in which our work in Palestine will find itself unless funds are quickly sent there to relieve the situation.

Please convey to the delegates attending the Conference my earnest hope that they will rise to the imperative challenge of the hour and resolve in utmost earnestness and consecration to make the forthcoming Jewish Agency campaign the success which it must be.

We have insisted that our great work in Palestine shall not be interrupted or interfered with by the Mandatory Government. We must not allow our own people to bring about the same results and worse through economic neglect. An economic collapse of our work in Palestine at this time would be the strongest weapon in the hands of our adversaries who have been urging the restriction of immigration into Palestine and other measures calculated to destroy the very foundations of our enterprise.

The forthcoming campaign will be the first in which the Jewish Agency, as such, without ~~the~~ collaboration with other agencies, will face the task of raising the requisite funds for Palestine. The manner in which the elements within the Agency

Continued.....page 2.
Dr. Adler and Mr. Szold.

both Zionist and non-Zionist will respond will be the test of the efficacy and the worth-whileness of the Agency itself. If Zionists and non-Zionists throw themselves heartily into the work of organization, campaigning and contribution there will ensue a splendid vindication of the vision and idealism which brought the Agency into existence. Something of the exalted spirit of Zurich, 1929 ought to be recaptured for the great, hard task ahead of us.

I pledge you, my dear Dr. Adler and Mr. Szold, my whole hearted cooperation.

With best wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR



LETTER FROM PREMIER MACDONALD TO DR. CHAIM
WEIZMANN, PUBLISHED FEB. 14, 1931.

NOTE:--(Words appearing in capital letters appear in the
letter finally issued. Words in parenthesis ap-
peared in old draft but have been deleted.).

FOREIGN OFFICE
S.W.I.

Dear Dr. Weizmann,

In order to remove certain misconceptions and misunderstandings which have arisen as to the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to Palestine, as set forth in the White Paper of October, 1930 and which were the subject of a Debate in the House of Commons on November 17th, and also to meet certain criticisms put forward by the Jewish Agency, I have pleasure in forwarding you the following statement of our position, which will fall to be read as the authoritative interpretation of the White Paper on the matters with which THIS LETTER (it) deals.

2. It has been said that the policy of His Majesty's Government involves a serious departure from the obligations of the Mandate as hitherto understood, that it misconceives the Mandatory obligations, and that it foreshadows a policy which is inconsistent with the obligations of the Mandatory to the Jewish People.

3. His Majesty's Government did not regard it as necessary to quote in extenso the declarations of policy which have been previously made, but attention is drawn to the fact that, not only does the White Paper of 1930 refer to and endorse the White Paper of 1922, which has been accepted by the Jewish Agency, but it recognises that the undertaking of the Mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish population of Palestine. The White Paper places in the foreground of its statement my speech (made by the Prime Minister) in the House of Commons on the 3rd April 1930, in which (he) announced, in words which could not have been made more plain, that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate as approved by the Council of the League of Nations. That position has been reaffirmed and again made plain by my speech (of the Prime Minister) in the House of Commons on the 17th November. In my speech on the 3rd of April, I used the following language:

"His Majesty's Government will continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate as approved by the Council of the League of Nations. This is an international obligation from which there can be no question of receding.

"Under the terms of the Mandate His Majesty's Government are responsible for promoting the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

"A double undertaking is involved, to the Jewish people on the one hand, and to the non-Jewish population of Palestine on the other; and it is the firm resolve of His Majesty's Government to give effect, in equal measure, to both parts of the Declaration, and to do equal justice to all sections of the population of Palestine. That is a duty from which they will not shrink, and to the discharge of which they will apply all the resources at their command."

That declaration is in conformity not only with the Articles, but also with the Preamble of the Mandate, which is hereby explicitly reaffirmed.

4. In carrying out the policy of the Mandate, the Mandatory cannot ignore the existence of DIFFERING INTERESTS AND VIEWPOINTS (competing claims and interests). These, indeed, are not in themselves irreconcilable, but they can only be reconciled if there is a proper realisation that the FULL solution of the problem depends on an understanding between the JEWS AND THE ARABS (Jewish and Arab communities). Until that is reached, considerations of balance must inevitably enter into the definition of policy.

5. A good deal of criticism has been directed to the White Paper upon the assertion that it contains injurious allegations against the Jewish people AND JEWISH LABOUR ORGANIZATION. Any such intention on the part of His Majesty's Government is expressly disavowed. It is recognised that the Jewish Agency have all along given willing co-operation in carrying out the policy of the Mandate, and that the constructive work done by the Jewish people in Palestine has had beneficial effects on the development and well-being of the country as a whole. HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ALSO RECOGNISE THE VALUE OF THE SERVICES OF LABOUR AND TRADE-UNION ORGANIZATIONS IN PALESTINE TO WHICH THEY DESIRE TO GIVE EVERY ENCOURAGEMENT.

6. A question has arisen as to the meaning to be attached to the words "safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine irrespective of race and religion" occurring in Article 2, and the words "ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced" occurring in Article 6 of the Mandate. The words "safeguarding the civil and religious rights" occurring in Article 2 cannot be read as meaning that the civil and religious rights of individual citizens are unalterable. In the case of Suleiman Murra, to which reference has been made, the Privy Council, in construing these words of Article 2, said "It does not mean ***** that all the civil rights of every inhabitant of Palestine which existed at the date of the Mandate are to remain unaltered throughout its duration; for if this were to be a condition of the Mandatory jurisdiction, no effective legislation would be possible". The words, accordingly,

must be read in another sense; and the key to the true purpose and meaning of the sentence is to be found in the concluding words of the Article: "Irrespective of race and religion". These words indicate that in respect of civil and religious rights the Mandatory is not to discriminate between persons on the ground of religion or race, and this protective provision applies equally to Jews, Arabs and all (other) sections of the population.

7. The words "rights and position of other sections of the population" occurring in Article 6 plainly refer to the non-Jewish community. These rights and position are not to be prejudiced, that is, are not to be impaired or made worse. The effect of the policy of immigration and settlement on the economic position of the non-Jewish community cannot be excluded from consideration. But the words are not to be read as implying that existing economic conditions in Palestine should be crystallised. On the contrary, the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, remains a positive obligation of the Mandate, and it can be fulfilled without prejudice to the rights and position of other sections of the population of Palestine.

8. We may proceed to the contention that the Mandate has been reinterpreted in a manner highly prejudicial to Jewish interests in the vital matters of land settlement and immigration. It has been said that the policy of the White Paper would place an embargo upon immigration and would suspend, if not indeed terminate, the close settlement of the Jews on the land which is a primary purpose of the Mandate. In support of this contention particular stress has been laid upon the passage referring to State lands in the White Paper, which says that "it would not be possible to make these areas available for Jewish settlement in view of their actual occupation by Arab cultivators, and of the importance of making available suitable land on which to place the Arab cultivators who are now landless".

9. The language of this passage needs to be read in the light of the policy as a whole. It is desirable to make it clear that the landless Arabs to whom it was intended to refer in the passage quoted were such Arabs as can be shown to have been displaced from THE LANDS WHICH THEY OCCUPIED (their lands) in consequence of the lands passing into Jewish hands, and who have not obtained other holdings on which they can establish themselves, OR OTHER EQUALLY SATISFACTORY OCCUPATION. The number of such displaced Arabs must be a matter for careful enquiry. It is to landless Arabs within this category that H. M. Government feels itself under an obligation to facilitate their settlement upon the land. The recognition of this in no way detracts from the larger purposes of (national) development which His Majesty's Government regards as the most effectual means of furthering the establishment of a National Home for the Jews.

10. In framing a policy of land settlement it is essential that His Majesty's Government should take into consideration every circumstance that is relevant to the main purposes of the Mandate. The area of cultivable land, the possibilities of irrigation, the absorptive capacity of the country in relation to immigration, are all elements pertinent to the issues to be elucidated, and the neglect of any one of them would be prejudicial to the formation of a just and stable policy.

It is ^{the} intention of His Majesty's Government to institute an enquiry as soon as possible to ascertain inter alia what State and other lands are, or properly can be made, available for close settlement by

Jews under the reference to the obligation imposed upon the Mandatory by Article VI of the Mandate. This enquiry will be comprehensive in its scope and will include the whole land resources of Palestine. In the conduct of the enquiry provision will be made for all interests whether Jewish or Arab, making such representations as it may be desired to put forward.

11. The question of the congestion amongst the fellahin in the hill districts of Palestine is receiving the careful consideration of His Majesty's Government. It is contemplated that measures will be devised for the improvement and intensive development of the land and for bringing into cultivation areas which hitherto may have remained uncultivated, and thereby securing to the fellahin a better standard of living without, SAVE IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES, HAVING RECOURSE TO TRANSFER (taking recourse to the transfer of cultivators from the hill districts to other parts of Palestine.)

12. In giving effect to the policy of land settlement as contemplated in Article XI of the Mandate, it is necessary, if disorganization is to be avoided, and if the policy is to have a chance to succeed, that there should exist some centralised control of (all) transactions relating to the acquisition and transfer of land during such interim period as may reasonably be necessary to place the development scheme upon a sure foundation. The power contemplated is regulative, and not prohibitory, although it does involve a power to PREVENT (veto) transactions which are inconsistent with the tenor of the scheme. But the exercise of the power will be limited and in no respect arbitrary. In every case it will be conditioned by consideration as to how best to give effect to the purposes of the Mandate. ANY CONTROL CONTEMPLATED WILL BE FENCED WITH DUE SAFEGUARDS TO SECURE AS LITTLE INTERFERENCE AS POSSIBLE WITH THE FREE TRANSFER OF LAND. THE (This) centralised control will take effect as from such date ONLY as the authority charged with the duty of carrying out the policy of land development, shall begin to operate. The High Commissioner will pending the establishment of such centralized control have full powers to take all steps necessary to protect the tenancy and occupancy rights, including the rights of squatters, throughout Palestine.

(Paragraph 13 which follows has been deleted)-

13. The colonization operations of the Jewish organization in respect of the land reserves at present held by them will continue without break. There would be close coordination between the Jewish Colonization Agencies and the Administration of Palestine to secure that full effect is given to the purposes of the Mandate.)

13. Further, the statement of policy of His Majesty's Government did not imply a prohibition of acquisition of additional land by Jews. It contains no such prohibition nor is any such intended. What it does contemplate is such temporary control of land disposition and transfers as may be necessary not to impair the harmony and effectiveness of the scheme of land settlement to be undertaken. His Majesty's Government feels bound to point out that it alone of the Governments which have been responsible for the administration of Palestine since the acceptance of the Mandate, have declared their definite intention to initiate an active policy of development, which it is believed will result in substantial and lasting benefit to (the whole community of Palestine) both Jews and Arabs.

14. Cognate to this question is the control of immigration. It must first of all be pointed out that such control is not in any sense a departure from previous policy. From 1920 onwards, when the original Immigration Ordinance came into force regulations for the control of immigration have been issued from time to time, directed to prevent illicit entry and to define and facilitate authorised entry. This right of regulation has at no time been challenged.

15. But the intention of His Majesty's Government appears to have been represented as being that "no further immigration of Jews is to be permitted so long as it might prevent any Arab from obtaining employment". His Majesty's Government never proposed to pursue such a policy. They were concerned to state, in the regulation of Jewish immigration, the following principles should apply, viz., that "it is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment". (White Paper 1922). In the one aspect His Majesty's Government have to be mindful of their obligations to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and to encourage close settlement of Jews on the land; in the other aspect, they have to be equally mindful of their duty to ensure that no prejudice results to the rights and position of the non-Jewish community. It is because of this apparent conflict of obligations that His Majesty's Government have felt bound to emphasize the necessity of the proper application of the absorptive capacity principle. That principle is vital to any scheme of development, the primary purpose of which must be the settlement both of Jews and of displaced Arabs on the land. It is for that reason that His Majesty's Government have insisted, and are compelled to insist, that Government immigration regulations must be properly applied. The considerations relevant to the limits of absorptive capacity are purely economic considerations.

16. His Majesty's Government did not prescribe, and do not contemplate, any stoppage or prohibition of Jewish immigration in any of its categories. The practice of sanctioning a Labour Schedule of wage-earning immigrants will continue. In each case consideration will be given to anticipated labour requirements for works which, being dependent on Jewish or mainly Jewish capital, would not be, or would not have been, undertaken unless Jewish labour was available. With regard to public and municipal works falling to be financed of public funds, the claim of Jewish labour to a due share of the employment available, taking into account Jewish contributions to public revenue, shall be taken into consideration. As regards other kind of employment, it will be necessary in each case to take into account the factors bearing upon the demand for labour, including the factor of unemployment amongst both the Jews and the Arabs.

Immigrants with prospects of employment other than employment of a purely ephemeral character will not be excluded on the sole ground that the employment cannot be guaranteed to be of unlimited duration.

17. In determining the extent to which immigration at any time may be permitted, it is necessary also to have regard to the declared policy of the Jewish Agency to the effect that "in all the works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency, it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed". His Majesty's Government do not in any way challenge the right of the Agency to formulate or approve and endorse such a policy. The principle of preferential, and indeed, exclusive employment of Jewish labour by Jewish organizations is a principle which the Jewish Agency are entitled to affirm. But it must be pointed out that if in consequence of this policy Arab labour is displaced or existing unemployment becomes aggravated, that is a factor in the situation to which the Mandatory is bound to have regard.

18. His Majesty's Government desire to say, finally, as they have repeatedly and unequivocally affirmed, that the obligations imposed upon the Mandatory by its acceptance of the Mandate are solemn international obligations from which there is not now, nor has been at any time, any intention to depart. To the tasks imposed by the Mandate, His Majesty's Government have set their hand, and they will not withdraw it. But if their efforts are to be successful, there is need for cooperation, confidence, readiness on all sides to appreciate the difficulties and complexities of the problem, and, above all, there must be a full and unqualified recognition that no solution can be satisfactory or permanent which is not based upon justice, both to the Jewish people and to the non-Jewish communities of Palestine.

STATEMENT ISSUED by Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATION FEBRUARY 26, 1931.

The letter written by Prime Minister MacDonald to Dr. Chaim Weizmann made public on February 14 represents only the British Cabinet position on the first phase of the discussions between a committee of the Cabinet and representatives of the Jewish Agency, final judgment upon which can be rendered only when the conclusions on the other phases of British policy and administration in Palestine are laid before the Zionist Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency. The MacDonald letter is an improvement over the Passfield White Paper in tone, in appraisal of Jewish achievement in Palestine, and in recognition of the relation of the entire Jewish people to Palestine.

Other improvements are manifest; but the MacDonald letter omits much that should be made explicit, and inadequately formulates that which it seems to have accepted, especially on matters of land purchase, immigration, and in measuring the absorptive capacity of the land exclusively by the possibilities of agricultural settlement, failing to take account of the possibilities of industrial and commercial development.

In view of Dr. Weizmann's published comment on the letter, it should be pointed out that acceptance or rejection of the results of the conferences is exclusively a matter for the Zionist Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency.

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SECRETARY OF
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE
A. H. Fromenson

THE AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

IN CO-OPERATION WITH
PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD)
AND HADASSAH

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:
111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4-3600

April 7, 1931

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have received the following telegram from Mr. Fred M. Butzel in Detroit, who, as you know, is one of our best Zionist workers:

"IMPERATIVE WE OBTAIN ABBA HILLEL SILVER FOR OPENING ALLIED JEWISH CAMPAIGN DETROIT MAY TENTH STOP ALTHO HE WAS HERE LAST YEAR HE WOULD PROVE POWERFUL ATTRACTION THIS YEAR STOP NO ONE BUT HE COULD POSSIBLY PUT OUR CAMPAIGN ACROSS AS WE ARE FACING A MOST DISTRESSING AND SERIOUS SITUATION STOP WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO OBTAIN HIM STOP PLEASE WIRE IMMEDIATE REPLY"

I know that if it is at all possible for you to accept this invitation you will do so without any urging on my part. Nevertheless, in view of the importance of the Detroit Welfare Fund Campaign in its relationship to our effort, I sincerely hope that you will find it possible to grant their request.

You can see from Mr. Butzel's telegram that heroic measures are necessary and none is better able to apply such methods than you.

Hoping you are having a pleasant Passover and with best personal regards, I am

MR/BG

Cordially yours,

Morris Rothenberg
Morris Rothenberg
National Chairman

April 13th, 1931

Mr. Robert Szold,
Zionist Organization,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Szold:-

Yesterday I received a telegram from Mr. Margoshes of the "Day" asking for an opinion on the calling of a regular Zionist convention in a month or so.

This morning I read the editorial in the "Day."

It is clear that the "old gang" is anxious to try to capture the organization before the present administration has had a chance to function properly. It was clear from the very start that the crowd that was ousted last June would not rest content until it had re-established itself.

I would suggest that under no circumstances should you yield to pressure to call a convention prior to next December.

Margoshes is, as you probably know, a dirty little politician and mischief-maker and an ex-Rabbi to boot.

. With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

The Program
of the
Zionist Organization
of America



RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE

SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1931

The resolutions published here were adopted by the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America at its meeting held in New York City, on Sunday, April 26, 1931, for the guidance of the representatives of the organization at the Seventeenth World Congress which will convene in Basle, Switzerland, June 29, 1931.

*This pamphlet is issued by the Committee on Public Information of the Zionist Organization of America.
111 Fifth Avenue, New York*

The Program of the Zionist Organization of America

The National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, in meeting assembled, adopts the following resolutions for the guidance of the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America at the Seventeenth World Congress:

I. Re-Affirmation of Zionist Principles

As the supreme authority in the Zionist movement, the forthcoming Congress is called upon to re-affirm the immutable principles of the Zionist ideal. It should proclaim our firm resolve to strive for the complete realization of the Jewish National Home, within the historic boundaries of Eretz Israel, and to secure to the Jewish people the political rights recognized in the Mandate and guaranteed by international law.

This re-affirmation becomes necessary because of the fact that, under the stress of external difficulties, aggravated during the past two years, proposals have been brought forward which tend to confusion of aim and to the weakening of the national will; if adopted, they would result in the surrender of Zionism.

II. Trans-Jordan

The arbitrary separation of Trans-Jordan from the rest of Palestine has created problems such as the alleged shortage of land, which would not otherwise arise. Both parts of Palestine constitute a single entity, historically and economically. The prosperity and normal growth of the country as a whole, and the full development of the

Jewish National Home, demand the removal of the artificial barriers between Cis-Jordan and Trans-Jordan.

The Congress should clearly formulate this demand and direct the incoming Executive to carry on unremitting efforts to secure its public recognition and acceptance.

III. Jewish-Arab Relations

We declare that the Jewish people are determined to live with the Arab people in Palestine on terms of harmony and mutual respect.

We believe, however, that the problem of Jewish-Arab relations cannot be satisfactorily solved by attempts to reach an agreement with those of the Arab political leaders in Palestine whose policy is that of Arab domination, or through any scheme of representative government based upon the present Arab numerical preponderance in Palestine.

We must oppose the formation of a Legislative Council until such a time as conditions are established which will insure its functioning in the best interests of all the inhabitants of the land, without thwarting or impeding the free development of the Jewish National Home. The Mandatory Power can, we believe, take steps looking to the creation of a Legislative Council only after the full and unreserved acceptance of the Mandate by the Arabs, as it has been accepted by the Jews.

We believe that efforts aimed at Jewish-Arab conciliation could best proceed along two lines: (a) the cultivation of Jewish-Arab understanding within and beyond the confines of Palestine; (b) the growing identification of the economic interests of Arabs and Jews.

IV. Economic Program

In order to achieve the realization of the Jewish Na-

tional Home, there must be settled in Palestine in the briefest possible time a preponderating body of Jews under conditions which will enable them to become economically self-sustaining. To this end, the Jewish Agency should concentrate all of its manpower and its moral, political and material resources on the stabilization and rapid expansion of the Jewish economic position in Palestine.

This implies a soundly conceived program of economic development planned to attain definite objectives within a limited number of years. In carrying out such a program, first consideration should be given to the promotion of such projects and activities as will

(a) develop the essential foundations for a solid economic structure (e.g. in respect to land, natural resources, industries, agriculture and horticulture, credit institutions, etc.);

(b) offer maximum opportunities for labor and immigration; and

(c) offer reasonable prospects for returns on private investments.

This program can best be carried out by institutions similar in character to the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Palestine Potash Company, Ltd., and the Palestine Economic Corporation, as well as by individual investors. The Executive should coordinate the work of the several institutions and corporations rather than engage in the management of their affairs.

V. Board for Economic Development

In order to plan and supervise the economic program, which we propose, a special Board for Economic Development should be created. This Board should be resident in Palestine and should be composed of persons qualified

for the task by reason of their technical equipment and practical experience. It should:

(a) Ascertain the facts which must constitute a condition precedent to intelligent economic action in Palestine; coordinate all data in relation to the economic activities in Palestine, and publish and make available this information for the benefit of the Jews both within and without Palestine;

(b) Engage experts competent to act as advisors to manufacturers in relation to the fundamental problems confronting them, particularly in connection with markets for raw materials, finances and accounting;

(c) Coordinate, as far as may be possible, all Jewish financial and credit institutions in Palestine, and make recommendations regarding their future policy and development;

(d) Seek out possibilities for the creation of new and economically feasible undertakings in agriculture and industry;

(e) Negotiate with the Government for the proper adjustment of taxation, customs, tariff, and with respect to such matters as transportation and road development;

(f) Initiate the organization by the several Zionist federations throughout the world of economic committees to cooperate with the Board for Economic Development and to enlist capital for the undertakings which the Board sponsors and recommends;

(g) Study the local markets, to the end that they should be fully opened to the products of Palestine industry and agriculture as speedily as possible;

(h) Make a comprehensive survey of the Near Eastern and other foreign markets so that exports from Palestine to these markets may be enlarged; and

(i) Encourage individual settlers to establish themselves in Palestine with their own means.

For the necessary expenses of this body, a substantial sum should be allotted out of the receipts of the Keren Hayesod or any similar fund.

VI. Palestine Public Funds

The national funds, Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, represent the collective efforts of the Jewish people in relation to the National Home. They give tangible expression to the national sentiment and the will to serve the National ideal.

We fully recognize the achievements of the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth in their respective fields. We believe, however, that if the economic program is to be realized, certain changes in emphasis should be made, in keeping with the economic program.

(a) The Keren Hayesod should provide funds primarily for those phases of immigration and colonization and of other economic activities which cannot be financed through investment funds. The transfer of the responsibility for health and educational work to Keneseth Israel should be completed at the earliest possible moment. Demand should be made upon the Palestine Government to make adequate provision for these purposes—at least, in proportion to the Jewish contribution to public revenues. The concentration of the Keren Hayesod upon economic work could then be accomplished without sacrificing the vital needs of health and education.

(b) Any sound economic program must envisage the acquisition of compact tracts of land, not only for immediate colonization, but also for an adequate land

reserve, particularly in certain well defined areas. Efforts commensurate with the vital importance of this work must be made both through the Keren Kayemeth and through private or semi-private land companies. The activities of all these should be coordinated.

(c) The gathering of all public funds for Palestine, including those raised by separate Zionist unions or parties should be regulated by the action of the Congress and the Council of the Jewish Agency so as to prevent competing and conflicting campaigns or money-raising efforts.

VII. Trade and Industry

The unwarranted strictures on industrial development in Palestine contained in the Simpson Report, taken together with the repressive policies of the Palestine Government in recent years bearing on industrial development, indicate a lack of sympathy with such development and a policy to confine the growth of the Jewish National Home within the limits of agricultural colonization.

Since the absorptive capacity of the country must obviously, in large measure, depend upon opportunities for labor and immigration which derive from trade and industry, it devolves upon the incoming Executive to press unceasingly for the adoption by the Mandatory of a policy which will facilitate such development.

VIII. Labor

We declare in favor of continuous encouragement of all forms of social cooperation consistent with sound economic principles, and the safeguarding of the interests of Labor in the work undertaken both by the Jewish Agency and by the Government.

We share with organized labor the aspiration to translate into living forms the ideals of social justice which constitute our common heritage.

IX. Zionist Education

The passionate longing of our people to recast its spiritual and cultural values into living moulds can be fulfilled only through the re-creation of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. For the achievement of this task the Zionist Organization carries the chief responsibility and is the chief instrument. It is the expression and repository of the historic aspiration which has animated our ancestors and has been bequeathed to us as a sacred trust.

In the light of the dangers that encompass our people on all sides, it is the duty of the Zionist Organization to awaken the Jewish world to an appreciation of its responsibility, to aid our youth in attaining spiritual regeneration through unswerving devotion to the Zionist ideal, and to stimulate in the masses of our people the will to liberation from the yoke of the *Galuth*.

To this end the Zionist Organization should carry on an extensive and vigorous program of public education, directed to the dissemination of the Zionist ideal, the revival of Hebraic culture, as well as the cultivation of intimate and personal relationship between the Jew in the Diaspora and renascent Palestine.

X. The Jewish Agency

The Jewish Agency is predicated upon the idea of drawing into the orbit of responsibility for the development of the National Home all sections of the Jewish people. The extended Jewish Agency formed at Zurich in August, 1929, began its actual career under most adverse circumstances. We note with satisfaction that in

the sphere of political action a united front has been maintained. We also recognize the earnestness with which individual non-Zionist members of the Agency have striven to protect Jewish rights under the Mandate and to do their duty in meeting the current needs of Palestine.

The fact remains, however, that the extended Jewish Agency has not as yet developed its potential strength to a degree commensurate with its task. The duty devolves upon the World Zionist Organization to urge the energetic organization by all sections of the Jewish Agency of such forces as they can command, in order that they may effectively discharge their responsibility toward the common enterprise.

The incoming Executive of the World Zionist Organization should be instructed to consider and propose such modification of the structure of the Jewish Agency as will correspond to the actual needs of the movement.

XI. Leadership

The Executive Committee places on record its profound appreciation of the historical services rendered to the cause of Zionism by Dr. Weizmann. With devotion and ability he carried on the negotiations which led to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and its acceptance as international law by the League of Nations through its inclusion in the Palestine Mandate granted to Great Britain. With the same devotion he applied himself to the organization of the Keren Hayesod and the raising of funds for Palestine. His tireless energy contributed greatly to the development of the *Yishuv* in spite of great political and financial difficulties. His unremitting efforts to protect Jewish rights under the Mandate since the events of August, 1929, in the face of great difficulties and powerful opposition deserve our warmest recognition. We

regret the circumstances that have led Dr. Weizmann to make his decision not to continue as president of the World Zionist Organization. We are confident, however, that his counsel and services will remain at the call of his people and our common cause.

Dr. Weizmann's resignation as President of the Jewish Agency and of the World Zionist Organization makes the question of leadership pressing and immediate. In view of the sharp divisions which exist in the Zionist movement today, we favor the election of an Administration consisting of a group of men pledged to carry out the political and economic policies adopted by the Congress, who shall collectively enjoy the powers now vested in the President of the World Zionist Organization, which powers they may, in their discretion, delegate from time to time to one or more members of the Administration.

XII. Concluding Resolution

But for a change in emphasis, vital in itself, the majority of these proposals are in keeping with opinions which have been registered at other times and places in the Zionist movement.

In framing them, we have been animated less by the desire to discover points of difference provocative of controversy than by the desire to discover common ground upon which Zionist groups may unite and drive on in single-minded devotion to indispensable common objectives.

It is essential, however, that the Congress should not only adopt this program, but should also elect a new Executive composed of individuals who, by training, outlook, capacity and temperament are prepared and determined to translate its essential features into effective action.

Non-Zionist Membership of the Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine

American Non-Zionist Members of the Jewish Agency, Elected August 1929

DR. CYRUS ADLER
JAMES H. BECKER
DR. JACOB BILLIKOPF
LOUIS J. BORINSTEIN
DAVID M. BRESSLER
DAVID A. BROWN
DR. SOLOMON SOLIS-COHEN
JAMES DAVIS
MEYER ELSASSER
BERNARD FLEXNER
HON. ELI FRANK
DR. LEE K. FRANKEL
JACOB HARZFELD
SIDNEY HILLMAN
HAROLD HIRSCH
HON. SAMUEL H. HOFSTADTER
HON. HENRY HORNER
DR. LEO JUNG
ALEXANDER KAHN
HON. EDWARD LAZANSKY
RABBI DAVID LEFKOWITZ
HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN
HON. IRVING LEHMAN
M. M. LEMANN
DR. JACOB G. LIPMAN
DR. SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN
JAMES MARSHALL
EDWIN B. MEISSNER
DR. JULIAN MORGENSTERN
HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.
JAMES N. ROSENBERG
A. L. SALTZSTEIN
RABBI SAMUEL SCHULMAN
A. I. SHIPLACOFF
RABBI ABRAM SIMON
HON. M. C. SLOSS
HON. HORACE STERN
SOL M. STROOCK
ISRAEL UNTERBERG
FELIX M. WARBURG
LOUIS WILEY
HENRY WINEMAN

American Non-Zionist Deputy Members of the Jewish Agency

MAX ADLER
BERTRAM M. AUFSESSER
EDWARD M. CHASE
ALFRED M. COHEN
HOWARD S. CULLMAN
JACOB EPSTEIN
HARRY FISCHEL
F. JULIUS FOHS
BERNARD GINSBURG
BERNARD B. GIVEN
JONAH J. GOLDSTEIN
EDWARD J. GOODMAN
JOSEPH C. HYMAN
J. J. KISER
RABBI NATHAN KRASS
DR. EMANUEL LIBMAN
ALBERT H. LIEBERMAN
SIMON LYON
HENRY MONSKY
MEYER L. PRENTIS
JOSEPH H. SCHANFELD
ALFRED SHEMANSKI
JULIUS SIMON
HUGH GRANT STRAUS
LEWIS L. STRAUSS
HARRY VITELES
SIMON VORENBERG
MORRIS D. WALDMAN
PETER WIERNIK
RABBI JONAH B. WISE

1. Is it your pleasure that any or all of those listed shall be invited to accept membership for the ensuing two years?

Please vote
Yes or No

☐

Please cross out any names which you do not approve.

Please add names of persons who you think should be invited.

2. Is it your pleasure that the following persons or any of them shall become members of the Nominating Committee? Please indicate by answering "Yes" or "No"; or if you have any other proposals, please list in the square to the right of this question the names of the persons whom you desire to constitute the Nominating Committee.

Please vote
Yes or No

☐

DR. LEE K. FRANKEL

DR. CYRUS ADLER

JAMES H. BECKER

DAVID A. BROWN

DR. JULIAN MORGENSTERN

FELIX M. WARBURG

☐

3. Is it your wish that the Nominating Committee, which may be constituted pursuant to the foregoing ballot, be given authority in your behalf to designate the forty-four American non-Zionist Members of the Council, it being understood that due consideration shall be given by the Nominating Committee to all names proposed by you and by others?

Please vote
Yes or No

☐

Please note that the present Nominating Committee recommends for election, in addition to the persons who accepted membership on the Council in August 1929, Mr. Joseph C. Hyman of New York and Mr. Alfred Shemanski of Seattle, Washington — Mr. Hyman by reason of his close contact with the problems of the Jewish Agency since its inception; Mr. Shemanski by reason of his leadership in Jewish activities in the northwest.

4. A total of one hundred and thirty-two Deputy Members may be designated as American non-Zionist Deputy Members.

Please vote
Yes or No

☐

Do you authorize the Nominating Committee, which may be constituted pursuant to the foregoing ballot, to name any or all of those listed as having accepted deputy membership two years ago for reelection and to name such additional persons as non-Zionist Deputy Members as to the Nominating Committee may seem fit and proper?

It is requested that you indicate on the ballot marked non-Zionist Deputy Members of the Council, such names of persons who you believe should be invited to accept deputy membership if they do not already appear on the ballot.

NAME.....

ADDRESS

CITY AND STATE.....

May 5th, 1931

JUDGE WILLIAM LEWIS AND OTHER PROMINENT PHILADELPHIA LEADERS ADVISE ME OF THEIR INVITATION THAT YOU BE PRINCIPAL GUEST SPEAKER FOR COMBINED JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE AND AGENCY CAMPAIGN TO BE LAUNCHED MONDAY EVENING MAY TWENTY-FIFTH EARNESTLY URGE AND WILL PERSONALLY APPRECIATE YOUR ACCEPTANCE THIS INVITATION AS PHILADELPHIA UNDER SPLENDID LEADERSHIP PRESENTS POSSIBILITIES HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN FOR BOTH CAUSES

COPIAL REGARDS
Jonah B Wise



MINUTES OF A REGULAR MEETING OF THE Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATION HELD MONDAY
EVENING MAY 11, 1931 at the JEWISH CLUB 23 WEST 73 STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Present: Robert Szold (in the chair); Israel B. Brodie, Abraham Goldberg, Rabbi James G. Heller, Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; by invitation, Mrs. A. H. Fromenson, of Hadassah.

SCHEDULE OF FUTURE MEETINGS

It was decided that the next two meetings be held on Wednesday evenings, May 27 and June 10.

CONGRESS DELEGATION

Mr. Rosensohn as chairman of the committee on Congress delegates, reported that agreement between the various parties had finally been reached and duly signed. Under this agreement the Zionist Organization, including Hadassah, would have 40/70 of the total number of delegates from the United States, Mizrahi 15/70, Poalei Zion 9/70, and the Zeirei Zion 6/70. The Revisionists were to be given two places out of the Zionist Organization 40/70.

Mr. Rosensohn reported further that the total number of delegates from the United States would depend upon the unit of representation fixed by the World Zionist Organization; this unit is at present stated as one delegate for every 3,000 shekel-payers. A unit of 2,000 would entitle the U. S. to 60 delegates; of this number the Z.O. would have 38, including Hadassah's 12 and the Revisionists 2.

In reply to the chairman's inquiry concerning a request that had come to him from Mr. Evarts of Holyoke, Mr. Rosensohn stated that it was impossible to give definite information to anyone asking whether or not he was certain to be among those to go. This would depend entirely upon the unit finally decided upon and also upon whether or not those at the head of the list were definitely going.

SHEKEL ACCOUNT

Mr. Rosensohn reported that a credit of \$10,000 had been established with the Jewish Colonial Trust to enable us to settle the current shekel account with the World Zionist Organization. The additional item of \$6,300 upon which discussion had been had at the Administration meeting on May 5, would be submitted to Congress Court for final settlement.

Mr. Lipsky stated that this item should be settled before the Congress, that he had written to Mr. Rosenbluth on May 4, and that he personally would pursue the matter. There was no question but that Dr. Weizmann had agreed to meet this expenditure from the political fund assigned to him out of the shekel money, for which he is accountable to no one. Furthermore, Dr. Weizmann had assured Mr. Lipsky at the time, and had personally given him additional assurance in December 1929, that this expenditure would be taken care of out of that fund or out of some other fund that Dr. Weizmann personally would raise. Mr. Lipsky felt

that this matter involved his personal integrity, since he had debited this money to the shekel fund only after definite authority from Dr. Weizmann that it would be met as above indicated. The money was used here to distribute Maurice Samuel's book, "What Happened in Palestine" among editors and others, the circulation of a reprint from the N.Y. Times on the Arab question, to pay expenses incurred by Max Rhoads in Washington, and other expenditures for political propaganda during the period following the 1929 riots.

SUGGESTION RE PROCEDURE OF CONGRESS ELECTIONS

It was suggested that a definite proposal be brought before the Congress urging that elections be conducted in the various countries in accordance with the general procedure for political elections in each country. In this way, Mr. Lipsky explained that the form now used was designed to provoke the expression of various opinions in the Zionist movement on political questions. If a new form were instituted, and each Zionist party in the United States vote for its own nominees, such expression of opinions would probably not be forthcoming.

RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR REGIONS

The chairman called for a report from the sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. deHaas, Lipsky and Rosensohn, on the question of the refund to Regions out of membership dues paid in to the Zionist Organization of America. The regulations adopted at the March 18th meeting (see page 5, #4 of minutes) were read, and it was pointed out that the only item that was not fully covered was the amount of the refund to the Region, which was the matter which had been referred to the sub-committee.

Mr. Rosensohn stated that it had been his impression that provision for Regions had been made at the Detroit Convention, and that the questions with which his committee was to have dealt were only the recognition of the New York Region and the refund to be given to the Region by the Z. O. A., in accordance with the regulations established on March 18. His committee had approved the N. Y. Region, and recommended a refund to the Region of \$1.00 per member. The chairman stated that the Committee had been charged only with the question of recommending the amount of the refund; and that the New York Region would be recognized automatically if it was found to meet with the requirements for Regions laid down by the Administration.

Mr. Lipsky moved the authorization of the refund of
\$1.00 per member to the New York Regional Organization.
Motion seconded.

Mr. Brodie questioned whether this decision is based upon the service and assistance rendered by the Region to the national organization. While admitting the right of any District or Region to differ with the opinions of the national administration, he felt that the New York Region was carrying on propaganda designed not alone not to help the national organization but to hinder its progress. In the light of this situation he could not agree to the granting of the refund to the New York Region.

Dr. Wise suggested that the refund to the N. Y. Region be authorized upon condition that none of this money be utilized for the publication of "The Zionist". Mr. Lipsky responded that none of this money is intended for such use, and that "The Zionist" is being published out of the funds contributed especially for this purpose by private individuals.

The motion was carried, Mr. Brodie voting in the negative.

The Chairman stated that none of the districts thus far indicated a desire to be affiliated with the New York Region in accordance with the established regulations. The regulations had been the result of long deliberations on the subject, and applied to all Regions.

POLITICAL SITUATION

The Chairman made a report on the recent Conferences in London. A letter, dated April 28, from Mr. Hexter to the ~~Provisional~~ Secretary of the American Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency, was read. This letter enclosed copies of draft proposals submitted by the Jewish Agency to the British Government concerning the method of expenditure and administration of the proposed £2,500,000 loan in connection with the proposed Development Scheme. There was also presented to the meeting a letter written by Dr. Weizmann to Sir John Shuckburgh, with which the draft proposals of the Agency were transmitted.

Dr. Weizmann's proposals recommended (1) £1,000,000 to be set aside for "landless" or "displaced" Arabs, and for credits to existing Arab cultivators; (2) £1,000,000 to provide credits for Jewish settlers, this to be invested in debentures in a Jewish agriculture and settlement bank, the share capital of which is to be subscribed by the Jewish Agency or its auxiliaries, the Government to be called upon to take over debentures only in proportion to the share capital paid by Jews; (3) £500,000 to be set aside for reclamation and improvement works for the benefit of the country as a whole, for hydrographic and market surveys and for other investigations in Palestine, including Transjordan; (4) the development authority to consist of the heads of three departments of the Palestine Government, the Treasury, the Department of Agriculture and Forests, and Land Department, further one Arab and one Jewish member.

Mr. Szold explained that this apparently had been submitted by Dr. Weizmann contrary to advice from this side that he should only receive proposals from the Government, but should not submit this kind of proposal on behalf of the Agency. While the credits of the Arabs would require no Arab contribution, the debentures of the Jewish banks would be conditioned upon Jews putting up monies, whether equally with the Government or on some other proportionate basis was not clear. Several members of the Administration stated that from the wording it appeared clear that the Government funds were to be put up against Jewish funds dollar for dollar.

A cable had come from London on April 29 stating that there had been a further conference with the Government; that the Government had

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offered objects of the Development Commission which would be later submitted in writing. These objects were 1) registration of "displaced" Arabs, and their re-settlement; 2) determination of what land is available for close settlement of Jews; 3) an inquiry concerning methods of improving Arab agriculture and drainage and irrigation projects; 4) the commission would prepare a program for the balance of the Loan for submission and discussion at London. Our representatives had said they could not cooperate with such an apparatus and program; that we could not agree to any scheme unless major lines of allocation were known before the loan was authorized. The chairman of the British Committee then inquired whether the Agency would be satisfied if a Commission were appointed to prepare a program to be submitted for discussion in London before the Loan is approved. This newest proposal appeared preferable to assigning large sums on vague generalizations.

New York had replied on May 1 that all the proposals were not only deeply disappointing but unacceptable; that the opposition to the Government's objects was fully supported, and in answer to the chairman's question there was no need of a new investigating commission, but on the contrary grave disadvantages. The cable stated that it was of fundamental importance that the decision of the major lines of allocation be made acceptable to the Agency before becoming involved further; and the cable went on to suggest that prior to any conclusions on the Scheme the Palestine Administration should be instructed to furnish the grounds and data on which the estimate of the Commissioner of Lands as to the land area in Palestine, was based.

Several members of the Administration expressed objection to the last suggestion, although there was hearty concurrence in the other parts of the May 1 cable. It was pointed out that a report by the Palestine Administration on the amount of available land would no doubt be made harmful to our interests.

Rabbi Newman suggested that a memorandum be prepared for submission to the Permanent Mandates Commission explaining the Jewish attitude towards the Passfield White Paper and the Simpson Report, and the trend of the negotiations thus far. The Chairman stated that such a memorandum has already been prepared with respect to the Simpson Report; that this memorandum is now in the process of final revision and will then be submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission.

Mr. Goldberg and Rabbi Heller urged that a cable be sent to the Actions Committee expressing the view that after a careful reading of the documents in connection with the negotiations the Administration is forced to the conclusion that the attitude of the Government is fundamentally hostile to our interests. Any attempt to appoint a commission of investigation outside of London to ascertain facts will simply serve the purpose of our enemies and will prevent clear-cut discussion of the issues at the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Congress.

Mr. Lipsky was of the opinion that the matter should be held over until the Congress, so that the Congress may have the opportunity to voice an effective protest. He felt that if there is to be a break between the Government and the Jewish Agency, it had better come after the Congress.

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Mr. Goldberg pointed out that if a commission is appointed for the purpose of making an investigation the attitude of Great Britain will not be made known, and the Congress will have nothing upon which to act.

Mr. Neumann was of the opinion that if a break is to come it should come at this time instead of after a period of several months.

The Chairman stated that he felt our representatives in London would never come to the point of believing in breaking off negotiations.

A motion was made, seconded and carried

THAT a cable incorporating the view expressed by Dr. Heller and Mr. Goldberg be sent to the Actions Committee.

Rabbi Heller and Mr. Goldberg were appointed the committee to draft the cable. The message subsequently sent is as follows:

CAREFUL READING DOCUMENTS RE NEGOTIATIONS
CONVINCES ADMINISTRATION ATTITUDE GOVERNMENT
FUNDAMENTALLY HOSTILE OUR INTERESTS STOP
ATTEMPT APPOINT COMMISSION PALESTINE PURPOSE
INVESTIGATION SINISTER STOP IMPERATIVE
COUNTERACT DILATORY TACTICS AIMED PREVENT
CLEAR ISSUE MANDATES COMMISSION AND DECISIONS
CONGRESS

Mr. Lipsky expressed the view that unless Zionists free themselves of all hopes for definite aid from the British Government we will be in a hopeless condition. The Congress should proclaim that all reliance placed upon the Mandatory Government and the League of Nations has proven false.

YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The Chairman presented Mr. Isaac Imber, chairman of the newly-formed Youth Zionist Organization. Mr. Imber stated that six or seven months ago Mr. deHaas had called together young persons who have had dealings in youth organizations and asked these men to bring into being a Zionist youth organization. There was a general understanding among these persons that this new organization was being formed under the auspices of the Zionist Organization, with Mr. deHaas acting as liaison officer. The movement was already under way when it was learned that it was not officially recognized by the Administration, and in March activities were temporarily halted. Shortly afterward activities were resumed and the organization officially launched. Starting with a nucleus of 4 groups already in existence comprising a membership of about 250 young men and women, in two months the organization has grown to 7 groups, with a membership close to 500 young men and women between the ages of 18 and 28. The four groups originally in existence were already mixed groups, and to

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attempt to turn them into men's organizations would have destroyed them and a new beginning would have had to be made; the same thing is true in the groups organized subsequently. About 25% of the present membership are women. Council dues are \$2.00 but individual groups will have dues ranging from \$4. to \$6. No attempt has been made to encourage the growth out of New York because of the attitude of the Administration. Mr. Papo, head of the Masada (Young Men's Zionist) Organization, had been written to with a view to cooperation.

Objection has been raised to the new organization by Junior Hadassah, on the grounds that drawing young women into a mixed organization would be injurious to the growth of their organization. This was felt by the new Youth Organization not to be so in New York, at least, since those young women who joined the new group would never consider membership in Junior Hadassah. Moreover, the proposed platform of the new organization, while in the main educational, is broader than that of Junior Hadassah.

Mr. Neumann stated that it had been his experience that before long the women in any mixed organization far outnumber the men, and that this would not meet the need for a young men's Zionist group, the lack of which is keenly felt.

Mr. Goldberg felt that strict discipline in confining persons to specific groups should not be maintained, but that greater latitude be permitted. While Hadassah should be the one women's Zionist Organization, there was nothing to prevent women from joining the Zionist Districts; the same should apply in the Youth Organization.

Rabbi Heller was in favor of encouraging the new movement.

It was moved, seconded and carried

THAT a committee be appointed for the purpose of going into the matter thoroughly with all organizations concerned, and that this committee submit its recommendations as to the future relations.

The Chairman subsequently appointed a committee consisting of Nelson Ruttenberg, chairman; Jacob deHaas, Mrs. Edward Jacobs, Emanuel Neumann and Rabbi Louis I. Newman.

LEAGUE FOR SAFEGUARDING THE FIXITY OF THE SABBATH

The following resolution was adopted to be sent to Rev. Dr. Moses Hyamson, president of the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath, for transmittal to the President of the United States and to the League of Nations:

RESOLVED that the Administration of the Zionist Organization of America opposes any change in the calendar which in any manner endangers the fixity of the Sabbath, and that, in harmony with the League for Safeguarding the Fixity of the Sabbath, with which we are in hearty cooperation, the Z.O.

Administration May 11, 1931.

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earnestly prays the League of Nations to oppose any plan for the simplification of the calendar which would include a blank day or any other device by which the existing and imemorially fixed periodicity of the Sabbath would be destroyed; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the League of Nations.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

Mr. Rosensohn reported that a note amounting to \$52,500 would fall due on June 15, and that a payment of \$10,000 on account must be made by July 1 in order to have the note renewed and maintain credit with the National City Bank.

It was decided that the matter of finances be the first item on the order of business at the next meeting of the Administration (May 27).

HADASSAH ZOA RELATIONS

The Chairman called attention to the memorandum circulated last week setting forth Hadassah's proposals for future relationship with the Zionist Organization of America. Owing to the absence of Mrs. Jacobs, it was decided to postpone discussion on this matter.

TREASURER

It was moved by Mr. Lipsky, seconded and carried

THAT the appointment of Mr. Harry P. Fierst as treasurer of the Z. O. be approved and confirmed, in view of Mr. Weinberg's continued and indefinite absence from the city.

The meeting adjourned at 11:50 P. M.

Respectfully submitted

Naomi Flax

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11/20/31
1931, 152

Basle, July 2, 1931.

Every attempt of mine so far to keep a connected diary has failed owing to the pressure under which I have been working, the distance of the hotel from the sessions building and the heat. This therefore will be a scampered collection of facts and impressions. There are exactly 250 delegates about equally divided on most issues, but whose fears and sympathies drive them into all sorts of combinations so that the eventual outcome is still wholly in doubt.

The Eder-Blumenfeld group who represent the die-hards of the W. regime with a tendency to support Brith Sholom number 23. As the only other support for W. is Labor, he has exactly 103 votes. The 62 General Zionists are not yet united, though this has been our greatest effort, because they are weak brethren and because we do not trust George Halpern and Naiditch, who are playing a role in our midst. 2 or 3 of the Mizrachi will bolt, so that W. might get 110, but for the above reason he may prove stronger. It is characteristic of this situation that though W. has definitely and publicly stated that he withdraws, his followers do not believe him. Sokolow has been suggested for leader though his speech Monday made a bad impression.

In fact the sessions -- held in an immense exhibition building with concrete floors re-echoing every foot noise -- have been dull and boresome. The English Minister at Berne quoted Basle from Baedeker as a welcome and let it go at that. Weizie's speech -- 2 hours and 40 minutes -- was labored, delivered in a poor voice and with none of his accredited grace of style or manner. He perhaps tried, as some emotionalists put it, to pose as Christ with the cross, but I did not see it. He attempted to create a philosophy out of his failures and views. It was something short of an apologia sua vita, and though he got a fair demonstration at the end, it was not enthusiastic and if anything, has lost him support. His defence of the MacDonald paper was very unhappy and has rallied

Mrs. Silverman to our side. Brodetsky was reporter on the political situation and was even worse as to both form and substance. He bored. Ussischkin was reporter on the J.N.F. and was the first to attack W. but not bitterly or seriously.

The committee business only begins tomorrow, and apart from endless details of a technical nature, our job is to weld these lame general Zionists and keep in close contact with the two groups who are standing firm, the Revisionists and the Mizrahi. Adversity has given much inner strength to both. Labor is intensely disciplined and keeps at a distance.

Jabo is to speak today -- that is the great incident of the Congress -- and Wise tomorrow. My opposition to the general debate has borne fruit. A time schedule has been evolved. Every delegate has the right to 4 minutes, so that the total of this general debate will be 1,000 minutes. Of our 80 minutes we have given S.S.W. 40; Abe G. 15; Fishman 15; and granted the general group 10 -- it being understood that that rule is firm. Thus labor having 320 minutes, Ben Gurion has been holding forth for 3 hours. That's better than nothing in the way of order. Some other improvements have been effected.

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Our/group is going through a change. J.W.M. is chairman and gradually all the boasted obstruction which is being devised by Weisgal, a Canadian delegate, is blowing out. The L.L. crowd first joined the Eder group, but do not find themselves at home in principle and there the combination of principle and policy is more closely related than among us. Then their filibuster against Mack as vice-president of the Congress did them considerable harm, whatever they cabled to New York and Jerusalem. It was an awkward situation but the A.C. so manipulated by principle that neither Sokolow nor L.L. is in the praesidium. The second attempt was to suggest a caucus with the General Zionists before any views were ascertained so as to bind us to the Eder and the Halpern crowd. J.W.M.'s interpretation of L.L.'s motion has saved us from that and we are doing the moulding instead of being moulded. The third attempt has petered out altogether. J.W.M. appointed Tulin, Pearl Franklin and Stone, a

committee to bring the nominations on the Congress Committees -- the most important of which were or are the Permanenz ~~Committees~~ and the Political. They demanded half ~~xxx~~ of each or a bolt and the creation of a separate fraction, reducing our rights, and ~~fx~~ of course they were busy in advance circulating their intention to bolt. Last night we got nineteen or fifteen together, and when J.W.M., after a debate, took the cool position that he was ready to face a bolt and clear the air (of course as luck would have it, it affected Tulin's position on the Political Committee) Ab Goldberg, Mrs. Rome and Podolsky individually registered their support, and under the rules, they would only have five and their bolt was useless. Rabalsky had however tipped me off that Mrs. Silverman was wobbling. So Goldberg, Newman and I saw her and we found her disgusted with W. and in complete disagreement with the proposed bolt. With her vote we would be sure in our rights, bolt or no bolt. So this morning the twenty met and everything was nice and sweet and the nominations accepted unanimously, and the members of the committees under distinct orders to accept the decisions of the conference of the delegation.

Of course we cannot keep pace with Margoshes or Agronsky's cables and for one I decline to fight on two fronts. We may save the Congress by keeping our noses to the grindstone, but there is a likelihood that on the main issue if we are defeated that the majority of us will pass into the Revisionist Camp. A meeting at which Jabo spoke has seriously impressed Ben Brodie and Lawrence Levine, and the fact that the Administration would not consent to a Congress Committee on Economics, and W. and Alazaroff ridiculing the American program is not without influence in the matter. But we have not come to the fording of that stream. Newman as one of the chairmen of the General Zionists is working hard. Ab. Goldberg is standing up well under the strain and Bob is keeping the delegation in order with Josh Freiburger as "whip".

There is still promise of mystery in the political commission but it is the mystery of zero. No one except J.W.M. thinks of the J.A. It will not be destroyed but it will be allowed to peter out. Nexter is here but his need for money is receiving little attention.

Jacob de Haas

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Basle
July 5, 1931.

Mr. A.S. Magida
Zionist Organization of America
111 Fifth Avenue
New York City, U.S.A.

My dear Magida,

The Congress opened as per schedule on Tuesday night. The meeting was very formal, even as to dress. Doctor Weizmann appeared on the platform, contrary to general rumor. The delegates and visitors had been gathering in Basle for several days prior to the opening. The opening in itself brought together men from so many different countries that it gives the impression of much greater strength in the movement than can appear from any convention or other gathering in America.

There are said to be about 250 delegates. Common report has it that these are divided approximately as follows: General Zionists, 80; Labor, 75; Revisionists, 50; Mizrachi, 35; Radicals, 9. It is entirely too early (being a long number of hours prior to the last hour) to predict results. It seems clear, however, that Dr. Weizmann's friends are putting him forward as a candidate, despite his protestations to the contrary; and it is fairly apparent that the strength of the Weizmannites is almost equal to those opposed. The Weizmannites predict that this Congress will do as previous Congresses have done -- flounder about until the last hour and then in default of an alternative, elect Weizmann again. The Mizrachi, except for two or three, are against Weizmann. The Revisionists are, of course, altogether against Weizmann. The General Zionists are by a great majority against Weizmann. There are perhaps twenty or twenty-five who have no convictions. Labor is not so pro-Weizmann as we had thought. They favor a coalition in which Weizmann would be one, with the Revisionists out, but they do not make a condition sine qua non that Weizmann be in the coalition. Labor's conditions are that the Revisionists be out of the coalition government, and that there be a substantial budget. This would seem to depend very largely on what America can do. I have so far taken the position that America cannot commit itself even by implication to any fixed sum. We will do our best and can be counted on only for such money as we can raise. The general feeling seems to be that if the proper methods and proper persons had been in, much more money could have been raised than has been raised. All this will be a bitter stale by the time you receive it. I am writing this for the information of the Administrative Committee and may help you to interpret cable reports which will in the meantime have come over. I am writing this for the information of the Administrative Committee in America, and not for publication; I must leave it to your good judgment as to the portions which should be released.

As soon as we came here the American delegation organized by electing Judge Mack as chairman. There was no opposition to this. Almost at the first meeting, however, the matter of election of American representative on the Congress praesidium came up. Mr. Stone nominated Mr. Lipsky in addition to Judge Mack. Mr. Tulin moved that the two members of the praesidium representing America should be Judge Mack and Mr. Lipsky, but that if there could be only one member, as was likely to be the case, then the member should be Judge Mack. A vote was taken, and a majority was for Judge Mack. Dr. Wise, Judge Mack, Neumann and Goldberg were among those not voting. Thereupon a round-robin was circulated among the American members petitioning the ~~next~~ election of Judge Mack to the praesidium, and 13 out of 19 signatures (excluding Judge Mack) were obtained. In the meantime the Actions Committee ruled that Mr. Lipsky was not available on the ground that he was a member of the Executive.

Then came the matter of committee appointments. A sharp division here promptly appeared. Fishman and Lipsky insisted that their point of view should be represented on the Political Committee, as well as on the Permanenzauschutz. They said that if they did not obtain one member on the Political Committee they would bolt. A rule ~~existing~~ existed that any six members could form an independent group and thus be entitled to one representative on each committee. The rule was that the first six would have one representative on each committee and the next ten another representative, and the next ten still another representative. Thus, if our delegation could represent 16, we would be entitled to two representatives on each committee, but if our delegation were less than 16, we would have only one. On a showdown, Mrs. Silverman and Abe Goldberg refused to join the Fishman-Lipsky revolt, and the committee appointments were unanimously voted, with Wise and Tulin on the Political Committee. Mr. Goldberg is outspoken against Dr. Weizmann's re-election. The committees have not begun to function yet, except the Permanenzauschutz, which met last night. We had to fight to have two new committees, which the Actions Committee had not contemplated. These committees were Health, on which Hadassah has two representatives, and an Economic Committee, on which Mr. Brodie is our representative.

There seems a considerable movement among the General Zionists in favor of a permanent form of organization. I enclose certain letters from Mr. Schwartzbard of Krakow, on the matter. The General Zionists have had a large number of meetings and there seems to be a considerable degree of common ground. They all feel that the General Zionists constitute the back bone of the movement, and have the responsibility for carrying on after the decisions of the Congress take place, and they do not play a sufficient role in the actual making of the decisions. Probably the difficulties of permanent organization from the technical administrative point of view will be insuperable. In any event, the issues before the Congress are so great that the pressure is to bring about a unified front on the pressing issues to the exclusion of questions as to permanent organization.

From the line-up as I have stated it above, you will see that it is easily possible to make an Executive without Dr. Weizmann, if the Labor, Mizrachi and General Zionists concur. A combination of General Zionists, Mizrachi and Revisionists might fall short of the mark. The dominating currents thus far are the complete opposition as against each other, of Revisionists and Labor. It is conceivable that the General Zionists may be able to form an Executive without either Revisionists or Labor. This would be on the theory that a combination including both wings is impossible for one reason or another; possibly Labor may not be interested in the next Executive on the ground that the Budget will be so small as to be uninteresting to them; and there may be sufficient ~~existing~~ sentiment demanding a change, to warrant the General Zionists (together with Mizrachi, and Radicals, perhaps) to assume control.

The General Zionists are apparently united on the proposition that Weizmann's presidential address is an unsatisfactory statement of policy, both as to attitude toward Great Britain and as to moderation of objective, and a resolution is being formulated to the effect that the MacDonald Letter does not form a satisfactory basis for cooperation. Jabotinsky's motion to formulate the objective of the movement as demanding a Jewish majority will cause a great deal of embarrassment, and we shall endeavor to have the resolution withdrawn. Labor will no doubt be equally insistent upon stating clearly that our objective is parity -- that is, domination neither of Arabs nor Jews.

I do not stop to describe scenes such as followed Dr. Wise's attack on

Great Britain, on the Labor party and on Weizmann.

I sent you a cable last night by way of message to the Herzl meetings.
Enclosed is copy.

I did not cable Friedman because Brodie and Judge Mack felt that we could not properly ask Friedman for even a guarantee at present. Mr. de Haas had intended to see Friedman but did not see him before he left. The American delegation was seated without any great difficulty, in full, under the following circumstances. In London I went over the figures with Mr. Avadio, treasurer of the W.Z.O. and Dr. Lauterbach, and was told that while the old item of \$2542.50 (their figure is \$2814.13) was not relinquished by the W.Z.O. as a claim, the W.Z.O. would not insist upon payment at once of this item, as an obstacle to seating of delegates. The question therefore was reduced to the item of \$6361.79, which the W.Z.O. stated we had taken off of our shekolim collections within the last two years. On arrival here, the Executive passed a resolution copy of which is enclosed, substantially to the effect that if we would agree to pay off half of the \$6361.79 within one year, and undertake to pay ~~affix~~ promptly in cash the \$101.16, balance on current account, the disputed item of \$6361.79 would be permanently and definitely settled. On this basis I signed a note on behalf of the organization dated June 29, 1931, for \$3180.90, the note to mature June 29, 1932. The entire American delegation by formal vote approved the transaction. The Administrative Committee in New York should formally vote approval also. Mr. Lipsky as honorary vice-president also signed the note. Enclosed is a letter from the W.Z.O. dated June 22, 1931, covering a financial statement of the account between us and the W.Z.O.

I received your cable of June 26, as follows: "READ TODAY'S LONDON CHRONICLE STOP HAVE YOU CABLED FRIEDMAN". We read the London Chronicle of June 26 and could not tell to what you referred.

The telegram from the J.T.A. from Mr. Rothenberg was duly received, and publicity was given through the I.T.A.

I am very grateful to you for sending me the news that 150 middle-class settlers sailed for Palestine on July 2, taking with them approximately a half-million dollars. This is very helpful to us in support of our economic program.

I shall try to get Mr. Levine to endorse the note which ~~you~~ you enclosed with yours of June 26. Meantime, please tell Dr. Ratnoff particularly that we are counting on him personally to raise substantial sums to carry on during the summer. If no substantial funds have been raised up to date it would seem that the Administration would again have to revise expenditures during the summer, and without permitting commitments to accumulate.

I was astonished to get your report of arrangements reported to have been made by Mr. Tulin with Mr. Goldberg. I regard the procedure as highly irregular, to which I do not believe for one moment that I would have given my consent.

With kindest regards to all of you at the office, I am.

(Signed) ROBERT SZOLD.

Encl.

RESOLUTION OF THE EXECUTIVE WITH REGARD TO THE \$6,500 CHARGED BY
THE Z.O.A. TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE LONDON EXECUTIVE

28.6.31

The following resolution has been moved by Mr. Kaplansky
and adopted by the Executive:

THAT the Executive recognise the sum of \$6,500 charged by
the Z.O.A. to the account of the London Executive, provided that the Z.O.A.
will implement the offer made by its Chairman, Mr. Robert Szold, to under-
take the repayment of half the above amount within a period of one year.



Basle, July 6, 1931.

According to all the rules of logic, and common sense, and perhaps I should add, decency, the situation created in July, 1920 comes to an end today. We are far from out of the wood of those of us who are most concerned about all matters are terribly perplexed by this four million dollar deficit. This condition does not receive the consideration it merits because it is evident that we are most probably at the end of the Weizmann era and at the beginning of a goodness-knows-what period -- but that the deficit is being used for politics.

There have been three or four "scenes" at the Congress -- and one "show", the trial of Grossman for insubordination with W. on the witness stand -- but these demonstrations have been milder than have been anticipated because the Revisionists and Labor are at daggers drawn and Berl Locker is a combination of hornet and porcupine -- the most aggressive person here. Wise, of course, made his contribution to the "scenes" but they mean comparatively little except to newspaper men. What bothers me more is that the fight between the Revisionists and Labor is at bottom the latter's resistance and objection to the immigration of a class who will not join the Labor Unions in Palestine. On the whole Labor has overplayed its hand and although the fine professions of the Allgemeines are not worth much, there will be some attempt made in future to win youth for the Allgemeines and to settle non-socialists in Palestine.

"Whitechapel" has left a bad taste in the mouth of most of the delegates and the sneering attitude of Labor to our economic program, and its politics have created unquestioned resentment. On the other hand, the Eder group -- 23 delegates -- are following Labor on the Weizmann issue in a lame congress policy. Whether they can swing themselves into definite alliance remains a question.

Weizmann is the issue and he remains it because of his endless tricks. Physically, he looks better than in 1929. He has been giving receptions, inviting Jabotinsky to dine with him, stepping in and out of the Congress sessions -- in other words, playing the candidate. Yesterday, it was fairly clear that at best he could command 123 votes to 117 with 10 not voting. This was crediting the 30 doubtful, 20 to him and 10 abstainers. Some of his friends claimed that he was through on those terms. I took the same view because Mrs. Silverman had joined us and that the W. Galicians had passed a caucus vote against him (seven votes). But in the meantime, W. had given out an interview to the J.T.A. which made everyone furious. He had said that the adoption of a resolution declaring that we desire a majority would be interpreted as an attempt to oust the Arabs from Palestine. This is regarded as the limit. ----- said he was ready to vote for Jabotinsky. The issue may be pressed, but I hear W. will repeat these ideas in his answer to his critics in the general debate.

The financial crisis, surely serious enough is being used by W.'s friends to raise the W. issue all over again with the result that when the Executive delegation came to the Americans they did not find much mental response for that cause.

July 7th.

The W. interview incident will, of course, have filled the press. Labor was shrewd but hors de combat and I am responsible for preventing W.'s answer being debated. I should have instead moved that W.'s ~~answer~~ explanation "is unsatisfactory", but as no resolution can or will be presented without a wrangling debate I thought it best to create a condition by which Grossman's resolution should go to the Political Commission. So far I have been correct in my anticipations. I said six months ago the interpretation of the Basle Program has become an absolute necessity and in some form this is still unavoidable. The Revisionists like Labor present the same problem temperamental feeling for declaration, but Labor behaves badly. They are Russians,

neither radical nor liberals but fundamentally Czarists. They want to dictate even the speeches of their opponents. This makes them impossible and the cause of all these scenes. At this moment they are knocked into a cocked hat by the W. situation but they will recover themselves sooner or later and go ahead with this ~~xxx~~ cossack method.

Lipsky, Fishman and Margoshes (in his journalistic capacity) are looking for trouble. They may go over to the Left. They may do anything, the motive being to ditch us and they dream of October and the convention.

In the organization commission I have started the fight against the "free shekel" and the Election system. I shall probably gain something but the parties stand pat on the system. Despite the reports of corruption in all the elections they believe the election system produces the effect of a mass movement and avoids the turning of Zionism instead into a sect.

Wise had a giddy spell yesterday, but on the whole is better than in

N.Y.C.

Jacob de Haas.

[Aug 20, 1931] Keep 1931

MINUTES OF MEETING OF Z.O.A. ADMINISTRATION, HELD ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 20,
3:30 P.M., AT THE ZIONIST OFFICES, 111 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

PRESENT: Messrs. Robert Szold (in the chair), Israel B. Brodie, Jacob de Haas, Abraham Goldberg, Judge William M. Lewis, Louis Lipsky, Judge Julian W. Macf, Emanuel Neumann, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Abraham Tulin; Mrs. A. H. Vixman (representing Hadassah), by invitation; Abram S. Magida.

SHEKEL ACCOUNT:

Mr. Szold reported that prior to the Congress the matter of seating the American delegation came up and with it came discussion of the old dispute concerning moneys claimed by the World Zionist Organization on the Shekel Account. There were two items in dispute, to wit: one item of approximately \$2500 which, according to the claim, came up in 1925, at the Vienna Congress. The other item, approximately \$6300, was deducted by the Z.O.A. from the Shekel Account for political expenditures following the 1929 riots. As to the first item, the Treasurer of the World Zionist Organization readily agreed it should be kept on the books as a charge against the Z.O.A., and not pressed before the World Zionist Court. The second item was, however, to be asserted with full vigor before the Zionist Court at Basle, and after some discussion the World Zionist Executive in Basle adopted the following resolution:

"THAT the Executive recognize the sum of \$6,500 charged by the Z.O.A. to the account of the London Executive, provided that the Z.O.A. will implement the offer made by its Chairman (Mr. Robert Szold) to undertake the repayment of half the above amount within a period of one year."

On this basis, Mr. Szold and Mr. Lipsky signed a note on behalf of the Z.O.A., dated June 29, 1931, for \$3180.90, the note to mature June 29, 1932. The controversy was thus settled.

The entire American delegation by formal vote approved the transaction.

Motion was made, seconded and carried.

THAT the signing of the note for \$3180.90 be approved.

BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE SUIT:

Mr. Szold reported that the Brooklyn Daily Eagle (printers of the New Palestine) had entered suit against the Z.O.A. for non-payment of the notes due in June and July (\$2,000 each) on account of the old indebtedness.

Mr. Rosensohn was of the opinion that if the situation were presented to the Eagle, the suit would be dropped by them.

The Chairman asked Mr. Rosensohn to communicate with the Eagle.

COOK AND ELLIOT SUIT:

Mr. Szold brought up the matter of the payment of the attorneys' fees in the Cook & Elliot Suit. At the request of several members of the Administration who were familiar with the case, he summed up the matter briefly,

as follows:

Some time in the latter part of 1927, Mr. I. D. Morrison, then Chairman of the Publications Committee, purporting to act on behalf of the Organization, made a contract with the firm of Cook & Elliot, whereby he gave to Cook & Elliot the exclusive right to secure advertising for The New Palestine. A formal agreement was drafted by Mr. Morrison, providing for the payment of a certain percentage to Cook & Elliot as commission on advertising secured, and a service fee of \$50 per week, to be paid to that firm. This contract was for one year, but provided for extension to five years, if certain conditions were met during the first year. However, before the first of January, 1928, the date on which the contract was to become effective, Mr. Morrison wrote to Cook & Elliot cancelling the contract, whereupon the firm brought suit for \$80,000, the amount which they claim as damages for the five-year period. The trial Judge took the position that Cook & Elliot had impliedly accepted the cancellation of the contract. Accordingly, the Judge dismissed the suit. Cook & Elliot appealed to the Appellate Division and that Court declared that the trial Judge was in error in dismissing the case, and ordered a new trial, the purpose of which would be to determine the amount of damages.

House, Grossman and Vorhaus represented the Z.O.A. in the trial and appeal. Mr. Morrison paid their fee. Mr. Szold explained further that prior to his departure for Europe, he had turned the matter over to Cook, Nathan & Lehman, with the approval of Mr. Morrison and on the understanding that Mr. Morrison would pay their fee. Now it develops that Mr. Morrison refuses to be responsible for the fee.

Mr. Szold explained that he attempted to settle the case with the attorneys for the plaintiff, but they had named such large figures (\$25,000), he could not see any possibility of settling it. He asked the Committee for suggestions in the matter.

Mr. Lipsky said that at the time of the original contract, the Administrative Committee had not voted on the matter at all, and he regarded the entire transaction as a wilful act on the part of Mr. Morrison. He said further that Mr. Morrison had given assurances repeatedly that he knew full well what he was doing, and that he would take care of it.

Mr. Szold declared that in the original trial the question of Mr. Morrison's authority in the matter had not been raised at all. He felt that the Organization must prove that it is not liable. This, however, has nothing whatever to do with any claim that the Organization may have against Mr. Morrison, if we are held liable by the court.

After further discussion of the matter, it was moved, seconded, and carried

THAT the Chairman be authorized to retain Cook, Nathan & Lehman to defend the Zionist Organization of America in the new trial of the case.

EDITOR, NEW PALESTINE: Mr. Tulin, Chairman of the Publications Committee,

suggested that The New Palestine resume publication beginning September 1, as a weekly, at least, for the next ten weeks, at a maximum cost of \$5,000 for the ten issues.

Mr. Neumann was of the opinion that this matter cannot be considered apart from the other organizational and financial matters of the Organization. He recommended that the Chairman of the Publications Committee and the Chairman of the Finance Committee go into this matter jointly, and that the thing to do now is to prepare a budget which will carry the Organization through the Convention.

Mr. Rosensohn, Chairman of the Finance Committee, stated that the Finance Committee have put it up to the Administrative Committee now, because they (the Finance Committee) have come to the end of their resources. Approximately \$10,000 is needed between now and the time of the Convention, exclusive of the cost of publishing The New Palestine.

After further discussion of the matter, Mr. Szold moved, and it was seconded by Mr. Brodie,

THAT the Editorial Committee of last Spring be continued, with an expression of opinion on the part of this body, that it is desirable to have The New Palestine published -- certainly until the Convention -- weekly, if possible; that the Editorial Committee together with the Finance Committee go into the whole matter of employing an Editor for The New Palestine and make such arrangements as are necessary within the light of this discussion, it being understood that no major appointment is to be made without being referred back to the Administrative Committee for the approval of any such major appointment.

Unanimously approved.

DATE OF N.E.C. MEETING:

The Chairman raised the question as to whether or not there should be a meeting of the National Executive Committee in the near future, and suggested either Sunday, August 30, or Sunday, September 6.

It was the consensus of opinion that it is highly advisable to hold a meeting of the National Executive Committee within the near future, in order to clarify the issues which will come up before the next Convention of the Z.O.A.

During the discussion, Judge Mack expressed the belief that the Executive Committee, and through them, the public, are entitled to know what actually happened at Basle, what were the differences of opinion in the Congress, what were the differences of opinion between the members of the American delegation, etc. Judge Mack felt that it was perfectly clear from the speech made by Mr. Lipsky at the reception given in his (Mr. Lipsky's) honor, in New York, on August 13, as reported in the public press, that there is going to be some kind of a contest. If this is so, then the way to enlighten the public is through the Executive Committee meeting. Judge Mack suggested that if a meeting of the Executive Com-

nittee were to be arranged for Sunday, September 6, it might be extended to the following day, which is Labor Day. In that event, one day might be devoted to the discussion of the Congress, and the other day could be devoted to a general consideration of the question as to whether the American Zionists want to support the new President and the new Executive of the World Zionist Organization, and the Administration of the Z.O.A., or whether they want to sabotage them; whether they want to raise money for Palestine, or whether they don't, and a number of other related questions.

Rabbi Silver inquired if the controversy were not in the air, if our delegates had returned from the Congress under normal circumstances, would we consider calling a meeting of the Executive Committee. He felt that apparently the only reason for such a meeting at this time is the attempt to clear the atmosphere, and as to this, Dr. Silver felt that the meeting of the National Executive Committee, if held, would not clear the atmosphere; on the contrary, the controversy would be carried on until the Convention. He said he failed to see the value of calling a meeting of the Committee at this time, unless the members of the Committee expressed the desire to have such a meeting, and as to this, Dr. Silver suggested that the members of the Committee be consulted by mail.

Mr. Tulin expressed the opinion that in view of the fact that there is this controversy and that it goes to the very root of our problems, it is important that the controversy be brought out into the open as soon as possible, and he thought that a meeting of the Executive Committee at an early date would be the best possible method.

Mr. Lipsky then stated that the present situation has nothing whatever to do with the problem as to whether the Zionist Executive should be sabotaged. He declared that he still stands for the principle that the Zionist Congress is the supreme authority in Zionist affairs. The question that was raised at the reception given him, Mr. Lipsky declared, has to do with the internal administration of the Zionist Organization of America, and nothing else, and on that point Mr. Lipsky felt that there might be a very reasonable discussion and a friendly discussion, one which need not be attended by the alarm and feeling that the very foundations of the Zionist movement are being affected. Mr. Lipsky declared it to be his opinion that the Administration of the Zionist Organization of America must be so arranged as to bring into action not only the group which is there now, but others who are just as much interested in the movement. That, Mr. Lipsky said, is the only matter involved in the present discussion. Mr. Lipsky added that he may have had some feeling about what occurred at the Congress, and still has such feeling, but that has nothing to do with the present issue. There is no intention of interfering with any action of the Zionist Organization of America. The question is what persons should compose the eighteen members of the Administration. Is the present composition the most effective to conduct the work of the Z.O.A.? That, he said, is all that is involved. Headlines in some of the newspaper reports on his address at the reception were misleading, he said, and he declared that he was not responsible for the opening paragraph of some of the newspaper reports.

Mr. Lipsky favored September 6 as the date of the meeting for the National Executive Committee, and he also expressed the opinion that the report on the Congress should not occupy the major portion of the time of the Executive Committee.

Mr. Tulin expressed his gratification, after hearing Mr. Lipsky's report stating that the newspaper reports were misleading. Mr. Tulin then proceeded to read sentences out of the Herald-Tribune report of the reception to Mr. Lipsky, and expressed the opinion that Mr. Lipsky should have published a denial of these statements, and that the Administration ought to take formal action on these matters which vitally affect the Zionist Organization of America.

After further discussion, it was regularly moved, seconded and carried

THAT the next meeting of the National Executive Committee be held in New York on Sunday, October 11, this being the first free Sunday after the holidays.

Z.O.A. CONVENTION:

Mr. Szold read a letter from Hadassah in which it was stated that they propose to hold their annual Convention beginning October 11, in Philadelphia.

It was moved by Rabbi Silver and seconded by Mr. Tulin

THAT the next annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America begin on November 8. Baltimore, Washington and Atlantic City were suggested as the most likely places for holding the Convention, but it was decided that the time and place of the Convention be finally fixed after consultation with Hadassah.

PUBLIC MEETING FOR REPORT OF DELEGATES:

Discussion then arose as to the desirability of holding a public meeting or reception in New York, at which the delegates to the Congress might report on the proceedings at Basle, and it was decided to hold such meeting after the return of Dr. Wise.

Dr. Silver moved that a mass meeting be held in the near future, at which our delegates should be given an opportunity to report on the Congress, the participants in the program to be decided by the Chairman of the Administrative Committee.

Unanimously Agreed.

RESOLUTION ON WORK OF Z.O.A. DELEGATION:

Mr. Goldberg pointed out that it is imperative to have a resolution on record discharging the American delegation and calling on the Zionists throughout the country to support the principles adopted at the Congress and the Executive there elected.

Rabbi Silver moved

THAT a Committee consisting of Messrs. Szold, Tulin and Goldberg be empowered to draft such a resolution.

AGREED

A draft of a resolution was then read by Judge Mack.

Mr. Brodie moved

THAT this statement be accepted in principle, subject to editing by Messrs. Goldberg, Tulin and Szold, the final draft to be submitted to Judge Mack; and that this be the statement of the Administrative Committee.

AGREED

HADASSAH COMMUNICATION:

Mr. Szold read the following letter from Hadassah:

"Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A.: We regret that due to the poor attendance of the last meeting of the Administration, Mrs. Jacobs was unable to present the following resolution adopted by the National Board at its meeting of June 10:

"That the National Board had received the minutes of the joint meeting of the Administration and Finance Committee of the ZOA held on June 3, carrying the discussion on the contemplated revision of Hadassah's per capita dues and that Hadassah reiterates its stand that it must recommend to its Convention the payment of no more than fifty cents per capita, with a further provision for a sum to be granted for the payment of the Z.O.A. deficit for the next two years, and that the necessary constitutional amendment to effect this change be circulated to Hadassah Chapters six weeks in advance of the Convention as required by Hadassah's Constitution."

"We are transmitting this to you formally, as Hadassah is obliged to carry out the action taken by the National Board and must circulate the necessary amendment six weeks in advance of its Convention."

Cordially yours,

(Signed) JUDITH G. EPSTEIN
National Secretary.

Those present took cognisance of the letter and noted the resolution adopted by the National Board of Hadassah at its meeting of June 10.

Meeting adjourned 7:30 P.M.

Sept. 4th, 1931

Mr. Robert Szold,
Zionist Organization,
111 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Szold:-

I am enclosing a check of \$250. as a further payment on the pledge of \$1500 which I made to the Zionist Deficit Fund. This will leave just \$250. unpaid.

May I repeat what I said to you at our last meeting: that the survival of the present administration at the next Zionist Convention will depend on two things; whether we can show a substantial reduction in the Deficit and a substantial increase in the Membership. All other good and clever arguments will not avail.

It seems to me that both of these objectives could still be attained. I believe that a sum of \$250,000. can be raised among a limited number of people if Justice Brandeis will head off the list. There is considerable money to be gotten from the old pledges if a concerted effort would be made.

I would also strongly suggest that you send the delegates to the last Congress out on a tour of the principal eastern cities. They would educate the Zionists on the real situation and could also utilize the meetings for membership purposes.

I note that Lipsky is going to address a meeting here in Cleveland tomorrow night. It seems to me that either Goldberg, Neumann or Wise should come here in the very near future to counteract his propaganda.

I note from the New York Times that a statement by Lipsky said that Judge Mack and Justice Brandeis have nothing to do with the present administration. Don't you think that that statement ought to be repudiated by both of them?

When is the New Palestine appearing?

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Boh

THE FOLLOWING APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1931

SEEKS ZIONIST ACCORD

JUDGE LEWIS, IN LETTER, ASKS FACTIONS
TO ABIDE BY RULINGS.

In an effort to adjust differences between various groups in the Zionist Organization of America, Judge William M. Lewis of Philadelphia has addressed an open letter to Louis Lipsky, former president of the organization, and Robert Szold, present chairman of the administration of the Zionist Organization, asking whether both will abide by the decisions of the next Zionist convention, to be held on November 8th.

Judge Lewis has asked Mr. Szold and Mr. Lipsky to answer these questions:

"Are you prepared to come to the next convention ready to submit to the decisions of the majority, whether they involve the election of members of one group or another?"

"Are you prepared to state now that whatever the outcome of the convention, you will serve the movement within the organization in any capacity which shall be assigned to you in the coming year?"

"Are the members of the 'Brandeis-Mack' and 'Lipsky' groups ready to accept membership in the administrative committee without insisting that all or any particular members of the particular group shall also be elected to membership?"

"Are you willing to have an administration set-up, whose members shall not make it a condition for their entrance that it should be composed of a majority of a particular group?"

ההסתדרות הציונית. המשרד המרכזי.

AMERICAN MEMBER
EMANUEL NEUMANN

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

AMERICAN OFFICE
111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

CENTRAL OFFICE

LONDON, ENGLAND

SPECIAL DELIVERY

New York, N. Y.
October 16th, 1931.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

One of the matters that I wanted to talk to you about was the idea which we have been discussing again of late, of forming some sort of Pro-Palestine Committee of gentile friends in this country.

I have communicated with my colleagues on the Executive, who approve of it, and I have discussed it also with Brandeis, Mack, Wise, Frankfurter and Cyrus Adler. There seems to be general agreement, that, providing we could get the right kind of Committee, it would be of great value to us at this time. Moreover, the American political situation is such at the moment as to be peculiarly favorable to such an attempt.

We have just had a private conference in Judge Mack's office, in which Mack, Wise, Abe Goldberg and myself participated. We agreed that it would be best to get, first, a nucleus - a group of five, six or seven men of importance, who would consent to participate in such a body, and after a consultation with these few, decide upon how to create a larger body.

Dr. Adler suggested that we should avoid giving the Committee a purely political coloring, and suggested our getting some university people - Frankfurter has promised to send me some suggestions. In the meantime, it was agreed today that Mack would speak to Dr. Butler of Columbia. We have already spoken to Senator Wagner, who is of course with us, and Dr. Wise, Abe Goldberg and I have each of us undertaken to see others. Among those we have in mind are William Green of the A.F. of L.; John Haynes Holmes; Norman Thomas; Borah; Secretary Hyde, and Colonel House.

We attach the greatest importance also to securing

ההסתדרות הציונית. המשרד המרכזי.

AMERICAN MEMBER
EMANUEL NEUMANN

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

CENTRAL OFFICE
LONDON, ENGLAND

AMERICAN OFFICE
111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

-2-

Rabbi A.H.Silver:

the cooperation of Newton D. Baker, and it was agreed today that I should write to you at once and ask you to see him. We know that he has been much cooler toward Zionism than he used to be. I think that the influence of Mrs. Felz and others has hurt us with him. On the other hand, Ben Rosenblatt, to whom I have just spoken, tells me that last January they gave him a reception at Rosenblatt's home in Haifa, at which he made a very good speech and subsequently wrote to Mrs. Rosenblatt a very glowing letter about his impressions of Palestine. He had also promised Ben Rosenblatt to come out some time to address a meeting in New York if that should be necessary.

I think you could hardly do a more valuable piece of work at the moment than to have a real serious talk with Baker on the whole Zionist situation, and get him interested in the pro-Palestine Committee. In fact we are thinking of him as Chairman of such a Committee, with perhaps a Republican as Honorary Chairman. One suggestion is that there should be two or three Honorary Chairmen, as they have in England and other countries, from other parties. We might then arrange for Vice President Curtis and Colonel House as Honorary Chairmen - Newton D. Baker as Chairman, and Senator Wagner of New York, perhaps Chairman of the Executive Committee. But these are details which can be settled later.

We must of course, have a conference when you are in New York on the 21st. I take it that you will spend the major part of the day in New York. Please let me know in advance at what Hotel you will stop, and at what hour you expect to arrive.

Mack, Wise and Abe Goldberg and I send our regards.

As ever,

Yours,

Emanuel

p.s. I would like you to wire me if you are seeing Baker. Please do.

Honorary Chairmen
FELIX M. WARBURG
CYRUS ADLER
HERBERT H. LEHMAN
STEPHEN S. WISE
JULIAN W. MACK

AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN
OF THE
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

National Chairmen
MORRIS ROTHENBERG
JAMES MARSHALL
ABBA HILLEL SILVER
NATHAN STRAUS, JR.

JOSEPH C. HYMAN
Honorary Secretary

SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN
Treasurer

OFFICE OF NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

December 31st, 1931.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

As I indicated in my recent telegrams, to which I received no reply, I wish to inform you more fully as to plans for the National American Palestine Campaign Conference. The date is January 17th and the place Hotel Astor. We are earnestly looking forward to your presence and to your delivering one of the principal addresses. The general opinion is that the American Palestine Campaign should continue as the permanent fund raising instrument of the Jewish Agency and that there should be no interruption in the work. It is generally felt that the present set-up should be continued, except to fill such vacancies as will occur. (My own resignation is already in.)

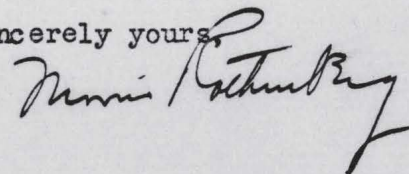
An agreement has been reached with the Jewish National Fund whereby it will be included in next year's effort, and a decision has also been made to make an allowance to the Z.O.A. as reimbursement for its outlays in connection with its work in stimulating fund raising through its membership.

Preceding the National Conference and on the evening of January 16th, there will be, as you have by now been informed, a meeting of the American members of the Council of the Jewish Agency. The chief topic of discussion will be the matter of the organization of an American section of the Jewish Agency. The subject has many angles, and I think it is of the greatest importance that you be present.

No doubt you have also been apprised by the Z.O.A. of Mr. Sokolow's arrival and of the public reception that will take place at the Hotel Astor on January 7th under the auspices of the Z.O.A. and the American section of the Jewish Agency.

With kind regards and looking forward to seeing you at the meetings mentioned, I am

Sincerely yours



MR/p

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF OFFICERS OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, HELD WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1932, AT THE OLCOTT HOTEL.

PRESENT: Messrs. Szold (in the chair) Sokolow, Goldmann, Lipsky, Lewis, Judge Mack, Wise, deHaas, Neumann, Fierst, Rocker, Magida.

MEETING OF JEWISH AGENCY:

Mr. Szold read the names of the Zionist and non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency in this country who had been invited to attend the meeting next Saturday night.

In this connection Mr. Magida read a communication which had just been received from London regarding the form of organization of the British section of the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Szold suggested that on Saturday night the Zionists propose that there be organized an American section of the Jewish Agency, that it be composed of all members and deputies of the Council of the Jewish Agency and all the members of the Administrative Committee resident in America, making a total of 66 persons, divided equally between Zionists and non-Zionists; that there be elected a chairman of that body and a Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and that that body should have no other status than to meet from time to time just as the group in Great Britain does to discuss current questions in connection with the Jewish Agency, and be responsible for the work of administration of the Keren Hayesod in this country.

Mr. Lipsky pointed that the the Jewish Agency as it is now constituted in the United States has no relation to the work for the Keren Hayesod throughout the country.

Mr. Sokolow stated that in England there is another committee for the Keren Hayesod, although some members of the British section of the Agency are active in the Keren Hayesod. The entire function of the British section of the Agency is to meet every month, consider reports of the political and economic situation in England and Palestine, and to give their advice, suggestions to the Executive. If this is done in this manner here, there will be an American Section of the Jewish Agency, forces that are unorganized will be organized and there will be work and interest for the Keren Hayesod, but it will not mean any overlapping in functions for the Keren Hayesod and the campaign committee. In England there is the original Agency group elected by the Congress, with additional members whom they accept and which works very well.

Mr. de Haas was of the opinion that the Jewish Agency as it is now constituted in America is destructive to Zionist interests here, since practically none of the non-Zionists attend meetings or appear to be interested, yet the very existence of the Agency has a throttling effect upon Zionist work.

Mr. Sokolow pointed out that Mr. deHaas' attitude was tantamount to the destruction of the Agency here, and he recalled that originally it was intended that the Jewish Agency should help to enlist the interest of non-Zionists here, Mr. Sokolow stated that that depends upon whether they are inclined to organize themselves, and in order to decide that question, the entire situation throughout

the world should be reviewed, and we should not limit ourselves to consideration of what is transpiring in America. In England the Agency is quite a substantial success, Mr. Sokelow, added and he did not believe that the sum raised for the Keren Hayesod, there could have been secured without the assistance of the non-Zionists. An experiment has been applied to it and therefore it is impossible to tell what the actual result might be if an earnest effort were made.

Mr. Lipsky stated that it has been agreed that at this meeting on Saturday night, January 16, the Zionists should not for a variety of reasons take the initiative in organizing the American section of the Jewish Agency, but if a discussion arises favoring such organization we should not be averse to having this body organized if it is to be on a representative basis, rather than another paper organization.

Mr. deHaas said that as long as the Jewish Agency is constituted as it is now, it will not be responsible to anyone.

Mr. Szold pointed out that it would be wrong to convey the impression at the meeting that we do not want the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Neumann made the following two suggestions:

1. That a recommendation be made that this American group get together quarterly for a conference at which reports would be rendered.

2. That if they bring up the question of organizing themselves into a permanent organization, that our position be as suggested here, namely, that we are willing to consider this if an organizing committee is appointed and we will advance our point of view as to the manner in which the American section of the Jewish Agency can be properly organized.

Mr. Sokelow stated that from a talk that he had with Dr. Adler it appears that the Agency group is in favor of the democratization of the Agency on a membership basis, and that this is another problem which must be discussed from the Zionist point of view. He added that the realization of this scheme is problematic but it is necessary to face the question of how this would affect Zionist activity and Zionist membership. Mr. Sokelow believed that there is a substitute for this which would be better than membership, and that would be the allegiance to the Agency of various non-Zionist groups, congregations, synagogues, etc.

Mr. Lipsky stated that it had been suggested that Mr. Morris Waldman, Dr. I.M. Rubinow and someone connected with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations organize a special bureau for congregations and other groups to be associated with the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Neumann said that if the non-Zionists were to represent an organized force which can be counted upon when the need arises, then it might be worthwhile to enter such combination.

Judge Mack believed that the only way the non-Zionist group in the Agency can function successfully is through a process of self-education and if they can be stimulated by the Zionists to an appreciation of their own responsibility, and

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if they can be vitalized into activity and made to feel that they should have a real constituency behind them, the process of getting such constituency would be a good thing for Palestine. If they are willing to do that, it may save the Agency here in the end and it would not be merely a paper organization; if not, they demonstrate their weakness and they will have to give it up, but it will not appear as if the Zionists forced them out. He reiterated that they should be encouraged in every way to an appreciation of their responsibility and to organize themselves not as of individualities but along the lines of the Board of Deputies in England, which has a definite constituency.

Mr. Neumann added that the committee appointed by Dr. Adler to go into the question of the Sprinzak plan came to the conclusion that it would not pay from the point of view of the Jewish Agency alone, and made a definite recommendation not to attempt to do this at this time.

Mr. Szold said that he would not want to do anything which would be regarded by the non-Zionists as an excuse to give up altogether and then have them become anti-Zionists, but if they desire to organize at the meeting on Saturday night, he would be willing to present a resolution to that effect.

Dr. Wise also ~~had~~ expressed the view that we should not super impose any organization upon the non-Zionists.

Judge Mack added that if there is talk on Saturday night on the part of the non-Zionists about the need of an organization, the Zionists should answer that they are organized.

Dr. Wise suggested that the following committee be appointed on this matter:

Mr. Szold
Mr. Lipsky
Mr. de Haas

in consultation with Mr. Sokolow.

Mr. Szold said that this juncture we cannot afford to break the appearance of a front or to give the impression that we are trying to break it up.

Mr. Sokolow reiterated that the idea of the Agency is sound and that its apparent failure is not because of the fundamental idea but because of inactivity. The non-Zionists should not merely be told that the Zionists are organized and they are not, but we should point out to them the reasons why they should organize themselves in their own interests.

Mr. Szold inquired if the Board is against electing officers at the meeting on Saturday night, such officers to be empowered to call the next meeting, etc. He added that it is a good thing to have individuals and organizations join the Jewish Agency, but it would be a mistake to organize them as a body of non-Zionists.

Mr. Lipsky replied that the idea is not to organize them as a body of non-Zionists but as a constituency of the non-Zionist section.

It was the consensus of opinion that an attempt should be made not to organize the non-Zionists who are now members of the Agency but rather that these people should organize a constituency just as the Council have a constituency. It

Board of Officers
1/13/32

was also agreed that Mr. Szold should open the meeting on Saturday night, and if there is call for the election of a chairman, Dr. Adler should be suggested.

Mr. Neumann suggested that Mr. Szold as the ranking officer should prepare the agenda for Saturday night.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE ON SUNDAY:

A discussion took place regarding the National Campaign Conference to take place on Sunday, and the members of the Board expressed their regret that Mr. Rothenberg was not present to join in the discussion.

Mr. Magida reported that there are about 260 acceptances to date.

Mr. Neumann reported that there have been a number of discussions at meetings of the American Palestine Campaign Administrative Committee as to whether a new organization should be set-up or the old one continue.

A discussion then ensued regarding the chairmanship of the campaign.

It was reported that Mr. Rothenberg had repeatedly stated that he could not accept the chairmanship for the next campaign. Mr. Neumann pointed out that Mr. Rothenberg had given a great deal of time and made many sacrifices.

Mr. Sokolow suggested that a final talk be had with Mr. Rothenberg in order to ascertain definitely whether or not he intends to remain as chairman.

It was the consensus of opinion that it would be most important that there should be appointed a small campaign executive of from three to five persons who would be entrusted with the active direction of the campaign, and that this idea should be one of the things the Zionists should stand for strongly, it being understood that this nucleus may coopt others and that the Zionists should preponderate in such executive. It was suggested that the Zionist members of such Executive should be Mr. Szold, Mr. Lipsky, and Judge Lewis. It was urged also that Judge Lewis should be elected as one of the co-chairman of the campaign, in any event, and that the proposed executive should take upon themselves the burden of seeing the actual work go forward in order that it may not be an intolerable burden upon any one man. It was suggested that this small group should be given power to appoint a Finance Committee, and that on this inner committee of the campaign there should be a representative of the National Fund and Hadassah.

LOANS FOR PALESTINE:

Mr. Neumann read the following cables which had come from London and Jerusalem with further reference to the proposed loan:

LONDON

JANUARY 12 1932

NLT NEUMANN ZIONISTS NEWYORK
IMMEDIATE REMITTANCE 10000 POUNDS BILLS MATURING TODAY UNTIL FRIDAY IMPERATIVE STOP
JERUSALEM CABLES POSITION OFFICIALS SHAMASHIM ABSOLUTELY UNTENABLE STOP WITHOUT
TEACHERS FOR WHICH ABOUT 18000 REQUIRED STRIKE NEXT FRIDAY VERY PROBABLE KERENYESOD
REQUIRES URGENTLY 12000 FOR AMZIC BILLS OTHERWISE SERIOUS COMPLICATIONS UNQUOTE
THIS SHOWS GRAVITY SITUATION IF LOAN 10000 DOLLARS NOT FORTHCOMING IMMEDIATELY MORE
OVER FAILURE SECURE LOAN AMERICA WILL NULLIFY READINESS MARKS GROUP ADVANCE 5000
POUNDS PLEASE RELY SOKOLOW ROTHENBERG CABLE

ZIONIBURO

1/13/32

JANUARY 12 1932

LONDON

SOKOLOW NEUMANN ZIONISTS NEWYORK

ARLOSOROFF SENATOR CABLE QUOTE WITHOUT DEFINITE ASSURANCE IMMEDIATE REMITTANCE
BILLS WILL BE PROTESTED THURSDAY UNQUOTE CABLE ZIONIBURO

JANUARY 13 1932

LONDON

SOKOLOW GOLDMANN ZIONISTS NEWYORK

SITUATION PALEXECUTIVE HOPELESS UNLESS VERY ESSENTIAL REMITTANCE AMERICA IMMEDIATELY
STOP IF LOAN 100,000 IMPOSSIBLE 50000 WOULD PROBABLY INDUCE MARKS GROUP ADVANCE
PROMISED L5000 THERBY GREATLY RELIEVE SITUATION STOP PLEASE USE ALL YOUR AUTHORITY
PUT THROUGH THIS MINIMUM

ZIONIBURO

JANUARY 13 1932

LONDON

ZIONISTS FOR GOLDMANN SOKOLOW ROTHENBERG NEUMANN NEWYORK

SENATOR CABLES QUOTE ROTHENBERG CABLING L1200 BUT NEED FIRST ADDITIONAL L1300 PAYMENT
~~XXXXXX~~ BILLS ONLY WHICH IMPOSSIBLE PROVIDE HERE UNQUOTE ALL EFFORTS SECURE THIS AMOUNT
LONDON VAIN STOP UNDERLINE FAILURE REMIT MEANS COLLAPSE AFTER HARD SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE
LAST SIX MONTHS STOP PAYMENT L2000 AMZIC ALSO ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE CABLE SITUATION
LOAN WHAT ABOUT 10000 SECURED PRIOR SOKOLOW RECEPTION 25000KAYEMETH CABLE IMMEDIATELY
ZIONIBURO

JANUARY 13 1932

LONDON

SOKOLOW ROTHENBERG NEUMANN ZIONISTS NEWYORK

ADDITIONALLY YESTERDAYS REMITTANCE 1300 POUNDS IMMEDIATELY IMPERATIVE OTHERWISE STOP-
PAGE PAYMENT BILLS UNAVOIDABLE CABLE

ZIONIBURO

Mr. Neumann reported that the dinner meeting which had been arranged prior to the reception to Mr. Sokolow on Thursday evening, January 7th for this specific purpose was moderately successful. Only a small group attended and a few persons promised to contribute or endorse notes to a total of \$10,000, which of course is wholly inadequate. An effort was made also to get the National Fund which has at present a credit at its disposal, to advance \$25,000 as a loan. Mr. Neumann had taken this matter up with Mr. Lamport who was willing to make further endorsements and endeavor to get Dr. Rosoff to do likewise. Mr. Neumann had spoken about this also to Mr. Ruttenberg and Mr. Rubin who were favorably disposed but who said that no definite action can be taken in view of the fact that it is not yet definitely settled that the JNF is to be part of the American Palestine Campaign. He therefore arranged for a meeting between Mr. Ruttenberg and Mr. Rothenberg but the matter would have to come up further at the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Campaign. Mr. Neumann said he has done all he could in the matter and had used his personal influence as former president of the JNF and in his personal capacity. Mr. Neumann added that Mr. Rothenberg had appointed Mr. Blitz to see a number of persons to advance their contributions or secure their endorsements to notes in order that this loan may be made.

Mr. Sokolow pleaded for help and urged that this matter be expedited, saying that this loan could be repaid out of the first income of the campaign.

Mr. Neumann urged that this meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Campaign be called immediately and that every effort be made to secure a full attendance. He asked Mr. Lipsky to communicate with Mr. Ruttenberg to give instructions

to the National Fund to loan this sum which they have available, and that everything be done to borrow the required sum from the bank on endorsements and send it to Palestine with the utmost despatch.

WASHINGTON DINNER ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 17:

Mr. Neumann pointed out that with regard to the meeting in connection with the formation of the Pro-Palestine Committee, in Washington, there is a certain amount of misunderstanding here and criticism is being made because the date of the Washington Conference is the same as that of the campaign conference. He desired therefore to make the following statement:

While in Atlantic City, at the Convention, he first spoke to Mr. Rhoads concerning the preliminary steps necessary to get together a group in Washington. This was subsequently followed up by correspondence and several visits to Washington. As a result of these negotiations, Vice-President Curtis gave December 20th as the date for such conference, but difficulties arose first because of the adjournment of Congress for the Christmas vacation and secondly because Prof. Frankfurter was not available on that date. The only other free date which Curtis could give was January 17th and the Washington meeting therefore had to be called for that date. Then the question of the date for the campaign conference arose. The first Sunday in January was too early. The JNF jubilee dinner was scheduled for Sunday, January 10th, and therefore the 17th was fixed for the Campaign Conference.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that the Washington affair was intended to be private. He added that a letter has been received from the President in connection with the Pro-Palestine Committee, and he telephoned Mr. Rhoads to secure a message from the White House for the campaign conference, as well as having cabled to London and Palestine for greetings to the New York conference. Finally Mr. Neumann reiterated that in his opinion the Washington conference of a chosen group will not actually conflict with the campaign conference.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The discussion reverted to the American-Palestine Campaign for next year.

Mr. Szold asked for suggestions regarding an Administrative, Finance and Executive Committee of the campaign, and their composition.

Mr. Rucker suggested that there should be an Executive of six or seven persons, three of whom should constitute a Finance Committee.

Mr. Neumann suggested that the Administrative Committee should set up a Finance Committee and an Executive Committee and work in conjunction with the Finance Committee. He added that normally the officers constitute the Executive Committee, but in this instance some of the officers do not function.

HADASSAH-ZOA RELATIONS COMMITTEE:

With further reference to the Committee on Hadassah-ZOA relations, Mr. Szold stated that as he understands it, the Committee has met but is not yet ready to bring in recommendations.

Mr. Rocker reported that the Committee met once and must have at least one more meeting before the next meeting of the Administrative Committee. He had been asked by the committee to take this matter up with Hadassah. Subsequently a meeting of the National Board of Hadassah took place at the home of Mrs. Brodie. He telephoned there and was informed by Mrs. Rosensohn that the position of Hadassah is unaltered in this matter, that they will not contribute to the ZOA any more than had been authorized by the Hadassah Convention; viz, 50% affiliation fee and 25% this year toward the deficit, that their representation must remain unaltered, namely one for every fifty members, that the ZOA should either be prepared to accept or they are prepared to secede, because this is their attitude and it is irrevocable.

Mr. Lipsky then stated that he refused to serve on a committee which is confronted with such fixed conditions.

It was pointed out that it is imperative to settle this matter especially in view of the fact that Hadassah is withholding its payments to the ZOA pending settlement. Moreover this sum will amount to approximately \$4500 by the end of January is most urgently needed.

Mr. Lipsky suggested that the statement of Mr. Rocker that he had called Mrs. Rosensohn and informed what the position of Hadassah in the matter is and that it is unalterable, should be put on record, and that the matter be brought up at the next meeting of the Administrative Committee.

Judge Mack pointed out that Mrs. Rosenoshn spoke as an individual and her statement should be so regarded.

Mr. Szold reported that he ~~xx~~ has been informed that Hadassah yesterday appointed a committee to meet with the ZOA committee, and therefore Mr. Goldberg should immediately summon a meeting of the ZOA committee and then meet with the committee from Hadassah.

Meeting adjourned 10:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

IDA FLATOW
For the Secretary

Feb. 8th, 1932

Mr. Robert Szold,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Szold:-

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 5th, as well as the minutes of the Organization Committee of the American Palestine Campaign which was held Feb. 3d, 1932.

I note the statement in the minutes, "it was decided to accept the offer of Rabbi Silver to act as Chairman for the Middle West, and plans with reference thereto are to be formulated in conjunction with Dr. Silver."

I am a total loss to understand this action of the Committee. At our informal conference luncheon which you, Judge Mack and others attended, I outlined a definite plan of re-organization for the American Palestine Campaign. This called for a division of the country into three or four autonomous regions, each one to be headed by a chairman and each region to be self-governing. This proposal was in keeping with my general position which I have endeavored to advocate for some time now, namely the decentralization of all Zionist effort in this country.

My plans for the American Palestine Campaign did not call for any Central Executive Committee in New York to plan the Campaign for the whole of the United States, such as you have now established; nor for a chairman of such a committee who would be the national head.

I most certainly do not accept the proffered chairmanship of the Middle West unless my plan is accepted in toto and at least two other chairmen appointed, one to organize the campaigns in New York and in New England and the other in the South.

I am suggesting a new and radical departure in our method of work. I should like to see it tried both for the sake of the Campaign and for the future organization of Zionism in America. I am not willing to accept responsibility for the Middle West within the frame-work of the old setup.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

MAX RHOADE
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
UNION TRUST BUILDING
FIFTEENTH AND H STREETS, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 27, 1932.

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

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I was indeed pleased to receive your note about the White House reception and was delighted that you had an opportunity to speak to both Curtis and Wilbur. So many things have been claiming my attention since you were here, that I have been unable to drop you an acknowledgment earlier.

I certainly enjoyed our interesting chat, and am only sorry that you didn't write me in advance of your coming, so that I could set aside more time. I should like to have shown Mrs. Silver and yourself something of Washington.

I know you will be very happy to learn that the initial phase of organization - that of obtaining the three honorary presidents - has now been successfully accomplished. They are Vice President Curtis, Senator Borah and Senator Swanson. All have accepted. The latter is the ranking Democratic minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and will succeed Borah if the Democrats get control of the Senate. We are now planning an organization meeting, and then the work of the Committee itself will be undertaken. Unfortunately, Mr. Neumann left before financial arrangements for the work were completed. I expect to hear from him about this soon.

With sincerest personal regards, I remain

Cordially yours,

Max Rhoades

MR/s

C O P Y

Rabbi Silder

High Commissioner's Office,
Jerusalem.

23rd April, 1932

Dear Dr. Arlosoroff,

You have now received official notification that the Government has authorised a Labour Immigration Schedule of 1500 men and 500 women for the current half-yearly period.

The Jewish Agency had asked for 2,688 men and 1,035 women, in the expectation of considerable expansion in Jewish industry and agriculture. You may be sure that Government assigned full value to the reasons which the Agency gave in support of this expectation, particularly in regard to work in the colonies and the "1000 families' scheme"; but on the whole it did not feel confident that development would be so rapid or so extensive as you anticipate.

For example, the Agency proposed the entry of 735 men for Government works, and 290 for Municipal Works. Owing to financial stringency, it has not become necessary to curtail the programme of public works for this year, and municipal budgets are affected in the same way. Government felt obliged, therefore, to reduce your proposals under this head very considerably.

Again, the Agency asked for 500 women for small employers and as working-women class relatives. So far as seemed justifiable, some provision for this class of immigrants was allowed for under the major head of industrial development; and the needs of small employers can be supplied from the reserve, outside the schedule, which is held by the Director, Department of Immigration. The Agency's proposal had therefore to be cut down.

Yours very sincerely,

(sgd) ARTHUR WAUCHOPE

Dr. Arlosoroff
Jerusalem.

C O P Y

Government of Palestine,
Chief Secretary's Office,
Jerusalem, Palestine.

19th April, 1932.

Gentlemen,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. Pol/380/32 of the 31st March, 1932, regarding the deportation of Tuvia Leib Kapen-Krieger and his family from Palestine, and to inform you that it is not proposed to deport him and that he will be registered as an immigrant under the next available Labour Immigration Schedule.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

(sgd) MAX NUROCK.

For Chief Secretary.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency
JERUSALEM.

MAYERBERG RAPS SAMUEL'S STUDY

DEPLORES CRITICISM OF THE CHARACTER OF MAURICE SAMUEL'S NEW BOOK

*Defends Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
and David A. Brown Against Se-
vere Critical Stricture in Work*

In a review last Friday night of "Jews on Approval," the much-discussed recent book from the pen of Maurice Samuel, Rabbi Samuel S. Mayerberg in his pulpit address deplored the work, stating that he did "not believe it worthy of the time necessary for its reading." He expressed regret that Maurice Samuel, who he stated was capable of finer works, should have written such a book.

In the course of his discussion he stated: "Maurice Samuel was suffering from mental dyspepsia when he wrote the book." Mayerberg stated that Samuel "has brought with him from foreign shores to America, along with erudition, a Ghetto complex. He seems to dislike, with a very few notable exceptions, other Jews in America — except Maurice Samuel." According to Rabbi Mayerberg the writer's attitude as revealed in his book, summed up briefly, is that for Jewish life to reach its destination, worship is not to be regarded but rather "an atheistic, political Zionism."

According to this review from the pulpit of Temple B'nai Jehudah, "the only good portions of the book have been lifted from the writings of scholarly men, such as Ludwig Lewisohn, to whom for such portions he seems particularly indebted." Continuing, he said: "I could have forgiven this author if he had shown one iota of originality, if he could again bring the Jew to the realization of his significance. He accuses every Jew of ingratiating himself with his Christian neighbors."

Rabbi Mayerberg objected to the generality of Samuel's attack, stating that "if he had taken certain sections of the rabbinate and analyzed them, had said certain rabbis were hypocrites and certain Jewish leaders unworthy, I might then have agreed with him. It is when he lumps all together that he makes his charges absurd."

The speaker then launched into eloquent eulogies of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and David A. Brown, both of whom were particular targets in "Jews on Approval." He read portions of Rabbi Silver's article in The American Hebrew of March 18, which is titled: "Rabbi Silver Answers a Zionist Carpet-Bagger."

In his concluding words Rabbi Mayerberg stated that if an anti-Semite had written such a book, Maurice Samuel would have been the first to have condemned its unfairness.

THE JEWISH CHRONICLE

THE JEWISH CHRONICLE PRINTED IN KANSAS

KANSAS CITY, MAY 6, 1932

The Commercialized Rabbi

The Chapter of "JEWS ON APPROVAL"
That Shook American Jewry.

By MAURICE SAMUEL

(By special arrangement with Liveright, Inc., Publishers of "Jews On Approval," the Seven Arts Feature Syndicate presents this extract of Maurice Samuel's book, which has aroused more discussion among Jews than anything written during the last decade.—The Editor.)

The first requisite of the Westernizing, and particularly of the Americanizing rabbi, is not that he shall be a scholar or an intellectual leader, though it is expected of him that he shall be able to do oral book reviews. He must, in the first line, be an orator of the yearful, mystic type. In the latter case his congregation, being well-to-do and progressive, also demands that he be intellectually presentable to the outside world, that is, that he shall be at home on Rotarian and City Club platforms not less than in the pulpit. He must have a good word for the higher executive, the advertising expert, the bond salesman and the banker. Nothing pleases an Americanizing Jewish community more than to be possessed of a rabbi who is called frequently to address the local Chamber of Commerce and the business men's council, and no rabbi feels his position to be secure until he has received several such calls.

Occasionally it is thought pretty to have a rabbi who is something of a liberal—at most, however, enough of one to act as the vicarious conscience of the rich. The patriotism of the rabbi must be not only above suspicion (this goes without saying) but vociferous and vigilant. As a Jew he must be an internationalist, as an American, a jingo. In between wars he may be sympathetic to pacifism. But the restriction is retroactive; he must not speak disrespectfully even of past wars in which America was engaged.

The tasks and qualifications of the rabbi do not end here. His outlook must be made to pervade all the activities for which the Temple is a center. He must see to it that in the Sunday School little Jews learn how little they need learn in order to be full-fledged carriers of "the mission." There are men's clubs and sisterhoods, lecture courses and civic affairs. There are also births, deaths and marriages, visits to the leading congregants, and relations with the local press. Finally, there is the ever-present "drive."

A rabbi who is successful in these many roles can hardly have the time, even if he has the inclination, for intellectual pursuits. He must be content with the training which he has brought with him from the seminary; if he can manage, from heavy, scrappy reading and fake research, to put together a book or two, he is giving more than is expected of him, and he achieves an unusual eminence in his profession.

Since the oratory of the rabbi is his outstanding qualification, it provides an important index to the sort of thing which goes down well as modern Judaism. It is not the natural oratory of a speaker excited by his subject, but the trained product of the eloquence schools. The voice betrays the throat effect of lessons in chest, throat and uvula management, while the graceful gestures reflect in their turn the many hours spent before the mirror. I like to picture myself one of the young aspirants to rabbinic honors, watching himself deliver the solemn phrase: "The mission of Israel is to spread peace, harmony and brotherhood among the nations." Right foot advanced ten inches, body turned slightly to the left, right hand raised mystically, forefinger pointing to heaven, left arm bent at the elbow, hand clenched passionately, head lowered somewhat, eyes flashing from under drawn eyebrows: "The mission of Israel is to spread peace, harmony and brotherhood among the nations." No, that won't do. Body at attention, head slightly back, expression dreamy, voice pianissimo: "The mission of Israel is to spread peace, harmony and brotherhood among the nations." No, not quite, especially as in that position he cannot make sure of the effect in the mirror. Try again. Feet apart, body bent forward in tense poise, right hand clenched in the palm of the left, face contracted, diaphragm stop pulled, face full thunder. "The mission of Israel is to spread peace, harmony and brotherhood among the nations!" Good! He's got it! The delighted young apostle repeats the pose, the expression, the tone. That'll knock 'em! He sees himself in the years to come standing thus, yearful, mystic and yet masterful, at the focus of attention of a vast, thrilled throng of worshippers. He sees himself swaying their hearts and their heads; now changing from the diaphanous to the vox humana, now pleading, now exhorting, now breaking the intolerable tension with a near little pulpit (just to show he is in perfect control) and now sweeping upward again on the wings

of his fantasy. He sees himself a headliner in the press; he sees himself pulling down twenty thousand a year, and making ten thousand more on the side in perquisites and lectures. Who shall say that such skill is not worth thirty thousand dollars a year? And who shall impugn the sincerity of this young rabbi? He has practiced sincerity before a mirror for many years, and his brand of it must be superior to every other. No one questions the sincerity of a movie-star. Why challenge the sincerity of a Rabboluh Valentino of the pulpit? But if practice has not made his sincerity perfect, he has the most cogent reason in the world for mystic faith. He is the last authentic representative of the miracle workers. He is the only man who can pray for six hundred dollars a week—and get it.

Some years ago, at a Young Judea dinner, it was my good fortune to peak from the same platform with the leading exponent of the higher and ether type of rabbinism. For fifteen minutes a crowd of us—watched a young man struggle with himself in an effort to bring the tears to his own eyes. If not for the sporting element one of us doubted whether he could do it in less than half an hour; the spectacle would have been painful. He got about it through the medium of pogrom story. It was not the straight ritual of disaster which brought the ppy climax; he failed there. The triumphant device was the repetition of a simple phrase: "And they walked and the bimah saying Shema Yisroel." The orator repeated this over and over again, his voice getting thinner and fainter and fluter and yearning, till at last two tears got them.

(Continued on page 8.)

THE KANSAS CITY JEW

The Commercialized Rabbi

(Continued from page 1.)

selves on to the rim of his eyes and rolled down his cheeks. With an effort I restrained myself from jumping up and shouting excitedly: "O. K. Silver! You can go on."

I have alluded by name to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland because, as the most successful young rabbi in America, he is at once the type, the symbol and the inspiration of his school. His example has done more to mould the aspirations and ideals of young rabbis than any other single influence of this decade. In his Alger-book career "From Rags to Riches," no careless blunder of youthful enthusiasm, no rash espousal of a dangerous cause, has ever interrupted the smooth upward incline. Dr. Silver is "safe." His Zionism is thoughtfully modulated and held in admirable restraint. His views on the functions of religion (see his Religion in a Changing World), wherever intelligible, indicate a general faith in what Joyce calls "the Almightiness of the Almighty" and a hope that the working classes will not fly off the handle. No money-lender or employer of labor was ever stung into a moment of self-searching by a rude hint that he Jewish mission of social justice was some sort of personal application. Adored alike by his congregation and the mass of Americanizing Jews, hailed from coast to coast as a "Young Prophet in Israel" and "God-sent leader of his people," pursued by the same strain even into Jerusalem, where a lady nearly flung herself on his bosom with the words, "you great big, beautiful rabbi," prosperous and scholarly (with a thick prosperity and a thin scholarship), he represents to a host of more obscure laborers in the vineyard the apotheosis of the rabbinic career.

Rabbi Silver Replies

We are in receipt of a marked copy of the "American Hebrew and Jewish Tribune" of New York, referring to a reply by Rabbi Abba Silver of Cleveland to an attack made upon him by Maurice Samuel in his book, "Jews on Approval." We are sorry that Dr. Silver dignified Samuel's statements by answering them. Rabbi Abba H. Silver is too well known to world Jewry, and he enjoys a reputation that no amount of mud slinging, even from such a distinguished source as Maurice Samuel, can have the slightest possible effect. Dr. Silver is a scholar of the first order, and a pulpitier second to none in the whole world of Jewry. His reply follows:

"Mr. Samuel does not like my oratory. He does not like my scholarship. He does not like my book. He does not like my Zionism. He does not even like my salary. Had he expressed an additional dislike for my pompadour and my neckties the catalogue would have been complete. In fact from reading this book I received a distinct impression that Mr. Samuel does not like me . . .

must record the sad fact that I have never studied elocution. I regret that I didn't. Perhaps it is not too late. Perhaps Mr. Samuel would undertake to teach me . . ."

We are not so much interested in what Mr. Samuel has to say about Dr. Silver's oratory, but we do know that Dr. Stephen Wise believes that as an orator Dr. Silver has no peer, and he has so expressed himself. All this sort of thing makes a holiday for the "kibitzer," who delights to see ill-feeling expressed in print. In the meantime, Dr. Silver need not concern himself about such criticism as Samuel's. He can easily afford to brush it aside.

—Charles H. Joseph, Jr., N. Y. C.

"Why doesn't Mr. Samuel like me? That is an interesting question. There are other rabbis in the country whose oratory is quite as bad as mine, whose scholarship is quite as 'thin,' whose books are quite as 'unintelligible' (though not quite as extensively read), whose salaries are quite as large and whose prosperity is quite as 'thick.' Why did Mr. Samuel single me out for this Tartar 'mi sheberach' of his?"

"The sad tale must now be told, gentle reader. When Mr. Samuel was an employee of the Zionist Organization of America, drawing a salary of \$7,500 a year (plus railroad and traveling expenses, plus compensation for every article contributed to 'The New Palestine'), for making speeches and otherwise sacrificing himself for the cause, I suggested that his salary should be reduced, inasmuch as the Organization was operating at a tremendous deficit. This Mr. Samuel has never forgiven me. It has been 'burning him up.' For some years now he has been going the rounds of towns and kibbitzaries like a poor monger sniffing for scraps of scandal, malicious wise-cracks and derisive words waiting for a day of reckoning. His baffled wrath has now found vent in a pasquinade, written with the del skill of a longshoreman and with the breeding of a—Samuel.

"Any man who, like myself, has been in active public life for more than a decade and a half will accumulate enough enemies to last him a lifetime. I have my share of them. But Mr. Samuel has been among my most persistent and virulent enemies, goaded on by a hate—and a jealousy—quite pathological. Whenever I have a controversy with a man in public life, Mr. Samuel promptly injects himself into the scene, an uninvited combatant. Wherever there is a circle where a particular brand of anti-Silverian would be welcome, he is on hand with his little bucket . . ."

"One cannot really quarrel with Mr. Samuel's tastes in oratory. 'Chact a son gout.' He does not like my style of speaking? Niche! He thinks that I am the nearest rival to Dr. Stephen Wise, 'who at his best, leaves Silver nowhere.' Well, that should be very comforting to Dr. Wise and should make Mr. Samuel's job as contributing editor to the magazine edited by Dr. Wise's son more secure and more remunerative. But for the sake of 'historical accuracy'—as my old, loved professor, Dr. Gotthard Deutscher, used to say—and for the enlightenment of generations yet unborn,

July 6th, 1932

Miss Mildred Chadsey,
Adult Education Association,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Miss Chadsey:-

In reply to your kind letter of July 5th, permit me to say that during the year 1931-2 the Temple carried on the following adult education activities:

1. 12 Monday evening lectures on the subject "Modern Trends in Civilization" in which Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Stuart Chase, Norman Angell, Hamilton Holt and others participated. (Program is enclosed herewith.) The lecture lasted one hour and was followed by a half hour question period. Average attendance 600.
2. A series of 10 Friday morning lectures by Rabbi Silver on the subject "The Ten Outstanding Personalities in Jewish History." Average attendance 175.
3. A Wednesday evening Study group under the direction of Rabbi Silver; a more intimate group and a less formal presentation of movements and personalities in Jewish history. Average attendance 40.
4. Thursday evening study group under the direction of Rabbi Feuer; a discussion of books of Jewish interest of contemporary authors. Average attendance 35.
5. Four open meetings during the year under the auspices of the Temple Women's Association addressed by national figures. Average attendance 750.
6. Three open meetings during the year of the Temple Men's Club, addressed by out-of-town guest speakers. Average attendance 300.
7. Sunday afternoon forum conducted by the Temple Alumni Association. Average attendance 250.

I trust that the above information is what you want.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

AHS/IR

החמדתור הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



TELEPHONE
ALGONQUIN 4-3600

111 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS
ZIONISTS
BENTLEY'S CODE

MORRIS ROTHENBERG,
PRESIDENT

ROBERT SZOLD,
WILLIAM M. LEWIS,
ELIHU D. STONE,
VICE-PRESIDENTS

HARRY P. FIERST,
TREASURER

LOUIS P. ROCKER,
CHAIRMAN, FINANCE COMMITTEE

July 13th, 1932

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am pleased to inform you officially that at the Thirty-Fifth Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, held in Philadelphia last week, you were elected a member of the National Executive Committee, and we hope you will serve the Zionist Cause in this important capacity.

You will be duly advised of the first meeting of the Committee. In the meantime you will be kept informed of such plans as will be formulated by the Administrative Committee for the conduct of the affairs of the Zionist Organization of America during the coming year.

You were elected on this important body because of your reputation and ability to serve our cause, particularly at this juncture in the affairs of our Organization when we are confronted with so many serious problems. I hope and expect therefore that your membership on the National Executive will not be confined to attendance of meetings of the Committee, but that constantly and day by day you will be adding to the strength of the Zionist Organization by obtaining new members, by giving thought to the development of a Zionist youth movement, by initiating and carrying on cultural activities having a bearing on Palestine, by assisting the fund-raising institutions for Palestine, by creating favorable public opinion in Jewish and non-Jewish circles in your community; in other words by personally aiding in creating in your community both moral and material values which may be of service in our efforts directed toward the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

I earnestly trust that during the coming year, we shall be able to count upon your active assistance in all of the matters mentioned and in carrying forward those policies which shall be decided upon by the Administration.

If you have any suggestions with regard to the work for the coming year I should be most happy to hear from you.

With cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Morris Rothenberg
President

הלל אבא הילל סילבר
התקבל
1933 חג 20 1932

1932 20A 7/12 7/24/32 - 136/50

[1932]

1. RESOLVED THAT it is the function of the Zionist Organization of America to build up a favorable public opinion through the written, as well as oral word, in order that the political aims of the Zionist movement may be thoroughly understood and accepted.
2. RESOLVED THAT in each Zionist unit affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America there shall be designated one or more individuals with whom the Zionist Organization of America may be in contact on matters of political interest, to the end, further, that through such person or persons each unit may be informed of political developments within the orbit of the Zionist movement; and secondly, that the communities of which the Zionist unit is a part may be informed and thirdly, the Zionist Organization may, through such designee issue statements as may be necessary from time to time, to help crystallize public opinion.
3. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America shall work in close harmony with the Bureau established by the American Economic Committee for Palestine, and shall make utmost use of the information with respect to Palestine that has been and will be accumulated by the Bureau, to the end that Jews may avail themselves of the economic opportunities offered by Palestine, and thus associate themselves with the economic rehabilitation of the Jewish National Home.
4. RESOLVED THAT every Zionist unit appoint an Economic Committee through which information of economic interest in Palestine may flow directly from the Zionist Organization of America to the Jewish community, of which the unit is a part. It shall be the duty of such Economic Committees to stimulate interest among Jews to settle in Palestine individually or in groups; to establish a registry of Jews who desire to go to Palestine with the understanding that such registry shall be maintained at the National Headquarters of the Zionist Organization of America; to encourage the purchase of products made in Palestine; to foster a desire among Jews to visit Palestine; to arrange tourist groups properly supplied with adequately trained lecturers and guides; and also to form groups of students to visit Palestine during their vacation periods; to encourage Jews to invest in Palestine in sound enterprises.
5. RESOLVED THAT it shall be the function of the Zionist Organization of America to so direct its educational activities as to inculcate in the minds of our people the need for a Homeland, to disseminate information on the results of our efforts in Palestine, and to bring home to the Jewish people in the Diaspora the cultural values being created in Palestine; as well as to make Jews conscious of the value of Palestine as a moral force in their struggle to maintain their position in the Galuth.
6. RESOLVED THAT it shall be considered a function of the Zionist Organization to foster the organization of study circles, Hebrew speaking clubs, Jewish history groups, and other groups which will devoted themselves to acquainting their members with Jewish history, Jewish tradition, culture, literature and language.
that
7. RESOLVED THAT/a special period be set aside each year during which the endeavor shall be made to enlist as many Jews as possible in the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America.

RESOLUTION ON YOUTH

8. In order that the Zionist movement in America may enjoy continuing life and expanding influence, the Zionist Organization of America shall forthwith devote itself to the organization of youth groups in every community throughout the United States, as follows:

- A. Members of such groups shall be between the ages of 18 and 25
- B. In communities where there are Junior Hadassah groups already in existence, such groups shall consist only of young men.
- C. Each member of such group shall contribute to the Zionist Organization of America \$1 per annum which shall include his Shekel.
- D. Each member of such group who passes the age of 25 shall automatically become a member of the Zionist Organization of America.
- E. Such groups shall be entitled to representation at Conventions of the Zionist Organization of America at the rate of 1 delegate to every 100 members.
- F. The work of such groups shall be very closely integrated with the work of other Zionist groups within their vicinity.
- G. Wherever a Junior Hadassah group is already in existence there shall be joint meetings between the Junior Hadassah group and the youth groups, and a joint Board, representative of both groups shall be designated in order to effect cooperation between the two groups whenever the needs of the movement demand it.
- H. As soon as, in the opinion of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, a sufficient number of groups have been organized a conference shall be called for the purpose of forming a national federation of such youth groups.

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS - HADASSAH, ORDER SONS OF ZION

9. RESOLVED THAT the status quo be maintained with the exception that the understanding that has prevailed in the past with Hadassah with reference to the election of delegates to the Zionist Congress shall be altered so that in those years when there will not be a general election for delegates to the Congress, Hadassah shall have the right to name the number of delegates to which it is entitled but never in any case exceeding one half such agreed list of general Zionists, with the proviso, however, that Hadassah may designate men as well as women as its delegates.

INCLUSIVE DUES

10.

- a. The organization of a Zionist Palestinian contributors Club, the members of which shall pay a single annual contribution for all American Zionist and Palestinian purposes, either according to the percentages allocated on the membership card, or varied according to

the wishes of the donor, on the specific basis that if he contributes a minimum hereafter to be decided upon and allocates it according to the general plan of the division, he is to be held free of all appeals from all the organizations benefitted for that year. The card shall also state the percentage allotted to expense of canvass and collection.

- b. Said contributors club shall be operated by the Z.O.A. which however shall not put non-Zionists or Zionists desiring party affiliations under the obligation of joining it.
- c. That the canvass for such club be organized beginning July 15 and put into simultaneous action in all parts of the United States by September 15th and completed by December 31, 1932.
- d. That for fiscal arrangements the Treasurers of the American branch of the Jewish Agency, of the J.N.F. receive jointly with the Treasurer of the Z.O.A. all funds and distribute them according to the allocations arranged regularly.

- 11. RESOLVED THAT all fund-raising for Palestinian purposes, such as the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, as well as other activities, carried on under Zionist auspices, be coordinated with a view to eliminating duplication of effort and expense and competition of appeal; and that the incoming Administration be instructed to effect such coordination as one of its prime duties.
- 12. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America endorse the principle of specific responsibility for a specific piece of work in Palestine, so that American Jewry may feel a close personal connection with the actual building of the Jewish National Home and thereby (a) we make the fund-raising more effective and (b) stimulate an increased interest in the Organization; that to this end, the American representatives on the Actions Committee and the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency be instructed to endeavor to secure from the appropriate bodies of the Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency, at their coming meetings, their approval to the allocation to America of a definite piece of work in Palestine within the Jewish Agency budget.
- 13. RESOLVED THAT the Zionist Organization of America endorse the principle of specific responsibility for a specific piece of work in Palestine so that American Jewry may feel a close personal connection with the actual building of the Jewish National Home; and to this end, that Zionist units (whether Districts or other groups) be encouraged to assume responsibility for a specific economic undertaking in Palestine under the guidance of the American Economic Committee for Palestine.

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The sharp contrast between the situation of the Jews in the Diaspora and the Yishub has become increasingly evident. While Zionists in the Diaspora, because of the world-wide economic upheaval, have been forced to struggle against great odds, we find that Palestine is definitely going forward. In the Yishub as a whole there is a feeling of buoyancy, a surge of self-confidence. Industry is expanding, agriculture and horticulture are making progress. No unemployment problem exists. Fresh capital comes into the land. The Fifth Levant Fair surpassed all its predecessors in the variety of goods displayed and purchased, and in the number of visitors attracted. The Maccabiad was a unique event, which served not merely to demonstrate Jewish prowess on the athletic field, however important that may be, but even more as a welding force for those who came from far and near to participate in and to witness the games, as well as for all sections of the entire Palestine populace. Palestine Potash, Ltd., the Company which holds the concession for extracting the mineral salts from the Dead Sea, is ahead of schedule. The hydro-electric power station of the Palestine Electric Corporation has been placed in operation, and is turning the wheels of industry. The laying of the pipe-line from the Mosul oil fields from Mesopotamia is expected to begin next spring and the construction of the huge oil reservoirs of the Irak Petroleum Company in the Haifa Bay area will commence shortly. The

Haifa Harbor, which when completed will be equal to any port on the Mediterranean, will be ready early in 1933. Culturally and spiritually the Yishub is attaining new high standards. No wonder then that every visitor to Erets Yisroel is deeply impressed with the freshness, the enthusiasm and the creative activity displayed, a condition which is particularly striking when compared with the deep gloom that appears to have enveloped the whole of the Diaspora.

While the actual number of immigration certificates to laborers authorized by the Government of Palestine for the current six months--2,000--in the history of our movement may not be a matter of great moment, the fact that such official finding as to opportunities for additional immigrant workers can now be made for Palestine, whereas it probably could not be made for any country in which Jews live in numbers in the Diaspora, shows the unsuspected actual possibilities of our sacred land.

The situation with reference to the Yishub as a whole, however, is far different from that of the institutions dependent upon the Jewish Agency budget. The budget is dependent upon Keren Hayesod collections in the Diaspora. The effects of the world-wide catastrophe have become intensified since the last Convention. We know only too well that Jewish life has been completely disrupted in the whole of Eastern Europe. We know that Hitlerism is a menace that strikes at the very roots of German Jewry, exposing our people in Germany to the danger of medieval fanaticism. America is, after all one of the few bright spots in the Diaspora. Here again the effects of the general economic depression have become aggravated in recent months in geometric progression. Synagogues, schools, community centres, all communal activities, are especially affected. Despite the fact that Zionist sentiment has increased, so that Palestine^{is}/today receiving increased recognition in accordance with its merits, and despite the fact that full energies were poured into the American Palestine Campaign, it has been so far impossible to meet the budget which

was adopted last year by the Jewish Agency, and many of the important functions of the Agency in Palestine are of necessity severely curtailed.

Politically the Organization has experienced a period of respite as compared with previous years. The new High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, has taken office. A new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister, is in charge in London. Early in January of this year, on the occasion of the first public reception in America tendered to Nahum Sokolow, President of the Jewish Agency, Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister, sent a message to Mr. Sokolow reiterating in most unequivocal terms, Great Britain's determination to fulfill its obligations in conformity with the spirit as well as the letter of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

Whereas during the half-year period ending April 1, 1932 the Government of Palestine granted only 350 immigration certificates for workmen for the succeeding half year, as has been stated, 2,000 such certificates were granted. For immigrants of moderate means, the minimum amount of capital required is still £1,000. A new classification has been set up which permits an immigrant with £1500 to enter the country, but this is subject to certain administrative discretion. The British Consul in New York now issues visas to applicants of independent means directly without referring such applications to Palestine, as was formerly the irritating, dilatory practice.

One of the last acts of Lord Passfield, former Secretary of State for the Colonies, prior to his resignation, was the appointment of Louis French to the post of Director of Development. It was understood that his function was to determine the number of so-called "displaced Arabs" in Palestine, in accordance with the letter sent by Premier MacDonald to Dr. Weizmann in February, 1931, and to make recommendations for the disposition of the proceeds of the proposed development loan. The nature of Mr. French's report, which has been the subject of much rumor and speculation, has not yet been made public. It will no doubt be the principal matter for consideration at the coming meetings of

the Actions Committee and of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency which are to be held in July.

In general the attitude of the Jewish Agency Executive has been that of watchful waiting. The Prime Minister's letter to Dr. Weizmann of February, 1931, has not been implemented in the manner and to the degree to which we had been led to expect. The critical test will arise on the occasion of the report of Mr. French, and the government's attitude with respect thereto. A report by Mr. French, of course, does not necessarily represent the official program or attitude of the government.

Since the last Convention, we have witnessed notable acts evidencing sympathetic understanding on the part of non-Jewish friends of the movement. In England, the Parliamentary Pro-Palestine Committee is functioning. Col. John Buchan, the novelist, and Col. Josiah Wedgwood, among other leaders of the British Parliamentary Pro-Palestine Committee, have publicly stated their position. In this country, the Pro-Palestine Federation with headquarters in Chicago, under the leadership of Charles Edward Russell and a group of distinguished men, have issued a monthly, called "Pro-Palestine Herald". The American Palestine Committee has been organized, consisting of about sixty non-Jews occupying posts of great importance in public life, under the leadership of Vice-President Curtis and Senators Borah and Swanson as Honorary Chairmen and Senator King as active Chairman, Representative Hamilton Fish, Jr., Vice-Chairman, Mr. William Hard, Secretary, Mr. William R. Hopkins of Cleveland, Treasurer, and an Executive Committee consisting of Senator Royal S. Copeland, Senator J. Hamilton Lewis, Senator Robert F. Wagner, and Dr. Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation of the Department of Interior. Meetings of the members of the American Palestine Committee in Washington have been addressed by Mr. Sokolow, by Emanuel Neumann, American Member of the Jewish Agency Executive, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Judge Julian W. Mack.

The great disparity between the large numbers of Zionist sympathizers in this country and the limited number of actual dues paying members becomes apparent from a review of the membership statistics. On June 15, 1932, the total membership of the Zionist Organization of America was divided as follows:

Z.O.A. members
 Hadassah
 Order Sons of Zion

The corresponding figures for June 15, 1931 are:

Z.O.A. members
 Hadassah
 Order Sons of Zion

These members were distributed in communities in the United States. Since the last Convention new Districts have been organized in cities and towns. Existing Districts in many cities have increased their numerical strength. In New York City and most Districts, however, there has been a decline. Throughout the country, complaint has been voiced during recent months that the regular \$6 dues are too high. Proposals will no doubt be laid before the Convention for reduction of dues and for special classes of members on a lower dues basis.

Attendance at District meetings during the past year has been larger than in former years.

The Youth Zionist Organization was recognized for the Metropolitan area. The Administrative Committee formulated rules for affiliation of youth organizations in the future.

A Sub-Committee of the Administrative Committee, known as the Plan and Scope Committee, with Abraham Goldberg, as Chairman, has been at work for some weeks on this matter, as well as on the entire form of Organizations, the basis of membership and the relation of the affiliated bodies. As a result of the deliberations of this sub-committee, the Administrative Committee will lay before

the Convention a number of concrete proposals for readjustment of the form of Organization, and plans for activities for the coming year.

Owing to budgetary restrictions, propaganda has necessarily been curtailed to a minimum. The Organization was assisted by the presence of Mr. Sokolow, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, and for a short period by Sir Norman Angell, who visited this country primarily in the interests of the American Palestine Campaign, and by Lord Noll and Mr. Rennie Smith.

The American Palestine Campaign was organized for 1932 at a Conference held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on January 17th. Hadassah and the Jewish National Fund joined with the Keren Hayesod in a united effort for Palestine.

Mr. Louis Lipsky has served most effectively as National Chairman of the Campaign and together with him the following have served as Associate Chairmen: Judge William M. Lewis, James Marshall, Morris Rothenberg, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, and Nathan Straus, Jr.

Up to June 22nd a total of \$ had been raised towards which sum Hadassah had contributed \$ and the Jewish National Fund \$.

The form of Organization since the last Convention has been a Board of Officers which has been responsible for the day to day work, consisting of the following ten persons: Judge Julian W. Mack, Louis Lipsky, Stephen S. Wise, Robert Szold, Morris Rothenberg, Abba Hillel Silver, William M. Lewis, Jacob deHaas, Harry P. Fierst, Louis P. Rucker. The members of the Finance Committee are: Louis P. Rucker, Chairman, Harry P. Fierst, Edward Friedman, Isidore Goldberg, Abram Liebovitz, Clarence Y. Palitz, Samuel J. Rosensohn, Sigmund Thau, Joseph Weiss, Philip Wattenberg. We take this occasion to voice our deep regret over the death of our friend and colleague, Philip Wattenberg.

The following are the members of the Administrative Committee of 45: Mrs. I. Adlerblum, Miss Juliette Benjamin, Robert Bernstein, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Israel B. Brodie, Bernard S. Deutsch, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Benjamin

Evarts, David Freiburger, Edward Friedman, Louis Germain, Abraham Goldberg, Isidore Goldberg, Israel Goldberg, Abraham Goldstein, Mrs. David Greenberg, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, I. Hassin, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Max D. Klein, Joseph Kraemer, Laurence N. Levine, Rabbi I. H. Levinthal, Morris Margulies, Emanuel Neumann, Rabbi Louis I. Newman, Clarence Y. Palitz, Dr. Nathan Ratnoff, Dr. Abraham Rongy, Samuel J. Rosensohn, J. I. Rudavsky, Hon. Nelson Ruttenberg, Hyman R. Segal, Bernard Shelvin, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Abraham Spickhandler, Hon. Elihu D. Stone, Sigmund Thau, Abraham Tulin, Mrs. A. H. Vixman, Morris Weinberg, Joseph Weiss, Leo Wolfson, Dr. Samuel Wurzel.

In addition there is a National Committee of 122 persons.

The Board of Officers has held 21 meetings, the Administrative Committee has held 8 meetings, and the Finance Committee has met 11 times. The National Committee is composed in part of persons designated at the last Convention and in part of persons elected by the Districts.

Members of the Administration have addressed meetings of the Districts in various parts of the country, but the number of tours arranged for officers and field workers has necessarily been greatly curtailed by the absence of funds. The maintenance of the membership as shown in the accompanying financial report, compares favorably with most other voluntary Jewish organizations at the present time.

In April, arrangements were completed for the organization of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. Two meetings were held to which all American members and deputy members of the Council of the Jewish Agency were invited.

The officers of the American Section of the Jewish Agency are as follows:

Julian W. Mack, Felix M. Warburg, Honorary Chairmen; Cyrus Adler, Stephen S. Wise, Co-Chairmen; Horace Stern, Robert Szold, Vice-Chairmen; Morris Rothenberg, Chairman of the Administrative Committee; James H. Bocker, Meyer L. Brown, Wolf Gold, Mrs. Rose G. Jacobs, Alexander Kahn, Albert H. Lieberman, Louis Lipsky, Solomon Lowenstein, Samuel Schulman, Hugh Grant Straus and Abraham

Tulin, members of the Administrative Committee.

Since the last Convention, financial order has been a matter of prime importance. The Organization, if it is to survive as a worthy instrument of the movement, must release itself from the domination of creditors. In this respect, definite progress may be reported. Mr. Louis P. Rocker, Chairman of the Finance Committee and H. P. Fierst, Treasurer, present elsewhere a detailed re-

view of the financial operations. From the audited statements it appears that the deficit as reported at the last Convention was \$, to which must necessarily be added an item of \$16,000, which was contingently pending since 1927, but was not included in the reported deficit since that time, and which matured in February of this year. In other words, the deficit as of the last report was \$. Today the deficit has been reduced to \$ and the reduction in the amount of the deficit has been \$.

In days such as the present, when most Organizations whether business or non-profit making, are reporting either initial or increased deficits, the ability to make payment on the indebtedness of the Organization, as was done the past year, gives striking evidence of the vitality of the Organization and the loyalty of its members. The principle of a balanced budget was observed. The year was not passed without its crisis. The crisis were met. The Convention may go forward with constructive plans for the ensuing year.

Not the least of the accomplishments during the period under review has been the continuance of the activity for the economic rehabilitation of Palestine, the organization of the American Economic Committee for Palestine under the chairmanship of Israel B. Brodie, and the establishment of offices for the Committee, in New York and in Palestine. The services of both bureaus are available to an increasing number of immigrants, investors, would-be immigrants and would-be investors in Palestine. The Committee, to which the Zionist Organization of America voted an appropriation but was unable to contribute, works in close touch with the Palestine Bureau of the Zionist Organization.

The Committee continues to foster Savings Groups in Zionist circles, to make known economic possibilities in Palestine, and to stimulate and further undertakings which are deemed of importance to the building of the Jewish National Home.

The Zionist Organization has performed a historic task. It must continue as a living force and be strengthened for the accomplishment of its purposes. It should give voice to Zionist opinion from time to time. A cohesive Organization composed of disciplined Zionists will nourish and translate into actuality the inherent longing of the Jewish people for the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home.

The Zionist movement has already achieved such impetus, that the actual form of development in Palestine cannot be forecast. It, no doubt, would be unwise to endeavor to confine within one straight line the infinite variety of the methods of expression by which Jewish ingenuity will succeed in the national development. The Organization, however, may perform a most important function in serving as a coordinating force.

In this process the actual immigration into Palestine of those who desire to go there, looms ever more and more as an immediate possibility. The raising of funds which has occupied so great a portion of Zionist energies in the past is only one of the methods. We must each make our personal contact with Palestine, and if possible, each directly with a specific piece of work in Palestine. The increase of interest in economic activity in Palestine has already been demonstrated as an effective method of increasing the strength of the movement. The knowledge of the opportunities for immigration and for investment have come as a welcome surprise to large numbers of devoted members. Zionists see their ideal not only as a remote dream, but as a more immediate hope for concrete realization. Faith is rekindled by the knowledge of the throbbing self-sustaining happy life in Palestine. The Economic Committee is performing a

distinct service by exhibiting the forces of economic life already at work in Palestine and the greater opportunities in the future. The propaganda of the Zionist Organization of America should be directed more and more to the story of actual life in Palestine.

There is no magic formula by which the Organization may attain that strength which its loyal supporters strive to attain. The solution ultimately of internal organization problems will be found only if a sufficient number of Zionists throughout the country, conscious of their past and of their responsibility for the present, give of themselves in devotion, intelligence and energy. The technical forms of organization are important in that they must permit the maximum measure of these qualities to be exercised. We must try to attain that form of organization and that method of action which shall stimulate to the greatest possible degree the individual from within, and to this end, give him the closest possible personal connection with the actual development of the Jewish National Home.

We are conducting a unique experiment. We are building a nation largely from without. Inner necessity, perhaps incapable of complete rationalization, has caused us to persist as a people, and now drives us on to concrete national achievement. In our work we are translating the age-old aspirations of our people in terms of modern life with intelligence properly applied, ultimate success is assured.

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been active in the movement and are deeply concerned in bringing about a more wholesome condition.

"May I add that I shall be only too happy to render any service to bring about a better understanding within our ranks."

Mabbi Max D. Klein
Chairman, Philadelphia District

REPORT OF MR. EMANUEL NEUMANN:

The Chairman called upon Mr. Emanuel Neumann, member of the World Zionist Executive to report on developments since the Congress.

Mr. Neumann stated as follows:

"I regard my place on the Executive of the World Zionist Organization as indicative of a desire on the part of the American Organization to participate fully and actively in the work of the Executive. I accepted the nomination in Basle at a moment when things there were in a rather confused state. You will recall the discussion in the Permanenzausschuss and the deadlock which continued for days and if the Congress did not dissolve without the election of an Executive, it is due to the determined effort of a number of men who felt that the Movement must be led out of this impasse. Among these was Judge Mack who sat at the Committee meeting from nine o'clock at night until eight o'clock the next morning, and finally an Executive was reported to the Congress.

I hope I can count in the future, as I have been able to enjoy in the past few months, the cooperation of all American Zionists here in the very difficult task which the Executive, and which I, as the American member of the Executive have assumed.

The first point I shall touch upon is really part of the history of the Congress but is of vital importance in understanding the whole situation. Due to the confidential character of the information that was conveyed, it is impossible for me to speak in detail without apparently betraying that confidence, but we ought to know that while the Congress was still in session, two Zionists went from Basle to London and had a conference with a person whose standing and responsibility in Government circles in England was of the highest. They discussed the situation which developed at the Congress, the strong criticism expressed of the British Government and the MacDonal letter as well as of the White Paper, and the likelihood of a change in the complexion of the Zionist Administration as a result of the Congress. These men came away for the Conference with the distinct impression, if not assurance, that the British Government was not going to attempt to exercise any influence in determining the character of the Zionist Administration or leadership and that the Government was prepared to cooperate with any administration which the Zionist Congress and the Jewish Agency would set up. Furthermore a great deal of interest was shown in the deliberations of the Congress, in the nature of the discussion, and it was evident to the majority of the members of the Executive that the attitude taken during this conference and the assurances given with regard to the future were more far-reaching than statements made prior to that conference, and they were under the impression that this was due in part at least to the growing realization

on the part of these men that the feeling among the Jewish people which arose from the White Paper and the Government policy was very widespread and deep-seated. A number of specific questions with regard to the future were discussed, many of them of a kind which depended upon the continuance of the former Government, but all were assured - and this assurance helped considerably to improve the state of mind - that there would be no possibility of new conditions arising because of what might transpire at the Congress. On the contrary, the outlook is for greater collaboration between the Jewish Agency and the Government.

Another matter which I think was important was the session of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations which took place just before the Congress opened. By now the minutes of this session of the Commission are printed, and I would suggest that every member of the Executive Committee get these minutes and read them. I saw an advance copy in Europe and it was a revelation to me. I had been led to believe, as did many others, that the action taken in the spring of 1930, in criticizing the Mandatory Government was an exceptional and unusual action, and that it would be futile to expect the League of Nations to repeat that performance. Anyone who read the minutes of the 1931 session will be impressed by the extent to which the Mandates Commission was willing to go once more in criticizing the whole series of British actions and policies, in terms which I think Zionists - even Zionist Revisionists would not use in negotiations with the British Government. There was a whole series of questions, with regard to immigration, taxation, unfair treatment and discrimination as between Jewish bodies and other bodies. It seems quite clear that the Majority of the Mandates Commission are pro-Zionist, and even the Chairman, whose wife is a Syrian, is quite cautious in making a statement against Zionism. There is one statement in particular in this session of the Mandates Commission which is of outstanding importance, which goes to the very root of the situation, perhaps deeper than any other statement. This statement has to do with the position of the Jews of the world as nationals. Dr. Shiels said that in international law there is no such thing as a Jewish nationality, and the members of the Mandates Commission came back and said, "we could agree to that prior to the issuing of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, but since then there has grown up a status for the Jewish people as a people and nationality in international law". Dr. Shiels came away with the feeling which he must have conveyed to the British Government, that the Mandates Commission was vigilant and would overlook nothing as to any breach of British obligation under the Mandate.

Here are some of the items touched upon in the minutes:

1. Status of the Jewish Agency: Van Rees said that it is doubtful whether the Jewish Agency has played the part which it should have under Article IV of the Mandate which intended that it should play a much more active part, and the British Government should recognize that.

2. Immigration : Instances were given on the part of the Mandates Commission that Jewish immigration is superior to other people, because of the special provision in the Mandate.

3. Taxation: Attention is called to the fact that the Iraq Petroleum Co. is exempt from taxation without regard to the fact that it is a private and money-making institution, while Jews are compelled to pay taxes and duty on all things in Palestine, including even linens sent

by Hadassah to its hospitals in Palestine.

4. British Contribution to the Maintenance of Palestine: The statement had been made that Great Britain had spent £9,000,000, and the question was raised by the Mandates Commission, as to how much of that £9,000,000 was for military and how much for economic and productive purposes. The British Government representative was not sure as to this, and Van Rees said, "Virtually all of it was for military purposes and nothing for productive purposes. The Commission raised the question also of the relative cost of administration in Palestine and in Trans-Jordan and from the answers it appears that Great Britain contributes one-third of the cost of administration in Trans-Jordan and nothing for Palestine.

One gets the impression that in the Mandates Commission we have a fair judge, and that regardless of whatever actual physical power the League may or may not have, its moral power can be relied upon in defense of our just rights under the Mandate.

All this took place during or prior to the Congress. I refer to it because it is a necessary part of the background of the Congress.

A new Executive came into being at the Congress and distributed functions among the members. Brodetsky took the political portfolio in London, and Arlosoroff in Palestine. The suggestion had been made that I should occupy the position formerly held by Kisch in Palestine, but I requested not to be given that but preferred to devote myself to the furtherance of economic work in Palestine rather than political affairs. Senator, the non-Zionist representative on the Jewish Agency, showed himself to be most capable in handling the very difficult financial situation, and he has done everything he could to stave off imminent bankruptcy. Locker took over the Organization Department in London. Berkson is handling the Education Department. Farbstein is going to Palestine in connection with middle-class colonization. Hexter was asked to take over the Colonization Department, but is in charge of the Thousand Family scheme and the administration of the Emergency Fund, besides his general duties as a member of the Executive.

We were, of course, immediately confronted in Basle with the financial situation which was, if anything, more serious than we had learned at the Congress. Not only was there an overwhelming mountain of debt -- £800,000 -- but also part of this debt was in the form of promissory notes, involving local Palestinian institutions in the possibility of bankruptcy because they were weighed down by these obligations. The budget was fixed at £360,000. We tried to cut it down. Since then Senator returned to Palestine, after a conference with Wasserman and others, and the situation in Palestine has required a further cut in the budget. Various proposals have been made for such reductions. Senator has proposed £50,000, including a £20,000 cut in the education budget and £20,000 in the colonization budget. This would involve a large part of the elementary schools and the closing of six or eight colonies in the Emek. The London Executive hoped to get along with a much smaller cut which would involve no closing down, but the Palestine Executive insisted that there had to be drastic cuts. Thus far the cuts amount to £33,000 but in the near future the budget will no doubt have to be cut considerably more. I felt that it was far more feasible to make the largest cut now in order to avoid more tragic liquidation two or three months hence when new debts will be accumulated. Cables

are coming almost hourly from London and Palestine stating that the calamity is almost at hand. They have been able to stave it off a bit thanks to the American Palestine Campaign through the personal efforts of Mr. Morris Rothenberg, and an advance of £7,000 from South Africa on account of the future campaign which will be conducted in the winter with the help of Dr. Weizmann, who has consented to head a delegation to South Africa in the interests of the Keren Hayesod.

The financial situation is not cleared up, and we have been forced into a position where the school situation will have to be taken out of the hands of the Jewish Agency by the Yishub and the Palestine Government and the assistance of others not directly dependent upon the Jewish Agency budget. There has been a serious decline in income due to the world-wide economic depression, and we cannot give them the assurance that the income during the coming year will be better. Even on the basis of the estimate at the Congress as to the amount we could send from America during the coming year, exclusive of the \$400,000 from Hadassah — even if that were assured, which it is not, — the Agency budget as adopted at the Congress cannot be balanced. This situation creates a terrible burden for the Executive, and I regret to say that thus far there has been no sight of any extraordinary assistance available anywhere from private individuals whether here or abroad. An attempt has been made in this country by Mr. Rothenberg, Mr. Szold and myself to approach certain individuals who might possibly be able to help, but thus far with negative results. So that the Executive will be dependent during the next few months very largely upon what we can do here, because the income from other parts of the world is almost negligible. Unless we can find a way of speeding up the preparations for the new fund-raising efforts as soon as possible, we will be in a state not merely of liquidation but the closing of the school system and the colonies. Dr. Adler hoped that the ICA might be able to take over some of the colonies (which would not be the best thing since they insist upon their own administrator) but it is doubtful whether they will be in a position to help since they are having their own serious financial problems.

On the political side, Mr. Cohen has already referred to two items, the most important matter of the Development Scheme and the Land Ordinance. I would like to add a few details. While still at the Congress there was before us the letter which Passfield was sending to Palestine in order to implement the Development Scheme. That letter was not made public at the Congress because as the London office of the Zionist Executive pointed out to the Congress, it was likely to create only additional difficulties, if that happened. But it did happen soon after the Congress, and we were asked simultaneously to appoint a Jewish Adviser.

Then came the Draft Ordinance for the transfer of land in Palestine. This was in effect the ordinance drafted by Passfield in November 1930, with practically no changes, and which was most far-reaching. It required that any transfer of land, by purchase, gift or bequest or any other manner would have to be approved by the High Commissioner, which meant arbitrary control of this question. We were given two weeks time in which to submit our objections. At the time the Executive was dispersed, and they voted against it. The time was extended till September 7th. The Executive met and decided that we would not appoint a Jewish Adviser on the Development Scheme until we were satisfied with regard to the Land Ordinance and other aspects of the Development Scheme, including the appointment of a legal assessor who would weigh the claims of the displaced Arabs and whether these claims were justified.

The question of Bentwich is still hanging in the balance, but the last official act of Passfield was to decapitate Bentwich.

From this ordinance there developed a whole series of negotiations. In the midst of that came the change of Government in London. We were of course very hopeful that things would be better. It was, however, after Thomas became the head of the Colonial Office that we received a very urgent cable from the Executive urging certain action in this country in order to prevent the land ordinance from going into effect. A number of cables were then sent from here to members of the Cabinet. In this action I had the active cooperation of all those in this country, particularly Justice Brandeis, Prof. Frankfurter, Judge Mack and others. There was no doubt a great deal of pressure brought to bear from other quarters. The net result was that this particular ordinance was dropped in its present form and negotiations are now in progress as to what should be done in place of that ordinance, and there is every likelihood of a friendly solution being reached between the Jewish Agency and the Government.

What Mr. Cohen said about the general change of attitude is of course correct. Furthermore since the retirement of Passfield from office, the members of the Colonial Office have expressed their own personal disagreement with the previous policy and disclaimed whatever happened before. Instead of Sir John Shackburgh there is a new man in charge of the Near East Department -- Parkinson. There is a new High Commissioner -- Wauchope. French is working in Palestine. Spicer is the new Police Commissioner. Sir Robert Hamilton, who is the new Under-Secretary of the Colonies, is a friend. Malcolm MacDonald, the Under-Secretary for Dominions and Under-Secretary to Thomas now in charge of both departments, and he therefore has access to both departments. Malcolm MacDonald has been very helpful. Mr. Szold, Mr. Brodie and I had a long talk with him in London and we extended an invitation to him to come to America.

In connection with these negotiations, I want to bring out the question of the assessor. For the first time, to my knowledge or recollection, when the question of the head of the Development Commission was discussed, the Government submitted to the Jewish Agency for its consideration the name of the officer they had intended to appoint as local assessor. This is important because that post might be abused in creating a legend about our displacing the Arabs from their land. In addition to that, there is very important value in the principle that for the first time, before appointing an official, the British Government has submitted his name to the Jewish Agency, and we objected, and the discussions about the matter are still proceeding. This is an important precedent which might grow and develop in time.

I should like to add a word about the question of American opinion on British policy in Palestine. While in London I took occasion to talk to a number of them including Laski, Mrs. Dugdale, Leonard Stein, Namier, etc. I was particularly interested in the attitude of the British towards the American expression of opinion and protest, and I was told by Namier, the former Political Secretary of the Organization that after the Passfield Paper was issued on Monday, October 26, 1930, the following Wednesday the papers carried the reaction of the American newspapers. He (Namier) then called up Mrs. Dugdale and asked her whether she had seen the papers and

she felt that this was an excellent opportunity to go at once to the leaders of the other two parties and ask them to dissociate themselves from the Passfield Paper in order to save England's name overseas. That was done by Mrs. Dugdale, Weizmann and others, with the result that these statements did carry, and no doubt they had in this American protest excellent ground for raising their voice in the interest of British affairs in America. This was confirmed by Mrs. Dugdale when I saw her in London.

I should like to refer also to a conversation I had with Rappard, Member of the Permanent Mandates Commission, who said that in his opinion the cardinal policy of Great Britain is to do nothing that might offend American sensibilities or create unfriendly relations with America and result in any possibility of a break with America. He disliked demonstrations, but objectively considered they were effective and our only effective weapon. He said America was our "trump card", and believed that whatever concessions we have gotten from England after the Passfield White Paper were all to be attributed to the fear of any unpleasantness in this country. He went much further. He spoke of an incident in the Mandates Commission, when someone said to Shiels, 'When the Arabs make a howl you yield to them; and when the Jews make a howl you yield to them?', and Shiels said, 'What can you expect, when Jews make demonstrations and smash the windows of the British Consulate?' I then asked Rappard whether we would not embarrass America in its relations with England by taking these matters up with the American Government, and he said, that the mildest show of interest in our question on the part of the American Ambassador at the Court of St. James would strengthen the hands of our friends. We must recognize the fact that we could not exercise any influence on British policy. We have friends and opponents and there are various currents of thought. With regard to the Colonial Office, there is no definite policy with regard to the Near East. What actually happens is the result of all forces that operate. It is extremely important to strengthen the hands of our friends and give them any argument which they could use against attacks, and Rappard thought that such weapon could be used by the American Ambassador against Passfield. Therefore, I have thought it important to cultivate the friendship of people who are influential in American public life and mold public opinion. We have been remiss in this and we ought to seize the opportunity because of England's interest in this. At the Williamstown Institute of Politics which I attended, Gregory, a Britisher and Jew, and one of the most distinguished British economists, said, in the course of a discussion in which an American criticized Britain for weak and vacillating policy in connection with India, "Our Indian policy is dictated in America; you show so much sympathy and regard for Ghandi and his followers, that we have to give way". Rappard quoted that as an illustration that the British are sensitive to American public opinion, though he thought Gregory had gone too far. I would urge therefore that steps be taken not merely with a view to the present situation but to build up a line of defense of persons who would be prepared to speak for us and create a certain atmosphere in Washington which would be sensed by Britain and made to realize that in an emergency we could rely on a certain section of American public opinion.

I would like to conclude by saying that the political situation is promising. I agree with Cohen that it might change from day to day. In the Labor Party pro-Zionist sentiment has been receding in recent years.

This must be counteracted. Various suggestions have been made. There is a very serious crisis in the affairs of the Zionist Executive which only immediate and energetic action in America can alleviate. The Yishub is growing more and more self-sustaining, and less and less dependent upon money from outside sources. There has been a good deal of activity in Palestine, in building operations, trade, industry, orange plantations, etc. It is, however, undoubtedly true that a breakdown in the affairs of the Agency and our Executive would necessarily involve serious breakdown in the whole economic structure because it is all inter-related.

I hope that the American Zionist Executive will from this moment on, despite what happened in the past few weeks, so manage its affairs as to throw its whole weight into the balance. This is most important, - economically, financially and politically - and in every other respect. I for one cannot envisage any successful career for the new Executive which is not based on a solid, united American Organization. I cannot imagine sitting in London and in Palestine when behind me here will be a shattered American front. You are familiar with the present controversy. I have been endeavoring to reduce the area of conflict and to bring about an understanding. I appeal to you not merely as a member of the Executive but as a fellow-Zionist who realized the situation, that steps be taken at once to liquidate this controversy. All our artillery should be trained at our enemies, and not at one another. If we have eloquence to spend, it should be for a Jewish purpose; if we have talents to spend, they should be utilized to trap our enemies and not one another; if we have ability to manouvre, it should be to manouvre the movement out of troubled waters. I believe it can be done if we have good will, and I appeal to you for that good will."

The Chairman then expressed his gratitude to Mr. Neumann for his splendid report.

Mr. Neumann then called for a motion to sustain the Executive as a united body.

Mr. Tulin moved, and it was seconded and carried unanimously

THAT this body go on record as solidly in back of, and giving its unswerving support of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency in its important and difficult work, and pledges to the Executive on behalf of every Zionist in America full and loyal support, and that a committee be appointed to draft an appropriate resolution.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROBERT SZOLD:

In connection with the above resolution, the Chairman called upon Mr. Robert Szold to make a statement.

For almost two months now the Administration of the Zionist Organization of America has been subjected to criticism and attacks, privately, at Zionist meetings and in public prints. Without questioning the principle of free and open discussion, the Administration has en-

deavored to refrain from engaging upon a public controversy, through attack or counterattack, in the belief that the general conditions under which the Organization is laboring, and the state of the movement in particular, require the utmost caution and restraint.

Moreover the attacks have been so framed that defense compels that very group action which is the alleged reason of these attacks. We have so far avoided speaking. Silence seemed the best and most practical, though unpleasant policy. Facing this Executive Committee, I now wish to say for myself and those who fifteen months ago joined with me in assuming responsibility for the Administration of the Z.O.A., that we have believed that open conflict among Zionists should be resorted to at this time only as the last recourse after all other means for the adjustment of differences have been exhausted. We felt particularly that such a controversy was untimely, in view of the approaching Convention which is the arbiter of American Zionist affairs and in view of the fact that the Administrative Committee and the National Executive Committee in which all viewpoints are represented would offer ample opportunities for discussion, which in the circumstances are preferable to the public prints.

However, requests have come to us from individual Zionists and Zionist groups having the interest of the movement at heart, that we make a statement of our position at once, in order that misconceptions may be removed. It is in response to these requests on the part of earnest and devoted co-workers that we make the following statement:

The present Administration was elected to office fifteen months ago, at a time when the Organization was in a critical state. At that time, if not now, it was conceded on all sides that the situation internally, from the financial aspect, as well as externally, was most critical. We believe that we have performed an honorable and creditable part not only within the Organization, but also in our relations to the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency.

It is not in the interests of the movement that groups or factions or factionalism should obtain within American Zionism. We desire nothing more fervently than the integration of all forces among the Zionists of this country, and the emergence therefrom of a strong, unified Zionist Organization of America, free from partisanship, rancor and divisiveness. This result can best be brought about not by recrimination and vilification, but by an honest endeavor on the part of all responsible leaders and the entire membership to establish harmony and lasting peace within our ranks.

We neither seek nor desire domination. We have carried the burdens of leadership and administration to the best of our ability. It is our intention to submit the record of this Administration to the Convention and ask for its approval.

The Administrative Committee must be strengthened by the inclusion of all constructive forces which may be available for the purpose. New and additional elements must be added and the circle of responsibility enlarged. We cannot and will not be party to any arrangement which is likely to perpetuate factional strife in the Organization and thus consume efforts and energies sorely required for the upbuilding of the Jewish

National Home.

We fully recognize the sovereignty of the Convention in the affairs of the Z.O.A. Its decisions are final and binding until reversed by a subsequent Convention. We are prepared to enter an administration set up in good faith on the basis of an agreed program of work, which will have promise of inner harmony and stability, and of loyal cooperation among all of its members, and the opportunity for constructive work.

Following Mr. Szold's statement, the Chairman called upon Mr. Louis Lipsky to make his statement.

I want to refer, first of all, to the remarks made by Mr. Neumann and to express my endorsement of the resolution that has been proposed in connection with the Zionist Executive. The account which has been given by Mr. Neumann of the program of the Executive, indicates, in my judgment, that the new Zionist Executive is operating along the lines of sober consideration of the practical problems of the movement, and is doing everything under the circumstances that may be possible to strengthen the political position of the Zionist movement. I am glad to say that his remarks give no indication of that spirit of adventure which we thought, at one time, during the progress of the Congress, would animate the new Executive that was proposed to be elected.

I am glad that Mr. Szold has made the statement that he has made here this afternoon. I think that every Zionist will agree that in Zionist matters, although the Zionist Convention is the arbiter of the movement, there has to be some procedure which enables enlightenment to infect whatever judgment may be rendered later on. As a rule, in previous years in the Zionist movement we have had controversies. I recall some of them with a great deal of embarrassment, and these controversies were not limited to the meeting of the Executive Committee, but as a rule they managed to leak out and get into the public press. Many times it happened that the Administration found itself greatly embarrassed by these public announcements. I sympathize thoroughly with Mr. Szold in his feeling regarding the matter of the present controversy, and he might sympathize with us in the controversies that prevailed in previous years.

There are a great many complications in public action. There are moods of the day and moods of the week; there are various forms of emotion, and the things that you do under stress of excitement, in retrospect are sometimes very difficult to explain just how they occurred. It is not such a simple matter to dispose of a controversy by saying, "Let's quiet down". The controversy, as a matter of fact, has its origin in certain things, that have existed for a long time, and I don't know whether it has anything to do with public statements. I think it is not relevant to say that the Administration as an Administration has taken no position with regard to the controversy, when, as a matter of fact, the members of the Administration on both sides of the fence have been engaged in a public controversy. Whether one or the other was more energetic or vigorous is a matter for Jewry to decide. It may have to do with the physical strength of the parties involved, or the time at their disposal. But, as a matter of fact, we have to admit that there has been a two-sided controversy. The Administration has been in a position to say that it is not participating in the controversy so long as Mr. Szold, in the name of the Administration, makes

no statement in the name of the Administration. But the controversy started in 1921.

We have been having meetings as a result of the instigation of the peace committees. Parties of both sides come together and constitute themselves as peace committees, and they begin manouvering for peace. They are not entirely free of partisan feeling, but they are partisans who stop at the half-mile post. We have had such peace committees meet for about one month. Mr. Neumann himself constitutes a peace committee of one, and has been negotiating for peace for a long time. We submit to the Convention matters of criticism and records of achievements, and the Convention decides who is to be the new Administration, and that settles it. It happens in the best of families that disturbances take place, so long as you have a place where the matter is settled. There was a controversy at the Congress, and there, with all the necessary vigor and with all the necessary partisan zeal, different standpoints were defended. There were no peace committees at the Congress to settle the dispute. What can be said of the controversy in the United States can be said of that controversy. What has been said there can be said here.

As I say, under ordinary conditions the way would be to proceed to the Convention. As I told some of the members of the Committee, I never go to the full limit of the issue. I have never fought out an issue to the limit, because I feel that fighting out an issue to the limit is disastrous to the Cause you have in mind. If you fight out the issue to the bitter end, there is a bitter end; and I am not a bitter ender. But, as a matter of fact, up to the present time the Administration took the attitude of saying, "We do not know"; "We cannot consider"; etc. I have spoken of the matter to the Committee privately. I think that that represents the truth of the situation. Truth takes different forms. What seems to be true at one time does not remain true for a long period. The truth of this situation now, taking together all that has accumulated up to the present, makes what you might have done a month ago or two months ago become improper and untruthful at the present time.

What is involved in this controversy is the liquidation and the expunging from the record of a controversy that began in 1921. Unless you get rid of that controversy by the removal of prejudice and the removal of rancor, and by the confession of error and contrition, the controversy remains. We can leave it to the Convention to decide who shall become the new Administration, and nothing is going to be solved. At the Cleveland Convention last year we thought that mechanical methods were going to solve the matter. But that did not settle the matter, because there had not been removed from the minds of the gentlemen who were put in charge of affairs that feeling which represented a division. That feeling prevails to this day. I cannot describe it exactly in so many details, but I submit it to every Zionist here whether there is not a factional difference, being maintained upon the basis of remembrance of an event which happened ten years ago. I believe that every Zionist who sympathizes with me is willing to submit the whole matter to a judgment relating to the basic differences that prevail among us.

To that end, what is important is to make a high resolve in this matter in regard to the past, and to reject out of memory the things that have happened, -- wrongs that have been done on both sides, misstatements

that have been made on both sides, exaggerations and the intensification of prejudice on both sides, -- and we come together and consider how to forget that in the present and the future.

I am very glad to hear from Mr. Neumann that the political condition is improving, but we know very well that the basic condition remains the same as before, that the essential difference remains the same. We will have to face that question sooner or later in a different form entirely from what is proposed here. It affects us here directly in a most appalling manner. In the face of these tremendous events that can make our future an absolute blank, for us to consider how to adjust an Administration, as to how to make it equal, is an utter disregard of the actual conditions which confront us. There is no difference as to program; there is a difference as to prejudice. There is a difference of a record of ten years. There is no difference of program. There may be a difference of temperament. The faction is a contrivance, an artificial faction. It has no right to exist in the frame-work of Zionist ideas. On the basis of these prejudices we have been making these differences hard and rigid, and from what I see, they are going to become harder and more difficult.

I do not know whether all the people who are with me are in favor of this, because some of my friends are very relentless and ruthless people. I would suggest that, in order that at the Convention there may be presented a unanimous report representing a considered attempt to iron out the differences upon the basis of forgetting the past, that a Committee of Six be appointed with full power to submit such recommendations to the Convention, and let them consider from now until the Convention what is to be done, how to avoid controversy, how we can come together at the Convention with some feeling as though something has been removed that has been weighing us down. I know myself that in many of these things the more you think of a thing the more excited you get about it. I know how all these things can become at such a tremendous conflict through personal rancor and partisanship that there is no end to it. People under excitement are capable of doing a great many things which they would not do in sober mementos. They never can come to a sober judgment on a situation at such times. I don't want to regard Dr. Wise as always being in a different faction. I don't want to regard Mr. Brodie as being of a different faction. (Dr. Wise ~~have~~ suggested that Mr. Lipsky withdraw his statement that his (Dr. Wise's) speech at the Congress was vulgar, reckless and irresponsible. To which Mr. Lipsky replied): When you take into account what was done at Basle, that it was hurtful to me personally, to have expressed that judgment with regard to Dr. Wise's speech at that time was, I think a justifiable error.

Mr. Lipsky then read the following resolution:

The National Executive Committee resolves to appoint a Committee of Six with full power to make recommendations to the Annual Convention for the selection of a National Administration that shall disregard partisan differences and aim at securing the cooperation of all Zionist forces without regard to majorities or factions; and which shall have full power to prepare the agenda of the Convention in collaboration with the Administrative Committee.

The Chair then called upon Judge Mack.

Judge Mack declared that although he was not present at the inner confab and therefore did not hear this resolution before Mr. Lipsky read it, he was glad to second it. He said he was glad to express his own personal endorsement of all the Mr. Neumann, and Mr. Szold said and very much that Mr. Lipsky said. He could not refrain, however, from calling attention to one or two matters. He felt that some differences go back at least even one year earlier than 1921; they go back at least to the London Conference of 1920, he said, -- Perhaps to the Buffalo Convention of 1920, or the Chicago Convention of 1919. He agreed, however, most heartily with the views expressed by Mr. Lipsky that the vital thing that confronts Zionist work is not the past, but the present and the future, and that continuous harping on past differences is going to lead us only into morass, and cannot possibly help the Cause. There are two other points, he added. He thought this very resolution which he is seconding contradicts one of the earlier statements of Mr. Lipsky about the matter of advance preparation for the Convention. He thoroughly agreed with the resolution because he did not believe that the responsible leaders in any movement should go into any Convention unless thoroughly prepared, whether it be in factions or whether it be unified, but there must be thorough preparation for the work of the Convention. Judge Mack said he did not believe for a moment that it defeats the true spirit of democracy to come to a general body, called together, and to lay before that general body for its approval, the thoroughly considered views of those whom they have called the leadership. That is the least duty of leadership in any movement; that was our thought before we went to the Congress. Mr. Lipsky will remember that for very practical reasons -- the avoidance of expenditures, the diversion of interest to other things -- we were able to avoid here in America an election to the Congress; and here in America we agreed finally upon the delegates to the Congress. It seemed to everybody here the sliest course to pursue; that is why it was done.

Judge Mack pointed out that there was, however, one item in Mr. Lipsky's statement which, he confessed, in his naivete, rather surprised him, because if he had known it in June, 1930, he certainly would not have gone into this Administration. Mr. Lipsky said then (Judge Mack explained), "All right, we will have it 12 and 6; now you take it and do as you want." Judge Mack declared, that perhaps Mr. Lipsky did not mean it that way. Judge Mack's understanding, derived at the end of a long distance telephone call, was: 12 and 6, and we will all cooperate in the work of the Z.O.A. not that, We will dump the whole works and let the 12 do as they please.

Judge Mack felt that he did not want to go into the past, or to say what the spirit has been during the past fifteen months. He said he wants, as much as anybody else, perhaps more, to forget the past and think only of the future. He expressed the hope, however, that if that was the intention, at least it will never be the intention again, because on that basis no work can be carried on, whether by a dominant faction in the Z.O.A. Administration, or in any other body. The only way that effective work can be carried on by those called to administer the work of the Organization is with full respect to individual differences of opinion, if the end aim be the same, to endeavor to reconcile those differences in the actual carrying out and achieving of that end, and to work loyally together for that purpose. Judge Mack further expressed the hope that if this reso-

lution which Mr. Lipsky has offered is adopted, that it will be adopted unanimously, that the next Convention, guided by the resolutions of this Committee of Six, will select for the Administration the best, the most devoted forces within our ranks, regardless of what their affiliation has been, with this faction or that faction in the past, asking only of each man that he really go in with the endeavor -- not always acievable -- but with the endeavor and the expectation and the hope of becoming a part of a unified Administration, and of giving to the utmost of his time, his thought, and, wherever possible, his money to the work.

Judge Mack referred to one thing in connection with Mr. Neumann's statement which he thought it might be well to refer to, only by way of adding to what he was sure Mr. Neumann would have wanted to say, so as not to arouse an undue optimism by some of his (Mr. Neumann's) report, -- namely, to the tremendously important meetings of the Mandates Commission, in 1930, and in 1931. Judge Mack said he knows of no better training in the history of Zionism, nor of any better education than one can get in Zionism, -- (and God knows, the Zionists of this country -- not only the non-Zionists, but the Zionists of this country -- need a much more thorough Zionist education than we have.) -- than by reading through those 150 odd pages of the full minutes of the meeting of the last year and of this year of the Permanent Mandates Commission. These pages will furnish revelation as well as instruction in things Zionistic. The members of the Permanent Mandates Commission have a tremendous wealth of knowledge, which is most striking when you consider that Palestine is only one of quite a large number of subjects that come within their purview. These men are not pro-Zionists. They are absolutely impartial; they are not for us, they are not against us. They are endeavoring to the best of their ability to perform the duty that has been imposed upon them. It happens that the leaders of them believe that that duty carries with it the realization, so far as lies within their power, of our ideals. But, it is not because of any friendliness to the Jews or to the Zionists, or to individuals; it is because intellectually and emotionallly they are impelled to take that view, and on every page of those minutes you find wonderful expression of this spirit and a wealth of knowledge of things Palestinian that is perfectly amazing.

Judge Mack called attention to one of the points in connection with Mr. Neumann's references to things British and to the extent of the influence of American views on British policy, and the influence of such speeches as Dr. Wise made at Ba'le on the British Government. He declared that there is not any question about the accuracy of all that Mr. Neumann said, but just because it is so accurate and so important, we must exercise caution that we do not overdo the thing. He stated that he shared the spirit of all of Dr. Wise's address which he thought was much needed at the time and had a great influence, but felt that greater caution was necessary at the present time. We must remember, he urged, that Great Britain is undergoing great trials and tribulations, and we must have a sympathetic regard for the tremendous difficulties under which Great Britain is laboring. In other words, we must never fail, in all that we say, to distinguish between the Government of Great Britain and the people of Great Britain.

Referring again to Mr. Lipsky's statement, Judge felt that the spirit that Mr. Lipsky endorsed in his resolution impelled him to say a few supplementary words about the Congress itself, because without that

he did not believe that those who were not present -- even with all reports that have been given in the press -- can fully understand the present situation as to the Executive.

Judge Mack prefaced his remarks by saying that except once, as a visitor in 1925, the 17th Congress at Basle was his first Congress, that although it was to him, physically and mentally, the most trying three weeks of his whole life, yet it was one of the most inspiring events, because he believed he found, among all ranks, among all elements, among all factions, a zeal, an earnestness, an intelligence and a devotion to the Cause that in his human experiences is unbelievable. In retrospect, he said, it is the spirit of those men and women, in endeavoring to do that thing which they honestly believed the most important in the interest of the Cause, that stands out. Even when they were actually advocating things which were in the interest of their own party, they believed they were advocating through their parties that which to them seemed the best for the recreation of Eretz Israel. There were genuine differences of opinion, as to the method, as to the expression of aims, and as to the individuals who should be chosen to lead the movement. One of the points of conflict was the so-called Endziel, the ultimate aim of Zionism. There were those who believed then and who always believed that we must cheerfully proclaim from the housetops all that we dream may come to pass, that we hope will come to pass in the course of the years, be it ten or fifty years or one hundred years. There are those who believe that at all times we should not proclaim anything, but that we should do our daily job with heart and soul and hand, and disregard any outer expression of our ultimate aim, if achieving that ultimate aim shall destroy all force of our own individual and combined effort. And then there was the third group who believed that it may become necessary, by force of circumstances, to proclaim that ultimate aim and yet, it may, by force of circumstances, become just a bit more difficult to proclaim, -- and this is a decidedly different situation. Unlike the Revisionists who always wanted to proclaim the ultimate aim, unlike the Labor group, the middle group held it as a matter of expediency whether to proclaim it or not. Judge Mack said he could not believe that among Zionists there can be any difference as to the ultimate aim. But those of us in this middle group were unfortunately confronted by two practical situations. It was not the love of the Revisionists, or the love for the Revisionists; it was not any feeling of dislike for Labor that led us to favor the most extreme statement of the ultimate aims of Zionism, with the full realization of the conflicts that would ensue from such an expression. The majority of the middle group of the Congress, Judge Mack believed, felt themselves driven to this, because of certain expressions, within the past two years, uttered by the leadership of the movement. It was not with any feeling of throwing Weizmann over; it was not with any feelings against him personally. Just as the resolutions were about to be adopted, there came from recognized leaders in Palestine itself, a warning note stating that resolutions of that kind, at that time, might mean worse than a repetition of August, 1929; and with very few exceptions, no man in that Congress was ready to take upon his head such a responsibility. For that reason, and with the help particularly of the American delegation, the resolution that would otherwise have been adopted were modified and were, by a very large majority, accepted and adopted.

There came the question of the past year's report and the MacDonald letter in connection with it, and one of the big fights raged about two words in that connection. There again controversy raged about something which it was believed had been said or done by the leadership of the W.Z.O. The question, evoked tremendous difference of opinion and real thought. It was just this; Shall the resolution read that we accept the MacDonald Letter addressed to Dr. Weizmann as a basis of cooperation with the British Government in the working out of the Palestine problem, or shall we accept it as a basis of further negotiation with the British Government to secure our aims? We thought it out for days in the Political Committee. The final resolution adopted declared the MacDonald Letter to be the basis for cooperation.

Judge Mack repeated what he had said in the very beginning, that he did not think that in the past fifteen months there has been any real fundamental difference of principle among the American Zionists. It has gone back, as Mr. Lipsky said, to the distant past. All American Zionists, he believed, have been impressed in the past, as they are now, with the importance of the economic undertaking in Palestine. On the other hand, he felt that all those who have always laid most stress upon the economic undertaking are not less mindful than any others of the absolute importance of training the youth who are going to take the place of their leaders, and who must be imbued with the spirit of the entire work. Education along all lines is absolutely essential to the growth of the movement. But, because of the very fact that times and conditions have changed, the time has come for a general recognition of the fundamental importance of a new emphasis, an emphasis on the economic upbuilding of the Holy Land, the practical work along all lines, not merely agricultural, but industrial as well.

Judge Mack concluded his remarks by again seconding the resolution offered by Mr. Lipsky, in the hope that it will be unanimously adopted, that the Committee of Six to be appointed will aim to set forth a statement that will represent not factionalism, nor even the cooperation of factions, but a resolution to dissolve the factions into individuals, and to compose a union of those individuals for a united work in the preponderous task that confronts us, -- tasks involving the saving both of the World Zionist Organization and the Zionist Organization of America from bankruptcy. The leaders of the movement cannot do this. They can give direction, but unless the members of the Executive can go out, unless the leaders in the Districts will go out and arouse the individual Zionists to a realization of the situation in which we find ourselves in these very times of universal distress and hardship, we shall not have a latent spark which can be passed into some form that will burn with zeal for the progress of our Cause. The world has given us an opportunity. Unless we can arouse in the Jews of the world a full and deep and earnest appreciation, now, we lose the race. Optimism is a part of Jewish faith. I do not as yet despair, and the spirit of that Congress, trying as it was at times, gave me, at least, a renewed optimism that perhaps I have been able in some measure to impart to you.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Elihu D. Stone of Boston.

Mr. Stone stated that peace must be translated into real life. He recalled that similar speeches were made in Cleveland, adding that we

should benefit by the lessons of the past. The great expectations of Cleveland have not been realized, even making allowances for the depression. The Administration realizes the need for reinforcement and cooperation, but up to the time of the Basle Congress, Mr. Stone pointed out, the Administration has been acting in the spirit of group consciousness. As an instance, he cited the fact that one who was a member of the Actions Committee for ten years -- Mr. Jacob Fishman -- had been eliminated. Here, Mr. Szold interrupted with the remark that he, too, had not been selected for the Actions Committee. Mr. Stone continued with the statement that concord can only be brought about in American Zionism if the causes for discord are removed, and cooperation, if the causes for irritation are removed. He then called attention to the letter written by Judge Lewis and the specific questions as to whether or not the Administration will insist upon a majority in the Administration.

The Chairman then put the motion of Mr. Lipsky to a vote, and it was carried.

Mr. Stone said that he desired to go on record as voting against the motion of Mr. Lipsky.

At this juncture Mr. Brodie had to leave the meeting in order to address another Zionist meeting, and Mr. Szold took the chair.

Mr. Szold announced that the following would constitute the Committee of Six called for in Mr. Lipsky's motion:

Messrs. Nelson Ruttenberg, Lipsky, Tulin, Brodie, Szold
and Judge William M. Lewis.

CABLE TO NAHUM SOKOLOV:

Dr. Ratnoff suggested that a cable be sent to Dr. Nahum Sokolow, as follows:

The National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, in meeting assembled, congratulates Nahum Sokolow and his fellow members of the Executive on their election to office and places on record the unstinted determination of American Zionists to second their efforts in the conduct and support of the Jewish National Cause.

The National Executive Committee desires further to express its appreciation of the courage displayed by Dr. Sokolow and his associates in accepting office in the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency at a time when the development and sustaining of the Jewish National Home present so many political and financial difficulties. It, therefore, takes this opportunity to voice its satisfaction with the firm, resolute and energetic manner in which the President and the Executive have addressed themselves to political and other problems and trusts that the gains thus far achieved will be enlarged during their tenure of office.

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Houses of Congress and a number of government officials, in order to acquaint them more thoroughly with conditions, especially as one of them -- Senator LaFollette said, 99 persons out of 100 have a very vague idea of Zionism but no real knowledge of our actual objective and problems in Palestine. Senator LaFollette was therefore very much in favor of having this opportunity for a presentation and discussion of the issues. It was, therefore, agreed to hold such private meeting in the form of a dinner, at which these various persons could be present. Preliminary to that Mr. Neumann thought it advisable to get a few of these leaders together, and a meeting of a small group took place on December 17, at the home of Justice Brandeis who, it so happens, is the leader of a certain group of Progressives in Washington who look up to him and who are susceptible to his influence. Outstanding in this group is Senator LaFollette who agreed to participate and was present at the meeting at Mr. Brandeis' Home. There were present also Senator King who had been to Palestine and is the best informed member of the Senate with respect to Palestine, Assistant Secretary of State, Rogers, Mr. William R. Hopkins, former City Manager of Cleveland, who at Mr. Neumann's invitation made a special trip from Cleveland to help in Washington with certain people, as well as William Hard, Cong. Hamilton Fish, one of the sponsors of the resolution regarding Palestine in Congress in 1922. It was agreed at that preliminary meeting to summon forty or fifty of the leading people in Washington to this private dinner meeting, and at Mr. Neumann's suggestion Senator King, Senator LaFollette and Cong. Fish undertook to distribute the invitations among the three groups in Congress. The invitations are signed by Vice-President Curtis, Senator Borah, upon whom Dr. Wise brought pressure to bear, Senator Swanson, Senator King, Cong. Temple, Cong. Rainey, Cong. Fish, Senator LaFollette, Senator Wagner, and Elwood Mead, Honorary Secretary of the Sponsoring Committee, and the responses are returnable to Dr. Mead at the Department of the Interior. Mr. Neumann added that Vice-President Curtis originally suggested December 20 as the date for this dinner, but in view of the Christmas vacation, it had to be changed to January 17, which unfortunately conflicts with the date of the National Conference of the American-Palestine Campaign, but that could not be helped. Arrangements have been made for Prof. Frankfurter to deliver the principal address on the whole Zionist situation, particularly from the American angle.

Mr. Neumann pointed out that in talking about the pro-Palestine Committee he had always stated two purposes for its existence; and that he had a third purpose in mind, but had never attained it. The first purpose was to disseminate reliable information about Palestine and our work in Palestine. The second was to give moral support and encouragement to our movement here. Of course, the third purpose was to exercise some form of influence whenever occasion arises. At the meeting in Mr. Brandeis' Home he had pointed out the importance of the pro-Palestine Committee, indicating the original interest which America had taken. He pointed out that America has an interest in Palestine, because we have here the largest Jewish population of any country in the world, and these people have invested heavily in Palestine. He impressed them with the urgency and importance of having such a Committee which will observe affairs in Palestine, keep an eye on it, keep themselves informed, and in that way, supply the necessary moral support and public information behind our work. Mr. Brandeis made a deep impression upon these people among whom was a member of the

A.C. 1/3/32.

staff of the State Department, who happens to be friendly to our Cause, La Follette and others; so that the thing got quite a push everywhere.

Mr. Neumann stated that the only question which has been asked of him in the course of all these conversations was not about the Arabs in Palestine at all, or about Great Britain, but whether there was agreement among the Jews on this proposition. Several of them asked the same question. Senator Fess asked whether the Reform Jews, as well as the Orthodox, had agreed on this subject. That was the only question which seemed to bother these people. Mr. Neumann was of the opinion that if they are convinced that the Jews are united about Zionism, there are hardly any limits that they would not go to, within proper bounds, to arouse interest in our Cause and help us.

Mr. Neumann explained that the full plan with regard to this Committee has not yet been formulated; for example, Dr. Adler had made the suggestion that it should not be given a purely political color, that men in cultural circles should be drawn in.

Mr. Neumann reported further that Judge Mack and he had met at lunch with President Butler of Columbia University, and that gentleman promised to study the matter. Mr. Neumann is sending him a Memorandum, and he will most likely send a message to the Dinner and will probably see his way clear to joining the Committee.

Mr. Neumann stated that he did not know what use will be made of all this in the future. It can either become innocuous due to inattention or become of great aid in our work. In connection with this work, Mr. Neumann has entailed considerable expense for transportation and now there is the expense of the dinner. The World Zionist Organization is not in a position to help finance this undertaking, important as it is, but as a result of a conference he had with representatives of the various Zionist organizations here, contributions for this work have been received from Hadassah, the Jewish National Fund, the Order Sons of Zion, the American Palestine Campaign and the Labor groups, besides a few individuals. Aside from the question of finances there is the necessity of continuing this work in systematic fashion and maintaining in Washington some form of permanent contact which will create the necessary atmosphere. It will be necessary also to create such groups in various parts of the country in order that it will have its repercussion in Washington.

Mr. Neumann pointed out also that there is another problem in connection with this work. Last year, after the riots, there was formed in Chicago a Pro-Palestine Federation of America, which had sent a telegram of greetings to the Atlantic City Convention. This Federation constitutes a problem in this respect: In the first place, there has thus far been no contact between that group and the Zionist Organization or the World Zionist Organization, which constitutes a rather unfortunate situation. In the second place, this federation is predominantly German. Mr. Neumann added that of course when the federation was brought into being last fall, right after the Passfield White Paper there was a wave of anti-British feeling, and it was natural that there should be a group of that kind. There

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was also an offer of cooperation at that time from an Irish group here. This is a very delicate situation because it is highly inadvisable to give the impression in Washington that this is an anti-British agitation. Unfortunately, the Chicago Federation is planning a meeting on January 20 to protest against Hitlerism in Germany and the British Administration of Palestine. Mr. A. Ben Elias, the secretary of this federation, has agreed to come to New York for a conference with Mr. Neumann to avoid any premature action on their part.

Mr. Neumann deemed it important that the Board of Officers should appoint a committee which will take this matter up, which will cooperate with the group in Washington and perhaps with other Zionist groups, in order that there should be a common committee to deal with matters of common interest in political work, representing all Zionist groups. In any event, a sub-committee or group must be set up which will develop this movement. All Mr. Neumann can do now is bring it to a certain point. The nucleus of the Præ-Palestine Committee will be constituted but the matter must be developed further. He implored the Administrative Committee not to allow this undertaking to die of malnutrition or inattention and to do what it can through the Board of Officers.

Mr. Neumann then expressed the hope that the President of the World Zionist Organization will soon grant him leave to take his departure.

Finally, Mr. Neumann expressed his indebtedness to Mr. Szold and the other members of the Board of Officers, particularly Judge Mack and Dr. Wise, for their services in connection with this and all other matters. He hoped that with the cooperation of all something real may come of this beginning.

The Chairman stated that a motion was now in order to approve the project of the loan, as suggested by Mr. Sokolow, and that a Committee be appointed to carry forward that project.

The motion was seconded.

The Chair further suggested, with the approval of this body, that Messrs. Neumann, Rothenberg and Lipsky constitute the nucleus of that Committee, with the Board of Officers having the power to add to it as may be necessary.

UNANIMOUSLY AGREED.

Mr. Neumann made the suggestion that Mr. Rothenberg be named as Chairman of this Committee.

FOALE-ZION COMMITTEE:

The Chairman called upon Mr. Boruch Zuckerman, who headed a com-

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PLAN AND SCOPE

PERSONNEL OF COMMITTEE

Abraham Goldberg, Chairman
Miss Juliette Benjamin
Rabbi Maurice J. Bloom
Jacob deHaas
Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
David Freiburger
Mrs. David Greenberg
Mrs. R. Halprin
Isidor A. Hassin
Rabbi James G. Heller
Joseph Kraemer
Morris Margulies
Louis P. Rucker
Samuel J. Rosensohn
J. I. Rudavsky
Nelson Ruttenberg
Abraham Spicehandler
Abraham Tulin
Dr. S. Wurzel

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 15,443-1930 21,702-1926
 11,500-1931 19,836-1927
 13,000-1932 20,780-1928

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The Committee appointed by the Administrative Committee to consider the present functions and method of Organization of the Zionist Organization of America, and to recommend such changes as might be necessary, under the circumstances, held several meetings, as well as numerous meetings of its four sub-committees. At those various sessions the members discussed extensively all phases of the present work of the Zionist Organization, its methods and its activities.

It was pointed out that although the goal of the Zionist movement has remained constant, the methods and the functions of the Zionist Organization have changed, from time to time. In the early days of the movement, at the time of Herzl, the principal function was to organize Jewry and to weld it into a political unit capable of demanding its rights to rebuild its national home in Palestine. After a decade during which the Turkish Revolution was consummated the function of the Organization changed again. Following the outbreak of the World War, the Organization set for itself a different function -- that of securing world-wide sanction for Jewish rights to Palestine. After the close of the War, when it appeared that the political aims of the Zionist movement had been achieved, the Zionist Organization added to its other functions that of building Palestine. This new duty resulted in the creation of the Keren Hayesod and the Chaiutz movement. The Organization assumed a budget for colonization and for education and sanitation, as well as for other works incidental to the rebuilding of the land.

The Committee devoted itself very largely to a consideration of the question of whether the current world-wide circumstances and the political situation insofar as its effects our own movement, have not made it compulsory for us to reformulate the functions of the Organization. In brief, the Committee took stock in an effort to determine whether the functions of the Organization, as conducted at the present time, shall continue, or whether contemporary conditions warranted a change. These considerations required a thorough analysis

of the reasons for the progressive and continuous decrease in the membership of the Zionist Organization of America, as well as of the causes of the decline in the amount collected by way of the public funds. All members of the Committee were united in the opinion that the Zionist Organization has performed a great task and that there is still a tremendous amount of work to be done economically, politically and culturally for the advancement of the Zionist movement.

The following is a brief statement of the consensus of opinion of the members of the Committee, under the heads indicated.

- - - - -

POLITICS

Zionist experience during the past several years has indicated very clearly that the Zionist Organization still has an extremely important political function to perform, although fifteen years have passed since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. Just as in the past periods in Zionist history, it has been necessary to change the objective of the political function of the Organization, from time to time, it is probably necessary to make another change now. It is perfectly evident that despite the fact that our claim to Palestine was legally recognized by the League of Nations and approved by the Congress of the United States, our movement still stands in great need of the support of the enlightened public opinion of the world. Unfortunately, however, enlightened opinion has not always appeared to understand the issues involved and has only too often taken a position against us in our claims vis-a-vis the Mandatory Power and the majority population in Palestine. After all, our principal source of strength, at the present time, is our moral right to Palestine, our historic connection with the land, and the fundamental fact that our position as a people, without a land, is distinctly and wholly untenable. These were the weapons with which we won the sanction of the peoples of the world to our right to build anew our national life in Palestine, a right which is predicated on the supposition that a clear opportunity be given us to become masters of our destiny. It is on these very weapons that we must continue to depend in other controversies that may arise, which might tend to hinder us in the work of building up the Jewish National Home.

It becomes, therefore, clear that it is a primary duty of the Zionist Organization to carry on educational work among the leading Gentile groups in every sphere of activity, so that we may be in a position to mobilize their moral assistance whenever we are confronted with hostile forces attempting to check the Jewish people in their endeavor to accomplish ~~their~~ the Herculean task of upbuilding the Jewish National Home in Palestine. We dare not permit this work to be sporadic or haphazard. Quite to the contrary, it must be continuous and systematic, and must be conducted from day to day. Our efforts in this direction must be designed towards interpreting whatever events that may have relation to our problem and reacting to every occurrence which calls forth elucidation and comment, and be prepared to answer whatever attack may come from whatever source. With this in mind, it was suggested that a political department be organized within the Zionist Organization, which shall be charged with the following functions:

a) To build up favorable public opinion, systematically, through the written as well as the oral word.

b) That in view of the fact that the best instrument to carry on educational work along political lines is the Zionist unit, it was suggested that every Zionist unit ~~must~~ designate one or more individuals with whom the political department of the Z.O.A. may be in continuous contact, in order, first, that the unit, through such person or persons may be informed of political developments; secondly, that the community, of which the Zionist unit is a part, may be informed, through such designee, of the issues involved; thirdly, that the political department may issue, through such designee, such instructions as may be necessary, from time to time, in order to help crystallize public opinion in support of our demands at the ~~existing~~ moment.



ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

February 26, 1932

THIS COMMUNICATION SHOULD BE READ AT THE

NEXT MEETING OF YOUR DISTRICT.

To the Officers of
Zionist Districts:

In December the National Office issued a call to all Districts urging them to engage immediately upon an effort to increase the membership of the organization. Districts throughout the country have responded, with the result that despite the general economic conditions our membership to date is very nearly the same as in 1931 and 1930 at the corresponding period of the year. But we cannot begin to be satisfied until the ranks of our organization have greatly increased.

A strong organization has always been the basis for real progress in the Zionist movement in the past. A strong organization is still necessary. Every Zionist should feel the responsibility that devolves upon him personally to increase the strength and influence of the Zionist Organization which is the indispensable agency for the spread of Zionist ideals and the motivating power behind the institutions engaged in our great cause.

Under the present circumstances, it is utterly impossible for the National Office to send representatives into each District to stir up activity. It really should not be necessary to do so. The need for a larger organization should be recognized without special appeals. The formula for the increase of membership you already know. It consists of only three words - THOUGHT, EFFORT and PERSISTENCE. If you would urge each member of your District to enlist in the effort to persuade relatives, friends, and business acquaintances to become affiliated with the organization and keep on hammering away at this idea, our ranks would be tripled in a very short while.

The Districts would confer a signal service by forwarding promptly all dues collected. This would prevent confusion and help maintain on an even level the day-to-day functions of the National Office. It is not necessary to wait until a large amount accumulates before making a remittance to headquarters.

Feb 1932

Zionist Organization of America

- 2 -

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

The recent organization of the American Palestine Committee, consisting of leading statesmen in American public life, has been widely acclaimed by the press in Europe as well as in this country. Similar committees have been in existence for several years in England, France, Germany, Italy, and other countries and they have been of genuine service to the Zionist cause at various times. The full membership of the American Palestine Committee follows: Vice-President Charles Curtis, Secretary of Agriculture Arthur Hyde, United States Supreme Court Justice Harlan F. Stone, Senators William E. Borah, Tom Connally, Royal S. Copeland, Edward P. Costigan, Walter F. George, R. B. Howell, William H. King, Robert M. LaFollette, J. Hamilton Lewis, Gerald P. Nye, Claude Swanson, A. H. Vandenberg, Robert F. Wagner, Thomas J. Walsh, James E. Watson, Burton K. Wheeler; Congressmen Carl R. Chindbloom, Edmund F. Erk, Luther A. Johnson, Paul John Kvale, F. La Guardia, J. Chas. Linthicum, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Ruth Bryan Owen, Henry T. Rainey, A. J. Sabbath, John Q. Tilson; Messrs. Theodore Dreiser, Green H. Hackworth, Norman Hapgood, George A. Hastings, William R. Hopkins, Prof. Edwood Mead, John Lord O'Brian, James Grafton Rogers, K. A. Ryerson, James Brown Scott, Mrs. Adele C. Scott, M. A. Schnurr.

You may send to the National Office suggestions of names of prominent non-Jews who might be invited to become members of the American Palestine Committee.

The American Palestine Committee should not be confused with the Pro-Palestine Federation of America which was organized about a year ago and has its headquarters in Chicago. This latter organization recently published the first issue of a monthly magazine entitled "Pro-Palestine Herald" which is interesting and well written. The president of the Pro-Palestine Federation of America is Charles Edward Russell, prominent writer and one time candidate for Governor of the State of New York.

RUMORS OF THE FRENCH REPORT AND DIVISION OF PALESTINE

There have appeared recently newspaper reports intimating contents of the report of Lewis French, Director of Development in Palestine, as well as a report concerning a proposed round-table conference between the Arabs and Jews on the basis of division of Palestine into two sections. There is no basis to either of these reports. Mr. French was appointed with the understanding that his findings were to be submitted to the Jewish Agency for consideration before the report was made public. His report has not as yet been submitted to the Jewish Agency. As to the second report, no serious consideration is being given to any idea of the further splitting up of Palestine. We regard the idea as out of question.

Zionist Organization of America

- 3 -

AMERICAN PALESTINE CAMPAIGN

The Keren Hayesod, The Keren Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund) and Hadassah have joined for a united campaign to raise \$2,500,00 to meet this country's share of the current year's budget in Palestine. Mr. Louis Lipsky, Honorary Vice-chairman of the Zionist Organization of America, has been elected Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the American Palestine Campaign. The work of organizing the Campaign nationally is proceeding very rapidly and the New York campaign will open some time in March. In addition to Mr. Lipsky, the National co-chairmen are Judge William M. Lewis, James Marshall, Morris Rothenberg, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Nathan Straus, Jr.

Nahum Sokolow, President of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Dr. Nahum Goldmann of Germany, have already visited many communities for the campaign and are scheduled to visit many more during the coming weeks.

PUBLICATION

Because of the lack of funds, we have been forced to suspend temporarily the publication of the New Palestine. It is hoped that we shall be able to resume publication shortly. The weekly page in Yiddish in The Day is published regularly.

LITERATURE

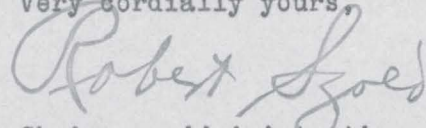
There are available in the National Office sets of literature, application blanks, billheads, material for programs, all of which can be had without charge upon request.

REPORTS AND RESPONSES

Regular reports of District activities, elections, etc. should be sent to the National Office. A copy of a report form is attached and a supply may be had upon request.

It will be recalled that in the December communication, the Districts were asked to notify the National Office whether they wish to have bills for 1932 dues sent directly to the members or to the secretary of the District. Even at this late date, despite repeated reminders, some Districts have not yet responded. Such lack of cooperation on the part of District leaders results in decreased efficiency on the part of the entire organization. Please do your part.

Very cordially yours,



Chairman, Administration

RS:NC

Put

SILVER, Abba Hillel, Rabbi; b. Weinstadt, Schirwindt, Lithuania, Jan. 28, 1893, s. Moses and Diana (Seamon) Silver; A.B. from University of Cincinnati, 1915; rabbi Hebrew Union Coll., 1915 D.D., 1925; Litt.D., Western Reserve, 1928; m. Virginia, D. Louis and Clementine Horkheimer, of Wheeling, W. Va., Jan. 2, 1923; children - Daniel Jeremy, Raphael David. Rabbi Congregation L'Shem Shamayim, Wheeling, 1915-17, The Temple, Cleveland, since 1917. (Pres. Bur. of Jewish Edn. Cleveland; v. p. Consumer's League of Ohio; v. p. Zionist Orgn. of America; mem. Nat. Child Labor Com., Com. on Militarism in Edn.; Amer. Civil Liberties Union; Mem. Exec. Central Conf. Amer. Rabbis; Internat. Order B'nai B'rith; Comm. on Jewish Edn. of Union of Am. Hebrew Coll; Cleveland Associated Charities Mem. President Hoover's Unemployment Relief Commission 1931; Charter Mem. Ohio Race Betterment Assn. In France, World War; decorated by French Govt.) Clubs: Alathians, Oakwood, City. Author: Messianic Speculations in Israel, 1927; Democratic Impulse in Jewish History, 1928; Religion in a Changing World, 1930. Contbg. editor World Unity Home: 10311 Lake Shore Blvd., Office: The Temple, E. 105th St. and Ansel Rd., Cleveland, Ohio.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS

EXECUTIVE OFFICES, 71 WEST 47th ST., NEW YORK, N. Y.

STANDARD CLUB — CHICAGO — JANUARY 6 - 7 - 1934

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

December 26, 1933

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GEORGE W. RABINOFF

Sol M. Stroock, Chairman
New York

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Cleveland

Samuel A. Goldsmith
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Boston

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Eugene Warner
Buffalo

Henry Wineman
Detroit

Ira M. Younker
New York

Wm. J. Shroder, President
Cincinnati

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
Ansel & East 105th Street,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The first annual meeting of the National Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds will be held at the Standard Club in Chicago on the evening of January 6th and the day of January 7th, 1934. We earnestly hope you will be present. Over thirty cities will be represented by the President of their Federation or Welfare Fund or other community leaders.

We believe that the Federation movement today is at a cross roads. We believe it to be the most vital force in Jewish communal life. It must maintain its position, adjust itself to changing conditions and help to give vitality to local communities, organized and unorganized, throughout the country. To this end, we plan at our Chicago meeting, as the enclosed program indicates, to discuss all our vital problems and to endeavor to promulgate a general code of practices which can be used as a basic guide for local Federation procedure.

This association is yours, - your own creation. If the local Federation is to maintain its leadership, it is essential that every such Federation should contribute its weight and its wisdom and the presence of its representative to this meeting at which a program and a platform in keeping with the trend of the times can be developed. A reply card is enclosed for your convenience.

We hope for your active cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

William J. Shroder
WILLIAM J. SHRODER
President

Sol M. Stroock
SOL M. STROOCK
Chairman, Program Committee

FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS IN THE FOLLOWING CITIES CONSTITUTE THE COUNCIL

Akron, Ohio
Atlanta, Ga.
Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y.
Canton, Ohio
Chicago, Ill.

Cincinnati, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Columbus, Ohio
Dallas, Texas
Dayton, Ohio
Detroit, Mich.
Indianapolis, Ind.
Louisville, Ky.

Memphis, Tenn.
Minneapolis, Minn.
New Orleans, La.
Oakland, Calif.
Omaha, Nebraska
Pittsburgh, Pa.
New York, N. Y.

St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn.
San Francisco, Cal.
Scranton, Pa.
Syracuse, N. Y.
Toledo, Ohio
Toronto, Canada




EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ROME, January 7, 1933.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

With reference to my communication of
January 5th regarding your audience with the
Chief of the Government, I hasten to inform
you that a message has been received to the
effect that the audience will take place on
Tuesday, January 10th, at 6.30 p.m., instead
of 6 p.m.

Very truly yours,


A. H. Hillel
Counselor of Embassy.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Hotel Regina,
Rome.

March 12, 1934.

Dr. Walter B. Pitkin,
2960 Broadway,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Doctor:

I ought not to let this opportunity go by without telling you of a few things that I learned about you in the last few days. First, that you are a liar. You told me that you would call me back from Dayton. You did not. Secondly, that you are a welcher. You contracted through your manager to speak before our organization on Sunday morning. When you discovered that you would have to inconvenience yourself by taking a late train out of Dayton to keep your engagement with us, you welched. And lastly, I have learned that you are a swine. For the sake of personal comfort you had no hesitancy in disappointing an organization and a large congregation that counted upon you.

Your Cleveland manager told me about your unwillingness to travel in an ordinary pullman car or drawing room. Ever since you became a prima donna you must needs have a special bed on the train. It isn't that the berths aren't long enough for you, my dear Doctor. It is that they aren't big enough for your head.

I shall take the trouble to inform all the lecture groups and forums with which I contact throughout the country of your bizarre and revealing escapade of last Sunday.

Sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

December 26, 1934.

Mr. Eugene E. Wolf,
Engineers Bldg.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Gene:

The National Conference of Jews and Christians, of which Newton D. Baker and Roger W. Straus are co-chairmen, has issued a call to people of all faiths to join in the observance of Brotherhood Day on Sunday, February 24. Hundreds of communities in the United States will join in this observance which in these critical times takes on great significance.

I am anxious to arrange a fine service at The Temple that morning. Inasmuch as Mr. Newton D. Baker is co-chairman of the national movement, it is only fitting that he should deliver the address on this occasion.

I am enclosing herewith a draft of the letter which you might wish to send to him. I think it would be better to have this letter come from the President of the congregation rather than from me. If you agree with me about the invitation, I would suggest that this letter go forward immediately before Mr. Baker gets himself booked up by some organization for that day in town or out of town.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

My dear Mr. Baker:

We have been informed that The National Conference of Jews and Christians, of which you are co-chairman, has called for a nation-wide observance of Brotherhood Day on Sunday, February 24. The Temple, of which I have the honor of being President, would like to observe this significant occasion with a special religious service. Because of your distinguished service in this field of creating better understanding between all faiths and because Cleveland is your home, we wish to extend to you an invitation to be the guest speaker on this occasion. If agreeable to you, we would also invite some outstanding Christian churchman to share in the program.

We would be highly honored, my dear Mr. Baker, if you could see your way clear to speak at this Brotherhood Service which because of your presence would, I am sure, assume national significance. We would also endeavor to make arrangements for broadcasting the service.

It is some ^{now} years/since you have been with our Temple fellowship and our congregation would be delighted to hear you again on such an auspicious occasion.

With all good wishes, permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

RECEIVED AT

STANDARD TIME
INDICATED ON THIS MESSAGE

Postal Telegraph

(THE MACKAY SYSTEM)



ALL AMERICA
CABLES

COMMERCIAL
CABLES

This is a full rate Telegram or Cablegram unless otherwise indicated by signal in the check or in the address.

DL	DAY LETTER
NL	NIGHT LETTER
NM	NIGHT MESSAGE
LCO	DEFERRED CABLE
NLT	NIGHT CABLE LETTER
WLT	WEEK END CABLE LETTER

Form
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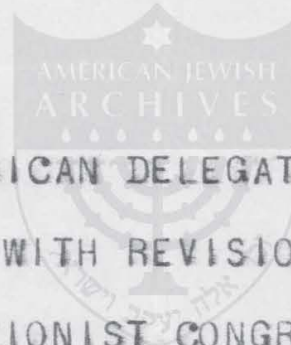
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Feb

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

CHOCORUA NHAMP

WRHS



LIPSKY IN INTERVIEW IN DAY DECLARES AMERICAN DELEGATION WILL HAVE TO
ANSWER TO AMERICAN ZIONISTS FOR UNITING WITH REVISIONISTS CREATING
FIRST BLOC AGAINST LABOR IN HISTORY OF ZIONIST CONGRESSES FOR OUSTING
WEIZMANN ON GROUNDS OF PERSONAL ENMITY RATHER THAN REFLECTING OPINION
MASS AMERICAN ZIONISTS AND FOR CREATION OF MOST TRAGIC SITUATION IN
ZIONIST HISTORY

A S MAGIDA.

Date ?

Secretary League of Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

מסגרת ארגון הליגה
מונאגוליה, פומרנה וכו' וכו', וכו'
ארגון הליגה, ארגון הליגה

Mass protest meeting at Cleveland, June nine, over three thousand attending. Many turned away and unanimously adopted that present suspension of Jewish Labor Immigration into Palestine is contrary to spirit and terms of Mandate and inconsistent with promises and obligations of British Government to Jewish people and continuation of suspension encourages unstable conditions in Palestine and engenders feeling of hostility of segment of population against the other and that suspension order is predicated not upon economic but upon purely political reasons and protest against the unwarranted suspension and demand immediate revocation of said order.

ארגון הליגה - ארגון הליגה
ארגון הליגה - ארגון הליגה
ארגון הליגה - ארגון הליגה
ארגון הליגה - ארגון הליגה

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman

Same cablegram sent to
Wallace Murray - Colonial Office British Government
London, England.
Near the post, post box 198
Eastern Division
ארגון הליגה - ארגון הליגה
ארגון הליגה - ארגון הליגה

[Undated]

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