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AMERICAN JEWISH  
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*Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman*

*Temple Emanuel*

*Denver*

CCAR

JUSTICE AND PEACE BULLETIN

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS:

The Commission on Justice and Peace is submitting this informal and unofficial statement to the members of the Conference in order to acquaint them with our interests during the current year and with the opinions of some of our members on vital problems of the day. The material in this bulletin is not to be confused with the annual report of the Commission.

One achievement of the year was the appointment of every member of the Commission to a sub-committee dealing with aspects of the domestic and world situations. As far as possible, these committees were drawn up on regional lines so as to make meetings feasible.

The scope of the sub-committees and their chairmen are as follows:

- Committee on Atomic Energy - Rabbi Julius Mark
- Committee on Civil Liberties - Rabbi Byron Rubenstein
- Committee on European Affairs - Rabbi Morton Berman
- Committee on Health - Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn
- Committee on Housing - Rabbi Jacob Weinstein
- Committee on Immigration - Rabbi Selwyn Ruslander
- Committee on Labor and Management - Rabbi Leon Fram
- Committee on Race Relations - Rabbi James Wax
- Committee on Situation in Asia - Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
- Committee on World Government - Rabbi Samuel Soskin

I have been receiving reports from these chairmen which should be of interest to the Conference at large.

Rabbi Selwyn Ruslander in reporting on immigration problems, has discussed the slow progress of Congressman Emanuel Celler's immigration bill, HR 4567 which passed the House and then was sent to the Senate. As you know, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Pat McCarran of Nevada, has presented a plan characterized by an attempt to shut the immigration gates even tighter. He is being fought various members of his committee who have presented a minority report.

Says Rabbi Ruslander:

The Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, the NCRAC (National Community Relations Advisory Council) and the Synagogue Council have issued statements accepting the so-called Minority Report with certain changes. These organizations specifically object to the phrase "ethnic origin" which appears both in the Celler Bill and in the Minority Report amendments to the McCarran Report. They also object to the system

of mortgaging quotas which was present, not only in the DP Act of 1948, but is contained in the Celler Bill as well as in the Minority Report of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

All three organizations request the help of all those who are interested in having a workable and a liberal DP Act passed, in informing our Senators of our opposition to the McCarran Bill; second, our acceptance of the Minority Report with the elimination of the few undesirable features which have been itemized. It is also requested that, not only should we inform our Senators of our own feelings, but that we should obtain from them a definite statement that they will sponsor and support these "amendments which are absolutely essential to transform the McCarran DP Bill into a fair, workable and effective law which will, once and for all, solve the DP problem".

The Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Immigration, therefore, wholeheartedly endorses the views of the Citizens' Committee on Displaced Persons, the NCRAC and the Synagogue Council urges upon the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis active assistance in achieving a good DP law for the United States.

Note: A new book has recently been published by Harper Brothers entitled American Immigration Policy - A Reappraisal, edited by William S. Bernard, 1950, \$4.00. This volume is heartily recommended for all those interested in an effective evaluation of the entire problem of immigration to the United States.

Rabbi Byron T. Rubenstein, chairman of the Committee on Civil Liberties, not only held a meeting of his sub-committee in Chicago, but also attended the National Conference on Civil Rights held in Washington in February. He is very much concerned about the whole problem of Civil Rights in the country today and I quote extensively from the recommendations that emerged from the Chicago meeting:

1. That every effort be made to urge the House of Representatives to bring out of committee for voting the bill for Home Rule for Washington, D.C. It was felt that the enjoyment of full citizenship rights by the people of the nation's capital will in itself be a step forward in the Civil Rights program.

2. That Congress be urged to pass the necessary legislation admitting Alaska and Hawaii as states, thus admitting the inhabitants of these two territories into full citizenship rights.

3. That the Senate be urged to pass F.E.P.C. Leg-

islation with adequate provisions for penalties which the recently passed House Bill does not have. It was the feeling of the committee, with reservations (and of the Conference in Washington) that despite the weaknesses of the House Bill, if we can get no better legislation from the Senate, that the House Bill be passed into law rather than have nothing at all. The reasons for this are:

- (a) It establishes a national policy.
- (b) It keeps the issue in the public eye.
- (c) It serves as an advance rampart from which to fight.
- (d) As national legislation, it is in itself educational.

4. That the omnibus Civil Rights Bill introduced by Senator McGrath (S 1725), which would provide among other things a permanent Civil Rights Commission, a Civil Rights division in the Attorney General's Office and many other significant advantages, be passed. It was the feeling of the Conference when Francis Biddle expressed the opinion that there would be time for only one more piece of Civil Rights Legislation, that this bill be urged in preference to the Anti-Poll Tax Bill HR 3199 which is now in committee. It goes without saying that both bills ought to be supported generally.

5. That the Anti-genocide Pact must be ratified by the U.S. Senate. There is increasing objection to it on two counts based on mistaken conceptions about the pact.

(a) Southern senators feel that this pact would affect lynchings. This is not true (unfortunately) because the pact refers only to a large number of victims.

(b) Senators object to the surrendering of U.S. sovereignty to an international tribunal. There is no international tribunal. The pact requires its signatories to pass their own laws against genocide. Outside of that, the only international aspect of the pact is that if a signatory nation does not pass such laws, it might be cited before the United Nations.

6. That all measures in cities and states to end segregation in housing, education, medical services, public facilities, be strongly supported.

7. That laymen ought to be interested in these movements through the Synagogue. Members of the Conference should join and encourage laymen to join and support organizations as the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, and the American Civil Liberties Union, working for the improvement of the Civil Rights situation.

Rabbi Samuel Soskin, chairman of the sub-committee on World Government, says:

One of the interesting situations to be watched is the United World Federalists sponsored House Bill, HCR #64 and Senate SCR #56. As of yesterday, there are 111 sponsors in the House and 22 in the Senate. As you may have heard, there have been some vitriolic attacks against the United World Federalists by our old friends (?), Rankin, Merwyn K. Hart, Gerald K. Smith and the D.A.R. I understand also that the Veterans of Foreign Wars are opposing it. Add to this the fact that Pravda and The Daily Worker, are also fighting it. You can really see strange bed fellows. I would recommend the reading of the World Must Be Governed by Vernon Nash and The Great Rehearsal by Carl Van Doren.

A dangerous situation is the one brought about by the Hobbs Bill, which exempts the Immigration Service from the regulations cited in the last Supreme Court decision concerning immigration. The Hobbs Bill authorizes the government to jail, for indefinite period, deported aliens whose native countries refuse to accept them.

I am wondering whether the men have been advised to read, 1) The United States and the Soviet Union, subtitle is, The Quaker Report on Prospects of Peace by the Yale University Press. 2) There is a very pertinent article in the December, 1949 Current Religious Thought by Pearl Buck, "Our Dangerous Myths About China". I would also recommend that every member of the Conference read Jack Beldin's book, China Shakes the World. It is a most lucid and inspiring report of the Chinese situation.

A number of undertakings being carried out throughout the country should command attention. One is the Marengo Plan to acquaint communities with the implication of atomic energy from the point of view of science, of national defense with all its dangers, and of the general improvement of our way of living in the atomic age. A group of experts from the State University of Iowa conducted ten public lectures in Davenport this winter and gave presentations of the many facets involved in atomic energy. Their point of view was liberal and enlightened and critical of the government program. This type of series is intended for the man-on-the-street and is a powerful force in the direction of social thinking. When these lectures were conducted in Davenport, time was allowed for interesting demonstrations of radio-activity and for question periods and discussion. It is planned to duplicate this local project throughout the country during the coming year. If you are interested in initiating such a program in your own community, contact Professor Hew Roberts, State University of Iowa, College of Education, Iowa City, Iowa.

Our colleague, Rabbi Benjamin Friedman of Syracuse, has been instrumental in organizing a remarkable series of social justice meetings held under the auspices of the local Citizens' Foundation. This is a group whose members include important leaders in management and labor anxious to solve some of the problems that are besetting American industry. They have presented three noteworthy leaders of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious circles who described the social justice program of each of their religions. A large turnout of leaders of industry and labor has been present to hear what religion has to say on economic questions. Three hundred and fifty were present in below zero weather. If you are interested in having a similar project in your home community, communicate with Rabbi Friedman, University Ave., and Madison St., Syracuse, N.Y. or Frederick H. Sontag, Citizens Foundation, 433 South Warren St., Syracuse, N.Y.

Our splendid statement on Race Relations, written by Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn, has achieved a wide circulation, 9,000 copies having thus far been distributed. One of our fine channels for dissemination has proved to be the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods.

Among our other projects is a scheme to prepare material on the high school level in conjunction with the Committee on Jewish Education and another to work with the Hillel Foundations to provide social justice literature for college students. Rabbi Alfred Friedman is at present preparing a sort of concordance that will give us the important statements that our Commission has issued through the years so that we may be able to find the proper citation through consulting this easy reference.

Our most crying need at present is for statements expressing the Jewish position on various aspects of social justice, to be made available to the world at large. I have constant appeals for up-to-the-minute pronouncements on labor, international affairs, etc., and I am forced to refer people to the resolutions that are published in the yearbook. We are hoping to have simple tracts made available in the spirit of our Conference pronouncements.

Criticisms and comments are welcome.

Abram Vossen Goodman, Chairman  
333 Union Arcade Building  
Davenport, Iowa

P.S. During the procedure of mimeographing, the good news came on the progress of the Immigration Bill through the Senate.



AMERICAN JEWISH  
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A Confidential Report  
by  
Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman  
to  
The Central Conference of American Rabbis  
on  
Thursday June 28, 1956.



Thursday, June 28, 1956. (Off-the-record communication.)

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I would like the opportunity, this morning, to speak for about ten minutes, and I would like these remarks to be considered completely off the record, I am not sure there should even be a record in the Conference Proceedings.

(No record made up to this point.)

.....and the things that I wanted to share were not matters which had to do simply with the campaign, and raising money, but the things that I saw happening were matters which I felt were at least as significant in Jewish life as earlier cataclysmic events, which go far beyond dollars and cents.

There were two things with which I was concerned, one was the fact that we would lose the opportunity to take out a vast Jewish population in North Africa, which is a tremendous reservoir of future strength as far as Israel is concerned, and which intrinsically, in and of itself, does not deserve to be trapped and left as hostages, in an essentially unfriendly Arab environment. To me, Jews who are lost represent that same kind of twinge on the conscience that Jews who were lost at any point in the Hitler period represented, and there are half a million Jews in North Africa, of

whom we were dealing most immediately with a quarter million Moroccans.

I said that there would come a time when we would not be able to get any more Jews out, and that if that time ever occurred it would rest on all of our consciences as seriously as anything can rest. I was told at that time that I was an alarmist and an extremist, and using intemperate language for the sake of trying to raise a few more dollars. It was not the case at all, and I am sorry to say that the thing which I feared and others feared has come to pass.

We have, as of June 11, absolutely no more emigration from Morocco; we have left there approximately 175,000 people. You may have read an article in the New York Times some weeks ago in which you were told that there were 2,000 people in a camp outside Casablanca, and conversations were going on as to the possible release of those 2,000 people. There are now in that camp not 2,000 but 7,000, and there are, in that camp, conditions which are equally as bad as any which we witnessed in the DP camps in Germany ten years ago. The JDC last week flew in 10 tons of food, thousands of blankets, and whatever. The situation there is tovu ve vovu. I am going back to Morocco on Monday again, we are

going to try to see what we can do in the situation.

I want you to know, very simply and without any elaboration, that had there been more money available, we could have gotten more Jews out. It is an equation which stands the test of all objective criteria. More money was provided this year, we got many more Jews out. Ten, twenty, thirty or fifty thousand Jews are left there whom we did not get out because there was not enough money. That is past history. That is done. There's no sense crying over spilt milk.

I am here to tell you, and this is really what I mean by off the record, you have simply got to take this with the kind of statesmanlike responsibility that leaders handle information of this sort, that there is a possibility that we will get out those people in that camp; there is an equal possibility that we will not get them out. Behind those people there lie another 40 or 50 thousand who have made all their preparations to leave, and who are in the most confused state as regards their personal life, one foot is on the bridge, and they are committed and the Arabs know it; property has been liquidated, there is almost no return. There will be panic in the country, in the internal Jewish communal

organization has already fallen apart; the leaders of the Jewish community have all received telephone calls, and letters saying that they should resign from Jewish communal leadership on pain of death; there has been a harassment of all the responsible people in the country. Top leadership has shied off, there is a crumbling of any internal structure whatsoever.

The officials of the Jewish Agency have been thrown out, the JDC itself has the ax hanging over its head, and the upshot of the whole business is that I think we have lost in Morocco; we have gotten out 75,000 persons, and that's it! What we may do from this time on will be fragmentary; it will be another few thousand, or another few thousand, at most.

This has caused the people in Tunis to become terribly frightened, and from there they are starting to run in large numbers.

Thirdly, and lastly, you have never heard me or anyone else speak to you before about Algeria. I suggest you keep your eye on that from now on. A problem is developing in Algeria now, which has all the manifestations of another Morocco, and there are 150,000 people there; they are frightened and don't know what to do. While it is true,

they have the legal option to go to France, they are not sure this is the solution for them. There have been: the shooting of a rabbi, the burning of a synagogue, the bombing of a Jewish cafe. In the larger places, in Constantine, in Bonn, in A.... I think we are headed for trouble in Algeria.

The other thing that I was afraid of, was the fact that there would be the intemperate beginning of hostilities in Israel by the Arabs. This fear is perhaps even more serious than the one about Morocco. I have expressed it constantly, since last October. I have had very few takers. May be because nobody wants to believe such a thing will be possible. Psychologically there is resistance. The build up of strength in the Arab world is appalling. All of the equipment from Russia has already been delivered: 60 percent of it has been assimilated for use by Egyptian forces. Ben Gurion put it very succinctly: We are rich in manpower; poor in equipment. Egypt is rich in equipment, poor in manpower. Egypt has 80 jet pilots of her own, plus 100 German jet pilots; there are no Russians. ....

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There has been much speculation as to whether there will be an attack or not; I can tell you right

now three-quarters of the Egyptian Army is bivouaced on Sinai Desert, 25 kilometers opposit .....El Awuja has three roads out of Egypt, converging upon it; this is the natural route of invasion if there will be one by land.....

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There is a negative reason: The egyptians do not like to fight in winter, that is why he (Ben Gurnion) is more afraid of the summer. The positive reason is that this enormous buildup of supplies and material cannot result in a stalemate, whereby they do nothing with the things they have achieved and obtained. You don't build permanent barracks, depots, supply units, without intending to use those to mount something otherwise it is sheer waste.

I would like simply to make this point: Since the founding of Israel and the war which attended it in 1948, there have been a whole series of episodes in international Jewish life, where when we have had vision and perspective we have managed to rescue people; where we have had no vision we have lost people, and that is what happened in Morocco. It should be a warning to us that when we are told that there are opportunities to do things within certain time limits, let's not pooh-pooh those warnings and let us accept those

time limits when they are given to us by responsible people.

The second thing I would like to say is that the danger of a war is by no means past. I may be myopic by now, and I may be blinded by my own preconceptions which I have held since last October, and I would certainly hope that I am wrong, I have no evidence to see yet, that I am wrong, there is no comfort in a United Nations cease fire; there is no comfort in the Russian statement that they want to help make a peaceful settlement. Egypt is tense and alert, and the tension is mounting again, and you will have this in a series of ebbs and flows in the next few months, until the thing reaches, in my judgment, a crescendo and explodes.

I have spoken as frankly as I know how to speak and you can understand why I want nothing of what I said to be on the record. I only come to you with this hope: That there may come a time again when we will have to do what we failed to do earlier this winter, mobilize Jewish public opinion in the United States, and there is no body, no group of people better able to contribute to that localization than those of you who are in position to issue a call based upon the imperativeness which we feel, and should it become necessary for us to do that, I would hope that when we try

to do it again it would not fail as it did the first time.

If a situation occurs in which money cannot help, then there is no sense to call upon people to give more money, but if a situation occurs where money can help, then it is terribly short-sighted of us not to try to mobilize all we can.

I want you to know very simply that either in the North African situation or in a possible war situation there is nothing that can help more than money; it is the most powerful weapon we have; it is a weapon which all of us, I think are morally obligated to attempt to mobilize.

Barnie, I am sorry I took more time than I should have but I thank you for the opportunity. (Applause)

PRESIDENT BRICKNER: I know that what has been said makes the shivers run down our backs and through our veins. Herb talked like this to a very small group of us and it was on that basis that we projected the Meeting which your President proposed should be held in Washington, and which failed.

Now Herbert has been realistic and as he left the pulpit here he said: If there are any questions he is prepared to answer them. We will take perhaps ten minutes in which to deal with questions.



RABBI HERSCHEL LEVIN (Flushing, L. I.): I feel that a great source of our trouble lies in the fact that John Foster Dulles is an anti-Semite. I have reason to believe it. I have a question: Many of us believe that there would be no danger of war if Israel were properly prepared with American arms. I feel that this Conference should call a spade a spade. We have gotten nowhere with our State Department by kowtowing, by being quiet, by not protesting. It is a fact that there would be no danger of war in Israel if the United States would fulfill its obligation to a sister democracy. Why should we not speak out and tell the Government of the United States that by its action it may destroy Israel? The responsibility will be its. It will be that of our Government, because of anti-Semitism at the head of the State Department.

PRESIDENT BRICKNER: My dear colleague --

RABBI LEVIN: I would like to have an answer from you on that question.

PRESIDENT BRICKNER: Now look - will we strike from our mental record any castigations of the Secretary of State as an anti-Semite? I cannot prevent anybody from thinking as he pleases but not on the floor of this Conference,

and so I deplore the use of any such castigation about the second highest officer of our land.

Now the question is one that Rabbi Friedman may or may not choose to answer.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Gentlemen, my answer is a very simple one: Such comments are not helpful at all.

The practical problem here is: How does Israel obtain equipment if she does not obtain it from Mr. Dulles. There is no point in calling him names. The point is to try to obtain it somewhere. I am happy to say that she has been able to obtain it from France, with the acquiescence of Mr. Dulles, who is in a most peculiar and paradoxical situation. He gives nothing from the United States, but tells France to sell, and he did. She obtains from Italy, she obtains from Holland, she obtains from Belgium. These are NATO countries. She gets nothing from Canada. Therefore her efforts to obtain equipment from the free world are meeting with success today, where they were not three months ago. To that extent her situation has improved considerably.

I tried to say that the way to buy arms is to have money, and you buy them where you can, and you don't call anybody names who won't sell them to you.

RABBI AVERY GROSSFIELD: This is something I want to point out, it is in the form of a question, yet a statement. I am trying to point something out first: In the small towns such as the one I occupy a pulpit in now, there are quite a number <sup>of</sup> rich persons. Many of them are northern industrialists who have come down to the South in the textile industry, some in my own congregation. We rabbis of the small community have trouble enough trying to raise a little money for the Combined Campaign, UJA, and a man comes down and talks to three or four people, and then he disappears. I think if the UJA took some strenuous action to localize these small communities, they can get money out of these men, which the resident rabbi himself cannot do because of so many other things such as the Combined Campaign and everything else that impinges upon his work there. And yet UJA is losing tremendous amounts of money - I can name a lot of communities - in Florence South Carolina they have not given a fraction of what they ought to give to UJA, and what can the rabbi do, and what can the UJA man do who comes down and stays a few hours?

I am asking: Can something be done in regard to these small, scattered communities where there is

money, to extract it?

PRESIDENT BRICKNER: Any other questions?

RABBI JAY KAUFMAN: I know Rabbi Friedman to be very cautious in these matters. I know that Herb has been very cautious. I noted the way he answered Herschel Levin in most statesmanlike manner. Therefore I am somewhat shocked that he had said something that I had never heard spoken about aloud before, and I want to know why he mentioned aloud the fact that funds raised by the American Jewish community will be used for the purchase of armaments. We have been cautioned so repeatedly that such a thing was unwise; there have been statements made that possibly the funds we raise will be utilized for other things so that the Israelis may be free. I wonder if this is a change in UJA policy, I wonder if this is so completely off the record that we dare not whisper such things. This is a new development, I would like to have discussed for just a moment.

RABBI FRIEDMAN (after repeating the question for those who had not heard Rabbi Kaufman): I didn't say that. I said the only way you can buy arms is if you have money. There is a difference. There is not one single dollar that the UJA raises, with which it buys so much as a cap pistol. The UJA raises money for the Jewish Agency, which

is a tax-exempt philanthropic organization whose charter calls for it to do rehabilitation work, refugee resettlement, irrigation, etcetera. The UJA turns monies over to the Jewish Agency; the Jewish agency, accepting those dollars, turns those dollars over to the Government of Israel in order to buy from the Government of Israel, pounds, francs, all other kinds of currency which it uses for its work. The Government of Israel then comes into the possession of dollars for which it pays pounds. What the Government of Israel ultimately does with those dollars which it has bought, is its business.

Its very simple; everybody knows that, and therefore, Jay, I don't think that I have enunciated any change in policy. I don't think I said that the UJA raises money by which to buy arms; I have always said exactly the opposite.

A MEMBER: Will you please repeat that?

PRESIDENT BRICKNER: I think the statement is quite clear; there is no point in asking Herbert Friedman to repeat that the UJA does not send any money for anything but what it gives to the Jewish Agency for colonization, for immigration, for all the other types of work that are publicly known and registered with the State Department in Washington

and that makes those funds tax exempt. The Government of Israel buys arms and everybody knows that it pays for them with monies that it has. It does not get money from the UJA for this purpose.

This will be the last question because it is quarter after eleven and we owe it to the Service, the Conference Sermon and the Program of Worship.

RABBI DUDLEY WEINBERG: Herbert, not many weeks ago you projected an attempt to mobilize whatever capacity the American rabbinate has to arouse the Jewish community, afford it the opportunity which lay before it. That effort failed. You mounted that effort in the midst of the crisis. That crisis has passed, simply because we were not able to do what we wanted to do. You anticipate there will be similar crises. You have warned us. You have put us on notice. Is there anything you would want us to do or feel we can do in anticipation of such a crisis? It takes a long time to mobilize even Jewish public opinion, and if again we wait until we find ourselves in the midst of another crisis, we may not be able to get ourselves going rapidly enough or effectively enough to achieve what should be achieved. Can anything be done now, to help you in your work?

RABBI FRIEDMAN: The answer to that lies within the machinery of this Conference, and any other rabbinical Conference that wants to try to undertake this.

You quite rightly said that there will be other crises. One is looming on the horizon most rapidly. Should the time come when again in spite of extraordinary efforts which the American Jewish community has made up to now in the year 1956, should something occur to require the American Jewish community to begin all over again, then I think it will be up to this body that feels the weight of conscience, to find its own means to offer its own strength. I don't know how.

I know how long it takes to mobilize what is essentially a small group of men in the country. If the rabbinical forces of the United States were to schrei gevald it would make the greatest possible impact upon the Jewish laity. I am sure that although there are always whisperings, under-currents and "I am not so sure of that" - those who say they are not so sure of that, I think are selling short the power and the authority of the rabbinate. Therefore, how long it takes to mobilize the machinery of this Conference, to put the call out from the rabbinical voice of authority, I don't know.

I would hope that if the time were necessary to call it again and make another effort, that it would not fail again. I would hope that it would be able to be mobilized quickly. I don't think there is anything that need be done on a stand-by basis early in the game.

