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American Zionist Emergency Council, American Jewish
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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

DATE January 2, 1945

TO: Members of the Interim Committee

FROM: I. L. Kenen

SUBJECT:

Enclosed is a memorandum on proposals for the future organization and activities of the American Jewish Conference for the ensuing year submitted by the members of the staff.

MEMORANDUM ON FUTURE ACTIVITIES

In the light of the experience of the past fifteen months, we of the staff have joined in submitting to the new Interim Committee recommendations on the future program and organization of the American Jewish Conference.

I. PROGRAM

The resolutions adopted at the second session and the statements made by many of the delegates lead to the conclusion that it is the consensus that the Conference must become a more active body and must function on a much broader scale. The tenor of the speeches throughout the debate fortifies that conclusion. The report of the Budget and Finance Committee, recommending an appropriation of \$250,000 for 1945, as compared with the \$100,000 that was spent in 1944, is typical of delegate reaction to the previous record. On all sides, the opinion was voiced that the Conference must accelerate and intensify its work within the scope of the original program.

At the outset, we propose clarification of the Conference's functions in accordance with the following principles:

1. The Conference must carry on political and public relations work on the national and local levels.
2. It must function as an entity on its own behalf without delegating its authority and its duties to other bodies unless the occasion demands.

We believe that these two principles are prerequisite if the Conference is truly to be the spokesman for American Jewry on all problems within the Conference's scope, and if the Conference is to gain and merit greater support not only for itself but for the program it espouses.

We propose that the following projects be undertaken:

1. The early submission of all of the Conference decisions on rescue, Palestine and post-war to the President of the United States by a Conference delegation, which is now more vital than ever before in view of the wide-spread and public impression that there is great disunity among the Jews of the United States on these matters.

2. The continuation of rescue work in a more active and direct manner, in view of the fact that there are still 500,000 Jews at the mercy of the Nazis and some of these can doubtless be rescued if action is taken.

3. Activity to implement the two Palestine resolutions of the Conference, with special reference to intergovernmental action to assist in the resettlement and rehabilitation of many thousands of Jews now waiting to go to Palestine.

4. Continuation of political and public relations work to advance the post-war program of the Conference.

5. The creation of the United Jewish Representation proposed in the Conference resolution.

6. In the meantime and in preparation of the United Jewish Representation, the sending of commissions to Europe and to Palestine and Russia, if possible, to establish direct contact with the Jewish communities abroad.

7. The appointment of Conference representatives or correspondents in key points abroad to provide direct information to the Conference.

8. The development of public opinion - among Jews and non-Jews - favorable to Conference objectives by radio programs, regional conferences, and other means.

9. The development of closer cooperation between the Conference, its constituent organizations and the communities, involving rules governing the relationship of the Conference and its affiliates and their enforcement and closer contacts with communities through the utilization of field representatives by the Conference and the delegates, community councils and other local bodies in the communities.

These are the major projects which should be undertaken if the Conference is to carry out its adopted program.

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II. PAST DIFFICULTIES

It is necessary to point to certain past disabilities as a result of which the Conference was not adequately geared for action. These difficulties were of a two-fold nature.

1. Lack of Clarity in the Interpretation of the Conference's Functions

A. The work of the Conference in the past was complicated by contradictory interpretations of the status of the Conference. There was a difference of opinion within the Interim Committee itself and within the Commissions over the question whether the Conference should be an operating body or a "sounding board" for American Jewish public opinion. This difference was never definitively resolved and as a result, the Commissions themselves, which were created to implement resolutions by the Interim Committee, had no clear understanding of the work they were called upon to do and the means to be employed.

B. The Conference found itself assigned to carry on work previously done partly by some of its constituent organizations. Thus it was involuntarily in competition with them while its Interim Committee and Commissions consisted of representatives of these very same organizations. On the theory that duplication of work was wasteful and therefore should be avoided, there was a tendency to delegate functions to constituent organizations. This delegation was not always formal. On more than one occasion, work that was theoretically to be carried out by a Conference Commission, was in fact performed by members of the Commission through their own organizations. Thus the Conference was not always active in its own right and at times became the registry of other organizations' activities. As a result, it has suffered loss of prestige on more than one occasion, not only among the constituency of the Conference, but more serious, in governmental circles. The Conference was clearly intended to be a foreign affairs committee for American Jewry. If it is to be in fact the spokesman of American Jewry vis-a-vis our government, foreign governments and the public, it can become that only if the organizations within the Conference are willing to defer to it, and if the Conference committees and staff, themselves, have a clear mandate to carry on the work of the Conference. The very confusion resulting from a multiplication of representations at Washington which the Conference was designed to end, was compounded during the past year with the sanction of the Conference itself.

2. Organizational Defects

A. The primary organizational defect during most of the year was the absence of an executive body charged with responsibility for the execution of the Conference decisions. The Administrative Committee was not established until May and for a period its only function was preparation for the second

session. In the meantime, large commissions consisting in no small part of persons who were not even delegates to the Conference, were created and their work was not effectively coordinated. One of them was given complete autonomy and was independent by resolution of the Administrative Committee and the Interim Committee. A second almost completely delegated its functions. It was not even a policy-making body or a sounding board.

B. The Conference was inadequately supported financially during the year and while it operated within its income, its program was constantly hampered and on two occasions, when funds were required for urgent work, it was compelled to make a special solicitation of organizations both in and out of the Conference.

We review these defects so that the Interim Committee may take them into consideration in planning the future program.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS ON ORGANIZATION

1. Executive Committee

If the Conference is to become an operating body in the full sense of the term, it must have an executive or administrative committee vested with full authority, meeting at least fortnightly and responsible for the execution of the Conference program. The Interim Committee should formally delegate to the executive committee full authority to function in between bi-monthly meetings, at which the Interim Committee would receive reports from the executive committee, review past activities and determine future policies in the light of developments.

The executive committee should be a small and compact body with the co-chairmen serving as ex-officio members. In the selection of its membership, consideration should be given to the fact that the executive committee is a functioning rather than a legislative body, and that its membership should consist

of persons who are prepared to give a priority of time and interest to the Conference and its work and to become the active spokesmen for the Conference rather than the representatives of their organizations.

2. Other Committees

Small committees, consisting of members of the Interim Committee and delegates at large, should be created to consider the various phases of the work of the Conference, and to report and be responsible, in the first instance, to the executive committee. Members of the executive committee should act as the chairmen of the various committees. The committees should clear on all projects with the executive committee and should, when authorized by that body, undertake activities proposed by or referred to them.

We suggest the establishment of the following committees:

- A. Committee on Rescue
- B. Committee on Post-War
- C. Committee on Palestine

The functions of these three committees are more or less clearly defined.

D. Committee on Jewish Representation - One of the major objectives during the year will be the establishment of a United Jewish Representation. It is recommended that a special committee be established to consider all the aspects of this situation and to be empowered, under the authority of the executive committee, to proceed with the execution of the plan.

E. Committee on Organization - The Interim Committee was directed to appoint a committee to study and make its report and recommendations to the third session concerning the structure and organization of the Conference and it will be necessary to appoint such a committee in the immediate future to begin the work.

F. Joint Planning Committee - World Jewish Congress - It is the opinion of the staff that the present working agreement between the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference has not, for a variety of reasons, worked as well as it should have. It is recommended that a committee be appointed to review the agreement and to consider this problem in all its aspects as it affects proper cooperation and joint responsibility for carrying out action agreed upon.

G. Committee on Religious and Cultural Rehabilitation - The resolution on post-war rehabilitation provided for the creation by the Interim Committee of a committee or commission to investigate the problems affecting the religious and cultural rehabilitation of post-war European Jewry, and to take such action as may be necessary on the basis of its findings.

H. Committee on Community and Organization Relations - We believe that rules governing the relationship of the Conference and its constituent organizations and procedures strengthening the relationship between the Conference and the communities, must be adopted as soon as possible. In this connection, there was referred to the Interim Committee a proposal submitted to the Committee on Organization covering the relationship between the Conference and its constituent organizations. This Committee should consider that resolution, which, while commendable in purpose, does create some new difficulties which might serve to impede efficient operation.

I. Committee on Finance - This committee could undertake the responsibility for raising the \$250,000 budget, which, under the terms of the Conference resolution, is to be contributed both by the communities and the national organizations. The Finance Committee would have to pass upon the budget, pro-rate the allocations as between and among the communities and the organizations. The Finance Committee resolution at the Conference recommended that at least three members of

the Budget and Finance Committee of the second session be members of the Finance Committee, and the Interim Committee should give consideration to this proposal.

3. Political Panel

In addition to these committees, there should be established, within the Executive Committee, a panel of leaders who will be available to carry on representations in the name of the Conference with government officials as the need arises.

4. Community Participation

A. Conference Committees - We believe that it is important that steps be taken to dispel the impression of some of the delegates that the communities are not adequately represented in the Conference bodies and committees. During the year, a number of the delegates have expressed surprise that while they served on standing committees at the Conference's first session, they were not enlisted as members of the commissions. Within the General Committee at the second session, this sentiment was also expressed in a motion providing that only delegates to the Conference might serve as officers of the session. It is desirable, therefore, to place community delegates from the committees of the session on committees wherever possible and practical.

B. Interim Committee and Cooptions - The same viewpoint was reflected in the resolution of the Conference providing for cooption of fifteen members to the Interim Committee. The resolution stated that "in connection with the designation of such members at large, consideration should be given to communities outside of the City of New York." In this connection, an analysis of the membership of the Interim Committee elected at Pittsburgh shows that 21 of the Interim Committee are delegates representing organizations, and 27 are community delegates; but of these community delegates, 15 are in fact the heads of national organizations

and 16 are from Greater New York. It would seem desirable, in view of the complaint that the communities are not represented in proportion to their strength in the Conference, that the Interim Committee give special consideration to the communities in making up the list of coopted members. The presence of a number of community delegates would be of material assistance in solving the problem of involving the communities in the Conference program and in raising funds in the communities.

C. Attendance of Out-of-Town Members - In order to insure that the community delegates will in fact attend the meetings of the Interim Committee and the standing committees, it is recommended that the Conference undertake to pay at least the railroad expenses of the members residing outside Greater New York.

5. Responsibility

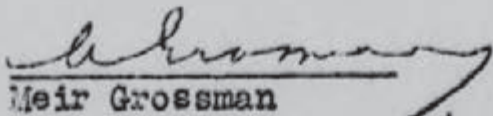
We recommend that in the interests of efficient operation, responsibility for each committee be vested, wherever possible, in a single head. We believe that primary consideration must be rapid implementation of program and we suggest, on the basis of experience, that there is loss of time and efficiency and that opportunity for action is sometimes lost when responsibility is divided.

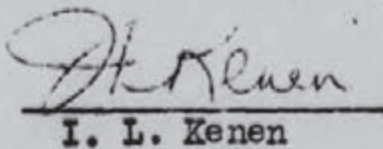
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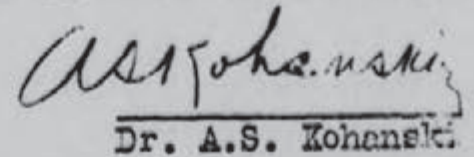
The enlargement of staff will be necessary under the program outlined above, if the Conference is to carry on its own work with a minimum of delegation to other bodies.

7. Financing

In the interim, pending the organization of the Finance Committee, and in order to insure that the work may be carried forward immediately, it is suggested that the organizations, which are now by Conference resolution expected to contribute to the Conference budget, should subscribe amounts as advances on their contributions.


Meir Grossman


I. L. Kenen


Dr. A.S. Kohanski

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Friday, January 12, 1945 - Biltmore Hotel, New York City

The meeting opened at 10:40 A.M. with Mr. Henry Monsky presiding.

Those present were: Maurice Bisgyer, Max Bressler (alternate for Sigmund W. David), Sigmund W. David, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jane Evans (alternate for Charles P. Kramer), Mrs. Ida Cook Farber (alternate for Mrs. Maurice Turner), Dr. Simon Federbusch, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Mrs. J. George Fredman (alternate for J. George Fredman), Leon Gellman, William Gerber (alternate for Benjamin Samuels), Frank Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Charles P. Kramer, Israel Kramer, Sidney G. Kusworm, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Mrs. Albert J. May (alternate for Mrs. Joseph M. Welt), Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Herman Z. Quittman (alternate for Harry A. Pine), Adolph Rosenberg (alternate for Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath), Dvorah Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman (alternate for Robert Szold), Edward S. Silver, Simon Sobeloff, Alex F. Stanton, Hermann Stern, Robert Szold, Mrs. A. H. Vixman (alternate for Mrs. Stephen S. Wise), Ralph Wechsler (alternate for Prof. Hayim Fineman), David Wertheim, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise and Baruch Zuckerman.

Guests: Prof. Selig Brodetsky, A.G. Brotman, Sam Caplan, Alexander Easterman, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Bernard Postal, Hon. S.S. Silverman.

Staff: I.L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A.S. Kohanski and Mrs. Ann Jarcho.

MOTION: It was moved by Mr. Kusworm that pending the election of new officers, the present co-chairmen continue. CARRIED, and Mr. Monsky remained in the Chair.

I. MINUTES OF MEETING OF NOV. 27, 1944 - Approved.

II. COMMUNICATIONS

1. From Dr. James G. Heller, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, requesting an opinion from the American Jewish Conference on the question of national budgeting.

The Chair proposed that it be referred to the incoming Executive Committee with power to act. He stated that there was no doubt that the consensus of this Committee is "that we are opposed generally to the principle of a national budgeting or evaluation committee on the part of the Council of Welfare Funds and Federations. The question that arises in my mind is as to whether the Conference can improve the situation or be helpful by passing such a resolution in the Interim Committee, and I would like to refer it to the Executive Committee.

DR. WISE: With power, Mr. Chairman, I add, to send a statement to the conference.

CHAIRMAN MONSKY: With power, yes.

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MR. SHULMAN: Mr. Chairman, if it is a fact that the consensus of opinion is against national budgeting, why cannot we at least go on record as expressing our opinion, then leaving it to the Executive Committee to determine the manner in which that decision or opinion is to be communicated to the appropriate agencies.

MR. ZUCKERMAN: I think that the expression of the Chairman was that we were generally opposed to it; there was no objection to that.

MR. SHULMAN: It is so intended then, is it?

CHAIRMAN MONSKY: That is right.

2. Re Cooptions

- a. From the National Women's League of the United Synagogue
- b. From the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the I.W.O.

requesting that their representatives be among the fifteen additional members to be coopted by the Interim Committee.

MOTION: It was moved by Rabbi Miller and seconded by Dr. Margoshes that the Chair appoint a committee of five to consider nominations for cooptions. CARRIED.

3. Statement of the Jewish Labor Committee announcing its withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference.

MOTION: It was moved by Mr. Lipsky that the Chair appoint a committee to consider a reply to the Jewish Labor Committee prepared by the staff. CARRIED.

MOTION: After discussion, it was moved by Dr. Wise and seconded by Rabbi Miller that a special committee of five be enabled to report on this matter as the first business of the afternoon. CARRIED.

4. From Sir Herbert Emerson, Director of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, replying to the memorandum of the American Jewish Conference criticizing the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee's representative Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith. No action was taken.

5. From John W. Pehle, Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, acknowledging receipt of the Conference Rescue Resolutions and assuring the Conference that the Government "would continue its efforts to save the Jews and other victims of Nazi oppression." No action was taken.

6. From the Federation of Bessarabian Societies of America, asking for representation in the American Jewish Conference.

MOTION: It was moved by Dr. Wise that it be referred to the Executive Committee. CARRIED.

7. Telegram from the Canadian Jewish Congress, inviting the Conference to send a representative to the Congress session January 14,15,16. Mr. Kenen was authorized to convey a message to the Congress.

III. REPORT ON STAFF ACTIVITIES

On behalf of the staff, Mr. Kenen reported on staff activities since the second session. Because time was of the essence, the Resolutions on Rescue had been submitted to the War Refugee Board, which was followed up by a visit to the Board by Mr. Grossman and himself, where it was learned that the Board was

undertaking a number of important projects on a greater scale than in the past.

The Conference had invited Mr. Anselm Reiss and Dr. Abraham Silberschein, both formerly of Poland and in this country as delegates to the War Emergency Conference of the World Jewish Congress, to present their suggestions on rescue possibilities to members of the Commissions on Rescue and Post-War. Later, in an effort to arouse public opinion to the necessity for immediate action, a joint press conference had been arranged by the Conference and the World Jewish Congress. Mr. Reiss presented his views to the general press.

All decisions of the second session have been circulated to the delegates in the Conference Bulletin and to the general public in a special edition of the Conference Record. 30,000 copies have been distributed. Copies of the Interim Committee report were being sold to the general public and Dr. Kohanski was now preparing the proceedings of the second session.

Fund raising activities were being continued by Mrs. Ann Jarcho.

IV. ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR SELIG BRODETSKY

At this point, Professor Selig Brodetsky, President of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, addressed the Interim Committee. (Excerpts from Professor Brodetsky's remarks are attached to these minutes.)

V. FUTURE PROGRAM AND ACTIVITIES

A memorandum embodying proposals on the future program and organization of the Conference was submitted by Mr. Grossman, Dr. Kohanski and Mr. Kenen. (The memorandum was previously mailed to members of the Interim Committee.)

MOTION: Following discussion, it was moved by Rabbi Miller and seconded by Dr. Wise that the Committee first take up the recommendations on organization. CARRIED.

MOTION: It was moved by Mr. Bisgyer that the Executive Committee consist of eleven persons and in addition, the Chairmen of Standing Committees; seconded by Mr. Rothstein, whose amendment that the Co-Chairmen be ex-officio members of the Committee was accepted by the author of the motion.

During the discussion, Mr. Lipsky analyzed the duties of the committees and proposed that the term "standing committees" include five: Rescue, Post-War, Palestine, United Jewish Representation and Finance. The United Jewish Representation Committee would also include in its work that previously done by the Joint Planning Committee.

MOTION: Rabbi Miller moved that the Executive Committee consist of the Chairmen of the Standing Committees, plus five members to be elected by the Interim Committee. Motion failed for want of a second.

MOTION: It was then moved by Mr. Shulman that there be established an Executive Committee to be an active functioning body, responsible to the Interim Committee and to report to and get guidance from the Interim Committee so far as future policies and future activities are concerned; that the committee be composed of people who will function actively in the Conference and make that their

primary responsibility; that the nucleus of the committee be the Chairmen of the various Standing Committees, plus such other number as may be decided upon by a sub-committee.

The Chair proposed that a special committee be named to bring in recommendations in accordance with Mr. Shulman's motion.

MOTION: It was moved by Miss Evans and seconded by Mrs. Farber that Mr. Shulman's motion be amended so that the entire matter be referred to the sub-committee without advance recommendation. **DEFEATED.**

Mr. Shulman's motion was then **CARRIED.**

The Chair then appointed the following sub-committees:

Committee on Cooptions: Maurice Bisgyer, Chairman, Jane Evans, Hermann Stern, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, and David Wertheim.

Committee on Jewish Labor Committee: Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Chairman, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Louis Segal, and Simon Sobeloff.

Committee on Nominations: Frank Goldman, Chairman, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Mrs. Ida Cook Farber, William Gerber, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Adolph Rosenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Edward S. Silver and Baruch Zuckerman.

VI. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COPTIONS

On behalf of the Committee on Cooptions, Mr. Bisgyer proposed the following thirteen names for membership on the Interim Committee: Aaron Droock, Judge Lewis Goldberg, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman, Mortimer May, Jefferson E. Peyser, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Adolph Rosenberg, Charles Sonnenreich, Justice Meier Steinbrink, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum and Joseph Weingarten.

Mr. Gellman proposed the name of Rabbi Gold of New York and Mr. Segal proposed the name of Dr. Ralph Wechsler of Newark.

MOTION: It was moved by Dr. Margoshes and seconded by Mr. Shulman that a vote be first had on the recommendations of the sub-committee and that additional names be referred to the sub-committee for consideration or to the Executive Committee. **CARRIED.**

The report of the sub-committee was then accepted, and the Chair stated that additional names presented will be referred back to the sub-committee with any other names and they will be referred in turn to the Executive Committee with full power to act.

VII. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

On behalf of the committee, Judge Levinthal reported that the committee recommended adoption of a statement in reference to the withdrawal of the Jewish Labor Committee with some slight revisions. Mr. C. Kramer voiced objection to those parts of the statement which were controversial and urged that the statement be "solely factual". The statement was revised in one particular in response to this objection. The statement was then approved with Mr. Kramer voting in the negative.

VIII. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

On behalf of the Committee on Nominations, Mr. Goldman submitted the following:

For Co-Chairmen of the Interim Committee: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Henry Monsky and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

For membership on Executive Committee: Louis Lipsky, Chairman, Maurice Bisgyer, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath (Chairman Committee on Post-War), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jane Evans, Professor Hayim Fineman (Chairman Committee on Rescue), J. George Fredman, Leon Gellman, Charles P. Kramer, Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Judge Morris Rothenberg (Chairman Committee on United Jewish Representation), Samuel Rothstein, Max J. Schneider (Chairman Committee on Finance), Herman Shulman, Alex F. Stanton, David Wertheim.

The sub-committee recommended that the chairmanship of the Palestine Committee be referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

It also recommended that those named to the Executive Committee have the power to name alternates, but that those alternates must be named at the first meeting of the Executive Committee and must remain fixed.

Upon completion of Mr. Goldman's report, Dr. Wise stated that he would be unable to continue as Co-Chairman because of the pressure of duties as Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and urged that Mr. Lipsky be elected in his place. Dr. Wise's declination and recommendation were accepted.

MOTION: It was moved by Mr. Rothstein that the report of the committee be amended to include Dr. Wise's name as a member of the Executive Committee. **CARRIED.**

The Chair stated that the appointment of the members of the Standing Committees will be referred to the Executive Committee, which is to report back to the Interim Committee, with the understanding, however, that the Committees as designated by the Executive Committee shall, in the interim, be convened and organized.

The report of the sub-committee was then approved.

MOTION: It was moved by Mr. Segal that the Executive Committee be charged with responsibility of defining the objectives and the purposes of the Committee on United Jewish Representation and to consider the advisability of co-chairmanships. **DEFEATED.**

MOTION: It was then moved that the Executive Committee be instructed to define the duties and responsibilities of all committees and to present its report to the Interim Committee. **CARRIED.**

The Chair stated that the matter of program, as set forth in the staff memorandum on future activities, be referred to the Executive Committee for consideration, and a report submitted at the next meeting of the Interim Committee.

MOTION: It was moved by Mr. Lipsky that the Interim Committee approve the principle of meeting the expenses of transportation of persons who are members of the Committee but who are non-residents of New York, and to leave it to the Executive Committee to decide the method of procedure.

The Chair proposed that the motion read: "That the Interim Committee approves in principle the recommendation made by the staff that the transportation expenses of non-resident members of the Interim Committee shall be paid, but that the matter is referred to the Executive Committee to study in relation to the budget and that final action thereon shall be taken after that study has been made and we receive a recommendation."

Mr. Zuckerman declined to accept the amended motion, but the amended statement was acceptable to Mr. Lipsky and was seconded by Dr. Margoshes and was CARRIED. Mr. C. Kramer asked that the record show that there was opposition to the motion.

IX. GREETINGS

Following short talks by Hon. S.S. Silverman and Alexander Easterman, representatives of the British Section of the World Jewish Congress, on the necessity for common deliberation and common action in the solution of world Jewish problems, the meeting adjourned.



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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

I.

Thursday, January 18th, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Jane Evans, J. George Fredman, William Gerber (alternate for Maurice Bisgyer), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Jacob Marrus (alternate for Leon Gellman), Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman (alternate for Mrs. Moses P. Epstein), Alex F. Stanton and David Wertheim.

Guest: Robert Silverman.

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A. S. Kohanski and Mrs. Ann Jarcho.

RULES ON PROCEDURE

1. Status of ex-officio members: It was agreed that the co-chairmen of the Interim Committee, ex-officio members of the Executive Committee, shall have a vote in the Committee.
2. Permanent alternates: It was agreed that members of the Executive Committee designate permanent alternates within two weeks time.
3. Quorum: It was agreed that a quorum shall consist of ten (10) members.
4. Distribution of minutes: It was agreed that minutes of the Executive Committee meetings be sent to the members of the Executive, their alternates, and all members of the Interim Committee.
5. Time of meeting: It was agreed to hold meetings of the Executive Committee at 5:30 P.M. on Thursday evenings.

DATE OF INTERIM COMMITTEE MEETING

It was tentatively agreed to hold the next meeting of the Interim Committee on Wednesday, February 28th, if that date is generally suitable.

COMPOSITION OF STANDING COMMITTEES

Lists of suggested members for the Standing Committees on Palestine, Post-War, Rescue, Joint Representation and Finance were submitted by the staff.

On the suggestion of Judge Rothenberg, it was agreed that the Standing Committee on Joint Representation hereafter be called "Committee on United Jewish Representation."

After discussion, it was agreed that the lists as submitted be sent to all members of the Executive Committee for their suggestions and that when the matter is taken up again at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, it be then referred to a sub-committee for further consideration. It was also agreed that the Executive Committee will not make final decisions on committees until the end of February, with the exception of the Committees on United Jewish Representation and Finance.

With regard to the Committee on Finance, it was agreed that in addition to Max J. Schneider as Chairman, Aaron Droock of Detroit be named as Vice-Chairman to handle financial matters on the national scene.

Mr. Kenen reported that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was unwilling to accept the chairmanship of the Committee on Palestine on the ground that he believed that someone closer to the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council would be in a better position to serve. Judge Rothenberg moved, and it was seconded and carried, that the appointment of a chairman of the Palestine Committee be laid over until the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

It was agreed that discussion on the program of the Conference be deferred until the next meeting.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

Judge Rothenberg, chairman, reported that several joint meetings had been held with Mr. Lipsky, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Monsky and himself representing the Conference; Prof. Selig Brodetsky and Mr. A.G. Brotman representing the Board of Deputies of British Jews; and Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Rabbi Irving Miller representing the World Jewish Congress.

The proposal discussed was that there be established a committee in which would be represented the Board, the Congress and the Conference, and other countries having an organized representation. It would be the function of this joint body to coordinate the work and, at the proper time, to present common demands to international conferences that may be in a position to receive them, and to various governments, pending the establishment of these international conferences. It was the opinion of the committee that representations made to the United States Government should be made by the American Jewish Conference alone, and that representations made to the British Government should be made by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. With respect to international bodies, there would be an agreement in the Joint Committee as to what procedures should be adopted.

Judge Rothenberg further reported that the World Jewish Congress did not agree to the principle with regard to representation on international bodies, but that it would consider the matter.

The Chair supplemented Judge Rothenberg's report by pointing out that it is intended, as a first step, only to establish a formula most likely to meet with the approval of the constituency of the members of the joint committee.

There was no action by the Executive Committee on this matter.

REPORT ON RESCUE

Mr. Grossman reported that a joint meeting had been held with the World Jewish Congress on Sunday, January 14th, and that in view of the belief that it is still possible to rescue a considerable number of people, the Congress suggested the following steps:

1. To hold a special demonstration in Madison Square Garden, not on the general issue of rescue, but limited to four or five definite points - exchange, sending of food parcels, protective passports, etc.

2. Joint approaches to the governments of the United States, South America, and neutral countries.

Mr. Grossman further reported that it was planned to hold these demonstrations on a nation-wide scale, accompanied by intensive newspaper campaigns and advertising. This would involve an expenditure of about \$15,000 which the Congress suggests be shared by the Conference and the Congress.

In the ensuing discussion, the Chair pointed out that the United States Government, through the War Refugee Board, was making an effort to do everything it could to effect the rescue of Jews and therefore we could not now make strident demonstrations and demands. Thereupon Dr. Goldstein suggested that a more moderate meeting be held, such as a meeting at Carnegie Hall or at a hotel, where a report could be presented, which would review what has already been done during the past year and at the same time, suggestions could be made with regard to the future.

It was moved and seconded that it was the opinion of the Executive Committee that such a meeting, under such conditions as may be decided upon, is desirable. CARRIED 7 to 5.

Mr. Rothstein moved that such a meeting be held solely under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference, without the cooperation of the World Jewish Congress. Dr. Goldstein amended the motion to empower the Executive Committee to hold such a meeting under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference with the cooperation of the World Jewish Congress.

Mr. Rothstein's motion as amended by Dr. Goldstein was CARRIED, with Mr. Fredman voting in the negative.

RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL BUDGETING

Pursuant to action taken by the Interim Committee, the Executive Committee authorized the issuance of a resolution in opposition to the proposal for national budgeting, and the appointment of a committee to prepare and edit it. Miss Evans voted in the negative on this motion.

DAY OF PRAYER AND MESSAGE TO THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Goldstein reported for the American Zionist Emergency Council that the United Synagogue Council of America had issued a call for a nation-wide day of prayer in connection with an action initiated by the Council to approach the President on Palestine. He pointed out that public opinion should be impacted upon the attention of the President so that in his forthcoming conference abroad, he would consider the plight of the surviving Jewish remnants in Europe, the possibilities of rescuing those who still can be rescued, the question of safeguarding the civil rights of the Jews of Europe, and also the whole question of opening wide the gates of Palestine with a view to establishing a majority which will constitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. Coupled with this will be felicitations to the President and prayers for his safety and health.

Dr. Goldstein proposed that the Conference issue its own statement along these lines and send its own message to the President; that it communicate with its constituent organizations and delegates asking them to follow a similar procedure.

It was agreed that such action be undertaken by the Conference immediately.

COOPTIONS TO INTERIM COMMITTEE

Mr. Fredman moved, and it was seconded, that one of the two remaining places on the Interim Committee be reserved for a representative of the youth groups. CARRIED.

It was moved to table further consideration on cooptions. CARRIED.

FUTURE PROGRAM AND STAFF ASSIGNMENTS

Discussion on this subject was deferred until the next meeting.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

I. L. Kenen

TSK
1/22/45

EXCERPTS FROM PROFESSOR BRODETSKY'S ADDRESS.

"The Secretary of the Board, Mr. Brotman, and I, have come here firstly, foremostly, in order to establish contact with the American Jewish community... British Jewry is very small... less than 400,000... British Jewry has one advantage over American Jewry in that it is rather old... The Board of Deputies was actually constituted in 1760 and has been in existence since then, looking after Jewish affairs.

What are the Jewish affairs to be looked after? We had in England, as of course we had in several other countries of Europe, a couple of things which I like to call "an anti-Semitic holiday..." People who lived in England in the '30's and '90's must have really felt that they were completely identical with the general non-Jewish population. Since then many changes have taken place. I need hardly say that in the last ten or twelve years we have had in England a situation which is causing us a considerable amount of anxiety... During the war itself there have been a number of occasions... when the Jews were the center of conversation, merely from the point of view of finding somebody to blame...

This problem represents one of the most important tasks of the Board... Another important task of the Board is the field of foreign policy, that is to say, the position of the Jews in Europe and in the world and, of course, the problem of Palestine.

Now in order to show that the Board does really represent the Jews of England, I would like to mention the following: the Board recently adopted a policy on Palestine... by a majority of 159 against 18... in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth. There were people who said that if such a decision were adopted anti-Zionists would leave the Board... But I am glad to say that up to the present time I have heard nothing further. The Board still represents people who are for the Jewish Commonwealth and those which are against it, which I think is greatly in favor of the Board's position... The Board has the function of dealing... with the political problems of Anglo-Jewry internally and externally, but it has a much more important status than that in the community, and that is, that it represents the constant forum whereby the Anglo-Jewish community can express its views...

I believe that the time has come when the Jews of different countries must consider the various problems we have to deal with... more collectively than they have done in the past... Two things have happened - one, that great disaster to Jewry... and the second, the great effort made last year by the Jews in the United States to establish this Conference. I think this organization of the most important Jewish community in the world is an extraordinarily vital and important contribution to Jewish life. I thus felt that there ought to be a contact between our community and yours. The problem of the Jews is not a problem for American Jews; it is a problem for all the United Nations, and whatever the Jews of England can do with the British Government is as important as what the American Jews can do with the American Government. I have the impression that the views of the American Jews are not very different from those of the English Jews.

The question now is: how can we act? It is quite obvious that the Jews of England can only go to the British Government as Jewish citizens... The Jews of America go to the American Government and no doubt speak as citizens of the United States.

The really important thing is that we make sure that the formulation of all the policies, and also the practical carrying out of any approaches, should take place as between a co-partnership of the Jews in different countries of the world. I would like to say at once, I have not in my mind anything that would take the form of establishing a new world organization... I believe that the duty of the Jews in 1944 and now in 1945 is not to discuss organization or constitution with one another, but to save Jews who can be saved and settle them in such a way that they shall be able to live happily in the future.

What I am interested in is that we should be able to work together. It seems to me to be of vital importance that what we say to our Government should be the same as what you say to your Government; that the different views of Jewish bodies should be parallel; we should consult with one another from time to time, not only about details of policy but also the methods of carrying them out."

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

II.

Thursday, January 25th, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jane Evans, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Charles P. Kramer, Jacob Marrus (alternate for Leon Gellman), Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman and David Wertheim.

Staff: I.L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A.S. Kohanski and Mrs. Ann Jarcho.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING 1/18/45 - Approved.

RULES ON PROCEDURE

1. Quorum: A motion to reconsider the previous decision was carried. It was then moved that a quorum shall consist of eight (8) members. **CARRIED.**

2. Time of meeting: Miss Evans moved that the Executive Committee meet once every other week on Thursday nights between the hours of eight and eleven. **CARRIED.**

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICE COMMITTEE

Mr. Caplan moved the appointment of an Office Committee, on which will be included the Chairman of the Committee on Finance, this Office Committee to bring in proposals to the Executive Committee with regard to office and administration. **CARRIED.**

COOPTIONS TO INTERIM COMMITTEE

The Chair stated that a communication had been received from the Mizrachi Organization of America, recommending that Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein and Mr. Jacob Marrus be named as members of the Interim Committee, and that Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein be selected as Chairman of the Palestine Committee.

Mr. Wertheim moved that consideration of this matter be postponed until one week before the meeting of the Interim Committee, for the reason that there may be additional vacancies if any of the original thirteen nominees decline. **CARRIED.**

In addition to the recommendations for cooptions by Mizrachi, the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and the Galician Jews (received previously), Judge Perlman, on behalf of the American Jewish Congress Group, asked that Harold O.N. Frankel, Grandmaster of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, be considered.

STANDING COMMITTEE ON AFFILIATIONS

It was moved and seconded that the Executive Committee establish a Standing Committee on Affiliations. **CARRIED.**

The Chair then stated that the application for admission of the Bessarabian Jews of America will be referred to this committee.

CHAIRMAN OF PALESTINE COMMITTEE

→ Mr. Wertheim nominated Judge Louis E. Levinthal.
Mr. Marrus nominated Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein.

After discussion, Dr. Goldstein moved that the matter be postponed until the next meeting. CARRIED.

DATE OF INTERIM COMMITTEE MEETING

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Interim Committee be held on Sunday, February 25th, at 10:30 A.M.

FUTURE PROGRAM OF THE CONFERENCE

The Chair introduced the subject of future program and the following discussion ensued:

MR. LIPSKY: The American Jewish Conference lives from day to day on an agenda created by circumstances. If the Conference is going to go ahead on that line, we shall be in a peculiar position. Our program will be determined by events. We will be reacting to events rather than creating them. I think it is absolutely essential that we establish a basis of operations. Most of us have lost sight of the fact that in the first session of the American Jewish Conference, we adopted a set of resolutions with regard to rescue, post-war and Palestine, which represent the totality of the demands of the Jewish people. This program, augmented by the resolutions adopted at the second session, represent the case and demands of the Jewish people that could, within thirty days and with the proper introductions, be submitted to a Peace Conference if one were held.

As a matter of fact, we have not got that program in any completed form. We have this material in our records but as a matter of fact, it is not the basis of our operations. Being instructed by the first and second sessions to implement the resolutions adopted, we should prepare the material for submission to governments in the form governments are used to receiving such matters, and make the basis of our propaganda the action that we take in submitting the material to the governments concerned. We have not got material in that form so that it can be submitted in that manner; the program that we have to submit to the nations of the world, the necessary publicity that goes with the submission of this program, the necessary elucidation that may be required in making this program understandable to certain peace organizations. We must have a program in addition to the regular work that comes along day by day.

Our regular business is to see to it that governments and the public know our program and wherever necessary, to interpret that program. Our stable business is our program; our incidental business is that which comes in by reason of the events of the day.

We will have to build up in our research department a staff that is capable of creating the material that will be the basis of our action. Our program will have to be written up in the way that governments are used to receiving demands from representative bodies. It will be necessary to turn our material into French, Spanish and other languages that are used by the governments whose interest we intend to solicit. Any time we approach a government, it will serve as the basis for certain press action. When it comes to the business of international representation, we are providing for this by undertaking to organize coordinated action on the part of the Jews of the world - the Conference, the Board of Deputies and the World Jewish Congress and such other independent Jewish communities.

With regard to our constituency, it is important to establish a connection with the delegates who are part of the American Jewish Conference and with the organizations that elected these delegates. We now communicate with them through the Record and the Bulletin, which goes to all the delegates and some additional persons every week. It may be necessary for us to have field representatives in order to organize throughout the country regional meetings to get a better understanding of our purposes and secure support through the organs of public opinion.

We shall have to establish a Domestic Bureau. We shall have to establish a Bureau for Overseas Affairs. In connection with the work of developing public opinion in the United States, we will have to create in the United States a publication that will serve as the recorder of the events that are taking place on the other side, that are already registered with the governments in Italy, France, Bulgaria, Roumania. We must establish our own correspondence with regard to this matter and publish once every two months a record of the legal status of the Jews in Europe.

This is a form of action on which we can organize: (1) The Research Department strengthened; (2) foreign correspondence established, which will be extensive, not identical with the correspondence of the World Jewish Congress, but primarily for the purpose of publishing what are the rights of Jews in Europe; (3) a publication in the proper legal form, containing this action.

DR. GOLDSTEIN: I think we ought to stress a little bit more the public relations aspect of the work in addition to the functional projects. We must keep the public constantly aware of the fact that there is an American Jewish Conference. I believe that we ought to try to place articles in the press and periodicals which represent the things that we have worked out as our program, and especially now, as the end of the war seems closer, discussions of these matters are going to become more and more timely. This is an opportunity to present our case before the public through the daily press. We should hold a press conference in the near future, attended by the heads of the committees, to keep our objectives, as well as our identity, before the public. We should establish a dignified publication, to appear every two months, which will present these matters in a way to the men who are molding public opinion and to the members of the various intergovernmental bodies.

On the functional side of the program, have you done anything to review recurrently the three aspects of our program, in order to see what has to be done with reference to rescue, post-war and Palestine? Have we been in sufficiently constant touch with the intergovernmental bodies? There is no reason why we should not be in touch with them more frequently, like UNRRA. I believe in a more aggressive public relations program.

MR. SHULMAN: I do not find any fault with the program as you have outlined it. You can proceed along the lines indicated, of preparing in proper form the presentation of this program to the various governments, but functioning implies much more than that. It means being aware of the day by day situation that has to be dealt with. While you are setting up your program of ultimate aims, you have to, at the same time, set up that functioning machinery which will proceed day by day to do the job that can only be done now, particularly with regard to rescue. Post-war, in my judgment, should be at the center of the activities of the American Jewish Conference, but there too, you have to set it up in such a way as to permit the carrying out of the program you outlined, but at the same

time, have people devoting themselves to day by day contact with our government, foreign governments, etc. With regard to Palestine, you happen to have a functioning body taking care of the day-by-day work - the American Zionist Emergency Council. Here is a body that has the manpower and the budget and it does the day-by-day work. What the Conference should do is to supplement that work of the Council.

MR. MARRUS: The publicity angle stressed by Dr. Goldstein is very important, and if we do the day-by-day work, we have the men to carry that out. It is also important that we do not overlook the many local organizations who sent the electors to the local elections. In many communities, the delegates themselves, and perhaps other people, have written off the American Jewish Conference as a dead proposition. We should not permit the opinion of these individuals to become the accepted thing. I believe that some concise memorandum should go out to the different synagogues and sisterhoods and brotherhoods and fraternal orders, telling them from month to month what the American Jewish Conference has done so that we create our own propaganda in favor of the Conference.

MR. WERTHEIM: Our policy, first of all should have a ceiling on endorsements. There must be a certain proportion. I think that committees alone will not help us. I think what we need are executives for each committee - one executive officer, a professional man, has one commission. It is entirely a question of having separate executives for each committee: post-war, rescue and Palestine. Of course, we will not have the budget and propaganda work that the Emergency Council does, but there are certain political activities and approaches to be made and these must be carried on by an executive. Therefore, I fully agree with what Mr. Lipsky says, but we must establish our committees with executives for each and every committee and undertake activities of our own.

MR. CAPLAN: The Conference will be unable to set up the apparatus required to execute the day-to-day activity and we came to the conclusion that we should utilize the machinery available for that purpose. To begin to establish that type of machinery would take months, if not years. Chiefly, the difficulty lies in the fact that the Conference had not achieved sufficient prestige in the American Jewish Community from the things it had been doing or should have been doing. The formula to be devised whereby the Conference would safeguard itself in the American field as representative of the American Jewish Community, in performing the tasks in the three areas. It was asked to attempt to utilize to the full the machinery available in all the three areas of its program. If we had an adequate staff to work to see that the program of cooperation functions, the benefit to the Conference could accrue without the Conference saddling itself with the enormous machinery required.

MR. ROTHSTEIN: (After reading the resolution on organization referred to the Interim Committee by the second session) As a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council, they have the manpower, the whole set-up to implement that work. For us to set up similar community councils would be a duplication. However, the Emergency Council in turn should realize that when it wants something done, that in all matters affecting Palestine, before they act, unless it is a serious emergency, that they should submit it to us and we should act in line with that decision if it meets with our approval, in the name of the American Jewish Conference. Therefore, you will not have to set up an organization throughout the country to implement the Palestine Resolution of the Conference. So far, we have adopted resolutions which have been submitted to the government and have been getting proper publicity. We could do it with a

much smaller staff by combining the suggestions of Caplan and Wertheim. We should have an executive, a man in this office to whom should be assigned the work of each commission, but we should work together with the national organizations, not independently of them. We should try to do it in the name of the American Jewish Conference wherever possible. If the American Jewish Conference goes to the government, it will be much stronger if the Conference goes to the government than the Emergency Council representatives alone.

MISS EVANS: I suggest that the members of this committee give thought to the statement made by Mr. Lipsky and to the various discussions around the table, and that between now and the next meeting, we attempt to crystallize these thoughts so that at the next meeting, we will be in a position to bring the matter into a definite form.

MR. KRAMER: We must arrive at a program and put in force the machinery to carry out that program. In two fields of activity, it is necessary to have an every-day consideration of the problems that arise - rescue and post-war. In these two fields, we have the right to act. We were authorized by the communities of this country. Rescue must be combined with post-war, and we are passing an opportunity because in these fields, in which we are unhampered, we merely issue statements. We need a force of capable men and women to do the every-day work in these fields. We need an over-all executive, the best man who can be found in this country, capable of working out this program to bring it before the public and bring it to the people we want to work with. We should appoint a committee which will, within the next two week period, study everything that has been said here tonight and study the reports, and bring a full program at the next meeting, so that we can get the necessary money, power and authority and enter into the field of work.

JUDGE PERLMAN: This Conference must become a functioning body, whether we can get the manpower to do everything at the present time, or should we accept the services of other agencies to give us the manpower. The committee to be appointed should study the cost of manpower. I would like to know if this program were put into effect, what would it cost for the Conference to do it alone and what it would cost if we accepted the services of the Emergency Council or any other agency.

MR. KRAMER: I move that a committee of five be appointed to study the question raised and to bring in the report at the next meeting, containing as much as they possibly can report at that time. MOTION CARRIED.

MR. LIPSKY: We should have a line of action and that line of action should be what we were created for, to implement through the media of governments, the program that we have advanced - supported by the press, radio and public meetings. If we can work out a scheme like that, it must be done as soon as possible. It will be an organization ready to defend positions that are won and ready to represent Jews that no other organization can do. We can create here in the United States a personnel comparable to that of the World Jewish Congress.

PAYMENT OF RAILROAD EXPENSES

After discussion, it was moved and seconded that out-of-town members of the Interim Committee, whose fares are not paid by any organization, should have their railroad fares paid by the American Jewish Conference. CARRIED, with Mr. Kramer, Mr. Rothstein and Mrs. Epstein voting in the negative.

REPORT ON RESCUE MEETING

Mr. Kenen reported that Prof. Hayim Fineman and he had met with representatives of the World Jewish Congress and had informed them of the decision of the Executive Committee that this mass meeting should be a report meeting rather than a demonstration. It was suggested that Mr. Pehle and Mr. MacDonald be invited to a meeting of that kind. Mr. Pehle has already been invited but he has not yet replied.

The World Jewish Congress had decided that if such a meeting were held, it would be held in the name of the American Jewish Conference alone, and that while the Congress would cooperate, it would not be as a co-sponsor. Mr. Monsky was informed of this contemplated meeting and he asked Mr. Kenen to inform the Executive Committee that he was very much opposed to any such meeting at this time.

Mr. Kenen proposed that in order to arouse public opinion more effectively in connection with the program, a resolution be introduced in Congress concerned with the proposal to exchange Jews in internment camps for German nationals in this hemisphere. He submitted a memorandum from the World Jewish Congress, giving additional information on the possibilities of exchange, and asked the opinion of the Executive Committee as to whether it is desirable to introduce such a resolution in Congress.

The consensus of the meeting was opposed to the idea of introducing the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the Executive Committee reaffirm the decisions made at the preceding meeting with regard to rescue, and that the sub-committee be authorized to proceed with the organization of a meeting under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference, to receive a report on the work of rescue during the last period, the date of the meeting to be contingent upon Mr. Pehle's acceptance. CARRIED.

Mr. Shulman suggested that should Mr. Pehle decline, Mr. MacLeish or Sumner Welles be invited.

PROPOSAL FOR WEIZMANN MEETING

Mr. Kenen stated that Dr. Weizmann was expected in the United States in March and he proposed that the Conference sponsor a large public meeting in his honor. No action was taken pending further inquiry.

STAFF REPORT

The Chair reported that the letter to the President on the occasion of his inauguration had gone out as proposed at the last meeting of the Executive Committee, and that the Executive Committee had given its support to certain matters submitted by the Emergency Council in connection with the appointment of Colonel Hoskins to a Middle East Post.

REPORT ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

It was reported that meetings had been held with Prof. Selig Brodetsky and Mr. A.G. Brotman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, representatives of the World Jewish Congress and representatives of the Conference, and that as a result of these meetings, the following statement was drawn up:

"As a result of discussions held in New York, representatives of the American Jewish Conference, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the World Jewish Congress have agreed to refer to their respective bodies the following proposal;

"That a committee shall be set up of representatives of these three bodies to work out the means whereby consultation and coordination among themselves, and such other Jewish bodies as are in agreement with their general policy, may be most effectively secured and their common objectives affecting post-war Jewish needs attained."

Mr. Shulman moved that the Executive Committee recommend to the Interim Committee the acceptance of this proposal. CARRIED.

It was agreed that this proposal be made public.

ELECTION OF TREASURER

After discussion, it was agreed to lay this matter over.

The meeting then adjourned until February 8th, 1945.

I. L. Kenen

fsk
1/31/45

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
HENRY MONSKY
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
Co-Chairmen

MAURICE BISGYER
NAOMI CHERTOFF
SIGMUND W. DAVID
J. DAVID DELMAN
RABBI WILLIAM DRAZIN
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
PROF. HYMAN J. ETTLINGER
RABBI SIMON FEDERBUSCH
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
DANIEL FRISCH
LEON GELLMAN
FRANK GOLDMAN
DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
MRS. SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN
RABBI ROBERT GORDIS
HAYIM GREENBERG
MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN
MRS. HUGO HARTMANN
RABBI JAMES G. HELLER
HERMAN HOFFMAN
EDGAR J. KAUFMANN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM
HON. LOUIS E. LEVINthal
LOUIS LIPSKY
JULIUS LIVINGSTON
DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES
RABBI IRVING MILLER
DR. SAMUEL NIRENSTEIN
HARRY A. PINE
MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL
ADOLPH ROSENBERG
DVORAH ROTHBARD
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
ISIDOR SACK
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
LOUIS SEGAL
HON. CARL SHERMAN
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
HERMANN STERN
ROBERT SZOLD
DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM
MRS. MAURICE TURNER
MRS. JOSEPH M. WELT
DAVID WERTHEIM
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

Administrative Committee

LOUIS LIPSKY
Chairman
MAURICE BISGYER
SAMUEL CAPLAN
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
JANE EVANS
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
LEON GELLMAN
WILLIAM GERBER
HAYIM GREENBERG
CHARLES P. KRAMER
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM
RABBI IRVING MILLER
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
MAX J. SCHNEIDER
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
MEYER W. WEISGAL
DAVID WERTHEIM

January 26, 1945

To the Members of the
Interim Committee:

Please take note that the next meeting of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference will be held on Sunday, February 25th at 10:30 A.M. at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City. Because of the heavy agenda, it is likely that the Interim Committee meeting will continue through the afternoon and evening.

We are enclosing copies of the minutes of the last meeting of the Interim Committee and the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting on January 18th.

Please fill in the enclosed card and return it to this office.

Sincerely yours,

I. L. Kenen
I. L. Kenen

ILK:s
encs.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

DATE: Jan. 31, 1945

TO: MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND INTERIM COMMITTEES

FROM: I.L. KENEN

SUBJECT: MINUTES

Enclosed you will find minutes of the Executive Committee meeting on January 25th, 1945.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will be held on Thursday, February 8th, at 8:00 P.M., at the office of the Conference.

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enc.

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

III.

Thursday, February 8th, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Judge Nathan D. Perlman), Jane Evans, Prof. Hayim Fineman, William Gerber (alternate for Maurice Bisgyer), Jacob Marrus (alternate for Leon Gellman), Samuel Rothstein, Louis Segal (alternate for David Wertheim), Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman (alternate for Mrs. Moses P. Epstein), Alex F. Stanton and David Wertheim.

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A. S. Kohanski and Mrs. Ann Jarcho.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING 1/25/45 - Approved

RULES ON PROCEDURE

1. Time of meeting: It was agreed that the Executive Committee meet at six o'clock on Thursdays, instead of at eight o'clock as formerly agreed.

2. Permanent Alternates: Mr. Kenen was authorized to request members of the Executive Committee to designate their permanent alternates within the next week.

MEMBERSHIP OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Chair submitted a letter from Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, resigning from membership on the Executive Committee, because of the pressure of other work.

It was moved to accept the resignation of Mrs. Epstein with regret and to recommend to the Interim Committee the naming of Mrs. Herman Shulman in her place. **CARRIED.**

REPORT OF THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE

The Chair submitted the report of the Program Committee, which covered the following points:

1. Relations with Governments
2. Overseas Relations
3. Public Relations

After discussion, it was moved that this report, after editing to reflect the opinions expressed, be approved and submitted to the Interim Committee. **CARRIED.**

The revised report is attached.

REPORT OF OFFICE AND PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

The Chair reported that following the last meeting, he had designated Mr. Fredman, Mr. Gellman, Judge Perlman and Mr. Rothstein to serve on this committee. Mr. Fredman had been unable to serve because of illness. The Committee, with Mr. Marrus acting for Mr. Gellman, had met and after reviewing the report of the Committee on Program, submitted the following recommendations for staff assignment:

Executive Secretary - I. L. Kenen, who shall be directly responsible to the Executive Committee for the over-all implementation of the Conference program, and whose duties it will be primarily to coordinate the work of the various departments.

Director of Overseas Relations - Meir Grossman, whose duties it will be to further the overseas relations program listed in the program of activities.

Director of Research - Dr. A. S. Kohanski, who, together with staff, will gather the factual material required by the Conference in the advancement of its program.

Secretary to Finance Committee - Mrs. Ann Jarcho, who shall act with the Budget and Finance Committee on all matters of finance, and who shall be responsible for all fund-raising.

The report was approved.

REPORT ON RESCUE

Prof. Fineman, Chairman of the Committee on Rescue, reported that he and Mr. Kenen had visited William O'Dwyer, Director of the War Refugee Board, and Miss Florence Hodel, his assistant, and had urged the following:

1. The issuing of last-minute warnings. Mr. O'Dwyer stated that such warnings were under consideration and may be issued by the "Big Three". In case they are not, Mr. O'Dwyer agreed that the warnings should be issued by Russian military authorities, or General Eisenhower, or our own State Department.

2. Food supply in Switzerland. A large number of persons are expected to try to escape to Switzerland and the question of food supply may arise. Steps will be taken to anticipate that problem primarily by obtaining military food stuffs in that area. Mr. O'Dwyer said that the question had not been raised by Switzerland.

3. Request that the International Red Cross and neutral countries have their representatives on the spot in various internment camps. Mr. O'Dwyer stated that this was being done.

4. Packages for internees. Measures are being taken by the government.

5. Exchange. Mr. O'Dwyer stated that this was not realistic but that the War Refugee Board was doing what it could.

Prof. Fineman stated that he had received disquieting reports on maladministration of relief and that if these charges were true, it was the duty of the Conference to take a stand on the matter. It was the consensus that if these charges were in writing and could be submitted for further consideration, some action might be taken. Prof. Fineman was authorized to proceed along those lines.

ACTION ON HERBERT C. PELL

Mr. Kenen reported that telegrams had been sent in the name of the Conference to our State Department and to members of Congress, urging action to facilitate American participation in the United Nations War Crimes Commission (The text of telegrams appears in Bulletin No. 48); and that the Conference is sponsoring a report meeting on February 12th, at the Hotel Commodore, to which all electors and delegates in Greater New York had been invited. The guest speaker will be Herbert C. Pell. Other speakers include Dr. Nahum Goldmann, representing the World Jewish Congress on rescue, Prof. Hayim Fineman, representing the Conference on rescue, and Dr. Israel Goldstein, presiding. A draft of a resolution to be adopted at the meeting was submitted.

Mr. Shulman informed the Executive Committee that he and other members of the American Zionist Emergency Council had met with Secretary Grew on Zionist matters and that Mr. Grew had stated during the interview that there had been some misunderstanding as to where the Government stood, pointing out that Pell's withdrawal was due solely to the fact that Congress had not voted an appropriation. He stated that he would issue a statement on the matter, which he did.

In view of Mr. Shulman's remarks, it was agreed that this meeting be not carried on in such a way so that it would center on personalities. It was also agreed that the resolution be submitted to Prof. Fineman and the presiding officer of the Feb. 12th meeting for consideration.

The secretary then read a letter from the United Galician Jews of America, calling attention to the fact that the Federation of Polish Jews, an affiliated organization of the Conference, had attempted to arrange a meeting with Mr. Pell as guest speaker prior to the meeting of the Conference, although it had been informed of the Conference's plans.

Miss Evans moved that this matter be called to the attention of the Interim Committee. CARRIED.

Mr. Grossman suggested that Mr. Lipsky meet with officers of the Federation of Polish Jews to discuss this matter and it was agreed.

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. Committee on Budget and Finance - Mr. Aaron Droock was appointed chairman of this committee, following notice that Mr. Schneider was unable to serve.

2. Committee on Palestine - The secretary reported that letters had been received from the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the Rabbinical Council of America and the National Council of Young Israel, urging the appointment of Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein as chairman of this Committee. It was moved that action be deferred until the next meeting, CARRIED.

3. Membership of Standing Committees - It was agreed that the lists as first submitted and revised and then added to by the members of this Executive Committee, should be established as the list of the members of the committees, with the understanding that the committees may enlarge their membership to thirty, with the exception of the Committee on United Jewish Representation, which will be limited to fifteen, the deadline for additional names by the Executive Committee members to be Tuesday, February 13th.

COMMITTEE ON ADMISSIONS

It was agreed that the Chair and Mr. Charles P. Kramer appoint the members of the Committee on Admissions.

The meeting then adjourned.

I. L. Kenen
Executive Secretary

mg
2/13/45



AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
REPORT OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, the Chair was authorized to appoint a committee to submit recommendations on the future program of the American Jewish Conference. The committee appointed by the Chair consisted of Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, who designated Mrs. Herman Shulman as her alternate, Jane Evans, Leon Gellman, who designated Jacob Marrus as his alternate, Herman Shulman, David Wertheim and Louis Lipsky, chairman, ex-officio.

The committee met on Tuesday, February 6th. Those present were Miss Evans, Mr. Marrus, Mrs. Shulman and Mr. Lipsky, and it was agreed to submit the following recommendations:

I. Relations with Governments

The major activity of the American Jewish Conference is to be the formal presentation of its program on rescue, post-war and Palestine to all governments. The resolutions adopted at the first and second sessions represent the views of the Jewish community of the United States and should be presented in forms understandable to governments, the memoranda to be formulated in such a way that they will be recognized as the correct and all-inclusive statement of the Jewish position. In the submission of these memoranda, the Conference should engage a panel taken from its committees, alternating personalities and methods of approach. This activity should serve as the basis of propaganda for the program of the Conference, involving the press, quasi-governmental bodies, such as national organizations occupied with peace planning, and leaders in the molding of public opinion.

II. Overseas Relations

A. General preparations should be continued looking to the

establishment of the United Jewish Representation - the continuation of negotiations with the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the World Jewish Congress and similar bodies.

B. In order that the Conference may have accurate information on which to base its work in this country, it is proposed to establish immediately direct contact with Jewish representative bodies that are not officially and formally affiliated with the World Jewish Congress, to appoint correspondents who will report on European affairs to the Conference, and, as occasions arise, to send delegations or emissaries to obtain first-hand knowledge of current developments.

III. Public Relations

It is the function of the Conference to advance its program in this country by the circulation of accurate information and authoritative opinion both in the Jewish constituency of the Conference and in the non-Jewish world.

A. Jewish Constituency

It is proposed that the Conference communicate frequently with its constituency by means of the spoken and written word.

1. Publications

a. Publication of the weekly Bulletin, which is now mailed to the delegates of the Conference and which should be amplified to include a terse digest of the Jewish situation abroad, to be based upon facts assembled by the research staff and reports from overseas.

b. Continuation of the Conference Record, which is now sent to 25,000 electors and community leaders, and which is to include editorial comment and overseas news.

c. Publication of articles in Jewish magazines and the Jewish press, written by persons who are members of the Standing Committees of the Conference.

2. Public Meetings

a. Public meetings in New York of the Conference delegates and electors, to be held at regular intervals and to be in the form of reports to the Jewish community of New York, programs to be broadcast.

b. Quarterly regional meetings in the larger communities outside of New York, addressed by Conference speakers drawn from the standing committees of the Conference.

c. Formal contact with local community councils, which should be asked to support the Conference's overseas program by resolution and other methods as developments call for prompt reactions, this to be done in cooperation with local delegates.

3. Radio

a. Regular reports to the Jewish community broadcast, fortnightly if possible, in New York and in such other communities as may be practical.

B. Non-Jewish World

1. The establishment of an authoritative bi-monthly journal devoted to overseas Jewish affairs, with a distinguished board of contributing editors, both Jewish and non-Jewish, and containing articles by authorities overseas and in this country; this magazine to be sold to the general public and distributed without charge to prominent public officials and publicists.

2. Informal contacts with key government officials at Washington.

3. Close contact with important post-war planning groups.
4. Preparation and publication of articles for magazines and general circulation.
5. Utilization of radio, with specific emphasis on forums.
6. Establishment of a speakers bureau, which will serve not only requests from organizations and communities for speakers, but which would endeavor to place Conference spokesmen on the programs of important local organizations, such as city clubs, foreign affairs councils, etc.

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The adoption of this program will make imperative the expansion of staff. It will be necessary to expand the research department and to obtain additional personnel to operate a speakers bureau, to maintain contacts at Washington, to represent the Conference in the communities, to establish closer contacts with post-war groups, to edit the proposed bi-monthly publication, and to transmit information from abroad.

mg
c/12/45

PRESS RELEASE from

American Jewish Conference
American Zionist Emergency Council
Jewish Agency for Palestine

Ernest Barbarash
1720 - 16th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C. Michigan 4480

FOR RELEASE AFTER 11:00 A. M., FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16

1945

JEWISH LEADERS ASK IMMEDIATE OPENING OF PALESTINE

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DELEGATION PRESENTS STATEMENT TO EARL HALIFAX, BRITISH AMBASSADOR

- - - - -

Washington, D. C., February 16 -- An appeal to the British Government to open the gates of Palestine immediately so that large numbers of homeless Jews now in liberated areas in Europe, may be permitted to enter Palestine at once was made today to Earl Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, by a joint committee representing the American Jewish Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Pointing out that "the psychological and material condition of the Jewish survivors in Europe is beyond description" the statement to the British Government declared:

"The world will not understand a policy of inaction at a time when delay may mean for these people death by starvation and disease. They plead to be allowed to rebuild their lives in the Jewish National Home. It is inconceivable that while their own people in Palestine are waiting to receive and welcome them they should be condemned to continue in utter hopelessness where they are unwanted and do not wish to remain -- in surroundings associated for them with recollections of grief and horror."

Among those who called on Earl Halifax were Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Hayim Greenberg and Herman Shulman,

(more)

officers of the Council, Dr. Israel Goldstein and Louis Lipsky, co-chairmen of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, and Dr. Nahum Goldmann, American representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

The memorandum further pointed out that the immigration certificates into Palestine still available under the Palestine White Paper of 1939 were "so negligible in relation to immigration needs, that Jewish immigration into Palestine may be regarded as virtually stopped.

"We believe that even as a war measure the policy of the White Paper was short-sighted and mistaken. Its application today is as indefensible as it is heartless. One result of this policy is that even when action is taken by the democratic powers in behalf of the refugees, that action is vitiated by the refusal to recognize that an end must be put to Jewish wandering and that every Jew who so desires must be entitled to enter Palestine as of right and to settle among his own people there."

The statement referred to reports that the majority of the 270,000 Jews in Rumania are completely pauperized and that at least 80% of Rumanian Jewry wish to go to Palestine.

A similar situation prevails in other liberated territories, it was stated. As a "striking instance of the futility and cruelty of the White Paper Policy," the Jewish spokesmen pointed to the fact that some 1700 Jews who recently escaped from Germany and who hoped to go to Palestine, are to be sent to temporary refugee camps in Algiers -- "a prolongation of the individual tragedy of each of these refugees.

"There is no justification for the failure to send them to Palestine. If ships are available to take them to Algiers, they must likewise be available to take them instead to Haifa... The removal of the refugees to North Africa and their subsequent transfer elsewhere for final rehabilitation is wasteful in terms both of human life and of available resources and should be abandoned in favor of immediate settlement in Palestine.

(more)

"In the crucial decisions now being taken, the question as to what is to become of European Jewry can no longer be ignored... The survivors are entitled to demand that the home promised to the Jewish people by the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago shall forthwith be opened to every Jew who wishes to settle there. Pending the determination of the future status of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth, there can be no justification for delay on the question of immediate Jewish immigration into Palestine.

"Time is all important and the issue must be dealt with now. We appeal to His Majesty's Government to meet this problem with the same spirit of broad and constructive humanity and with the historic vision of its decision when it issued the Balfour Declaration, with its promise of a restored homeland for the Jewish people."

The American Jewish Conference is an over-all body representing major national Jewish membership organizations and Jewish communities throughout the United States on overseas matters. The American Zionist Emergency Council speaks for the four major Zionist bodies in the United States -- the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion -- and the Jewish Agency for Palestine is the body officially recognized under the British Mandate for Palestine representing Jewish interests in the Jewish National Home.

Memorandum

Submitted on behalf of the American Jewish Conference, American Zionist Emergency Council, and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

1. Reports from the liberated areas of Europe reveal the appalling plight of the surviving Jews of Europe. Not only has the Jewish population been decimated, but the psychological and material condition of the survivors is in many cases beyond description.

2. As one example we cite the case of the Jews of Rumania of whom there are today about 270,000. Persecuted and robbed under the Axis, they continue today to be singled out as pariahs in a state where a long established anti-semitism has been nurtured by the poison of Nazi propaganda. A representative of the Jewish Agency at present in Bucharest reports that:

"The majority are completely pauperized; without means of existence, without food, without clothing, and in many cases without a place to sleep. But above all they are afflicted by fear of the future and a general sense of despair. At least 80% of Rumanian Jewry wishes to go to Palestine. When the news reached Bucharest that from 500 to 700 Palestine immigration certificates per month were all that were available for Rumanian Jewry (and that only until the balance remaining under the White Paper runs out in April) there was a general day of mourning among the Jews."

3. Everywhere among the Jews of Europe there is an overwhelming demand to emigrate and begin life afresh in Palestine. But the number of Palestine immigration certificates still available under the White Paper is so negligible in relation to Jewish needs, that that immigration may be regarded as virtually stopped. The conscience of mankind has been deeply shocked by the outrages perpetrated on the Jews. The answer however, in the past, to every plea for action by the United Nations to save these victims of the Nazis, was that there was no possibility of taking effective measures to rescue any large numbers as long as they were in enemy controlled territory. Today the fate of most of those who survive is in the hands of the United Nations. The world will not understand a policy of inaction at a time when delay may mean for these people death by starvation and disease. They plead to be allowed forthwith to rebuild their lives in the Jewish National Home. It is inconceivable that while their own people in Palestine are waiting to receive and welcome them, they should be condemned to continue in utter hopelessness where they are unwanted and do not wish to remain -- in surroundings associated for them with recollections of grief and horror.

4. We believe that even as a war measure the policy of the White Paper was short-sighted and mistaken. Its application today is as indefensible as it is heartless. One result of this policy is that even when action is taken by the democratic powers in behalf of the refugees, that action is vitiated by the refusal to recognize that an end must be put to Jewish wandering and that every Jew who so desires must be entitled to enter Palestine as of right and to settle among his own people there.

5. A striking instance of the futility and cruelty of a policy which ignores this claim has just arisen in connection with some 1,700 Jews who had escaped from Germany and are now in Switzerland. It appears that this group cannot remain in Switzerland and is about to be sent to temporary refugee camps in Algiers. The great majority of them had eagerly looked forward to settlement in Palestine and

their disappointment is correspondingly intense. Their removal now to a temporary camp in North Africa means the prolongation of the individual tragedy of each of these refugees. There is no justification for the failure to send them to Palestine. If ships are available to take them to Algiers, they must likewise be available to take them instead to Haifa. The excuse that there is a housing shortage in Palestine is an untenable one. Admittedly, just as with every other country in the world today, Palestine suffers from a shortage of housing; but the Jews of Palestine are anxious and, if assisted by the local Administration, will be ready and able to provide the necessary accommodations for these immigrants. Moreover, there are large UNRRA camps in Palestine previously used to accommodate Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs and others who are now returning to their own countries. As a temporary measure the Jewish immigrants could be housed in these camps until their absorption into the general economy of the country. The removal of the refugees to North Africa and their subsequent transfer elsewhere for final rehabilitation is wasteful in terms both of human life and of available resources and should be abandoned in favor of immediate settlement in Palestine.

6. In the crucial decisions now being taken, the question as to what is to become of European Jewry can no longer be ignored. Eight Jews in every ten in Europe have been butchered by the Nazis. The survivors are entitled to demand that the home promised to the Jewish people by the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago shall forthwith be opened to every Jew who wishes to settle there. Pending the determination of the future status of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth, there can be no justification for delay on the question of immediate Jewish immigration into Palestine. Time is all important and the issue must be dealt with now. We appeal to His Majesty's Government to meet this problem in the same spirit of broad and constructive humanity and with the historic vision of its decision over a quarter of a century ago when it issued the Balfour Declaration, with its promise of a restored homeland for the Jewish people.

- - - -

2/16/45

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



WRHS



AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
521 FIFTH AVENUE
New York 17, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I shall
I shall not attend the meeting of the
Interim Committee scheduled for Sunday, February 25th, 1945 at 10:30 A.M. at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

REMARKS _____

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

BUDGET FOR 1945

Administrative Expenses:

Salaries (Executive and Staff)	\$ 37,000.00	
Rent	5,500.00	
Fare and Traveling	5,000.00	
Printing	5,000.00	
Office Supplies	2,000.00	
Postage	6,500.00	
Telephone and Telegrams	5,000.00	
Electricity	600.00	
Auditor	900.00	
Reporting Services	750.00	
Additional Equipment, Furniture and Office Renovation	3,000.00	
Miscellaneous	<u>1,500.00</u>	\$72,750.00

Department of Research:

Library of Information - Documentary material, Books, Magazines, etc; staff	25,000.00
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Overseas Department:

Reserve for Traveling Expenses, here and abroad; Foreign Correspondents and staff	23,000.00
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Public Relations and Publications:

"Conference Record" and weekly "Bulletin"; "Conference Proceedings"; other publications; staff; subscriptions and newspapers	31,000.00
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Public Functions:

Public meetings, Conferences, Radio, Advertisements	35,000.00
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<u>Community Relations</u>	12,000.00
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Government Relations

Washington Office	12,000.00	
Delegations to International Conferences	<u>25,000.00</u>	37,000.00

Meetings

Interim Committee and Standing Committees	10,000.00	
Third Session	<u>10,000.00</u>	20,000.00
		<u>\$255,750.00</u>

2/19/45

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL CONDITION
DECEMBER 31st, 1944

ASSETS

Cash in Bank		\$ 5,665.46	
Cash on Hand			
Petty Cash Fund	\$ 145.63		
Traveling Fund	<u>122.90</u>	268.53	
Allocations Receivable		10,665.00	
Prepaid Expenses		777.65	
Furniture and Equipment		<u>1,935.40</u>	
Total Assets			<u>\$ 19,312.04</u>

LIABILITIES

Notes Payable, Bank	\$ 4,000.00		
Accounts Payable	6,157.83		
Loans from Organizations	<u>6,000.00</u>		
Total Liabilities		\$ 16,157.83	
Surplus		<u>3,154.21</u>	
			<u>\$ 19,312.04</u>

OPERATING STATEMENT
1/1/44 to 12/31/44

INCOME

Contributions from Organizations on a/c First Session		\$ 1,950.00	
Miscellaneous Receipts (Literature, etc.)		377.50	
Publication of "Conference Proceedings"		1,045.12	
Mass Meetings:			
Carnegie Hall, 4/19/44	\$ 1,536.90		
Madison Square Park, 7/31/44	<u>3,880.00</u>	5,416.90	
Community Fund Raising		<u>95,944.48</u>	
			\$ 104,734.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Commissions and Administrative		\$ 57,154.90	
Research		7,019.46	
Public Relations		14,246.21	
Publications:			
Conference Record and Bulletin	\$ 6,411.96		
Conference Proceedings	5,636.27		
Report of Interim Committee	769.48		
Reprint of Survey	<u>700.00</u>	13,517.71	
Second Session		<u>6,211.38</u>	98,149.66
			\$ 6,584.34
Deficit - 1943			<u>3,430.13</u>
Surplus - 1944			<u>\$ 3,154.21</u>

Milton Solins, Attorney and Accountant
250 West 57th Street, New York City

27-10
Please note that "Allocations Receivable" under "Assets" in the amount of \$10,665 refers to definite allocations made by Federation and Welfare Funds. In accordance with their procedure, these are being paid on an installment basis.

Therefore, there will actually be a surplus for 1944 only when these allocations are fully paid.

Commissions and Administrative

Administrative Committee	\$ 185.75
Auditing	600.00
Bank Charges	6.80
Electricity	505.53
Fares and Traveling	3,795.45
Depreciation: Furn. & Equip.	483.85
Gratuities	40.94
Insurance	55.00
Interest on Notes	121.52
Meetings and Functions	1,834.94
UNRRA Representation.	708.84
Meeting, 4/19/44	1,282.41
Meeting, 7/31/44	5,878.97
Messenger Service	215.95
Miscellaneous	376.45
Office Supplies	1,683.48
Postage	2,696.46
Printing	2,495.96
Rent	5,066.72
Rental, Office Equipment	286.49
Repairs, Servicing	283.53
Reporting Services	1,117.70
Salaries, Executive	10,206.68
Salaries, Clerical	13,995.76
Telephone and Telegrams	3,056.22
Towel Service	62.50
Water Cooler Service	112.00
	<u>\$ 57,154.90</u>

Research

Subscriptions & Literature	\$ 519.54
Salaries	6,499.92
	<u>\$ 7,019.46</u>

Public Relations

Miscellaneous	\$ 124.34
Postage	1,138.05
Newspapers, etc.	427.49
Advertisements	1,398.96
Articles Written	130.00
Subscriptions	12.87
Salaries	11,014.50
	<u>\$ 14,246.21</u>

Publications

Conference Record)	
Bulletin) \$ 6,411.96
Conference Proceedings	5,636.27
Report, Interim Committee	769.48
Reprint of Survey	700.00
	<u>\$ 13,517.71</u>

Second Session

Badges and Printing	\$ 170.70
Delegates Service Dept.	400.00
Gratuities	104.56
Miscellaneous	10.00
Office Supplies	147.88
Staff	925.79
Reporting Services	2,586.91
Traveling	909.95
Expressage	73.83
Rental, Hotel	482.71
Rental, Staff Rooms	399.05
	<u>\$ 6,211.38</u>

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

IV.

Thursday, February 22nd, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jane Evans, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Leon Gellman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Nathan D. Perlman and Herman Shulman.

Staff: I.L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A.S. Kohanski, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Mrs. Florence Kaplan, and Allen Roberts.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING 2/8/45 - Approved

COMMUNICATIONS

The Chair reported that communications had been received from Assistant Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish stating that rescue, relief of peoples in liberated areas, and post-war plans of reconstruction are urgent problems receiving the constant attention of the Department of State and other agencies of the Government; and from Joseph C. Grew, Acting Secretary of State, emphasizing that the State Department's policy on the punishment of war criminals provides "for the punishment of German leaders and their associates for their responsibility for the whole broad criminal enterprise devised and executed with ruthless disregard of the very foundation of law and morality, including offenses wherever committed against the rules of war and against minority elements, Jewish and other groups, and individuals."

The MacLeish letter was in response to the congratulatory message to the President and the Grew letter in response to a telegram from the Executive Committee.

COOPTIONS TO INTERIM COMMITTEE

In view of the fact that Joe Weingarten of Texas had not accepted a place on the Interim Committee, Mr. Shulman moved that the place offered to Mr. Weingarten be declared open. CARRIED.

There being two vacant places on the Interim Committee, Judge Perlman moved that the first place be given to Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein. CARRIED.

The following were nominated to fill the second place:

Mr. Shulman nominated Albert E. Kahn	Vote: 5
Judge Perlman nominated Harold O.N. Frankel	1
Mr. Gellman nominated Jacob Marrus	1
Prof. Fineman nominated Ralph Wechsler	1

Mr. Kahn was declared elected.

ELECTION OF PALESTINE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN

Dr. Goldstein nominated Dr. Stephen S. Wise, seconded by Judge Perlman.

Mr. Gellman nominated Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein.

A vote was taken and Dr. Wise was declared elected as Chairman of the Committee on Palestine, five to one.

Mr. Gellman then made the following statement for the record:

"We feel that an injustice is done to our bloc, which is the third largest in the American Jewish Conference. As the Conference is constituted today, it is as follows: the co-chairmen consist of two Zionists and the third one is also, in my opinion, a good Zionist. I think Mr. Monsky is also a very good Zionist. The chairman of the Committee on United Jewish Representation is a Zionist, Judge Rothenberg. The chairman of the Committee on Rescue is one of the Labor Zionists. The chairman of the Committee on Post-War is representing the Reform Religious Bloc. The Religious Orthodox Bloc has no responsible job in this American Jewish Conference. We felt that this office, which is a responsible office, should be given to our bloc. Dr. Wise does not need the chairmanship. He is the chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council and he does not need it at all. He is the President of the World Jewish Congress, President of the American Jewish Congress, Chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, and when he appears somewhere, he does not need to be specified as the Chairman of the Palestine Committee. We need young and new men and good men. We need them in the American Jewish Conference and if you will eliminate our bloc, and by this action you have done that, I do not think there is a place for us to remain in the Conference. I am not telling you that officially, but if we withdraw in the next week or two, do not be surprised."

ELECTION OF TREASURER

Mr. Shulman moved that Mr. Hermann Stern be elected. CARRIED.

REPORT ON RESCUE

On behalf of the Committee on Rescue, Prof. Fineman reported that government officials were concentrating on measures to effect the rescue of large numbers of Jews through Switzerland.

Dr. Goldstein reported that he had met with government officials in behalf of the Conference and had made inquiries and urged action in this connection. (Report on file.)

REPORT ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

Mr. Grossman, on behalf of the Committee, and in the absence of Judge Rothenberg, submitted a report (copy of which is attached) and read the proposal for cooperation submitted by the World Jewish Congress (copy of which is attached.)

Mr. Grossman then stated: "When I asked Dr. Goldmann whether the World Jewish Congress would be in favor of establishing a kind of joint representation, acting as a body for the emergency, he answered: 'No. We have no intention of entering into an agreement with the British Board of Deputies and your organization which would lead to the formation of a body which will act as a joint council.' The World Jewish Congress has in mind an arrangement as follows: when the occasion arises, the three bodies come together and act together but that they have no joint instrumentality."

Mr. Shulman then proposed the following program of cooperation:

1. All representations to the American Government would be made by the American Jewish Conference, with the support of the World Jewish Congress.
2. In foreign lands, the World Jewish Congress shall make representations in its own name, with the support of the American Jewish Conference.
3. Representations to foreign embassies in the United States will be made by the World Jewish Congress.
4. United Nation's Conferences, wherever held, whether in this country or elsewhere, should be represented by a Joint Committee of the following organizations: the Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, but in those conferences, while we would be an integral part of that joint committee, with representation, the World Jewish Congress would prepare the memoranda to be submitted.

It was agreed that a special meeting of the Executive Committee be held on Thursday, March 1st, to consider this matter, after it had been given consideration by the Committee on United Jewish Representation and the Interim Committee.

DELEGATION TO HALIFAX

Mr. Shulman reported that representatives of the American Jewish Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency for Palestine had submitted a memorandum to Lord Halifax which dealt with the matter of immigration, asking in effect for the abrogation of the White Paper, pending a decision concerning the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The condition of world Jewry was brought to his attention. It was pointed out that available certificates were exhausted and immediate action was necessary. The delegation was authorized by Lord Halifax to issue a statement that the memorandum would be submitted to the Foreign Office with his recommendation that it be given urgent and very sympathetic attention.

The Chair submitted a copy of a telegram from the American Jewish Committee to Viscount Halifax, supporting the appeal made by the delegation to Washington.

SAN FRANCISCO

Mr. Lipsky informed the Executive Committee that plans are being formulated with regard to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco on April 25th, where, it is assumed, the constitutional foundations for an international body are to be laid. A complete and comprehensive analysis and presentation of the program of the American Jewish Conference, derived from the decisions of the first and second sessions, is being prepared, this document to be used for submission to our State Department and, in all probability, before a number of embassies interested, and for circulation in all peace-planning organizations. It is to be used as a fundamental document for all American Jewish Conference propaganda.

Mr. Kenen stated that it was planned that every activity of the Conference between now and April 25th be geared to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco and that it be used as an opportunity to bring before the public the entire program of the Conference. It is intended to hold large meetings in many parts of the country, sponsored by the American Jewish Conference, during the period of a week to ten days prior to the San Francisco meeting, at which the program will be brought to public attention. It is also planned to send delegates of the American Jewish Conference to each of the eight members of the American delegation to the San Francisco Conference, this delegation to be composed of leaders of the American Jewish Conference plus one or two delegates of the home community of that particular member.

Miss Evans informed the Committee that the week of April 15th to 22nd is being set aside as Dunbarton Oaks Week, and that synagogues and churches are being asked to emphasize Dunbarton Oaks on Saturday and Sunday, April 21 and 22nd. Miss Evans urged that the Conference participate in this project to the extent that the program of the Conference also be publicized on these days.

PROPOSAL OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The Chair submitted a letter from the American Jewish Committee, asking that the American Jewish Conference participate in a Committee on Peace Problems sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. It was agreed that it was neither feasible nor desirable to accept the invitation. A draft of a reply was considered and it was agreed to present a re-draft to the Interim Committee.

ADMISSION OF PRESS TO INTERIM COMMITTEE

It was agreed that this matter be postponed for another month.

The meeting then adjourned.

I.L. Kenen
Executive Secretary

fsk
2/26/45

REPORT OF MR. GROSSMAN
for the
COMMITTEE ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

1. The Conference announced that it has approved the formation of a joint committee, composed of representatives of the Conference, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the World Jewish Congress for the purpose "to work out the means whereby consultation and coordination among themselves and such other Jewish bodies as are in agreement with their general policy may be most effectively secured, and their common objectives affecting post-war Jewish needs attained."
2. Prof. Brodetsky reported at the last meeting of the Board in London on his negotiations with the Conference and the World Jewish Congress, and urged the Board to approve the proposal. The Foreign Committee of the Board has already approved the proposal, which is subject to ratification of the Board's plenary meeting. The World Jewish Congress informed us that it has, in principle, approved the proposal.
3. Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Grossman met Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, representing the World Jewish Congress, with whom they discussed questions pertaining to the formation of a United Jewish Representation and a closer and more effective cooperation between the Conference and the Congress. Dr. Goldmann pointed out that while the exact structure of the proposed United Jewish Representation, if such a body is to be formed, is a matter to be discussed by the joint committee of the three organizations, the World Jewish Congress is most anxious to establish, without further delay, a full-fledged partnership and working agreement with the Conference, both in regard to current activities and the San Francisco Conference. He suggested that there should be a full exchange of information and correspondence; day-by-day work should be done jointly by the members of the two organizations both in New York and Washington. Formal representations to the U. S. Government are to be made by the Conference. He promised to submit in writing the World Jewish Congress proposals.
4. Our own Committee on United Jewish Representation has been formed and its first meeting will take place on Sunday, February 25th, at 9:00 A.M. at the Hotel Biltmore.
5. The new Department of Overseas Relations has been set up. Cables were sent to the Board of Deputies of British Jews with a request, in view of the forthcoming San Francisco Conference, to speed up the decision regarding the proposed joint committee. Letters were sent to the Board informing them of the Conference's recent activities and requesting them to keep the Conference fully informed of their plans. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies was notified of the negotiations that have taken place in New York between the representatives of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Conference and the World Jewish Congress.
6. In accordance with the program of expansion, the Department of Overseas Relations has appointed correspondents in London and in Jerusalem, the first to cover the area of England, France, Belgium, Holland and liberated parts of Western and Central Europe, the other to cover Palestine, Turkey and the Balkan countries. The correspondents will not act as official representatives of the Conference, but as correspondents of the

Overseas Department only. Their duties will consist of supplying the Department with authentic information on Jewish life and developments in their respective areas. They are also to supply the Conference with documentary material needed for various representations to be made on behalf of the Conference to government agencies.

7. The forthcoming San Francisco Conference requires immediate steps towards the formation of a United Jewish Representation or at least an agreement on cooperation by the various Jewish representative bodies, and the Interim Committee will have at its next meeting to give directions as to the line of policy to be pursued.



2/27/45

dlc

THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS PROPOSAL
WORKING ARRANGEMENT BY THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH CON-
FERENCE

- 1) The World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference will maintain the closest cooperation in the fields of activity common to both, and this cooperation will take the form of continuous consultation and exchange of information.
- 2) Consultation and cooperation will take place in the day-to-day work both in Washington, when the American Jewish Conference shall have appointed a permanent representative in that city, and in New York. To facilitate this cooperation, each organization would invite the other to send representatives to its own executive and administrative bodies.
- 3) Whenever it is appropriate, representations of a formal character to governments, governmental and inter-governmental agencies will be made by the two bodies together.
- 4) It is recognized, however, that the American Jewish Conference has primacy in the making of formal representations to the American government as the World Jewish Congress has in the making of formal representations to foreign governments and inter-governmental bodies. It is agreed that when formal representations are made by one of the two bodies under this arrangement, it shall specifically be stated in the document presented that the representations are being made with the support also of the other body.
- 5) It is agreed that at all international conferences where the Congress and the Conference are represented by delegations the delegations shall work together in the closest consultation.

MEMORANDUM

Submitted on behalf of the American Jewish Conference,
the American Zionist Emergency Council,
and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

1. Reports from the liberated areas of Europe reveal the appalling plight of the surviving Jews of Europe. Not only has the Jewish population been decimated, but the psychological and material condition of the survivors is in many cases beyond description.

2. As one example, we cite the case of the Jews of Rumania of whom there are today about 270,000. Persecuted and robbed under the Axis, they continue today to be singled out as pariahs in a state where a long established anti-semitism has been nurtured by the poison of Nazi propaganda. A representative of the Jewish Agency at present in Bucharest reports that:

"The majority are completely pauperized; without means of existence, without food, without clothing, and in many cases without a place to sleep. But above all they are afflicted by fear of the future and a general sense of despair. At least 80% of Rumanian Jewry wishes to go to Palestine. When the news reached Bucharest that from 500 to 700 Palestine immigration certificates per month were all that were available for Rumanian Jewry (and that only until the balance remaining under the White Paper runs out in April) there was a general day of mourning among the Jews."

3. Everywhere among the Jews of Europe there is an overwhelming demand to emigrate and begin life afresh in Palestine. But the number of Palestine immigration certificates still available under the White Paper is so negligible in relation to Jewish needs, that that immigration may be regarded as virtually stopped. The conscience of mankind has been deeply shocked by the outrages perpetrated on the Jews. The answer however, in the past, to every plea for action by the United Nations to save these victims of the Nazis, was that there was no possibility of taking effective measures to rescue any large numbers as long as they were in enemy controlled territory.

Today the fate of most of those who survive is in the hands of the United Nations. The world will not understand a policy of inaction at a time when delay may mean for these people death by starvation and disease. They plead to be allowed forthwith to rebuild their lives in the Jewish National Home. It is inconceivable that while their own people in Palestine are waiting to receive and welcome them, they should be condemned to continue in utter hopelessness where they are unwanted and do not wish to remain - in surroundings associated for them with recollections of grief and horror.

4. We believe that even as a war measure the policy of the White Paper was short-sighted and mistaken. Its application today is as indefensible as it is heartless. One result of this policy is that even when action is taken by the democratic powers in behalf of the refugees, that action is vitiated by the refusal to recognize that an end must be put to Jewish wandering and that every Jew who so desires must be entitled to enter Palestine as of right and to settle among his own people there.

5. A striking instance of the futility and cruelty of a policy which ignores this claim has just arisen in connection with some 1,700 Jews who had escaped from Germany and are now in Switzerland. It appears that this group cannot remain in Switzerland and is about to be sent to temporary refugee camps in Algiers. The great majority of them had eagerly looked forward to settlement in Palestine, and their disappointment is correspondingly intense. Their removal now to a temporary camp in North Africa means the prolongation of the individual tragedy of each of

these refugees. There is no justification for the failure to send them to Palestine. If ships are available to take them to Algiers, they must likewise be available to take them instead to Haifa.

The excuse that there is a housing shortage in Palestine is an untenable one. Admittedly, just as with every other country in the world today, Palestine suffers from a shortage of housing; but the Jews of Palestine are anxious, and if assisted by the local Administration, will be ready and able to provide the necessary accommodations for these immigrants. Moreover, there are large UNRRA camps in Palestine previously used to accommodate Poles, Yugoslavs, Czechs and others who are now returning to their own countries. As a temporary measure, the Jewish immigrants could be housed in these camps until their absorption into the general economy of the country.

The removal of the refugees to North Africa and their subsequent transfer elsewhere for final rehabilitation is wasteful in terms both of human life and of available resources, and should be abandoned in favor of immediate settlement in Palestine.

6. In the crucial decisions now being taken, the question as to what is to become of European Jewry can no longer be ignored. Eight Jews in every ten in Europe have been butchered by the Nazis. The survivors are entitled to demand that the home promised to the Jewish people by the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago shall forthwith be opened to every Jew who wishes to settle there. Pending the determination of the future status of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth, there can be no justification for delay on the question of immediate Jewish immigration into Palestine. Time is all important and the issue must be dealt with now.

We appeal to His Majesty's Government to meet this problem in the same spirit of broad and constructive humanity and with the historic vision of its decision over a quarter of a century ago, when it issued the Balfour Declaration, with its promise of a restored homeland for the Jewish people.

D I G E S T O F P R E S S C O M M E N T S

THE ROAD TO TRUE UNITY.

"Judge Proskauer issued a call to all Jewish groups and organizations for unity and cooperation on the basis of a minimum program... Zionists and non-Zionists could work together for Jewish immigration, colonization and the upbuilding of the land of Palestine, he said, in his appeal...

If Judge Proskauer really wants his appeal for unity to bring results, why should not he himself and his group make the first step? The return of the American Jewish Committee into the fold of the American Jewish Conference could have a great moral effect on other groups and would really create the possibility for American Jewry to speak with a unified voice...

And is the American Jewish Committee so sure that its approach to the Palestine problem is the right one, that to demand a Jewish home in Palestine is dangerous at the present moment?

The best witness against the Committee's point of view was its guest speaker, Mr. Sumner Welles, who until recently was actually the head of the United States Department of State."

S. Dingol, The Day, NYC. 2/10/45.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Sunday, February 25, 1945 - Biltmore Hotel, New York City

II.

The meeting opened at 10:55 A.M. with Mr. Henry Monsky presiding.

The roll was called and the following were present: Dr. Israel Goldstein and Louis Lipsky, Co-Chairman; Rabbi Abba Abrams (alternate for Rabbi Robert Gordis), Maurice Bisgyer, Samuel Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Aaron Droock, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Miss Jane Evans (alternate for Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath), M. Maldwin Fertig (alternate for Sigmund W. David), Professor Hayim Fineman, J. George Fredman, Daniel Frisch, William Gerber (alternate for Sidney G. Kusworm), Judge Lewis Goldberg, Mrs. Israel Goldstein (alternate for Dvorah Rothbard), Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Dr. James G. Heller, Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman, Charles P. Kramer, Israel Kramer, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Mrs. Albert J. May (alternate for Mrs. Joseph M. Welt), Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Mrs. David deSola Pool, William Rabkin (alternate for Mrs. Maurice Turner), Mrs. Louis A. Rosett (alternate for Adolph Rosenberg), Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Rubin Saltzman (alternate for Albert E. Kahn), Benjamin Samuels, Mrs. Herman Shulman (alternate for Herman Shulman), William Siegal (alternate for Frank Goldman), Simon E. Sobeloff, Charles Sonnenreich, Alex F. Stanton, Hermann Stern, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, Mrs. A. H. Vixman (alternate for Mrs. Stephen S. Wise), Ralph Wechsler (alternate for Louis Segal), David Wertheim and Baruch Zuckerman.

Guests: Oscar Leonard, Bernard Postal, Charles Rosengarten.

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A. S. Kohanski, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Mrs. Sylvia Gilman and Mrs. Florence S. Kaplan.

I. MINUTES OF MEETING OF JANUARY 12, 1945 - Approved.

II. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

On behalf of the Executive Committee, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman, reported as follows:

1. Procedures - The new Executive Committee established January 12th had met four times and had voted to distribute the minutes of all its meetings to all members of the Interim Committee.

It had been agreed that:

- (A) The co-chairmen shall serve as ex-officio members with vote;
- (B) The Committee meet fortnightly or more frequently;
- (C) That out-of-town members of the Interim Committee whose fares are not paid by any organization should have their railroad fares paid by the Conference.

2. Committees - The Committees on Palestine, Post-War, Rescue, United Jewish Representation and Finance had been appointed, consisting exclusively of delegates and alternates and an effort had been made to include persons who were active on the former Commissions as well as delegates who participated actively in the plenary sessions. Consideration had also been given to the recommendations of the groups. The lists were being submitted with the understanding that

the Committees may enlarge their membership to thirty, with the exception of the Committee on United Jewish Representation, which would be limited to fifteen. The list of Committees is attached.

3. Committee Chairmen - Acting under authority given it, the Executive Committee had elected Dr. Stephen S. Wise as chairman of the Committee on Palestine. Mr. Max J. Schneider had been unable to serve as chairman of the Committee on Finance and Mr. Aaron Droock had been elected.

4. Membership of Executive Committee - Mrs. Moses P. Epstein had withdrawn because of pressure of other activities, and the Executive Committee recommended Mrs. Herman Shulman's election in her stead.

5. Treasurer - Mr. Hermann Stern had been elected treasurer.

6. Cooptions - The Interim Committee had coopted 13 delegates at its last meeting and had authorized the Executive Committee to complete the list. With one exception, Mr. Joe Weingarten, they had accepted cooption. The Executive Committee had agreed to coopt Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein and Mr. Albert E. Kahn and to request the youth organizations to designate one representative.

7. Activities

(A) The day prior to the inauguration of President Roosevelt, the American Jewish Conference had sent a congratulatory message urging that the problems of rescue, post-war rehabilitation and Jewish rights to Palestine be placed on the agenda of the Big-Three Conference. An acknowledgment had been received from Asst. Secretary of State Archibald MacLeish.

(B) United Jewish Representation - Immediately following the last meeting of the Interim Committee, conversations had begun with the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews looking to the formation of a United Jewish Representation.

(C) Although the Committee on Rescue had not yet been formed, Chairman Fineman had undertaken certain activities including the holding of a meeting of New York delegates and electors on February 12th.

(D) War Crimes Commission - The announcement that Mr. Herbert C. Pell would not return to London as the American member of the United Nations War Crimes Commission because of the failure of Congress to appropriate funds, had evoked a reaction from the Conference which in telegrams to the State Department and to Congress, had pointed out that non-participation by this country in the War Crimes Commission might weaken the psychological warfare carried on by our government to deter the Nazis from their crimes against the Jews, and might thus imperil Jews still alive in Axis territory. Delegates had been asked to register their opinion with their Congressman. A few days later Acting Secretary of State Grew had given reassurance to the effect that crimes against Jews, wherever committed, would be punishable as war crimes and had acknowledged the Conference telegram. Mr. Pell had been the guest speaker at the Conference report meeting at New York.

(E) Palestine - A plea to the British Government that the doors of Palestine be opened immediately to mass Jewish immigration had been submitted to Lord Halifax, British Ambassador, on February 16, by a joint committee representing the American Jewish Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council

and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The memorandum had pointed out that few certificates now remain, that great numbers of Jews in Europe were now eager to go to Palestine and that a decision must soon be made to permit them to enter. In that connection, attention had been called to the fact that some 1,700 Jews, recently released from Nazi concentration camps, are to be sent to an UNRRA camp in North Africa instead of to Palestine, where most of them had expected to go. The Conference had been represented by Dr. Israel Goldstein and the delegation had been authorized by Lord Halifax to say that the memorandum would be submitted to the Foreign Office with his recommendation that it be given urgent and sympathetic consideration.

(F) National Budgeting - Pursuant to action taken by the Interim Committee, the Executive Committee had authorized the issuance of a statement in opposition to the proposal for national budgeting. The right of the American Jewish Conference to consider this question had been challenged by Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg, a delegate to the Conference on the ground that this was a domestic matter and he had asked the Interim Committee to reverse the Executive Committee's action.

(G) Future Program - The Executive Committee had drawn up a program on the future activities of the Conference based on the report of a sub-committee, copies of which had been distributed with the Executive Committee minutes of February 8th, 1945.

(H) Office and Personnel - The program of activities necessitated staff expansion and a sub-committee on Office and Personnel consisting of J. George Fredman, Leon Gellman, Judge Nathan D. Perlman and Samuel Rothstein, together with Aaron Droock, chairman of the Finance Committee, had been created with jurisdiction over personnel matters. Mr. Fredman had been unable to serve, unfortunately, because of illness. Up until now, the duties of the members of the staff had been assigned by the Executive Committee, but in recognition of the fact that activities will be greatly expanded and additional personnel will be required, the committee on Office and Personnel had submitted certain recommendations for staff assignment and these had been approved by the Executive Committee: Mr. I. L. Kenen is serving as the Executive Secretary of the Conference, Mr. Meir Grossman is Director of Overseas Relations, Dr. A. S. Kohanski is Director of Research, and Mrs. Ann Jarcho is Secretary to the Budget and Finance Committee. Steps had already been taken to expand the staff. Mrs. Florence Strauss Kaplan has been named office manager. Mr. Allen Roberts has been engaged for public relations work, with special emphasis on radio. Mrs. Sylvia Gilman has been engaged as an editorial assistant. Rabbi David Sherman will work on a part-time basis as director of community relations. The services of a number of writers and research workers and overseas correspondents had already been acquired. It was intended to engage personnel for a Washington bureau.

This program of expansion of activities will call for immediate financial support by the constituent organizations of the Conference and the communities.

(I) Future Organization and Relations with Constituents - Mr. Lipsky offered the following proposals:

"(a) In the furtherance of the program of the American Jewish Conference in the fields of rescue, Palestine and Post-War, it shall be the duty of all organizations affiliated with the Conference to abide by the principle that formal or public representations on these matters to this government or other governments be made through and in the name of the Conference.

"(b) All affiliated national organizations shall be guided by the policies of the Conference as determined by its plenary sessions, the Interim Committee and the Executive Committee.

"(c) When about to launch a project which falls within the accepted sphere of activities of the Conference, national organizations shall present it to the Executive Committee of the Conference. The national organization may proceed to implement the task providing the Conference approves the project as desirable and feasible."

(J) San Francisco - Mr. Lipsky continued as follows:

"On April 25th, in San Francisco, the United Nations will meet for the purpose of setting up the constitutional foundations for an international body. At this time, the precise agenda of the United Nations Conference is not known. Nevertheless, it is clear that certain matters which are of vital importance to the Jewish people should be dealt with at that conference. These involve such questions as an International Bill of Rights, the problem of stateless and homeless peoples, and it is possible that the United Nations may then consider the question of mandated areas.

"It is intended that the American Jewish Conference shall be represented at San Francisco and represent American Jewry there. The resolution adopted at the first session provided:

"This Conference requests the recognition by the United Nations of the justice of the Jewish claim for representation, for the purpose of advice and cooperation, on agencies that have been and will be set up by the United Nations to deal with the problems of relief, rehabilitation, resettlement, and other aspects of post-war reconstruction."

"It is therefore clear that the American Jewish Conference should ask the United Nations to grant a hearing to the Jewish people and to recognize the justice of the Jewish claim for representation on all agencies that may be established to deal with post-war reconstruction and organization. Our program for an International Bill of Rights should be embodied in the constitution of the United Nations Security Organization. Inasmuch as the new United Nations Organization is likely to become the successor to the League of Nations, it is conceivable that this meeting may prove to be an occasion where the United Nations should be asked to reaffirm Jewish rights to Palestine which were recognized by the predecessor organization, the League of Nations.

"A program of action geared to the San Francisco Conference is now being worked out by the Executive Committee.

"The question will arise as to the formation of a United Jewish Representation at San Francisco. This will be reported on by Judge Rothenberg.

"This program of action will have relation to whatever achievement may be accomplished by the Committee on United Jewish Representation, with the expectation that at the end of the proceeding or at the beginning of the proceeding, some form of united representation at San Francisco should be effected probably for that purpose for San Francisco first, and then probably further on.

"A complete and comprehensive statement of the program of the American Jewish Conference, derived from the decisions of the first and second sessions is being prepared, for official submission to our State Department and in all probability before a number of the embassies interested and for circulation in all peace-planning organizations. It is to be used as the fundamental document in all American Jewish Conference propaganda."

(K) American Jewish Committee - A proposal suggesting an informal conference on post-war problems had been made by the American Jewish Committee. The Executive Committee had come to the conclusion that its acceptance is neither feasible nor desirable.

ACTION - At the completion of Mr. Lipsky's report, the election of Mrs. Shulman to the Executive Committee, Mr. Droock as chairman of the Finance Committee, and Mr. Hermann Stern as Treasurer, was approved.

III. ALTERNATES

Following an inquiry by Mrs. Goldstein as to whether alternates to the Interim Committee would receive minutes of Interim Committee meetings, the question arose as to whether the coopted members might have alternates.

Judge Perlman moved and it was seconded that the coopted members shall not have any alternates.

It was moved by Mr. Lipsky and seconded by Mrs. Pool that this motion be laid on the table. **CARRIED.**

It was then moved by Mr. Lipsky and seconded by Miss Evans that the same rule that applies to the naming of alternates of regular members shall apply to the coopted members. The Chair proposed that the motion provide that alternates be allowed for the 15 coopted members, those alternates to be named by the Executive Committee from recommendations to be submitted by the coopted members. Mr. Lipsky accepted the Chair's formulation.

It was then moved by Mr. Samuels and seconded that the motion be laid on the table. The motion was **DEFEATED**;

Whereupon, the original motion was **CARRIED.**

IV. PROPOSAL OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Mr. Kramer moved that the report of the Executive Committee to the effect that we do not accept the invitation of the American Jewish Committee be approved and that a committee be appointed to draft a formal reply to be presented at this session of the Interim Committee. The motion was seconded by Mr. Wertheim and was **CARRIED** unanimously. A draft of a reply was submitted by Mr. Lipsky for the Executive Committee and it was referred to the Committee on United Jewish Representation, whose revised draft was later approved.

V. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

On behalf of the Committee, Judge Rothenberg reported as follows:

At conferences with the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the World Jewish Congress, it had been agreed to submit the following to the respective bodies:

"It was agreed that subject to the ratification of the respective bodies to form a joint committee composed of representatives of the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews for the purpose of working out means whereby consultation and coordination among themselves and such other bodies as are in agreement with their general policy may be most effectively secured and their common objectives affecting postwar Jewish needs attained."

This understanding subsequently was approved by the Executive Committee of the Conference, the World Jewish Congress and by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Board.

Subsequent to these conferences, meetings were held with Dr. Goldmann and Mr. Zuckerman representing the World Jewish Congress, to work out an understanding on day-to-day cooperation between the Congress and the Conference. The World Jewish Congress had submitted a proposal, a copy of which is attached.

Judge Rothenberg said that the Committee on United Jewish Representation had met and agreed to the first three paragraphs of the World Jewish Congress proposal, and proposed that paragraph 4 read as follows:

"It is recognized that the American Jewish Conference has primacy in the making of representations to the American Government. When formal representations are made by one of the two bodies to foreign governments and intergovernmental bodies and agencies, it shall specifically be stated in the document presented that the representations are being made with the support of the other body."

Continuing, Judge Rothenberg stated:

"It is recommended that a joint cooperating Council shall be established for the purpose of implementing the understandings arrived at and an invitation shall be issued by such joint cooperating council on behalf of the organizations represented therein to join the joint council.

"Number 5 is eliminated.

"Then we recommend the establishment of a joint working committee which shall implement this understanding.

"We understand that the World Jewish Congress has established an office in Washington and our committee thinks it would be desirable if the American Jewish Conference similarly should establish an office in Washington so that there might be day-to-day conferences and consultations between the World Jewish Congress and the representatives of the American Jewish Conference."

Judge Rothenberg reported that up to this time neither the World Jewish Congress nor the Board of Deputies was agreeable to the establishment of a permanent joint working council. So far as the Conference was concerned, it was deemed desirable to endeavor to establish such a committee, but if we could not get that far, we should at least try to secure the establishment of a committee that would act in a cooperative manner in connection with the establishment of the San Francisco conferences and let the rest take care of itself.

Following a lengthy discussion of the manner in which the proposed joint committee would operate and be constituted, Mr. Bisgyer moved that the Interim Committee accept the proposal submitted by Judge Rothenberg. Judge Perlman, with Judge Rothenberg concurring, offered an amendment that the entire matter be referred back to the Executive Committee of the Conference and that the Committee on Representation be given power to act. Motion CARRIED.

The Chair stated that the understanding between the World Jewish Congress, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the American Jewish Conference is now being approved by the Interim Committee. The matter referred to the Executive Committee and the United Representation Committee was the proposal from the World Jewish Congress and the committee's amendment.

VI. REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

In behalf of the Finance Committee, Mr. Droock, chairman, reported that in accordance with the resolution adopted at the second session, plans were being made to raise \$250,000 for the Conference budget, of which \$55,000 must come from the national organizations and \$195,000 from the communities. After listing the quotas fixed for the various classifications of communities, he appealed to those present to use their influence to see that the organizations and the communities made their proper contribution. He urged that there be a local Budget and Finance Committee responsible for departmental disbursements and for implementation of fund raising throughout the country, its chairman to be a co-chairman of the national Budget and Finance Committee.

A motion approving the plan outlined by Mr. Droock and urging members of the Interim Committee to cooperate with the Budget Committee in their several communities and in the organization of committees in New York and elsewhere was APPROVED.

VII. LETTER FROM MR. MARRUS

The Chair reported that a letter had been received from Mr. Marrus which in substance stated that in the judgment of the writer, the Executive Committee had erred in naming Dr. Wise as chairman of the Palestine Committee because he is already carrying the responsibility of the Emergency Council and the World Jewish Congress, and that he believes it was unstatesmanlike to name him in place of the candidate recommended by one of the groups of the Conference.

It was moved by Mr. Samuels "that the letter from Mr. Marrus was presented to the Interim Committee and that the Interim Committee, having authorized the action of the Executive Committee which was properly taken, finds no reasons to give any instructions to the contrary and passes to the next order of business." CARRIED unanimously.

VIII. COMMITTEE ON RESCUE

In behalf of the Rescue Committee, Professor Fineman reported that meetings had been held with officials of the War Refugee Board at which the Conference had urged last minute efforts to halt the Nazi extermination program. It had been urged that warnings be issued by the Big Three and by military authorities, that teeth be put into the work of the Commission on War Crimes, and that the Red Cross take more energetic steps. He stated that rescue work did not end with the Nazi-occupied territories and also had to be carried on in liberated areas, and that some understanding would have to be reached with the Post-War Committee on the overlapping of activities.

IX. RELATIONS WITH ORGANIZATIONS

The proposals submitted by the chairman of the Executive Committee (see page 3) were agreed to.

X. NATIONAL BUDGETING

Commenting on the protest submitted by Rabbi Trachtenberg (see page 3), the Chair stated:

"I think it is eminently proper to say that in the opinion of the Interim Committee this is not a violation at all of the mandate of the convention with respect to the American scene because it deals with the whole question of national budgeting which covers the entire gamut of overseas relief and we ourselves are interested in the question of budgeting on the part of Federations and I think it should be disposed of with that statement."

It was so moved by Mr. Rothstein, and without objection, it was so ordered.

XI. TRIBUTE TO HENRIETTA SZOLD

Mrs. Epstein presented the following resolution, which was ADOPTED by a rising vote:

"The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference assembled for its first meeting since the announcement on February 13 of the death of Henrietta Szold, pauses in its deliberations as a tribute to her memory, to the great creativity of her spirit, and to her work for the Jewish people.

"An American, who understood all which that word implies, an ardent believer in the moral bases that make our life in this country affirmative, Henrietta Szold was also, in the same high degree, a great Jewess, a great Zionist, and a superlative craftsman in the vineyards of Palestine for her people's sake.

"She was one of those rare human beings whose personalities are a synthesis of sound intuition, keen intelligence, unflinching spiritual certainty, and physical stamina. In the new-old land of Eretz Yisrael, there is no facet of life which has not taken some imprint from her dreaming and her work. We who have seen the homeless children of Europe who turned to her with faith, as to a mother; we who were aware of the many practical enterprises of Hadassah and of the Yishuv for which she was counselor, mourn her going. We hope that in the years to come the richness which she gave to the people of Palestine will flower as she would have wished and understood, in new hope and new life for Israel."

The meeting then adjourned.

I. L. Kenen
Executive Secretary

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Chairman
 Samuel E. Aronowitz
 Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
 Rabbi Simon Federbusch
 Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof
 Rabbi Wolf Gold
 Dr. Robert Gordis
 Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin
 Isaac Hamlin
 Rabbi James G. Heller
 Moses Hoenig
 Cong. Herman Koppelman
 Harry Levine
 Hon. Louis E. Levinthal
 Judge Samuel Mellitz
 A. Arthur Pekelner
 Bernard Rosenblatt
 Dr. Abraham L. Sachar
 Dr. Benjamin Schwadran
 Herman Shulman
 William I. Siegel
 Frank Simons
 M. J. Slonim
 Elihu D. Stone
 Charles Strull
 Robert Szold
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COMMITTEE ON RESCUE

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 Isaac Abelson
 Rabbi Bernard Bergman
 Rabbi Aaron D. Burack
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 Mrs. Israel Goldstein
 Mrs. Samuel Goldstein
 Judge Emanuel Greenberg
 Isaac S. Heller
 Rabbi Mayer I. Herman
 Israel Kramer
 Leo Lowitz
 Rabbi Max Maccoby
 Dr. Samuel Margoshes
 Mrs. David de Sola Pool
 Herman Z. Quittman
 William Rabkin
 Mrs. Louis A. Rosett
 Rubin Saltzman
 Rabbi Morris Silverman
 Justice Meier Steinbrink
 Hermann Stern
 Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum ✓
 Joseph Weingarten
 Rabbi Max Wohlgelernter ✓

COMMITTEE ON POST-WAR

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Chairman
 Rabbi Sol Barsel
 Samuel Bisgyer
 Nathan H. Brodsky
 Rabbi J. X. Cohen
 Jane Evans
 Hayim Greenberg
 Louis J. Gribetz
 Jacob B. Hoffman
 Rabbi Jacob Hoffman
 Albert E. Kahn
 Max A. Kopstein
 Seymour Levine
 Jacob Marrus
 Mrs. Albert J. May
 Jefferson E. Peyser
 Dr. Joachim Prinz
 Mrs. Harry Rosenthal
 Albert D. Schanzer
 Louis Segal
 Mrs. Herman Shulman
 Rabbi Irving Silman
 Charles Sonnenreich
 Michael Stavitsky
 Mark Sugarman
 Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg
 Rabbi David Wice

COMMITTEE ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

Judge Morris Rothenberg, Chairman
 Maurice Bisgyer
 Rudolph Callman
 Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath
 Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
 M. Maldwin Fertig
 Prof. Hayim Fineman
 Daniel Frisch
 Leon Gellman
 William Gerber
 Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein
 Samuel Rothstein
 Alex F. Stanton
 David Wertheim

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T H E W O R L D J E W I S H C O N G R E S S P R O P O S A L
WORKING ARRANGEMENT BY THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN JEWISH CON-
FERENCE

- 1) The World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference will maintain the closest cooperation in the fields of activity common to both, and this cooperation will take the form of continuous consultation and exchange of information.
- 2) Consultation and cooperation will take place in the day-to-day work both in Washington, when the American Jewish Conference shall have appointed a permanent representative in that city, and in New York. To facilitate this cooperation, each organization would invite the other to send representatives to its own executive and administrative bodies.
- 3) Whenever it is appropriate, representations of a formal character to governments, governmental and inter-governmental agencies will be made by the two bodies together.
- 4) It is recognized, however, that the American Jewish Conference has primacy in the making of formal representations to the American government as the World Jewish Congress has in the making of formal representations to foreign governments and inter-governmental bodies. It is agreed that when formal representations are made by one of the two bodies under this arrangement, it shall specifically be stated in the document presented that the representations are being made with the support also of the other body.
- 5) It is agreed that at all international conferences where the Congress and the Conference are represented by delegations the delegations shall work together in the closest consultation.

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
HENRY MONSKY

Co-Chairmen

MAURICE BISGYER
SIGMUND W. DAVID
RABBI WILLIAM DRAZIN
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
RABBI SIMON FEDERBUSCH
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
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JUDGE LEWIS GOLDBERG
FRANK GOLDMAN
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MRS. SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN
RABBI ROBERT GORDIS
HAYIM GREENBERG
MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN
MRS. HUGO HARTMANN
RABBI JAMES G. HELLER
EDGAR J. KAUFMANN
MRS. BARNETT E. KOPELMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
ISRAEL KRAMER
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM
HON. LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES
MORTIMER MAY
RABBI IRVING MILLER
DR. SAMUEL NIRENSTEIN
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
JEFFERSON E. PEYSER
HARRY A. PINE
MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL
ADOLPH ROSENBERG
DVORAH ROTHBARD
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
LOUIS SEGAL
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
EDWARD S. SILVER
SIMON E. SOBELOFF
CHARLES SONNENREICH
ALEX F. STANTON
HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
HERMANN STERN
ROBERT SZOLD
DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM
MRS. MAURICE TURNER
JOE WEINGARTEN
MRS. JOSEPH M. WELT
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

Executive Committee

LOUIS LIPSKY

Chairman

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RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
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HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
MAX J. SCHNEIDER
HERMAN SHULMAN
ALEX F. STANTON
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

February 23, 1945

C O P Y

Mr. Max Freedman, Chairman
Budget Committee
Jewish Welfare Fund of Cleveland
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Freedman:

In accordance with the resolution of the Budget and Finance Committee with reference to the 1945 budgetary requirements of the American Jewish Conference, based on past experience and the necessary expansion of program and activities for the current year, we herewith submit our request for an allocation from your community for the current year.

Enclosed is a copy of the projected budget for 1945 for your guidance and information, along with other pertinent data.

The entire 1944 budget was furnished by the Jewish communities of the United States. This year, it was voted by the delegates that part of our budget be shouldered by our constituent national organizations. On the basis of present representation as between organization and community delegates, 78% of the budgetary requirements have been allocated to the communities, and 22% to the national organizations.

This means that we must look to the Jewish communities for the sum of \$195,000 and to the national organizations for the sum of \$55,000. Last year many communities made allocations in accordance with their delegate representation and their financial resources. Many other communities, however, made inadequate allocations resulting in curtailment of program and activities.

The spirit of cooperation evidenced by your community in making a 1944 allocation to the Conference budget is fully appreciated. However, in view of the requirements of the expanded and more comprehensive program of activities for 1945, as briefly outlined in the enclosed data, we respectfully request an increased allotment in the sum of \$7,500.

Respectfully yours,

Aaron Droock
Aaron Droock, Chairman
Budget and Finance Committee

AD:MG
Enc.
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THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON THE 1945 BUDGET

The resolution dealing with the method of raising funds and adopted at the second session of the American Jewish Conference reads as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED by the Budget and Finance Committee of the American Jewish Conference, that the funds which will be required for the program of activity, administrative or other expenses by the American Jewish Conference, shall be contributed to by the communities, local or regional, of the country, and by national organizations of the country which are members of the Conference, in accordance with their proper and equitable responsibility; these funds to be raised through the medium of existing instrumentality or community organization, or other method to be determined by the communities, in order that the support of the Conference shall come from the entire American Jewish community in consonance with the representative democratic character of the Conference."

The Budget and Finance Committee at the second session recommended that the sum of \$250,000 be fixed as the amount to be made available to the Conference for the calendar year 1945. The statement of the Committee was as follows:

"The estimated budget was based upon the experience of actual expenditures as reflected in the financial and operating statement of the American Jewish Conference for the first ten months of 1944; and, estimated for the remaining calendar year of 1944, will approximate \$100,000. These expenditures covered the very minimum requirements with a skeletonized staff and limited scope of activities. The projected budget for the ensuing year is estimated on the assumption that the work of the American Jewish Conference, within the scope of its present program, will be expanded so that its present Commissions may more adequately discharge their work and responsibilities.

This recommendation also contemplates necessary increase in staff and facilities to expedite the work of the Commissions under the supervision of the Interim Committee."

A. Administrative Expenses

These include salaries of executive and clerical staff, printing, office supplies, equipment, rent, postage, telephone, telegram, traveling and miscellaneous expenses.

B. Department of Research

The Department of Research works in cooperation with existing research departments of constituent organizations. It carries on additional independent research only when required records cannot be obtained through these sources or when studies must be made of uncoordinated material.

C. A major undertaking during the year will be the establishment of a United Jewish Representation to coordinate and unify representations by Jewish bodies throughout the world before governmental and intergovernmental agencies and international conferences. A new Department of Overseas Relations has been established by the Conference for this purpose.

D. Public Relations and Publications

The Public Relations Department issues a monthly publication, the Conference Record, which is sent to the delegates, electors, press and other interested persons, and a weekly Bulletin which is mailed to delegates. Other publications include the annual "Proceedings," reports, pamphlets, etc.

E. Public Functions

From time to time in the past the Conference has sponsored public functions to acquaint the public with the facts about the Jewish position overseas, and it is intended to broaden this work during the coming year, utilizing radio, the press and other organs of public opinion.

F. Community Relations

This work will be intensified so that communities throughout the country may be enabled to participate more actively in the support of the Conference program.

G. Government Relations

It is intended to establish a Washington office. In addition, a sum has been reserved for delegations to international conferences.

H. Meetings

The committees of the Conference include the Interim Committee which, during the past, met monthly, an Executive Committee which meets fortnightly, and the Committees on Rescue, Palestine and Post-War. In addition there is a Committee on United Jewish Representation and a Committee on Budget and Finance. A committee on future organization of the Conference is to be established. This item provides for expenses of all the committees and the expenses of the third session of the Conference, which must be held within a year.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

DATE: Feb. 27, 1945

TO: MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE AND INTERIM COMMITTEES

FROM: I. L. KENEN

SUBJECT:

Enclosed you will find minutes of meeting of the Executive Committee held on February 22nd, 1945.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will take place on Thursday, March 1st, 1945 at 6:00 P.M. at the office of the Conference.



American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197 New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
HENRY MONSKY

Co-Chairmen

MAURICE BISGYER
SIGMUND W. DAVID
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Executive Committee

LOUIS LIPSKY

Chairman

MAURICE BISGYER
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
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ALEX F. STANTON
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

February 27, 1945

To All Delegates and Affiliated Organizations
of the American Jewish Conference:

The Interim Committee at its meeting on Sunday, February 25th, took action on a number of matters in connection with the forthcoming United Nations Conference at San Francisco.

It has been agreed that those phases of the American Jewish Conference program which may be pertinent to the agenda at San Francisco will be presented by the American Jewish Conference in concert with interested Jewish bodies of other countries.

In furtherance of this program, the Interim Committee approved the establishment of a committee of "representatives of the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews," to work out the means whereby consultation and coordination "among themselves and such other Jewish bodies as are in agreement with their general policy may be most effectively secured and their common objectives affecting postwar Jewish needs attained."

This proposal has been approved within the last week by both the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Prior to the presentation at San Francisco, it is intended that the San Francisco meeting shall be utilized as the occasion for the widest possible dissemination of the entire American Jewish Conference program, and in order that the viewpoint of American Jewry may be registered effectively on American public opinion, it is planned to hold large meetings in a number of the communities throughout the country under the auspices of the American Jewish Conference in April.

The Interim Committee is requesting the cooperation of all national affiliated organizations and all community delegates to further this effort.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

In addition to these decisions, the Interim Committee acted on a number of other matters, to which your attention is directed.

1) By unanimous vote, it was agreed that a proposal submitted by the American Jewish Committee was neither feasible nor desirable and a reply has been sent to the American Jewish Committee. Copies of both communications are enclosed.

2) It has been agreed to intensify activities in the coming months on all phases of the Conference program.

3) A statement on the relationship of the Conference and its constituent national organizations was approved unanimously by the Interim Committee and a copy is enclosed. We trust that all the national affiliates will cooperate in the implementation of this policy, which is in line with a resolution referred to the Interim Committee by the second session.

We will appreciate your cooperation in all the foregoing matters.

Very cordially yours,

Louis Lipsky

Louis Lipsky, Chairman
Executive Committee

LL:s
encs.

C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

February 16, 1945.

Dear Mr. Lipsky:

The American Jewish Committee has organized a Committee on Peace Problems. The personnel of the committee is shown on the enclosed schedule. I think you will agree with me that it is made up of a very distinguished body of Jewish scholars and laymen. It has made an Interim Report, of which I send you a copy. That Interim Report stresses the necessity of creating, under the general provisions of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, three Commissions: 1, a Commission on the Protection of Human Rights; 2, a Commission on Migration; and 3, a Commission on Statelessness.

I think these projects will no doubt enlist the support of all shades of Jewish opinion and that they are of vital importance to the protection of European Jewry.

I write, therefore, to inquire whether you would come to an informal conference to consider the possibility of unified Jewish support for these three projects. If you will indicate to me your willingness to do this, I will immediately take up with you the time and place. It is not my idea that this conference would act in any formal or definitive manner, but that it would merely lay the basis for action by all organizations, if they are so advised, for a common effort to achieve these results.

Yours faithfully,

Joseph M. Proskauer
President.

Mr. Louis Lipsky
Chairman, Executive Committee
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue,
New York 17 N. Y.

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Enc.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

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February 26, 1945

Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, President
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Judge Proskauer:

The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference has considered your letter of February 16, 1945.

At its first and second sessions, the American Jewish Conference adopted a comprehensive program covering Jewish interests in the area of rescue, post-war and Palestine. This program received the approval of an overwhelming majority of the delegates representing all Jewish communities in the United States and the major national Jewish organizations. Although some organizations did not accept all parts of the program adopted by the Conference, they nevertheless remained within the Conference and continued to cooperate in the interest of unity and unified action.

At the first session, representatives of the American Jewish Committee participated in the standing committees and in the final vote on all questions. Later, to our regret, the American Jewish Committee withdrew from the Conference.

The Conference elected an Interim Committee at the first session and renewed its authority at the second. During this period, the Interim Committee of the Conference has pursued the task of endeavoring to implement the adopted program and in view of the rapid approach of the conclusion of the war, is now intensifying its activities in many directions. We regard the program adopted at the sessions of the Conference as directives to the Interim Committee.

We have no doubt that your proposal is dictated by a desire to unite American Jewry on a program for action to meet the post-war needs of the Jewish people, but we should like to point out to you that the Conference was established as the representative body of American Jews for that very purpose, and we believe that such an objective can best be served through the instrumentality of the American Jewish Conference.

We would, therefore, welcome any proposals which you care to submit to the various committees of the Conference, which are dealing with all the problems to which you refer in your letter.

It is our conviction, moreover, that there is a greater need today than ever before for a unified agency representing all American Jews and we look forward to the time when you may find it possible to resume your place in the American Jewish Conference. The creation of a new committee or agency to serve the same purposes for which the American Jewish Conference was established will only lead to confusion and tend to prejudice the attainment of our objectives.

Very cordially yours,

LL:s

(Signed) LOUIS LIPSKY, Chairman
Executive Committee

STATEMENT
ON THE RELATIONS
of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
and its
AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Adopted by the Interim Committee
at the Hotel Biltmore, New York,
February 25th, 1945.

A - In the furtherance of the program of the American Jewish Conference in the fields of rescue, Palestine and post-war, it shall be the duty of all organizations affiliated with the Conference to abide by the principle that formal or public representations on these matters to this government or other governments be made through and in the name of the Conference.

B - All affiliated national organizations shall be guided by the policies of the Conference as determined by its plenary sessions, the Interim Committee and the Executive Committee.

C - When about to launch a project which falls within the accepted sphere of activities of the Conference, national organizations shall present it to the Executive Committee of the Conference. The national organizations may proceed to implement the task providing the Conference approves the project as desirable and feasible.

2/26/45
DK

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

CONFIDENTIAL

V.

Thursday, March 1st, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Jane Evans, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Leon Gellman, William Gerber (alternate for Maurice Bisgyer), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Charles P. Kramer, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Alex F. Stanton, and David Wertheim.

Staff: I.L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A.S. Kohanski, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Rabbi David Sherman and Mrs. Florence Kaplan.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING 2/22/45 - Approved

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE ON PALESTINE

The Chair submitted a communication from Dr. Stephen S. Wise, declining the appointment as Chairman of the Committee on Palestine. It was moved that Dr. Wise's declination be accepted with regrets. CARRIED.

Mr. Caplan nominated Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, seconded by Mr. Wertheim, for the chairmanship. A motion to table, made by Mr. Stanton and seconded by Mrs. Shulman, was defeated. Rabbi Lookstein was elected, with Mrs. Shulman not voting.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

Judge Rothenberg re-read the proposal of the World Jewish Congress for a working arrangement between the Congress and the Conference. (See previous minutes.) He then submitted the proposal drawn up by the Committee on United Jewish Representation for the approval of the Executive Committee. After lengthy discussion, a new draft was formulated (copy attached), it being understood, by motion of the Executive Committee, that this agreement with the World Jewish Congress be provisional and subject to being superceded by an agreement, if and when it is reached, between the World Jewish Congress, the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the American Jewish Conference.

Judge Rothenberg moved that the Chairman of the Executive Committee be empowered to appoint the necessary personnel to carry out this agreement. CARRIED.

Mr. Grossman reported that a cable had been sent to London asking that the Board of Deputies of British Jews make a final decision with regard to the formation of a joint committee and that a reply had been received from Prof. Selig Brodetsky to the effect that the Board had approved the proposal and suggesting a meeting in April. In view of the urgency of the matter, the three Co-Chairmen of the Interim Committee and the Chairman of the Committee on United Jewish Representation discussed the proposals contained in the cable from London and sent a reply in behalf of the American Jewish Conference. This action was ratified by the Executive Committee. (Copies of exchange of telegrams attached.)

Judge Rothenberg moved that a delegation be appointed and authorized to go to Washington to meet with all appropriate officials in connection with preparations for the San Francisco Conference. CARRIED.

STATEMENT OF DR. KOHANSKI

Dr. Kohanski submitted a statement in answer to remarks to the effect that the American Jewish Conference had taken over its post-war program almost verbatim from the World Jewish Congress. (Text attached.)

NEXT MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

It was agreed that the next meeting be held on Thursday, March 8th, at 6:00 P.M. at the office of the Conference.

FINANCIAL REPORT

On behalf of the Budget and Finance Committee, Mrs. Jarcho submitted a brief report on the present finances of the Conference and urged the affiliated organizations to send in their contributions immediately in view of straitened financial conditions.

The meeting then adjourned.

I.L. Kenen
Executive Secretary

fsk
3/2/45



AMENDED DRAFT
OF THE PROPOSAL BY THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS FOR A WORKING ARRANGEMENT

1. The World Jewish Congress, considering the democratic and representative character of the American Jewish Conference, recognizes the special position of the Conference as the spokesman of the American Jewish Community before the American Government. Accordingly, representations to the American Government or its departments or agencies shall be made through the American Jewish Conference, with the support of the World Jewish Congress, unless, after consultation, it is regarded as necessary, in a specific instance, that separate representation be made.

2. The World Jewish Congress retains its right to represent all the communities and organizations affiliated with it in its dealings with all foreign governments. Representations to inter-governmental and international agencies shall be made jointly by the two bodies, unless, after consultation, it is regarded as necessary, in a specific instance, that separate representation be made.

3. The World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference will maintain the closest cooperation in the fields of activity common to both, by means of continuous consultation, exchange of information and joint action in the day-to-day work both in New York and in Washington.

4. To facilitate this cooperation, each organization would invite the other to send representatives to its own executive and administrative bodies.

5. The two organizations shall form a joint committee consisting of two representatives from each, for the purpose of supervising their common activities.

6. It is understood that this agreement shall be superseded if and when an arrangement with regard to cooperation and consultation shall be arrived at between the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference.

COPY CABLEGRAM FROM SELIG BRODETSKY

NBM20 INTL-LONDON 144 1/39 FEB 21
NLT LOUIS LIPSKY
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE 521 FIFTH AVE NYK

Replying your cable Board Deputies meeting Sunday eighteenth approved proposal regarding Joint Committee STOP We also had immediate discussions concerning San Francisco Conference which may deal matters affecting Jewish position many aspects we inquiring specifically concerning details agenda Francisco Conference and grateful immediate information you may obtain regarding agenda STOP In view of extreme urgency and short time before Francisco Conference and because discussions of arrangements by Joint Committee for consultation coordination will involve long delay would suggest our three bodies propose telegraphically to other Jewish bodies on broadest basis including for example those cooperating at UNRRA meeting Montreal as well as South African Board and French and other suitable bodies a meeting in New York of representatives middle April with object secure greatest measure unified approach to United Nations at Francisco Please cable reply immediately

Selig Brodetsky

COPY CONFERENCE CABLED REPLY

NLT SELIG BRODETSKY
WOBURN HOUSE LONDON (ENGLAND)

Without prejudice to joint action on broader basis we suggest that British Board Jewish Deputies World Jewish Congress and American Jewish Conference immediately set up provisional joint committee for consideration problems at San Francisco and that representatives of above three bodies meet in New York about April 10th STOP Please note Conference's Interim Committee Sunday ratified original tripartite agreement and at same time unanimously declined American Jewish Committee's invitation for informal joint conference with them Agudas Israel and Jewish Labor Committee to consider formation unified Jewish post-war program on human rights migration statelessness STOP We welcome return to Conference of any organizations which have withdrawn but as representative body of American Jewish Community Conference could not put itself in the position of reopening discussions or negotiations with such organizations for a program different from that directed by mandate of American Jewish Community

American Jewish Conference
Louis Lipsky
Morris Rothenberg

Feb. 27, 1945

3/2/45
fsk

STATEMENT OF DR. KOHANSKI

At several meetings of the Executive Committee and the last meeting of the Interim Committee, as well as on other occasions, statements have been made to the effect that the American Jewish Conference has taken over its post-war program almost verbatim from the World Jewish Congress.

Anyone reading the Proceedings of the First Session will readily see that a large number of delegates participated in the discussions of the Committees on Post-War and Rescue and took an active part in the formulation of the resolutions adopted by the Conference.

In the course of the year between the First and Second Sessions, the Commissions on Post-War and Rescue issued statements and memoranda on many phases of the Conference's program. Of the three Statements issued by the Post-War Commission, two were prepared by the staff of the Conference on the basis of original documentary material and in line with the decisions of the Commission as a whole. Similarly, Memoranda and Statements of the Commission on Rescue were prepared by the staff of the Conference on the basis of material obtained from several sources.

At the Second Session, the Resolutions on Post-war, with the exception of the Resolution on Restoration of Property, were prepared by the staff together with a Sub-committee of the Post-War Committee.

It is, therefore, erroneous to say that the entire program of post-war Jewish rehabilitation and reconstruction that has been formulated by the American Jewish Conference is a copy or even an adoption of that of the World Jewish Congress. The fact that the two programs are essentially in agreement does not make one a copy of the other. This does not mean to deny, however, that the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress has rendered valuable advice to the Conference and its Commissions, which was incorporated in the resolutions and statements issued by the Conference.

3/2/45
fsk

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 2nd, 1945

TO: MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE AND INTERIM COMMITTEES

FROM: I. L. KENEN

SUBJECT:

Enclosed you will find minutes of meeting of the
Executive Committee held on March 1st, 1945.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will
take place on Thursday, March 8th, 1945 at 6:00
P.M. at the office of the Conference.



BULLETIN

OF ACTIVITIES AND DIGEST OF THE PRESS

No. 52

17 Adar, 5705

March 2, 1945.

MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference met on Sunday, February 25th, in New York City, to deal with a wide range of current political and organizational problems, and to receive reports from the Executive and Standing Committees. Henry Monsky presided.

Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the Executive Committee, submitted a report of the Conference activities since the last Interim Committee meeting, in which he referred to actions taken in the fields of rescue and toward the formation of a United Jewish Representation. He also submitted the program of activities which was prepared by a sub-Committee on Program, and approved by the Executive Committee, providing for the expansion of Conference work here and abroad, and preparations for the forthcoming United Nations Conference.

The Interim Committee approved all the steps taken by the Executive Committee. It has been agreed that those phases of the American Jewish Conference program which may be pertinent to the agenda at San Francisco will be presented by the Conference in concert with interested Jewish bodies of other countries.

Aaron Droock was elected Chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, Hermann Stern was appointed Treasurer, and Mrs. Herman Shulman was named member of the Executive Committee, replacing Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, who is unable to attend meetings.

* * *

Considerable time was devoted to plans for the formation of a United Jewish Representation and closer cooperation with the World Jewish Congress, not only on representations to government agencies but also in day-to-day work within the Conference scope. To further this program, the Interim Committee approved the establishment of a committee of "representatives of the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews," to work out the means whereby consultation and coordination "among themselves and such other Jewish bodies as are in agreement with their general policy may be most effectively secured and their common objectives affecting postwar Jewish needs attained."

* * *

There was little discussion of the American Jewish Committee's invitation to participate in "an informal conference to consider the possibility of united Jewish support" for proposals covering protection of human rights, migration and statelessness. It will be recalled that similar invitations were sent to the Jewish Labor Committee, which withdrew from the Conference, the Agudas Israel, which declined to join the Conference, and the American Jewish Congress, which is an affiliate of the Conference. It was unanimously decided to decline the invitation of the American Jewish Committee (See letter on page 3).

In his report on the activities of the Rescue Committee, Professor Hayim Fineman stressed that recent developments had confirmed the conviction of the people engaged in saving the remnants of European Jewry that, regardless of the military situation, many Jews can be saved, and that our Government ought to accelerate and augment the measures it has taken hitherto.

Tribute was paid to the memory of Henrietta Szold, the "Grand Old Lady" of American Jewry, who became the Mother of all the Jewish orphans brought to Pales-

tine, and a resolution expressing the sentiments of the Conference was adopted.

A statement on the relationship between the Conference and its constituent national organizations, providing for closer cooperation and that affiliated groups submit to the Conference all plans of activities within its scope, was approved by the Interim Committee.

Mr. Droock, Chairman of the Committee on Budget and Finance, reported budget raising plans, and outlined a program which called for financial support both by the Jewish communities and the national organizations affiliated with the Conference.

The following members and alternates of the Interim Committee participated in the meeting: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Henry Monsky, Co-Chairmen; Dr. Abba Abrams, Maurice Bisgyer, Aaron Droock, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Miss Jane Evans, M. Maldwin Fertig, Prof. Hayim Fineman, J. George Fredman, Daniel Frisch, William M. Gerber, Judge Lewis Goldberg, Mrs. I. Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Dr. James G. Heller, Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman, Charles P. Kramer, Israel Kramer, Rabbi Joseph Lookstein, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Mrs. Albert May, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Mrs. David deSola Pool, William Rabkin, Mrs. Louis Rosett, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Rubin Saltzman, Benjamin Samuels, Mrs. Herman Shulman, William Siegel, Simon E. Sobeloff, Charles Sonnenreich, Alex F. Stanton, Hermann Stern, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, Mrs. R. Vixman, Ralph Wechsler, David Wertheim and Baruch Zuckerman.

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SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE: REQUEST FOR HEARING TO BE SUBMITTED.

The American Jewish Conference will ask the United Nations to grant a hearing at their San Francisco Conference on April 25th to representative bodies of the Jewish people on measures vital to their post-war rehabilitation.

It will request the United Nations to recognize the justice of the Jewish claim for representation on all agencies that may be established to deal with post-war reconstruction and organization, in accordance with a resolution which was adopted by the delegates at the first session of the Conference in New York in 1943. That resolution provided that the "Conference requests the recognition by the United Nations of the justice of the Jewish claim for representation, for the purpose of advice and cooperation on agencies that have been and will be set up by the United Nations to deal with the problems of relief, rehabilitation, resettlement, and other aspects of post-war reconstruction."

Among the matters that will be brought to the attention of the San Francisco Conference is the American Jewish Conference proposal for an International Bill of Rights, which would embody:

- a. Full and complete protection of life and liberty for the inhabitants of all countries without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.
- b. Unequivocal equality of rights in law and in fact for all the citizens of every country.
- c. The inalienable right of all religious, ethnic and cultural groups to maintain and foster their respective group identities on the basis of equality.

Inasmuch as the new United Nations organization is likely to become the successor of the League of Nations, the San Francisco Conference may take up the question of mandated territories, in which event the Conference - in cooperation with the Jewish Agency of Palestine - would ask the United Nations to reaffirm Jewish rights to Palestine which were recognized by the predecessor organization, the League of Nations. The Conference, as well as the Jewish Agency, are on record in favor of the immediate opening of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration and the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

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CONFERENCE DECLINES AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S INVITATION

Following the decision of the Interim Committee to decline the invitation of the American Jewish Committee to participate in an informal conference on a number of proposals which are already included in the program of the American Jewish Conference, the following letter was sent to Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee, on February 26th:

"The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference has considered your letter of February 16, 1945.

At its first and second sessions, the American Jewish Conference adopted a comprehensive program covering Jewish interests in the area of rescue, post-war and Palestine. This program received the approval of an overwhelming majority of the delegates representing all Jewish communities in the United States and the major national Jewish organizations. Although some organizations did not accept all parts of the program adopted by the Conference, they nevertheless remained within the Conference and continued to cooperate in the interest of unity and unified action.

At the first session, representatives of the American Jewish Committee participated in the standing committees and in the final vote on all questions.

Later, to our regret, the American Jewish Committee withdrew from the Conference.

The Conference elected an Interim Committee at the first session and renewed its authority at the second. During this period, the Interim Committee of the Conference has pursued the task of endeavoring to implement the adopted program and in view of the rapid approach of the conclusion of the war, is not intensifying its activities in many directions. We regard the program adopted at the sessions of the Conference as directives to the Interim Committee.

We have no doubt that your proposal is dictated by a desire to unite American Jewry on a program for action to meet the post-war needs of the Jewish people, but we should like to point out to you that the Conference was established as the representative body of American Jews for that very purpose, and we believe that such an objective can best be served through the instrumentality of the American Jewish Conference.

We would, therefore, welcome any proposals which you care to submit to the various committees of the Conference which are dealing with all the problems to which you refer in your letter.

It is our conviction, moreover, that there is a greater need today than ever before for a unified agency representing all American Jews, and we look forward to the time when you may find it possible to resume your place in the American Jewish Conference. The creation of a new committee or agency to serve the same purposes for which the American Jewish Conference was established will only lead to confusion and tend to prejudice the attainment of our objectives."

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STATEMENT ON RELATIONS WITH AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Adopted by the Interim Committee on February 25th.

A. In the furtherance of the program of the American Jewish Conference in the fields of rescue, Palestine and post-war, it shall be the duty of all organizations affiliated with the Conference to abide by the principle that formal or public representations on these matters to this government or other governments be made through and in the name of the Conference.

B. All affiliated national organizations shall be guided by the policies of the Conference as determined by its plenary sessions, the Interim Committee and the Executive Committee.

C. When about to launch a project which falls within the accepted sphere of activities of the Conference, national organizations shall present it to the Executive Committee of the Conference. The national organizations may proceed to implement the task providing the Conference approves the project as desirable and feasible.

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HOUSE COMMITTEE URGED TO ENABLE U.S. REPRESENTATION ON UNITED WAR CRIMES COMMISSION

The resolution adopted at the meeting held on February 12th by the delegates and electors of the American Jewish Conference, Greater New York area, was forwarded to the Hon. Clarence Cannon, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Deficiencies, House Appropriations Committee, and to all members of the Committee.

In the covering letter, the Conference pointed out that "the lack of Congressional appropriation to make possible U. S. representation on the United Nations War Crimes Commission may be interpreted as indifference by the United States to the just prosecution and punishment of war criminals." Further, the letter urged the Committee to vote for the appropriation requested by the State Department "so that America may fully participate on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, whose work we believe must proceed without delay."

On Tuesday of this week word came from the House Appropriations Committee that it had recommended the \$25,000.00 appropriation for the United War Crimes Commission. The matter comes up in the House for final approval on March 2nd.

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COMPLETE LIST OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE.

At its last meeting, the Executive Committee filled two of the three vacancies on the Interim Committee. It co-opted Rabbi Joseph Lookstein and Albert E. Kahn, and has requested the Youth Organizations of the Conference to designate one member.

Thus, the complete membership of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference is as follows:

Dr. Israel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Henry Monsky, - Co-Chairmen;

Maurice Bisgyer

Sigmund W. David

Rabbi William Drazin

Aaron Droock

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath

Mrs. Moses P. Epstein

Rabbi Simon Federbusch

Prof. Hayim Fineman

Mr. J. George Fredman,

Daniel Frisch

Leon Gellman

Judge Lewis Goldberg

Frank Goldman

Dr. Solomon Goldman

Mrs. Samuel Goldstein

Rabbi Robert Gordis

Hayim Greenberg

Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin

Mrs. Hugo Hartmann

Dr. James G. Heller

Albert E. Kahn

Edgar J. Kaufmann

Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman

Charles P. Kramer

Israel Kramer

Sidney G. Kusworm

Judge Louis E. Levinthal

Rabbi Joseph Lookstein

Dr. Samuel Margoshes

Mortimer May

Rabbi Irving Miller

Dr. Samuel Nirenstein

Judge Nathan D. Perlman

Jefferson E. Peyser

Harry A. Pine

Mrs. David deSola Pool

Adolph Rosenberg

Miss Dvorah Rothbard

Judge Morris Rothenberg
 Samuel Rothstein
 Benjamin Samuels
 Louis Segal
 Herman Shulman
 Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
 Edward S. Silver
 Simon E. Sobeloff
 Charles Sonnenreich
 Alex F. Stanton

Justice Meier Steinbrink
 Hermann Stern
 Robert Szold
 Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum
 Mrs. Maurice Turner
 Mrs. Joseph M. Welt
 David Wertheim
 Dr. Stephen S. Wise
 Mrs. Stephen S. Wise
 Baruch Zuckerman

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COMPOSITION OF THREE COMMITTEES.

The composition of three of the Committees of the American Jewish Conference is as follows:

Committee on Post-War: Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Chairman, Rabbi Sol Barsel, Samuel Bisgyer, Nathan H. Brodsky, Rabbi J. X. Cohen, Miss Jane Evans, Hayim Greenberg, Louis J. Gribetz, Jacob Hoffman, Rabbi Jacob Hoffman, Max A. Kopstein, Albert E. Kahn, Seymour Levine, Jacob Marrus, Mrs. Albert J. May, Jefferson E. Peyser, Dr. Joachim Prinz, Mrs. Harry Rosenthal, Albert D. Schanzer, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Rabbi Irving Silman, Charles Sonnenreich, Michael Stavitsky, Mark Sugarman, Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg and Rabbi David Wice.

Committee on Rescue: Prof. Hayim Fineman, Chairman, Isaac Abelson, Rabbi Bernard Bergman, Rabbi Aaron D. Burack, Louis Fabricant, Louis I. Gilgor, Mrs. Samuel Golding, Mrs. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Judge Emanuel Greenberg, Isaac S. Heller, Rabbi Mayer I. Herman, Israel Kramer, Leo Lowitz, Rabbi Max Macoby, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Herman Z. Quittman, William Rabkin, Mrs. Louis A. Rosett, Rubin Saltzman, Rabbi Morris Silverman, Justice Meier Steinbrink, Hermann Stern, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, Joseph Weingarten and Rabbi Max Wohlgelehter.

Committee on United Jewish Representation: Judge Morris Rothenberg, Chairman, Maurice Bisgyer, Rudolph Callman, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath (Miss Jane Evans, alternate), Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, H. Maldwin Fertig, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, William Gerber, Samuel Rothstein, Alex F. Stanton and David Wertheim.

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I N B R I E F .

- - - Chicago, Ill. At a meeting of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order held in Chicago recently, Mr. H. B. Ritman, delegate from Chicago, gave a report on the proceedings of the Second Session. The audience, composed mainly of members of the J.P.F.O., manifested deep interest in the activities of the Conference.

- - - Hackensack, N.J. Rabbi Irving Silman, delegate of Bergen County, N. J. submitted a report on the proceedings of the Second Session at a special meeting called by the Hackensack Hebrew Institute, the Hebrew Ladies Aid Society of Hackensack, South Bergen Hebrew Institute of East Rutherford and the Temple Emanuel of Westwood, N. J. The question and answer period following the report were very stimulating.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

CONFIDENTIAL

VI.

Thursday, March 8th, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Jane Evans, Prof. Hayim Fineman, J. George Fredman, William Gerber (alternate for Maurice Bisgyer), Charles P. Kramer, Jacob Marrus (alternate for Leon Gellman), Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman and Mrs. Herman Shulman.

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A. S. Kohanski, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Rabbi David Sherman, Mrs. Sylvia Gilman, Allen Roberts and Mrs. Florence Kaplan.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING 3/1/45 - Approved

REPORTS

1. Washington

A. San Francisco - Mr. Kenen reported that he had made inquiries at the State Department to ascertain whether a hearing could be obtained on Jewish problems at San Francisco. He had been informed that it was intended that private organizations in limited numbers would be permitted to attend the plenary sessions and that facilities would be placed at their disposal to permit them to meet from time to time with members of the various delegations, who would grant interviews to them in regular conferences. There was a possibility, in addition, that commissions established by the conference might grant a hearing to interested parties. Thus, on questions like an International Bill of Rights, it was conceivable that representatives of Labor, Capital, the various church groups and post-war planning organizations, might be granted an opportunity to present their ideas.

It was clear that the question of mandates would come up, in view of the fact that the new security organization was assuming all the assets and liabilities of the League of Nations. Accordingly, although territorial questions would not be on the agenda, interests of Palestine were involved. In this connection, he was informed that it was possible that the Jewish Agency for Palestine, as an official body under the League of Nations mandate, might have some status and in any event, would probably be given a hearing. It was desirable that the Conference present its plea for Jewish representation at San Francisco, in accordance with its own resolution, to top officials at Washington at the earliest possible moment.

B. Rescue - From officials of the War Refugee Board, it was learned that the Board was making all possible preparations in the event that the mass rescue of some 300,000 Jews in Axis territory could be effected. There was hope that at the last minute, such an exodus would occur. The Board had also intervened in the endeavor to see that Jews now in Switzerland would be moved to Palestine instead of to a North African camp.

2. Radio

Mr. Kenen reported that Allen Roberts, who is in charge of radio work in the Conference, had arranged three programs in which the Conference was participating in March, and was making an effort to secure a number of programs

for April. Most of these programs were forums, without cost to the Conference.

COOPERATION WITH AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

It was reported that in line with the previous decision of the Executive Committee, it was planned to hold community meetings some time in April for the purpose of utilizing the San Francisco Conference as a platform for the dissemination of the American Jewish Conference program. Subsequently, the American Zionist Emergency Council had decided to initiate community meetings emphasizing the necessity for keeping the doors of Palestine open to Jewish immigration, and desired to do this in cooperation with the American Jewish Conference. Question arose as to whether the Conference program could be projected at these meetings or whether separate meetings should be held in the communities. After lengthy discussion, Judge Rothenberg moved that the Conference propose to the American Zionist Emergency Council the holding of meetings for the purpose of presenting the slogan of the opening of the doors of Palestine and at the same time include an exposition of the aims and objectives of the American Jewish Conference with reference to San Francisco. This motion was defeated and it was then moved by Professor Fineman that the Conference offer its cooperation and endorsement to the American Zionist Emergency Council for the meetings held on behalf of Palestine, but that we proceed with our own preparations for the presentation of our program in whatever way we may decide to do on our own responsibility. CARRIED.

Rabbi Eisendrath voted in the negative on this motion and made the following statement:

"I am not opposed to assisting the Emergency Council or anyone else in seeking to open the gates of Palestine. However, in adopting the suggested procedure, I think we are acting in complete error as far as the interests of the American Jewish Conference are concerned. We are saying throughout the country that that is almost our primary objective. In the face of the immediacy of San Francisco, we are effacing the whole of the program of the American Jewish Conference."

Mr. Kramer concurred in this statement.

(PLEASE NOTE that on Monday, March 12th, several members of the Executive Committee who opposed Judge Rothenberg's motion, expressed a desire for a reconsideration in view of practical difficulties in the way of separate meetings in the communities within a four-week period. Those present at the Executive Committee meeting were polled by telephone and the great majority favored the Rothenberg proposal.)

AGREEMENT WITH WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Judge Rothenberg reported that the draft of agreement drawn up at the last meeting of the Executive Committee was submitted to the World Jewish Congress and that it was accepted with some slight modification. He then read the new draft and moved the adoption of his report. CARRIED. (Copy of agreement attached.)

The Chair appointed Judge Rothenberg and Rabbi Eisendrath as representatives of the Conference on the joint committee to implement the agreement with the World Jewish Congress, Mr. Lipsky to serve in Rabbi Eisendrath's absence, and Mr. Grossman to serve as the staff member.

UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

Judge Rothenberg submitted a cable received from Prof. Brodetsky of the Board of Deputies of British Jews (copy attached) and it was agreed that the Conference and the World Jewish Congress should decide who shall be invited to participate, the Board to be notified of any action in this connection. The committee appointed to meet with the World Jewish Congress was given full power to act.

DATE OF INTERIM COMMITTEE MEETING

It was tentatively agreed that the next Interim Committee meeting be held on Sunday, April 8th, 1945. The date was later changed to April 12th.

LETTER FROM AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The Chair submitted a letter from the American Jewish Committee (copy attached), and it was agreed that it be filed.

The meeting then adjourned.

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I. L. Kenen
Executive Secretary

WORKING AGREEMENT BETWEEN AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
AND WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

1. The World Jewish Congress, considering the democratic and representative character of the American Jewish Conference, recognizes the special position of the Conference as the spokesman of the American Jewish Community before the American Government. Accordingly, representations to the American Government or its departments or agencies shall be made through the American Jewish Conference, with the support of the World Jewish Congress, unless, after consultation, it is regarded as necessary, in a specific instance, that separate representation be made.

2. The World Jewish Congress retains its right to represent all the communities and organizations affiliated with it in its dealings with all foreign governments. Representations to intergovernmental and international agencies meeting in America shall be made jointly by the two bodies, unless, after consultation, it is regarded as necessary, in a specific instance, that separate representation be made.

3. The World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference will maintain the closest cooperation in the fields of activity common to both, by means of continuous consultation, exchange of information and joint action in the day-to-day work both in New York and in Washington, and as soon as the American Jewish Conference will have a representative in that city.

4. To facilitate this cooperation, each organization would invite the other to send representatives to its own executive and administrative bodies.

5. The two organizations shall form a joint committee consisting of two representatives from each, for the purpose of supervising their common activities.

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COPY OF CABLE RECEIVED FROM PROFESSOR SELIG BRODETSKY, LONDON

March 7, 1945.

NIT LOUIS LIPSKY AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 FIFTH AVE NEW YORK

FURTHER OUR PREVIOUS CABLE IMPRESSION GAINED RESULT OUR INQUIRIES
THAT SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH MACHINERY
ESTABLISHMENTS GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION WILL NOT DEAL WITH
DETAILS OUR MATTERS STOP WOULD WELCOME IMMEDIATE INFORMATION RESULTS
YOUR INQUIRIES STOP IN ANY EVENT WE SUGGEST PROCEED BASIS PREVIOUS
CABLE AND DESPATCH INVITATION FROM CONFERENCE BOARD CONGRESS TO
SUITABLE BODIES IN CASE MEETING NEW YORK NECESSARY STOP REFERENCE
ROTHENBERGS CABLE WE PROCEEDING NOMINATE OUR TWO REPRESENTATIVES
JOINT COMMITTEE AND WILL INFORM YOU IMMEDIATELY NAMES DECIDED STOP
WOULD WELCOME NAMES REPRESENTATIVES CONFERENCE CONGRESS AND SUGGEST
LONDON LOCALE NEXT MEETING JOINT COMMITTEE STOP PROPOSE BROTMAN
PROCEED USA PURPOSE MAINTAIN CONTACT REGARDING JOINT COMMITTEE AND
OTHER MATTERS COMMON INTEREST STOP

SELIG BRODETSKY

C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

March 1, 1945

Dear Mr. Lipsky:

I acknowledge your letter of February 26th and note with deep regret the refusal of the American Jewish Conference to enter into an informal conference. Your position that the American Jewish Conference must be the sole representative of all shades of Jewish opinion, is, I think, most unfortunate for the achievement of common objectives. To say to all groups in Jewish life that unless they agree on all points of a platform containing many planks which at the moment are not pressing, they should have no share of the responsibility for the achievement of generally desired aims, is to lose for Jewry the enormous asset of the personnel and ability not only of the Peace Problems Committee - a list of whose personnel I sent to you - but of various other organizations, besides the American Jewish Committee, not affiliated with the Conference.

This becomes particularly unfortunate when we consider that the purpose of the discussion we have suggested would be solely to consolidate our strength in urging for the immediate present those objectives upon which we could all agree. Your suggestion that I submit proposals to the Conference has been anticipated. I did send you the Interim Report of our Peace Problems Committee. We shall always welcome any cooperation you may see fit to give to secure the attainment of the purposes it declares which are so vital to Jewish welfare.

The unity of action on specific problems is exemplified by a precedent set last July when the American Jewish Committee joined with the American Jewish Conference and other organizations in activities in behalf of the persecuted Jews of Hungary.

You are entirely right in saying my proposal for an informal conference, not as you suggest for the formation of a new agency, was dictated by "a desire to unite American Jewry." That unity should be in the area of our agreements, and the way to get it is to sit around a table to explore how far we can work together.

We shall always be glad to discuss common problems with you in this spirit of cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Joseph M. Proskauer

Joseph M. Proskauer
President

Mr. Louis Lipsky
Chairman, Executive Committee
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.
JMP:LH

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3/2/45

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

March 13, 1945

TO: MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND INTERIM COMMITTEES ^{DATE:}

FROM: I. L. KENEN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: MINUTES

Please take note that the next meeting of the Interim Committee will be held on Thursday, April 12th, at 10:15 A.M., at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City. Please fill in the enclosed card, informing us whether you will be present.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee will be held on Thursday, March 22nd, at 6:00 P.M., at the office of the Conference.

Enclosed you will find minutes of the last meeting of the Interim Committee and minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of March 8th.

The attention of co-opted members of the Interim Committee is called to the motion empowering the Executive Committee to name alternates for them, based on their recommendations to the Executive Committee, and they are requested to forward their nominees without delay.

The attention of out-of-town members is called to the decision of the Executive Committee, providing that "out-of-town members of the Interim Committee whose fares are not paid by any organization should have their railroad fares paid by the Conference."

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY

HENRY MONSKY

Co-Chairmen

MAURICE BISGYER
SIGMUND W. DAVID
RABBI WILLIAM DRAZIN
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
RABBI SIMON FEDERBUSCH
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
DANIEL FRISCH
LEON GELLMAN
HON. LEWIS GOLDBERG
FRANK GOLDMAN
DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
MRS. SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN
DR. ROBERT GORDIS
HAYIM GREENBERG
MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN
MRS. HUGO HARTMANN
DR. JAMES G. HELLER
ALBERT E. KAHN
EDGAR J. KAUFMANN
MRS. BARNETT E. KOPELMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
ISRAEL KRAMER
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM
HON. LOUIS E. LEVINthal
RABBI JOSEPH H. LOOKSTEIN
DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES
MORTIMER MAY
RABBI IRVING MILLER
DR. SAMUEL NIRENSTEIN
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
JEFFERSON E. PEYSER
HARRY A. PINE
MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL
ADOLPH ROSENBERG
DORAH ROTHBARD
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
LOUIS SEGAL
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
EDWARD S. SILVER
SIMON E. SOBELOFF
CHARLES SONNENREICH
ALEX F. STANTON
HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
HERMANN STERN
ROBERT SZOLD
DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM
MRS. MAURICE TURNER
MRS. JOSEPH M. WELT
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

Executive Committee

LOUIS LIPSKY

Chairman

MAURICE BISGYER
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
JANE EVANS
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
LEON GELLMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
HERMAN SHULMAN
MRS. HERMAN SHULMAN
ALEX F. STANTON
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

March 13, 1945

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE:

The first meeting of what is expected to be the beginning of an international organization to succeed the League of Nations will be held in San Francisco on April 25th. It is expected that 39 states, all of whom have declared war on Germany or Japan, will be present. This first meeting will be concerned primarily with framing the constitution of the new international organization. It may not deal with any of the details of the peace; but the formal aspects of a constitution may raise questions of far-reaching importance, affecting certain states or peoples. For example, the consideration of the Mandates system, which is included on the agenda, may bring Palestine directly within the range of issues to be discussed at the San Francisco Conference.

In our view, it will not be possible for the Conference to pass over various aspects of the Jewish question unnoticed. It is imperative, therefore, that the American Jewish Conference prepare for maximum effort to have the Jewish case brought to the attention of the representatives of the nations who are to be gathered at San Francisco. It may not be possible to achieve a direct official approach to the Conference; we may not be given any hearing as a corporate body; but whatever may be the road we shall have to take, the historic gathering at San Francisco can be made the most effective sounding board for the program of the American Jewish Conference.

Demanding - and even being denied - a hearing for the cause of the Jewish people, it will be possible to make known through radio, the press and communal meetings, the details of the official program of the American Jewish Conference in order that public opinion may be registered and influence the thinking of the nations. Even though we may be denied direct access to the plenary session, the referral of our case to sub-committees or to group assemblies within the Conference, or the submission to delegates of well-prepared memoranda, will be of great service to our cause. We caution as to excessive hopes for official results from San Francisco.

The completed agenda of the San Francisco Conference has not been made public. There is a likelihood, no matter how strictly the terms of reference may be interpreted, that Jewish issues will inject themselves into the discussions, just as in the Inter-American Conference in Mexico City, where such questions were discussed, although the agenda contained no reference to the Jewish question.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

In order to present the Jewish case to the United Nations as they gather for the first time officially to discuss the forms of international union, the American Jewish Conference is called upon to take the first step to organize a United Jewish Representation as instructed by its first session.

In line with this instruction, a joint committee is now being organized to consist of representatives of the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, to make a joint appearance in official submissions and memoranda in advance of the San Francisco Conference and at the Conference itself, thus avoiding the impression of disorganization in Jewish life. Through the joint committee, which may also be supported by the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, we shall have the largest union of Jewish forces possible in our day.

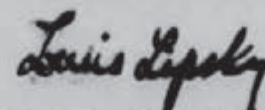
The American field - as such - will be covered by the activities of the American Jewish Conference. The official program will be submitted to our State Department and to various other governments and will be circulated to all peace-planning associations. A series of community meetings and radio broadcasts are being planned to mobilize public support of our program.

Because of the special urgency of the Palestine question - the opening of the doors of Palestine now and the right of the Jewish Agency to be represented officially in the discussion of the Mandates question - the Conference will join with the American Zionist Emergency Council in the sponsorship of mass meetings in the various communities throughout the country.

Delegates of the American Jewish Conference, community councils, and Jews throughout the world will be called upon to mobilize all their influence for a decisive demonstration in support of the approved Jewish program of rehabilitation and reconstruction as formulated by the two sessions of the Conference. We are dwelling now not on the past, not on wrongs, not on the destruction of Jewish life, but on the positive and creative features of our program. We shall demand recognition for our representatives in the discussion of issues that directly affect Jewish interests and we shall stress the positive features of our program in order to make clear to the world that decisive and comprehensive steps must be taken without delay for the rehabilitation of Jewish life and the solution of the Jewish problem.

We therefore commend to your immediate attention the accompanying letter of directives from the Director of Community Relations of the Conference, David Sherman, and hope that you will give your fullest cooperation in the achievement of our aims.

Cordially yours,



Louis Lipsky, Chairman
Executive Committee

March 14, 1945

Mr. I. J. Kenen
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Kenen:

The enclosed letter of Mr. Silberger has an interesting suggestion which you may wish to know of. Please acknowledge the letter to Mr. Silberger.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

American Jewish Conference

521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 19, 1945

C
Mr. Samuel Silberger
820 United Bank Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Silberger:

O
Dr. Silver has sent me a copy
of your letter to him in connection with your very
interesting proposal for an appreciation to Queen
Wilhelmine. I shall bring it to the attention of
our Executive Committee.

P
I think we knew each other when
I was a Cleveland newspaper man.

With personal regards,

Y
Very cordially yours,

I. L. Kenen
Executive Secretary

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American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY

HENRY MONSKY
Co-Chairmen

MAURICE BISGYER
SIGMUND W. DAVID
RABBI WILLIAM DRAZIN
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
RABBI SIMON FEDERBUSCH
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
DANIEL FRISCH
LEON GELLMAN
HON. LEWIS GOLDBERG
FRANK GOLDMAN
DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
MRS. SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN
DR. ROBERT GORDIS
HAYIM GREENBERG
MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN
MRS. HUGO HARTMANN
DR. JAMES G. HELLER
ALBERT E. KAHN
EDGAR J. KAUFMANN
MRS. BARNETT E. KOPELMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
ISRAEL KRAMER
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM
HON. LOUIS E. LEVINthal
RABBI JOSEPH H. LOOKSTEIN
DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES
MORTIMER MAY
RABBI IRVING MILLER
DR. SAMUEL NIRENSTEIN
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
JEFFERSON E. PEYSER
HARRY A. PINE
MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL
ADOLPH ROSENBERG
DVORAH ROTHBARD
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
LOUIS SEGAL
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
EDWARD S. SILVER
SIMON E. SOBELOFF
CHARLES SONNENREICH
ALEX F. STANTON
HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
HERMANN STERN
ROBERT SZOLD
DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM
MRS. MAURICE TURNER
MRS. JOSEPH M. WELT
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

March 19, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105th St. & Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a copy of my
letter to Mr. Silberger and am returning his
letter to you.

Sincerely yours,

I. L. Kenen
I. L. Kenen

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Executive Committee

LOUIS LIPSKY
Chairman

MAURICE BISGYER
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
JANE EVANS
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
LEON GELLMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
HERMAN SHULMAN
MRS. HERMAN SHULMAN
ALEX F. STANTON
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

VII.

Thursday, March 22nd, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Jane Evans, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Leon Gellman, William Gerber (alternate for Maurice Bisgyer), Dr. Israel Goldstein, Charles P. Kramer, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman and David Wertheim.

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Rabbi David Sherman, Mrs. Ann Jarcho and Mrs. Florence S. Kaplan.

MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETING 3/8/45 - With the addition of the fact that Mr. Gerber also concurred in Rabbi Eisendrath's statement to the Executive Committee, the minutes were approved.

COMMUNICATIONS

1. Letter from Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, President of the American Federation for Polish Jews, informing the Conference that in connection with the San Francisco Conference, they are arranging an "exposition of the barbarities of Hitler and the injuries suffered by the Jews in this war" and asking for the cooperation of the American Jewish Conference in this project.

Mr. Kenen informed the Executive Committee that a reply had been sent to Dr. Tenenbaum asking for more detailed information.

2. Letter from the Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity expressing its support of the American Jewish Conference and asking that it be admitted as an affiliated organization.

Judge Perlman moved, and it was seconded, that the Conference acknowledge with appreciation their offer of cooperation. CARRIED.

PREPARATIONS FOR SAN FRANCISCO

The Chair reported that a letter had been sent to Secretary of State Stettinius, asking for an appointment to see him. A memorandum setting forth the program of the American Jewish Conference had been drafted and submitted to the three co-chairmen and the chairmen of the Standing Committees for editing. It will be submitted to Secretary Stettinius when he receives the Conference delegation.

REPORT ON UNITED JEWISH REPRESENTATION

On behalf of the Committee, Judge Rothenberg reported that at a joint meeting with the World Jewish Congress representatives, it had been decided to invite Russian Jewry and South African Jewry to participate in the Joint Committee set up by the Conference, the Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews which will meet in New York between April 10th and 15th. A cable had been sent to Prof. Brodetsky in London, informing him of this decision.

Judge Rothenberg also reported that two memoranda are being prepared for submission to San Francisco, one embodying specific proposals with reference to an International Bill of Rights and the other a general memorandum to be submitted by the Joint Delegation.

On the question of cooperation between the Conference and the World Jewish Congress, Judge Rothenberg stated that arrangements had been made whereby Mr. Grossman of this office would meet several times a week with the representatives of the Congress, that the Conference would have representation on the Executive Committee of the Congress as observers and that they would send observers to our Executive Committee meetings.

DELEGATION TO SAN FRANCISCO

Judge Rothenberg moved that a panel of ten or twelve persons be set up to represent the Conference at San Francisco. CARRIED.

It was then moved that the matter be referred to the three co-chairmen, who will draw up such a panel and submit it to the Executive Committee for approval. CARRIED.

Miss Evans pointed out that the Post-War Planning Groups were uniting and planned to send a delegation to San Francisco and had invited the Conference to appoint a representative on that delegation.

REPORT ON POST-WAR

Mr. Kenen reported that the State Department had requested the American Jewish Conference to act as its distributing agent in the dissemination of its discussion group literature on Dumbarton Oaks among Jewish organizations and leaders.

A hearing had been arranged by Congressman Celler before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in connection with a resolution urging the President to establish a United States Commission to cooperate with the United Nations War Crimes Commission. The Post-War Committee had met on Monday and had authorized a delegation in behalf of the Conference. All affiliated organizations of the Conference were urged by letter not to engage in independent action but to work through the Conference on this legislation. The delegation to Washington consisted of Mr. Maurice Bisgyer, Mr. Saul Gelb, Assistant District Attorney in New York, and Dr. A. S. Kohanski.

It was pointed out that all organizations had agreed to coordinate this action, but that the Federation of Polish Jews had again acted independently. The Chair was authorized to communicate with Dr. Tenenbaum and express the dissatisfaction of the Executive Committee.

REPORT ON RESCUE

On behalf of the Committee on Rescue, Prof. Fineman reported that he and Dr. Tartakower of the World Jewish Congress had visited Earl Harrison, new American member on the Intergovernmental Committee, and had discussed the following matters:

1. The treatment of Jewish refugees in liberated countries, where they are regarded as aliens;
2. The treatment of Jewish refugees in countries controlled by Soviet Russia;

3. The situation in Spain - the problem of identity papers;

4. The migration problem - Prof. Fineman stated that Mr. Harrison was fully aware of the complexities of this problem and recognizes that it is the responsibility of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

A memorandum will be submitted to Mr. Harrison before he leaves for London this Sunday.

REPORT ON PALESTINE

In behalf of the Committee on Palestine, Rabbi Lookstein reported that it had met on March 20th, had organized and had decided to meet regularly once each month and more frequently when necessary. A sub-committee was appointed to meet with the American Zionist Emergency Council and work out a relationship between the two bodies, it being understood that the principles upon which that relationship would be determined would be complete cooperation on the part of the Palestine Committee with the Emergency Council, that co-operation to be expressed in the following manner:

That the Palestine Committee of the Conference would always be kept informed of what the Emergency Council was planning and similarly, the Emergency Council would always be kept informed and consulted on matters undertaken by the Palestine Committee;

If the Palestine Committee saw fit to initiate any kind of activity in behalf of Palestine, it would do that with the Emergency Council.

Along these general principles, the spheres of activity of the Palestine Committee would be determined.

Rabbi Lookstein then read a statement drafted by the Committee on the President's recent statement. It was moved by Judge Rothenberg that the issuance of this statement to the press be authorized, subject to revisions by the Chairman in consultation with the Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Emergency Council. CARRIED. (Copy of statement attached.)

INTERIM COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

It was reported that the final place on the Interim Committee had been given to Miss Naomi Chertoff, representative of the Youth Organizations.

On the question of permanent alternates for members of the Interim Committee, Mr. Kenen was authorized to communicate with the groups and ask them to name alternates for their representatives.

REPORT ON FINANCES

The Chair stated that contributions of the affiliated national organizations must be made immediately in order to permit the Conference to carry on its work.

An intensive fund-raising campaign is being planned in New York City. Mr. Max J. Schneider had proposed that the three leading groups, the Z.O.A., the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress, each assume one-third responsibility of the budget. A committee consisting of five representatives of each of these bodies, and others, will be formed to undertake this campaign.

DATE OF NEXT MEETING

It was agreed that the Committee meet on Monday, March 26th, to receive the report of the three co-chairmen on the delegation to San Francisco, authority being given to the co-chairmen to postpone the meeting should they not be ready with their report.

The meeting then adjourned.

I. L. Kenen, Executive Secretary

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FULL TEXT OF STATEMENT
By the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

The American Jewish Conference is gratified that President Roosevelt, following his return from the Middle East, has reassured the Jewish people of his continued support for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

This reaffirmation of his declaration of last October 15th strengthens our hope that the United States will seek the just solution of the Palestine question to which President Roosevelt has given his unqualified endorsement.

We regret that Prime Minister Churchill, in his report to the House of Commons in February, intimated that a decision on the Palestine question would be deferred until after the war. It is our conviction that a definitive decision must be reached without delay, so that rehabilitation of the war-ravaged Jewish people in their own national homeland may be speeded.

Pending that decision, the existing illegal barriers to Jewish immigration and colonization must be removed. Under the 1939 White Paper policy, all Jewish immigration into Palestine may come to an end this month. This would be a shocking blow to masses of destitute Jews, whose only hope is centered on Palestine.

A continuation of that unjust policy at this time cannot be reconciled with the declared intention of the leaders of the United Nations to effectuate a just solution of the Palestine question. In this instance, justice deferred is indeed justice denied.

We expect that the United Nations will fall heir to the responsibilities and the obligations of the League, among them, the recognition by the League of Nations of the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country" and the undertaking of the League through the mandatory to "facilitate Jewish immigration" and to "encourage close settlement by Jews on land."

In assuming the rights and duties of the League, it is to be hoped that the United Nations will speedily rectify the injustice that has been done and will implement the pledges that were given to the Jewish people at the conclusion of the last war.

We believe that this question must be settled at the earliest opportunity. We trust that the United Nations at their forthcoming meeting in San Francisco will make it possible for the Jewish people to appear through their accredited representatives, and that in any discussion of the mandates, the Jewish Agency for Palestine will be granted an opportunity to present its views on this subject so vital to the future of the Jewish people.

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

VIII.

Tuesday, March 27, 1945

PRESENT: Louis Lispky, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Jane Evans, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Judge Nathan D. Perlman, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Mrs. Herman Shulman.

Guest: Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A. S. Kohanski, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Rabbi David Sherman and Mrs. Florence Kaplan.

SAN FRANCISCO DELEGATION

Mr. Kenen reported that he had contacted the three co-chairmen of the Conference and they had unanimously agreed that the delegation to San Francisco should consist of the three co-chairmen and the chairmen of the four standing committees of the Conference. This was agreed to by the Executive Committee.

Mrs. Shulman suggested that Dr. Wise be asked to represent the Conference at San Francisco.

Judge Rothenberg moved that Dr. Wise be consulted as to what his intentions are with regard to San Francisco and that the panel elected be authorized to add his name in the event he wishes to go through the American Jewish Conference. CARRIED.

In addition to the panel elected, it was suggested that those members of the original secretariat of the Conference who happen to be in San Francisco at the time, be invited to serve as advisers to the panel. It was moved that this matter be referred to the panel, with authority to act.

RESOLUTION ON LLOYD GEORGE

It was moved that an appropriate resolution be issued in the name of the American Jewish Conference on the death of Lloyd George. CARRIED. (Copy attached.)

COMMITTEE FOR "V-E" DAY

At the suggestion of Rabbi Lookstein, it was agreed that a committee be formed to plan public Conference action for "V-E" Day. The committee consists of Rabbi Lookstein, chairman, Jane Evans and Judge Perlman.

REPORT ON MASS MEETINGS

Rabbi Sherman reported that 19 communities had responded to letters asking that mass meetings be held in cooperation with the American Zionist Emergency Council urging unlimited immigration into Palestine and setting forth the program of the American Jewish Conference in the light of the forthcoming San Francisco conference.

A mass meeting is being planned in New York either on April 16th or 21st, at the Waldorf-Astoria, at which Gov. Dewey, Chaim Weizmann, Sen. Wagner, Mayor LaGuardia and representatives of the Conference will be invited to speak.

Mr. Shulman reported that a similar meeting is being planned in Washington, D.C. for April 15th at Constitutional Hall, where Dr. Wise, Senator Saltonstall and others will be the guest speakers.

The meeting then adjourned.

I.L. Kenen, Executive Secretary

RESOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF LLOYD GEORGE

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference records its deep sorrow over the death of a great friend of the Jewish people and their national aspirations.

In the death of Earl Lloyd George of Dwyfor, the people of the world have lost a democratic champion, whose leadership and high idealism in the first World War rallied the democratic forces to resist and to overcome the forces of aggression of another day.

The Jewish people honor his memory. It was in his administration as Prime Minister of Great Britain that there was issued the historic Balfour Declaration, pledging support for "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," and it was Mr. Lloyd George who declared that it was the intention of that declaration that Palestine become a Jewish commonwealth.

He did not live to see the execution of that undertaking, but he remained until his last days a sturdy and chivalrous friend and advocate of the Jewish cause.

It is with reverence and gratitude that we pay tribute to the memory of a great man to whom all free people throughout the world are indebted.

* * *

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF INTERIM AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES

DATE: April 2, 1945

FROM: I. L. KENEN

SUBJECT:

Please take note that the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference will take place on Tuesday, April 10th, at 6:30 P.M. at the office of the Conference.

Enclosed you will find minutes of the Executive Committee meetings held on March 22nd and 27th, 1945.

The Interim Committee meeting will be held on Wednesday, April 11th, at 10:15 A.M. at the Hotel Biltmore, New York City.

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THE UNION OF
AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

34 West Sixth Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

April 6, 1945

Interim Committee
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

In response to the "statement on the relations of the American Jewish Conference and its affiliated organizations" adopted by the Interim Committee on February 25, 1945, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations readily agrees with the general principle that:

A....."in the fields of Rescue, Palestine and Post-War, it shall be the duty of all organizations affiliated with the Conference to abide by the principle that formal or public representations on these matters to this government or other governments be made through and in the name of the Conference."

Nonetheless, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations wishes to make it quite clear that in the practical implementation of this acknowledged general principle, certain difficulties arise, especially within those organizations such as the UAHC that have been unable, for one reason or another, to ratify all the resolutions of the Conference or to adhere to its total program.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations feels that as long as the American Jewish Conference continues to be composed of national membership organizations and seeks to speak in their name it ought long since to have taken official cognizance of their necessary reservations. Instead, time and again, official spokesmen of the Conference and official publications have insisted that on the Commonwealth Resolution "there were only four negative votes," no official recognition having been given to the fact that several organizations subsequently indicated that, because of the bitterly divergent opinions within their ranks, they had been unable to take action on this resolution. By such procedures and pronouncements, we feel that the Conference has not discharged its rightful responsibility toward such of its constituents as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

As a matter of fact, there have been occasions when the very opposite result has obtained and when misleading impressions have been fostered by officials of the American Jewish Conference which, in turn, have created even more serious difficulties for certain national constituents of the Conference.

For example, although the Union of American Hebrew Congregations officially informed the American Jewish Conference that "in view of the widely divergent viewpoints bearing on the question of the Jewish Commonwealth which exist within the UAHC, its Executive Board had found it impossible to take any positive action on the Palestine Resolution adopted at the first plenary session of the American Jewish Conference;" nonetheless, at the Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the House of Representatives of the 78th Congress, Mr. Louis Lipsky, at that time chairman of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Conference, by implication, at least, gave the impression that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations as a member of the American Jewish Conference supports its entire program.

Mr. Lipsky in his testimony stated that "At that time in 1919.....the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which is the Reform Jewish body, was officially by a majority vote against the Jewish National Home.At that time Reform Jews were not in favor of it.

"Today an overwhelming majority of the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis is on record in favor of this resolution, in favor of our position (the position of the American Jewish Conference.) At that time the UAHC was wholly against us.Today the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is a member of the American Jewish Conference."

Because of this misleading statement read into the official record of the Hearings of the United States Congress, there can be no doubt that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has already been placed in an equivocal position. As a matter of fact, we have received a number of communications from leaders within our organization protesting against this seeming indication of the Union's adherence to the total program of the American Jewish Conference, and against this patent failure, on the contrary, to indicate that the Union has not ratified the Palestine Resolution.

It is such procedures and the obvious possibility that they may be repeated, especially at the United Nations Conference, to be held shortly in San Francisco, or in other representations to our own government or international bodies that has made the Union's position within the American Jewish Conference exceedingly difficult to maintain. Eager as the Union has been to cooperate in those phases of the program of the American Jewish Conference with which it is in hearty accord, it has been constantly embarrassed by the absence of any admission in any pronouncements or testimony of the AJC to the effect that there is divergence of opinion within the Conference on the highly controversial issue of the Jewish Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, the testimony quoted above would indicate the very contrary insofar as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations is concerned.

For this reason the Union of American Hebrew Congregations finds it imperative to insist that at the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, as well as in all pronouncements bearing on the Palestine Resolution preliminary thereto, as well as in all future official representation or publicity on the part of the American Jewish Conference, it be clearly indicated that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations - although a member of the American Jewish Conference - has taken no positive action on the Palestine Resolution.

It seems to us that it will in no wise jeopardize the total program of the Conference if it were frankly admitted that although the overwhelming majority has voted in favor of its complete program, there are some organizations within the Conference - to be named specifically - who have not taken action on the Palestine Resolution. This, it seems to us, would be preferable to the unilateral pronouncement or action that may be made imperative by the Conference's continued and persistent failure properly to represent the minority within its ranks.

It is the responsibility of the American Jewish Conference to take full and forthright cognizance of these difficulties that disturb the UAHC and such other national organizations as wish, as does the Union, to identify themselves with as much of the Conference program as their mixed constituency permits, but

which can no longer afford to be silent when their silence is everywhere interpreted as consent to the total program of the Conference.

The Conference owes it to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and similar minded groups within the Conference to end this ambiguity to which thus far they have been subjected and to make unequivocal in its publicity and public representations that it is not seeking to commit certain of its segments to that part of its program with which they are not in complete agreement. We believe this request is just and reasonable and that the American Jewish Conference will henceforth take due notice of the position of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

We trust that you will advise us of your wholehearted acquiescence in this request and of your future cooperation in the direction herein indicated.

Assuring you of our continued support of those other vital aspects of the American Jewish Conference's program, we are,

Yours most sincerely,

(signed)
Maurice N. Eisendrath
Director

(signed)
Adolph Rosenberg
President



April 25, 1945
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MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Wednesday, April 11, 1945 - Biltmore Hotel, New York City

III.

The meeting opened at 10:55 A.M. with Mr. Henry Monsky presiding.

The roll was called and the following were present: Dr. Israel Goldstein and Louis Lipsky, Co-Chairmen; Maurice Bisgyer, Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Aaron Droock, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Jane Evans (alternate for Mrs. Hugo Hartmann), Mrs. Ida Cook Farber (alternate for Mrs. Maurice Turner), Rabbi Simon Federbusch, Prof. Hayim Fineman, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, William Gerber (alternate for Benjamin Samuels), Arthur Gilbert (alternate for Naomi Chertoff), Frank Goldman, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Dr. Robert Gordis, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Mrs. Joseph Hamerman (alternate for Mrs. Samuel Halprin), Albert E. Kahn, Max A. Kopstein (alternate for Sigmund W. David), Charles P. Kramer, Israel Kramer, Sidney G. Kusworm, Seymour Levine (alternate for Rabbi Solomon Goldman), Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Leo Lowitz (alternate for Dr. Samuel Margoshes), Rabbi Irving Miller, Hon. Nathan D. Perlman, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Louis Rosett (alternate for Adolph Rosenberg), Dvorah Rothbard, Flora Rothenberg (alternate for Mrs. Joseph M. Welt), Judge Morris Rothenberg, Benjamin Samuels, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, Charles Sonnenreich, Mrs. S. Spiegel (alternate for Mrs. Barnett E. Kopelman), Saul Spiro (alternate for Rabbi James G. Heller), Alex F. Stanton, Hermann Stern, Rabbi M. A. Stern (alternate for Rabbi William Drazin), Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, Mrs. A. H. Vixman (alternate for Mrs. Stephen S. Wise), Ralph Wechsler (alternate for David Wertheim), Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, and Baruch Zuckerman,

Guests: Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mordecai Konowitz, Bernard Postal, William Rabkin, Max J. Schneider, Mrs. Robert Szold, and Herman Weisman.

Staff: I. L. Kenen, Meir Grossman, Dr. A. S. Kohanski, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Rabbi David Sherman and Mrs. Florence S. Kaplan.

I. MINUTES OF MEETING OF FEBRUARY 25, 1945 - Approved.II. COMMUNICATIONS

1. Letter from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (copy attached) asking that the position of the Union in reference to the Palestine Resolution be made clear in all statements which the Conference may issue. The Chair referred the matter to the Administrative Staff to deal with the problem when, as, and if the occasion demands in a way that will respect the Union's reservations.

III. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

On behalf of the Executive Committee, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman, submitted a report of its activities since the last meeting of the Interim Committee. It was moved and carried that this report be accepted (full text attached).

After discussion on Mr. Lipsky's report the Interim Committee adopted a motion sustaining the Executive Committee's action in accepting the State Department's invitation to appoint a Consultant to the American Delegation at San Francisco. It was then moved and carried that the Executive Committee be instructed to inform all member organizations and communities of the situation

surrounding the similar invitation issued to the American Jewish Committee, and to urge them to make the proper protest to the Government in such manner as may be recommended.

IV. STATEMENT OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF POLISH JEWS

Dr. Tenenbaum stated the position of the Federation which took exception to the statement in the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting of March 22nd criticising the Federation. The Chair declared that Dr. Tenenbaum's explanation indicated that the Federation had no intention of violating the rule of the Conference; and that since the Interim Committee was now fully advised concerning this matter, there was no action necessary.

It was then moved by Mr. Sonnenreich that the Executive Committee consult with nationality groups within the Conference on questions of particular interest to them. CARRIED.

V. REPORT ON POST-WAR

On behalf of the Committee on Post-War, Rabbi Eisendrath, Chairman, reported as follows:

1. At the suggestion of Professor Fineman, Chairman of the Committee on Rescue, the Post-War Committee adopted a motion that the work of immediate relief and rehabilitation with which the Post-War Committee was formerly concerned, be transferred to the Rescue Committee, it being understood that any activities of the Rescue Committee affecting UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in a postwar sense be referred to the Post-War Committee; it was also moved and carried that it be recommended to the Rescue Committee to coopt Miss Evans to work with it on questions relating to UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

2. Through the cooperation of Mr. Bisgyer the State Department asked the American Jewish Conference to assist it in disseminating educational literature relative to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. The Conference received requests from its constituent organizations for approximately sixty thousand copies of one piece of literature and varying quantities of the other pamphlets, and the State Department has indicated its great satisfaction with this service which was rendered by the American Jewish Conference.

3. The Committee stressed the importance of issuing a definite directive on the line the community meetings should take with reference to the San Francisco Conference.

Upon motion of Mr. Droock, Rabbi Eisendrath's report was accepted.

VI. REPORT ON FINANCES

On behalf of the Committee on Budget and Finance, Mr. Droock, Chairman, submitted a financial report. In view of the large expenditures incidental to attendance at the San Francisco Conference, the roll of national organizations was called and pledges were made by those present that part or all of their allocations would be forthcoming within the next few days.

It was agreed that steps be taken to stimulate advance payments by Welfare Funds; and that the campaign in Greater New York be inaugurated without delay.

VII. SAN FRANCISCO PANEL

After discussion it was moved by Mr. Lipsky and seconded by Mr. Droock that the Interim Committee accept the recommendation of the Executive Committee for a panel of nine, consisting of the three Co-Chairmen, the Chairmen of the Committees on United Jewish Representation, Rescue, Postwar, and Palestine, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Herman Shulman. CARRIED.

It was further moved and carried that the panel be authorized to designate the Consultant whose name shall be registered with the State Department.

The meeting then adjourned.

F. Strauss

June 6, 1945
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afce/23076



REPORT BY MR. LOUIS LIPSKY ON BEHALF OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
TO THE INTERIM COMMITTEE AT ITS MEETING ON APRIL 11TH, 1945.

* * *

The activities of your Executive Committee since the last meeting of the Interim Committee have been concerned largely with preparations for the presentation of the Jewish case to the United Nations in connection with the forthcoming Conference on International Organization at San Francisco.

The activities have been of a three-fold character:

First - The organization of a United Jewish Representation in order to perfect the broadest and most representative alliance of Jewish communities ever organized to act for the Jewish people.

Second - The registration of the viewpoint of the Conference with our government and its certification as a representative body to speak in behalf of the American Jewish Community at San Francisco.

Third - The widest possible dissemination of the Conference program and objectives throughout the country.

* * *

First. - On the organization of a United Jewish Representation, we are happy to report that satisfactory progress has been made to achieve this goal and a full report will be presented to you by Judge Morris Rothenberg, chairman of the Committee on United Jewish Representation.

Second. - The certification of the Conference as an observer to the San Francisco conference has engaged the attention of the Executive Committee since the last Interim Committee meeting and our efforts culminated yesterday in an invitation from Secretary of State Stettinius to designate a representative to serve as consultant to the American Delegation. A copy of the message from the Secretary of State is available to you here today.

Early in March, the staff of the Conference met with officials of the State Department and Congressman Sol Bloom, a member of the American Delegation, to determine whether or not a hearing could be obtained for the Jewish people at San Francisco and whether any Jewish organization could be granted status there. These inquiries indicated that there would be little possibility of formal representation for the Jewish people as such at San Francisco, but we were informed that organizations such as the Conference might be qualified to act in a consultant capacity to serve the American Delegation. After much effort, in which Mr. Maurice Bisgyer rendered a valuable service to the staff of the Conference, it appeared that an impression had been made on officials of the Department of State who indicated to Conference representatives that the Conference would, along with similar organizations, be given some status at San Francisco.

In the meantime, the Conference resolutions adopted at the first and second sessions were reformulated and reedited and a compact statement was prepared for submission to the Department of State, with the request that it be considered by the American Delegation at San Francisco, with special consideration for those parts of the program which are relevant to the San Francisco agenda. This memorandum was submitted to the Department of State on April 2nd.

Some 200 organizations had made application to the Department of State for observer status at San Francisco and on March 30th, it was learned that the Delegation would make the decision as to which organizations would be qualified. It was also learned that only one Jewish organization would be on the list.

Representatives of the Conference met with Congressman Bloom on March 30th, on April 1st and again on April 2nd, on the eve of the meeting of the Delegation.

Dr. Israel Goldstein was helpful in impressing upon Congressman Bloom the importance of selecting the Conference as the representative of American Jewry and on April 2nd, when the committee, consisting of Mr. Bisgyer, Mr. Kenen and myself, met with the State Department, we also took up the question with Mr. Bloom and we were assured by him of his unqualified support.

At that time we learned that considerable pressure had been brought to bear in behalf of another Jewish organization, but it was Mr. Bloom's position that the Conference was entitled to preference. Six members of the American Delegation who were in Washington, met on the morning of April 3rd, and deferring to the opinion of Congressman Bloom, they voted unanimously to seat the American Jewish Conference as the one body to represent the Jews of the United States.

It was expected that an announcement would be made a few hours after that decision but apparently this decision was not in line with the expectations of certain government officials and the American Jewish Committee, and an effort was then made to revise it in some way. Later it was learned that pressure was being exerted in favor of the Committee from sources high in the administration and the proposal that was made was that instead of granting each category of organization one seat as had been originally intended, there be two seats for each of the three faiths, the two Jewish seats to be divided between the Committee and the Conference.

We have reason to believe that officials of the State Department were not in sympathy with this proposal and that they resisted it and were eager to make the announcement in accord with the decision of the American Delegation. Congressman Bloom also resisted the change, but authorities at Washington decided to refer the matter anew to the Delegation at a meeting Monday of this week.

We were informed that there was no question about the status of the Conference. It was not proposed to reverse that decision so far as the Conference was concerned. The only question was whether the American Jewish Committee and additional Protestant and Catholic organizations should be seated.

On the eve of the meeting, the following telegram, signed by the three co-chairmen, was addressed to the Secretary of State Stettinius.

"It has been reported that the American Delegation to the San Francisco Conference last Tuesday voted to grant observer status to the American Jewish Conference as representative of American Jewry. This decision was very gratifying and justified, we believe, by the fact that the American Jewish Conference, representing 60 national Jewish membership organizations and elected delegates from every important American city, is the only representative, all embracing and democratically organized Jewish body in the United States, established for the specific purpose of representing Jewish interests in the International peace settlements.

"We are disturbed by reports that the question may be reconsidered at a meeting of the American Delegation tomorrow (Monday) and that an organization not within the

Conference and representing only a fragment or fraction of the Jewish community is pressing an application for equal status with the Conference. Duty to our constituency and justice to you compel us to state frankly that it would not be just to grant recognition to a single organization representing only a fragment of the Jewish community and place it on a parity with the representative of the composite of the Jewish community of the United States.

"We ask you to consider the following facts:

"First - In uniting American Jews in one great democratic representative federation like the American Jewish Conference, we believe we have performed a service both to our people and to our government, by creating a single instrument to express the viewpoint of American Jewry and enabling our government to ascertain that viewpoint through one democratic agency. The American Jewish Conference was democratically organized and its decisions democratically determined. The vast majority of the constituency of the Conference have remained loyal to its decisions and the vast majority of the organizations remain as affiliates.

"Second - If any single organization, as distinguished from the Conference is granted recognition, many of the organizations now in the Conference would be justified in asking for the same status. Among them are B'nai B'rith, with 100 years of service and 216,000 members and led by one of the signers hereof, the American Jewish Congress, led by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, representing the reform temples in the country, the Zionist Organization of America, led by one of the signers hereof, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, representing all reform rabbis, Hadassah, the United Synagogue of America, representing conservative congregations, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, and many other fraternal, veterans, public service, educational and religious organizations.

"Third - Your attention is called especially to the fact that the Conference includes not only official representatives of orthodox, conservative and reform Judaism but all shades of opinion on the Zionist question. The non-Zionist viewpoint is represented in the Conference by organizations which have remained in the Conference out of respect for the majority decision, although they did not, as organizations, support the Palestine resolution in its entirety. These include, among others: B'nai B'rith, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, and the National Council of Jewish Women. Therefore any proposal that special consideration be given to a Jewish organization because it is non-Zionist cannot be justified, for American Jews who hold the non-Zionist point of view are adequately and fairly represented in the Conference and continue to adhere to it.

"Finally, we wish to emphasize that the American Jewish Conference would welcome the return of organizations which have left it. It is our belief that Jewish organizations desiring to render a service to the Jewish people and to the government in the preparation of the peace can most effectively make that contribution through the instrumentality of the Conference, whose procedures and structure safeguard all viewpoints.

"We trust that this telegram will reach you in advance of tomorrow's meeting. Should you or the Delegation require additional information, we should be happy to furnish it."

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
HENRY MONSKY
Co-Chairmen, Interim Committee,
American Jewish Conference."

Other means were taken in addition to register the Conference's protests against a proposal which did not square with reality and which was being maneuvered by pressure. Parenthetically, it should be stated that the Jewish press had learned of the decision to seat the Conference and editorially had commended it.

The Delegation at its meeting Monday voted to seat both the Conference and the Committee and at the same time added a Protestant and Catholic organization which similarly did not in actuality stand on a parity with organizations previously seated.

We have been informed by the State Department that the consultant who is to be named by the Conference will also have two associates. Prior to the announcement of the Delegation's decision, our Executive Committee voted that a panel be created to represent the Conference at San Francisco, its members to alternate in that city. The Executive Committee has decided that this panel consist of the three co-chairmen, Mr. Monsky, Dr. Goldstein and myself, the chairman of the Committee on United Jewish Representation, Judge Rothenberg, and the chairmen of the three committees of the Conference, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Dr. Joseph H. Lookstein and Prof. Hayim Fineman.

In addition, the Executive Committee has voted to recommend that the panel include Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Mr. Herman Shulman.

The suggestion is made that the State Department be requested to permit alternation in the representation of the Conference so that different representatives might represent the Conference at different times, and that the panel of nine agree among themselves which three are to act at which time. An inquiry is being made at the State Department today to determine whether this procedure is acceptable.

The Conference memorandum has been submitted to all members of the American Delegation and will be sent to all members of post-war planning organizations and all representatives of organizations at San Francisco. It will also be sent to the delegations of all the countries represented at the conference and a translation is being made into Spanish so that it may be given to the Latin American countries.

Third. - Parallel with this activity at Washington, an effort has been made to present the Conference program to the public throughout the communities of the country. It will be recalled that at the last meeting of the Interim Committee it was proposed that the Conference sponsor meetings in a number of communities to present the demand for Jewish representation at San Francisco and to bring to public attention the post-war proposals of the American Jewish Conference.

Simultaneously, the American Zionist Emergency Council proposed to initiate meetings calling attention to the fact that under the White Paper the doors of Palestine were closing and that there were no longer certificates available to permit Jewish immigration into that country. In view of the fact that it would be impractical to sponsor separate meetings in the communities at this time, it was proposed that the meetings be combined and sponsored jointly by the American Jewish Conference and local Emergency Committees for Palestine. We have asked our delegates to arrange for such meetings in all the communities, and as of last night, 55 communities have responded to our call.

Most of these meetings are being sponsored jointly by the Conference and the Emergency Council. Some of these have already taken place. A large

meeting was held in Brooklyn within the last fortnight. A large meeting is being planned in Newark tonight which will be addressed by Mr. Monsky and there will be a meeting in Constitution Hall in Washington next Sunday night at which Dr. Wise will be one of the speakers and at which Mr. Monsky will preside.

The public relations staff of the Conference has made intensive efforts to secure radio time in New York and during the last few weeks representatives of the Conference have been invited to speak on four broadcasts and a half a dozen more radio programs in which the Conference will be represented are scheduled during the next ten days.

One of the New York stations has agreed to a regular weekly 15-minute broadcast on Saturday evening at which time the Conference will present a commentary on events of interest to the Jewish people.

* * *

The Letter to the Committee.

The letter to the American Jewish Committee, authorized by the Interim Committee at its last meeting, was sent and on March 1st the Committee replied. A copy of that reply has been circulated to all members of the Interim Committee with the minutes of the Executive Committee of March 8th. Jewish public opinion has supported the Conference in this controversy.

Publications.

In addition to the memorandum already referred to, a number of other publications are in preparation and the Proceedings of the Second Session will be off the press before the month ends.

Organization.

All the committees of the Conference have now been organized and their chairmen will report here today. Following his election as chairman of the Palestine Committee, Dr. Stephen S. Wise declined, recommending the selection of Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein in his place. Rabbi Wise's declination was accepted with regret and Rabbi Lookstein was elected.

Finances.

Mr. Aaron Droock has assumed his duties as chairman of the Finance Committee with fidelity and is contributing a great deal of time and energy to the work, and he will also report to you on the condition of the Conference finances, a subject of vital importance in view of the fact that the Conference's work cannot be carried forward on the large scale on which we had planned unless immediate action is taken to supply the necessary funds.

Mr. Max Schneider has assumed the chairmanship of the Office and Personnel Committee and is giving special attention to the problem of fund raising in New York. Mr. Hermann Stern who was elected treasurer of the Conference is giving close attention to the Conference's administrative affairs and is acting for the Budget and Finance Committee, as an extremely vigilant guardian of its budget. Both Mr. Stern and Mr. Droock will report to you today.

It may also be added that the staff of the Conference has been increased during the past month and a number of valuable persons have been added to the staff who are contributing in many ways to the increase of the vigilance of the Conference over the matters that have been entrusted to its responsibility.

We have the satisfaction of being able to submit here today the fact that Congressman Klein, who is a friend of the Conference and has evinced a great interest in it, has volunteered his service in an honorary capacity as an observer for us in Washington and in all probability will be going to Washington regularly on our behalf to ascertain conditions there and will report from time to time to the Executive Committee and to the Interim Committee.

We also have added to the staff Rabbi David Sherman in charge of Community Contacts, Mr. Allen Roberts, who has charge of the radio department and a number of additional members of the staff connected with the publicity department.



June 5, 1945
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afce/23076

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
LOUIS LIPSKY
HENRY MONSKY

Co-Chairmen

MAURICE BISGYER
NAOMI CHERTOFF
SIGMUND W. DAVID
RABBI WILLIAM DRAZIN
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN
RABBI SIMON FEDERBUSCH
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
DANIEL FRISCH
LEON GELLMAN
HON. LEWIS GOLDBERG
FRANK GOLDMAN
DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
MRS. SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN
DR. ROBERT GORDIS
HAYIM GREENBERG
MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN
MRS. HUGO HARTMANN
DR. JAMES G. HELLER
ALBERT E. KAHN
EDGAR J. KAUFMANN
MRS. BARNETT E. KOPELMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
ISRAEL KRAMER
SIDNEY G. KUSWORM
HON. LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
RABBI JOSEPH H. LOOKSTEIN
DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES
MORTIMER MAY
RABBI IRVING MILLER
DR. SAMUEL NIRENSTEIN
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
JEFFERSON E. PEYSER
HARRY A. PINE
MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL
ADOLPH ROSENBERG
DYORAH ROTHBARD
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
BENJAMIN SAMUELS
LOUIS SEGAL
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
EDWARD S. SILVER
SIMON E. SOBELOFF
CHARLES SONNENREICH
ALEX F. STANTON
HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
HERMANN STERN
ROBERT SZOLD
DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM
MRS. MAURICE TURNER
MRS. JOSEPH M. WELT
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

Executive Committee

LOUIS LIPSKY

Chairman

MAURICE BISGYER
AARON DROOCK
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
JANE EVANS
PROF. HAYIM FINEMAN
J. GEORGE FREDMAN
LEON GELLMAN
CHARLES P. KRAMER
RABBI JOSEPH H. LOOKSTEIN
HON. NATHAN D. PERLMAN
HON. MORRIS ROTHENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
HERMAN SHULMAN
MRS. HERMAN SHULMAN
ALEX F. STANTON
HERMANN STERN
DAVID WERTHEIM
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

April 20, 1945

Dear Colleague:

We are enclosing a draft of a resolution to be presented to the various community meetings which are being held all over the country in support of the program of the American Jewish Conference. This resolution embodies the main points in the program of the American Jewish Conference and highlights those proposals which are likely to fall within the scope of the San Francisco Conference.

May we ask you to bring this resolution to the attention of your congregation and its affiliated organizations and to urge upon them the importance of adopting this or similar resolutions.

Instead of using this resolution verbatim, we might suggest that it would be advisable to draw up your own resolution, using this as a guide, keeping in mind the following three points: -

- (1) To secure a hearing for the Jewish people.
- (2) An International Bill of Rights.
- (3) Free and unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the speedy reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

These resolutions should be fully publicized in the press and forwarded to Mr. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., Secretary of State at the State Department in Washington, D. C. Kindly let us know what action is being taken in your community.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Cordially yours,

David Sherman

Rabbi David Sherman
Director Community Relations

DS:RK
Enc.

P.S. For your information we are also enclosing a copy of the memorandum on the program of the Conference which was recently presented to the Department of State.

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE DELEGATES OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK, SEPT. 2, 1943, TO IMPLEMENT ITS RESOLUTIONS ON: THE RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY; THE RIGHTS AND STATUS OF JEWS IN THE POST-WAR WORLD; THE RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO PALESTINE.

BULLETIN

OF ACTIVITIES AND DIGEST OF THE PRESS

No. 60

Iyar 21, 5705

May 4, 1945

R E P O R T F R O M S A N F R A N C I S C O .

After disposing of such preliminary questions as procedure and membership, the United Nations Conference this week settled down to the job of drafting the new International Organization's charter - a charter upon which the world pins its hopes for future peace and security. Four principal commissions have been appointed, their heads named and their terms of reference defined.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the San Francisco Conference will not deal with a number of problems outlined in the program of the American Jewish Conference and of vital concern to the Jewish people. The safe-guarding of group rights, protection of displaced and stateless persons, reparations and restitution do not appear on the Conference agenda. For the chief task of the Conference remains the building of the structure of a general security organization and defining the functions of the executive organs to be established.

Nevertheless, two issues of paramount interest to the Jewish world will be considered by the Conference: the incorporation in some form of an International Bill of Rights into the constitution of the United Nations Organization, and the future status of Palestine as one of the mandated territories.

It ought to be stressed that not all aspects of the Palestine problem may be discussed. Palestine will come up only indirectly as its status is affected by the establishment of an International Trusteeship for dependent and mandated areas.

We have to recognize, as many did before the Conference opened, that the United Nations parley may produce no immediate tangible results affecting the Jewish position. But, while there is no promise of immediate decisions, the presence of Jewish representatives in the Golden Gate City and their efforts to acquaint the delegates of the United Nations with our proposals and requirements, will lead the nations of the world to greater understanding of Jewish needs. What is important is world awareness of Jewish problems and world determination to solve them equitably.

The ground has been carefully prepared and the spade work is being carried on tirelessly. Representatives of the American Jewish Conference are holding a watchful vigil. Their task is obviously not limited to, and will not end with the efforts now being made in San Francisco.

* * *

Contrary to newspaper reports, there is little disagreement here among Jewish leaders representing various bodies. Though differences in program and organization cannot be reconciled to the point of close cooperation and joint action with the American Jewish Committee and similarly dissident groups, relations between representatives of Jewish organizations are, on the whole, satisfactory and do not imply any Jewish quarrel.

Declaring that "differences are inevitable," Henry Monsky told a B'nai B'rith audience, assembled in San Francisco in his honor, that the American Jewish Conference will try to minimize these differences publicly, while not foregoing its program.

An American Jewish Committee statement, issued in San Francisco, answering editorial notes in our Bulletin No. 57, declares, among other things: "It has been our earnest endeavor to coordinate our work with that of all other Jewish organizations within the areas of agreement. This endeavor has been unfortunately thwarted

by the unwillingness of the American Jewish Conference representatives to meet with us in the endeavor to work out a common program for the San Francisco Conference."

The delegations of the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress are working closely and harmoniously, awaiting the arrival of two representatives of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

* * *

A revised memorandum, signed by the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, dealing with matters of pertinent interest to the Jews, on the agenda, was submitted this past Thursday to the Secretariat of the United Nations Conference. The redrafted memorandum eliminates the section on minority treaties, since it appears that the United Nations Conference agenda specifically excludes any reference to League of Nations treaties.

The statement on Jewish demands, jointly issued to the press by the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress, and which indicated that the two bodies are cooperating with the Board of Deputies of British Jews, whose representatives are on their way to San Francisco, had nation-wide coverage. Leading newspapers featured the ten-point program recently publicized through Conference advertisements in the New York Times and the New York Post.

Representatives of the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press covering the Conference were tendered a special reception at the home of Mrs. Eva Bloch. They were welcomed by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Henry Monsky and Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig.

Mr. Monsky asked for Jewish press cooperation on behalf of the American Jewish Conference objectives. It was explained that the Congress and the Conference delayed release of a statement to the press, first, because they were awaiting the arrival of representatives of the Board of Deputies of British Jews; and second, because the opening days were not most opportune for such a public announcement.

The memorandum submitted by the American Jewish Conference to the State Department in April is being widely circulated among the delegates to the San Francisco Conference and members of the press. Spanish and French editions have been prepared, to facilitate the acquaintance of Spanish and French delegates with the contents of the memorandum.

* * *

The delegation of the American Jewish Conference is pressing hard for inclusion in the world charter of an International Bill of Rights to protect the fundamental freedoms of the individual. Besides the Jewish groups, influential peace-planning and religious organizations favor this widely discussed proposal.

It is said to have the strong support of a section of the American Delegation which also reportedly favors creation of a Commission on Human Rights to enforce the bill. This plan seems to find little approval among the prime movers of the San Francisco parley. One of the reasons for opposition by the great powers is that it might affect, inferentially, the rights and position of colonial and mandatory powers.

However, there is reason to assume that many delegations will support the proposal in one form or another. Field Marshal Smuts, addressing the plenary session of the Conference on behalf of South Africa, pleaded for an International Bill of Rights and for the establishment of a Commission on Human Rights. Roberto Jinenez, Panamanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, supported the proposal of a charter to protect the rights of the individual.

* * *

Representatives of the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress have acted this week to safeguard Jewish rights to Palestine which may be adversely affected by the proposed international trusteeship plan. They appealed to the leaders of the American Delegation and to delegations of other United Nations for explicit assurances that the existing rights of the Jewish people under the mandate shall be fully retained.

Fears have been expressed in Jewish circles that the trusteeship plan, as it now stands, may prejudice the Jewish position should Palestine be considered a trusteeship base, in which case England could retain control over the country indefinitely. Leaders of the American Jewish Conference have also shown concern over the composition of the commissions to be set up shortly to handle the International Trusteeship.

The full composition of "Committee Number Four", which will consider the trusteeship problem, has not yet been announced, but it was revealed that the chairman of the Commission will be a member of the New Zealand Delegation and the rapporteur will be a member of the Luxembourg Delegation. Commander Harold E. Stassen has been authorized by the American Delegation to deal with all matters affecting International Trusteeships.

It appears that the U. S. Delegation submitted a four-point program dealing with International Trusteeships to the Foreign Ministers of the five major powers. Portions of this proposal may negate certain rights or assurances granted under earlier treaties or agreements. However, Jewish representatives were assured that Jewish rights to Palestine would not be prejudiced by the language of the International Trusteeship clauses which were formulated by the American Delegation and will be included, if adopted, in the charter drawn up by the San Francisco Conference. Although some counsel alertness to the danger of possible ambiguity in the phrasing of the clauses, others state that even inadvertent ambiguity is unlikely.

* * *

Another problem connected with the trusteeship plan is raised by the efforts of the five Arab states represented at San Francisco to obtain a seat on the Trusteeship Commission, which is to function along the lines of the League of Nations Mandates Commission. The Arabs are now angling for a place on this Commission, even at the sacrifice of seats on other Commissions.

They also demand representation on the Regional Council contemplated for the Near or Middle East.

The Arab Delegation, assisted by a staff of public relations men, has already begun to conduct a cleverly disguised anti-Jewish campaign. While declining to make any binding statement on the future of Palestine, they are utilizing to the full their status as members of the Conference. Filing with the Secretariat of the Conference the Pan-Arab Treaty, which was signed in Cairo on March 22nd, by seven Arab countries, is one of the Arab moves to secure special status in the discussion of Middle Eastern affairs.

* * *

Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein and Herman Shulman left New York for San Francisco on Tuesday, May 1st. Judge Morris Rothenberg is scheduled to arrive in San Francisco on May 8th and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath will arrive on the 14th. They will enable other members of the panel who have been in San Francisco for two weeks, to return.

The relationship of consultants and their associates to the American Delegation has never been clearly defined. They begin to realize that actually theirs is a public relations job. This week, at a meeting with the American Delegation, the consultants protested against the lack of consultation, stressing that on many questions they face a "fait accompli." During the discussion Henry Monsky asked whether reservations have been made in the trusteeship plan to protect the existing rights of the Jews in Palestine. He was assured that this matter was receiving due consideration. The plan for International Trusteeship of mandated territories had been submitted to the other powers by the United States Delegation.

Among those newly arrived to strengthen the Jewish front in San Francisco are Dr. Nahum Goldmann, representing the Jewish Agency, Rabbi Irving Miller, representing

the World Jewish Congress, Gershon Agronsky, editor of the Palestine Post, and Eliyahu Epstein, the latter two coming directly from Palestine. Simon E. Sobeloff, member of the American Jewish Conference, also present in San Francisco, is attending both the meetings of the American Jewish Conference panel and the Joint Committee.

Adolph G. Brotman and Councillor A. Moss, representatives of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, arrived in New York from England early this week, and have proceeded to San Francisco on Thursday. They will participate, through the Joint Committee, in consultations with the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress.

* * *

Though Jewish bodies have made their presence felt through press conferences and submission of memoranda, the plight and problems of the Jews have practically not been mentioned in the plenary meetings of the San Francisco Conference.

Jan Masaryk was the only speaker to refer to the ghosts of Europe's Jews. In a fleeting remark in the course of his address at a plenary meeting, he stated that the world bows its head before the "valiant heroes of the underground, concentration camps and ghettos." This cursory reference was the only allusion to our five million dead. The first time the word "Jew" was used publicly at the Conference was at the Sixth plenary session, when the Haitian Foreign Minister, Gerald Lescot, spoke of their plight.

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CONFERENCE PROGRAM ON THE AIR

The program of the American Jewish Conference is being continuously presented to the American public, Jewish and non-Jewish, by regular broadcasts.

On April 14th Judge Emanuel Greenberg spoke on Jewish rights to a hearing at San Francisco over Station WLIB.

On April 24th Dr. A. S. Kohanski, Conference Research Director, participated in a Newspaper Guild Forum on the rights of small nations in the postwar world, with Herbert C. Pell and James Shelton, over Station WMCA.

On April 26th Meir Grossman acquainted the Yiddish-speaking public with the problems facing the San Francisco Conference and proposals presented by the American Jewish Conference and other Jewish bodies, on Station WHOM.

On April 28th the Mutual Network (WOR) devoted a half hour to "A Salute to the American Jewish Conference." Raya Garbousova, 'cellist, played Kol Nidre, and the station commentator spoke on the work of the Conference Rescue Committee.

On April 28th Rabbi David Sherman interviewed Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Chairman of the Conference Post-War Committee, on Jewish demands for justice at San Francisco, over Station WINS.

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NEW YORK JEWRY IN SUPPORT OF THE CONFERENCE PROGRAM

The country-wide public meetings and rallies (over eighty have already taken place) in support of the program for postwar needs of the Jewish people, were climaxed on Sunday, April 29th, by a mammoth demonstration of New York's Jewry. Over sixty thousand men and women jammed Lewisohn Stadium and surrounding streets in response to a call issued by the American Jewish Conference and the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise presided. Among those who addressed the rally were Senator Robert F. Wagner, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig, Louis Lipsky and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

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D I G E S T O F P R E S S C O M M E N T STHE STATE DEPARTMENT OWES AN EXPLANATION

"Why our State Department should single out this small group (American Jewish Committee) and place it on a par with the total unit of American Jewry as a consultant at San Francisco is difficult to figure out. We have a right to ask - why? The American Jewish Conference represents two million or more American Jews; the Committee represents about two hundred. The Conference consists of sixty national Jewish organizations, anyone of which contains from ten to a thousand times the membership of the Committee. The Conference is made up of democratically elected delegates, chosen by ballot in every important Jewish community in the United States; the Committee's members are entirely specially selected individuals.

If our State Department wanted to invite organizations as such, it had every right to include the Committee. In that case, it should have also invited B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Congress, the Zionist Organization, Hadassah, to mention only a few. Why the discrimination? We hear so much concern expressed today for the rights of small nations. Are not the 5½ million Jews of America, whose contribution to this war has certainly been no less than anyone else's, the right also to democratically choose for themselves official representatives instead of having the choice imposed upon them by the State Department?

We believe that the State Department owes us an explanation. Who engineered this deal? What was the magic "Sesame" that opened the door to the American Jewish Committee? What is the reason for dealing under instead of above the table?

It is up to all of us to raise this query sharply with Secretary Stettinius and demand a public reply. This is a democracy. The will of the people is supreme. It is better that we face this issue now instead of later. To remain quiet is to acquiesce to a blatant betrayal of our democratic will as expressed through the American Jewish Conference.

There is still time for the American Jewish Committee to set aside its own ambitions and present a united Jewish front by re-entering the Conference and reflecting its opinions through the Conference's delegate, Henry Monsky.

Otherwise, it must accept the responsibility for creating a chasm in vitally needed American Jewish unity at the peace-table.

If however, it insists on following this suicidal course, we owe it to our people and to our country to make absolutely clear that only the Conference, not the Committee, speaks for American Jewry. We must take the issue to the people, confident they will respond. We must isolate the Committee by rallying more firmly around the program of the American Jewish Conference.

We must demand that our leaders speak out. We must insist that the thirty Chicago delegates make their position clear."

The Sentinel, Chicago, 4.26.1945.

FOR THE SAKE OF A UNITED FRONT.

"The American Jewish Conference, the official spokesman of American Jewry, has aligned itself with the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Its representatives as well as those of the Jewish Agency should be there (at San Francisco) not as onlookers, but as actual participants.

To display a unity within the ranks of the Jews, the American Jewish Committee should set aside its pettiness and reenter the fold of the American Jewish Conference, so that we can present a solid and united front to protect the interests of the Jewish people."

Young Israel Viewpoint, NYC. April, 1945.

CONFIDENTIAL

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

XI.

Wednesday, May 16th, 1945

PRESENT: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chairman; Sam Caplan (alternate for Dr. Stephen S. Wise), Prof. Hayim Fineman, Jacob Marrus (alternate for Leon Gellman), Mrs. Louis Rosett (alternate for Jane Evans), and Samuel Rothstein.

Staff: Meir Grossman, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Rabbi David Sherman, Mrs. Sylvia Gilman and Mrs. Florence Kaplan.

COMMUNICATIONS:

1. Invitation from the Jewish War Veterans of the United States to two or three representatives of the Conference to attend the Fiftieth National Memorial Services on Sunday, May 20.

It was suggested that Charles P. Kramer be asked to represent the Conference, and any other member of the Executive who may be available on that date.

2. Wire from the Secretary of State in reply to the Conference's telegram concerning the appointment of consultants.

3. Letter from the Central Conference of American Rabbis addressed to the Interim Committee, taking objection to an alledged statement by Mr. Louis Lipsky at the hearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, and asking that the record be corrected.

Since this matter involved Mr. Lipsky, it was decided to refer the letter to him upon his return from San Francisco.

4. Letter from the National Council of Jewish Women, expressing the view that it was "improper" for the American Jewish Conference to hold a public mass meeting jointly with any organization or group of organizations composed of member groups of the Conference.

It was decided to submit this letter for the consideration of the three Co-Chairmen upon their return from San Francisco.

5. Letter from the Zionist Organization of America regarding the listing of the American Jewish Conference in its Palestine Yearbook.

It was agreed that though one of the points of the Conference program refers to Palestine, it would not be advisable to identify the Conference specifically as an organization engaged in Palestine work.

ACTION RE: JUSTICE ROBERT H. JACKSON

Mr. Grossman reported that the American Jewish Conference and the American Jewish Congress had sent a joint telegram of greetings and offers of cooperation to Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson on his appointment as Chief Counsel of the United States in preparing and prosecuting charges against war criminals.

It was the consensus of those members of the Executive Committee present that in the future such telegrams be not sent jointly by the Conference and an affiliated organization, but that the Conference should send its message in its own behalf.

REPORT ON SAN FRANCISCO - DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

"Mr. Monsky and I were the first to arrive on the scene, except for Mr. Kenen who had come a few days earlier. It would have been much better if more of the members of the Executive Committee were present in San Francisco at that time. Whatever I might say now is more than two weeks old and my report will have to be supplemented by those who remained there.

"Mr. Monsky and I arrived in San Francisco a few days before the opening of the Conference and we found that, like the Conference itself, we too were more or less at sea. It took the San Francisco Conference about a week to organize itself. Mr. Kenen was overwhelmed when he came there to find how many things needed to be done and what a shortage of manpower there was to do it. He was assisted by Mr. Silverman of San Francisco, who had been engaged by the Emergency Council and then was transferred to the American Jewish Conference. I had a feeling that we were inadequately prepared for the San Francisco Conference. Our memorandum did not reach the delegates soon enough. It came to them after the American Jewish Committee had presented its memorandum. Many people came there long before the Conference opened and there were a lot of pressure groups there. I do not think it is a serious loss. By this time, I am sure that everybody in San Francisco knows what the American Jewish Conference program is. It was the No. 1 public relations opportunity, on an international scale, and we made the most of it, once we got ourselves organized.

"Mr. Monsky is still there; Mr. Lipsky arrived the first week of May; of our staff, in addition to Mr. Kenen, Dr. Kohanski is there. The day that I left, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Shulman and Rabbi Lookstein arrived. Jane Evans, although not representing us officially, sat in with us a number of times. Rabbi Gold attended our joint meetings with the World Jewish Congress, Jewish Agency and Emergency Council people.

"The joint arrangement with the World Jewish Congress has worked out well. Everything was done jointly. It is good to record that the Joint Representation has worked out well and that relations were not only correct but even cordial.

"The appearance of various groups led to considerable confusion - Judge Proskauer's group, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Synagogue Council of America, Mr. Bergson's group, etc. We resisted these various pressures for outward unity and united action because we realized that they were motivated by the hope that the dissident members might be given some recognition in the public eye. I think we were able to explain the relative proportionate weights of each of these organizations. The job was to make it clear that we represent virtually the entire Jewish community in this country and the great majority of the Jewish people throughout the world.

"The word 'consultants' as originally contemplated by the State Department, was a euphemism. It was apparent that the purpose of the State Department in naming these consultants on behalf of the various groups, was to have a public relations liaison, in the hope that they would bring the San Francisco Conference to the public; they would try to make the public understand its difficulties and limitations. This group of consultants was a very impressive cross-section of American public opinion. It was the pressure of the consultants which impacted upon Mr. Stettinius and the American Delegation the point of view which was expressed in the newspapers this morning - greater emphasis upon human rights and fundamental freedoms and the inclusion of a recommendation for the appointment of a commission which would implement and supervise the Declaration of Human Rights.

"It still does not include specifically all the things we had in our ten-point program, because specific things were excluded from the agenda. Nonetheless, some teeth are being given to this Human Rights proposal in the form of a commission to deal with the matter.

"On International Trusteeships, we found ourselves confronted by a great danger, beyond what we had anticipated because of the special and unique character of the Palestine Mandate. Whereas all other mandates relate to the inhabitants of the country, the Palestine Mandate establishes an obligation to the Jewish people throughout the world. Therefore, it became of the utmost importance to be vigilant and energetic - to prevent the curtailment of our rights under the Mandate - and I think that a great deal of work has been done in that direction and that the important people are today keenly aware of the subject matter of our program.

"We spoke to members of the American Delegation, beginning with Stassen. The latter was the man whom the American Delegation sent to the press conferences and he was also the representative of the American Delegation in the matter of International Trusteeships. We spoke to Dulles, Gildersleeve, Bloom. Mr. Dulles made the following statement to Mr. Teller of the Independent Jewish Press Service, which in essence he substantiated in a conversation with Mr. Monsky, Mr. Lipsky and myself:

'America is opposed to the lumping of pre-war mandates into a general United Nations trusteeship with the mandates taken from the enemy.

'The fate of Palestine and other pre-war mandates will be decided at a later date upon their own merits and it will then be determined in relation to Palestine as in relation to other pre-war mandates, whether to continue the mandate or place the country under international trusteeship or decide to establish Palestine as an independent Jewish State.

'America does not favor the participation of Arab States or any other states besides Britain, France, and the U. S. in making the final decision on the status of Palestine.

'America does not entertain any position on the proposals of Regional Councils.

'There is no reason for concern over possible Arab representation on the committee which is to deal with trusteeships at this Conference.'

"We saw Mr. Frazer, Mr. Masaryk and members of the Chinese Delegation. We found them uniformly friendly and understanding. Mr. Frazer, the New Zealand Prime Minister, who is chairman of the Commission dealing with International Trusteeships, understood the special nature of the Palestine Mandate and gave it as his personal view that we be consulted before any policy is crystallized. Speaking to Mr. Masaryk, I mentioned the situation in Rumania and Bulgaria, where Jews who have certificates for Palestine cannot get exit visas. He promised to bring the matter to the attention of Mr. Molotov. I also derived the impression from sundry conversations with a variety of people that Russia is not happy over the Pan-Arab League, looking upon it as a front for British economic and political control in the Near and Middle East.

"Generally, the outlook, I think, is not bad from the point of view of coming out of San Francisco without any impairment of our present rights under the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. If we utilize the tremendous public relations opportunities which such conferences present, we shall be winning many friends and influencing many people who will play an important part at future conferences and at the Peace Conference."

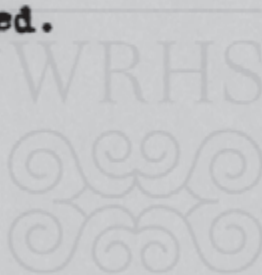
REPORT ON ACTIVITIES AT WASHINGTON

Mr. Grossman reported on action taken in Washington in connection with Prof. Brodetsky's cable describing the precarious position of Jews freed from concentration and slave labor camps, and suggesting intervention with Allied military authorities for the appointment of Jewish liaison officers.

Action was also taken on newspaper reports concerning the arrest of Dr. William Filderman of Rumania on charges of alleged "collaboration." A wire was sent to the Under-Secretary of State, requesting investigation and, if necessary, intercession.

The Executive Committee approved both actions.

The meeting then adjourned.



M. Grossman

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BULLETIN

OF ACTIVITIES AND DIGEST OF THE PRESS

No. 63

Tammuz 4, 5705

June 15, 1945

SAN FRANCISCO PARLEY NEARS WINDUP

Agreement Reached On Human Rights and Trusteeships

Significance of the Two Measures

With the deadlock broken over safeguard clauses in the trusteeship system and general agreement on the promotion of human rights, the United Nations Conference at San Francisco is now speeding toward conclusion. The crisis in the Trusteeship Committee which threatened Paragraph 5 (under which mandates may be changed or transferred), caused Jewish leaders to hurry back to San Francisco. Thanks to the determined efforts of the American and other delegations, the controversy was solved satisfactorily. Mr. Louis Lipsky, Dr. Nahum Goldman and members of the American Jewish Conference staff who had remained in San Francisco through this critical period, have now returned home.

One may be confident that the final draft of the World Charter will not change materially the sections dealing with human rights and trusteeships.

The Preamble and the Purposes of the Charter include the following references to the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms:

"To re-affirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of nations large and small...to promote tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors," and further: "to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples... in (the) promotion and encouragement and respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex."

These general principles are buttressed by the decision to establish a special Commission for the promotion of human rights. The Economic and Social Council is also empowered "to make recommendations on its own initiative for promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms."

It is expected that the Commission on Human Rights will frame an international bill of rights "which can be accepted by all member nations as an integral part of their own system of law." International civil groups will be able to cooperate with the Commission, but will first have to consult their respective governments, it was pointed out in San Francisco after the adoption of the proposal. The Commission, however, is not given exact functions and duties; nor does it possess enforcement powers. This tends to limit the practical application of the principles adopted and to diminish the effectiveness of the proposed Commission. It may therefore be said that the general principles of respect for human rights has been accepted, but that no machinery has been established for its practical application and enforcement.

* * *

With all these short-comings, the inclusion of the principle of equal rights and of the promotion of fundamental freedoms is a great step forward in international relations. Jewish and non-Jewish consultants to the United States delegation at the United Nations Conference energetically advocated the inclusion of protection of human rights among the purposes of the new world security organization, and the creation of a Commission on Human Rights. It was realized that the only way minorities, and particularly the Jewish minorities throughout the world, can gain a measure of protection is through the international application of law and moral order.

The recommendations for securing equality and protection of human rights were thus successfully brought to the attention of the governments assembled in San Francisco. The combined effort has brought some results. Much will have to be done to be done to make this principle live in deed as well as in word. The emphasis on equal rights and fundamental freedom for all, without distinction as to race, language, religion or sex, and the establishment of a Commission on Human Rights, are significant achievements of the San Francisco Conference, in the attainment of which Jewish groups, among them the American Jewish Conference, played a leading part.

* * *

The other problem that confronted Jewish representatives in San Francisco was the trusteeship system for "territories inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." This system is intended to modify or replace the present mandates system and the colonial regimes throughout the world. Among the basic objectives of the trusteeship system, as formulated in the chapter on trusteeships, was the promotion of the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants, and their progressive development toward self-government or independence. Respect for "human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, religion, language or sex" was also included among the objectives of the trusteeship system.

Most of the trusteeship provisions are of a general character and can only indirectly affect the Jewish position in relation to Palestine, which is a mandated territory. There was danger, however, that in transferring to the trusteeship system territories now under mandate, rights assured to the inhabitants and to the peoples concerned in the mandate, might be lost. Jewish representatives were especially conscious of this danger. They feared that the simple transfer of the present mandate to the trusteeship system might impair Jewish rights secured under the mandate. To prevent such an eventuality, the American delegation, acting on the suggestion of the United Jewish Representation, which cooperated with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, introduced a safeguard clause into the chapter on trusteeships, which reads in part:

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship arrangements made under paragraphs 3, 4, and 6, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in the charter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples."

The Arab Delegation made numerous attempts to introduce amendments to distort the meaning of this clause in order to abrogate the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine. But their efforts were defeated by recorded vote, in which all votes, except their own, were registered against them.

* * *

Unexpected opposition came from the Soviet Delegation which demanded the elimination of the protective clause, shortly after they had voted for it. One cannot say that the Russian stand was prompted by an intent to harm the Jewish cause, it was due to fear that this clause might permanently freeze the mandates system. Russian opposition stemmed also from the Soviet position on independence for colonial peoples and mandated territories. The delegations of the American

Jewish Conference and the Jewish Agency for Palestine pointed out to the Soviet Delegation that no freezing of the British mandate was intended, and that the elimination of the safeguard clause might result in a serious blow to Jewish aspirations in Palestine. The Jewish representatives were assured by the Russian Delegation that it desire no such results.

With the American Delegation firmly resolved to prevent any injustice, and to see that Jewish rights in Palestine were not prejudiced, a solution was found through the following addition after the words "states or any peoples": "or the terms of existing international instruments to which member states may respectively be parties. This paragraph should not be interpreted as giving grounds for the delay or postponement of the negotiations and conclusion of the agreements for placing mandated and other territories, as provided for in Paragraph 3, under the trusteeship system." The last sentence was added in order to reassure the Russian Delegation, which accepted this new phraseology, and the entire Paragraph 5, including the safeguards, was inserted in the final draft of the chapter on trusteeships.

An amendment introduced by the Egyptian Delegation providing for joint trusteeships by more than one state over certain areas was also adopted by the Trusteeship Committee. This amendment might conceivably pave the way for Egypt, or any other Arab State, to petition the World Security Organization, at some later date, to allow it to share the trusteeship over Palestine with Great Britain or with another Arab State. There is, however, no ground to interpret this amendment as adversely affecting Jewish interests in Palestine; On the contrary, it makes it possible to turn over the Palestine mandate to the joint administration of two friendly states, such as Great Britain and the United States.

The Jewish delegates who stayed in San Francisco until the very end of the deliberations were instrumental in preventing any impairment of Jewish rights in Palestine through changes in the trusteeship plan. In itself this was a substantial accomplishment.

The trusteeship system does not obligate Great Britain to place the mandate under the control of the new World Security Organization, but it is very doubtful whether Great Britain will wish to continue administering Palestine outside the Organization.

* * *

No one desires to exaggerate Jewish accomplishments at San Francisco. No one denies that the position of the Jewish Delegation, which had no official status, was an unenviable one. But at the same time, it would be a gross error to underestimate the potency of the Jewish voice at San Francisco. The facts are: That all those participating in the framing of the World Charter were kept fully informed of Jewish wishes; that Jewish demands were heeded; and that, in the case of Jewish rights in Palestine, important safeguards were included in the trusteeship system. The American Jewish Conference Delegation, acting jointly with representatives of the World Jewish Congress and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and in close cooperation with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, has presented the Jewish case at the San Francisco Conference with great effectiveness. It has secured some of the desired results. Above all, the experience gained at San Francisco should stand the Jewish people in good stead at the forthcoming conferences of the United Nations.

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NEW YORK REPORT MEETING

The problems confronting the United Jewish Delegation at San Francisco and the results achieved through presentation of our point of view to the governments of the world will be presented at a meeting of delegates and electors to the American Jewish Conference in Greater New York on Monday, June 25, 1945, at 8:30 P.M., at Town Hall, 123 W. 43rd Street, New York City.

A first-hand report of the events at San Francisco will be given by the members of the American Jewish Conference delegation: Henry Monsky, Consultant to the American Delegation, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, Judge Morris Rothenberg and Herman Shulman, associate consultants.

D I G E S T O F P R E S S C O M M E N T SJEWISH GROUPS AT THE UNCTIO.

"The barrage of publicity, almost daily press conferences and the trick questions on the subject of Palestine at this United Nations Conference have been so completely bewildering that an attempt at clarification may be in order.

To the casual observer it would appear that the ranks of the Jews are hopelessly divided on what should be done about Jewish war refugees and Palestine. Actually the trouble seems to stem from a minority - influential individuals in half a dozen small groups who issue the most handouts and make most noise.

There are approximately five million Jews in the United States today. About two million are adults and of these over a million and a half are members of some 60 Jewish religious and fraternal groups banded in an organization known as the American Jewish Conference.

This conference was first convened in New York in August, 1943, to unite all Jewish elements in the United States, presenting a united front with a single spokesman to stop bickering and working at cross-purposes. The conference held a second plenary session in Pittsburgh last December.

Represented in this conference are all Jewish religious bodies, reformed, orthodox and conservative churches, all Zionist organizations, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the American Jewish Congress, Jewish War Veterans, B'nai B'rith, Hadassah and all the other national cultural, religious and educational organizations.

This American Jewish Conference therefore, speaks in the name of a vast majority of American Jews. The Conference representatives, headed by Mr. Henry Monsky, who is one of the 42 official consultants to the American Delegation in the United Nations Conference, have a very definite program which they have been promoting at San Francisco.

It favors an international bill of rights in the Charter, to give assurance that Jewish people may have peace and security in whatever country they reside. Also it supports legal and orderly reconstitution of Palestine in a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, as originally established in the League of Nations' British Mandate for Palestine.

The American Jewish Conference has been emphatic and aggressive in plugging this program with every delegate from every one of the 49 United Nations.

But the American Jewish Conference is also well disciplined and it has actually persuaded representatives of many of its member organizations to stay home and keep quiet so as not to add to the confusion in San Francisco...

Jewish opposition comes principally from three sources. First, American Jews whose families have been in the United States for four or five generations and therefore have few direct ties with the millions of Jewish war refugees and victims in Europe. These Jews are said to fear that if a Jewish Commonwealth is created in Palestine they will lose their standing as American citizens and be under pressure to become citizens of Palestine.

Second, the extremely sincere and devout Jews who do not want their religion confused with political ambitions to establish a Jewish Commonwealth.

Third, the militant Jews who favor direct action, the use of arms and smuggling of recruits and immigrants into Palestine if necessary, to force the creation of a strong Jewish state.

Organizationally, this opposition is said to be composed of these principal elements:

The American Jewish Committee, headed by Joseph M. Proskauer of New York, who is also consultant at San Francisco. The congress is small - 393 corporate members - but powerful. It works with the Jewish Conference on everything except

the establishment of a purely Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine at this time.

Agudas Israel, a religious group of less than 30,000 members.

American Council for Judaism, 6,000 members, headed by Rabbi Elmer Berger who is in San Francisco to "conduct research."

Jewish Labor Committee of New York, the right wing, David Dubinsky branch of the Garment Workers Union.

The New Zionist Organization, a small direct action group which agitates for restoration of Trans-Jordania to Palestine.

Finally, the outfit which after four changes of name is now known as the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. It supports the self-styled "Hebrew Embassy" in Washington and doesn't represent anyone except a handful of young Jews born in Palestine, who came to the United States in 1941 and have been operating high, wide and handsome ever since under the chairmanship of one Peter H. Bergson.

This group has been exposed a number of times, but without effect. It is deeply resented by regular American Jewish groups."

Peter Edson, NEA staff correspondent,
San Francisco News, (and other dailies) 5/30/45.

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THE LESSON OF SAN FRANCISCO.

"Whatever the significance of the San Francisco Conference for the world at large, for us Jews it signifies the rock upon which our unity as a people was dashed. Our grievances are numerous. We should have had a seat among the nations of the world. But we, in our own behalf, have hardly proven that we act as a people with a common cause and a common zeal.

The mandate of the American Jewish Conference to represent American Jewry could never be questioned. It was supported by an overwhelming majority of organized Jewry. No other elected body was ever more representative. Even those who now claim the "right" to speak for themselves were at one time represented in the American Jewish Conference. How, then, could those minorities presume to appear before the representatives of the world and claim the right to speak for Jewry at large or even in their own behalf.

Those who did not heed or refused the invitation of the American Jewish Conference as well as those who left it for reasons of their own have simply forfeited the right to speak in the name of Jewry or for themselves. If they do, then they thereby supply ammunition to the enemy of our people and to all those who insist that we are a house divided against itself.

The American Jewish Committee was not the only organization that found it necessary to send a delegation to San Francisco. The Jewish Labor Committee, the Agudath Israel, and many other groups followed suit. No matter how differently they worded their memoranda on the general rights for the Jews, there is hardly any division of opinion on that score...

Whatever the cause of each organization's opposition to Zionism, till now it was primarily an internal problem, a cause for strife among ourselves; it had been dragged out and dangled before the eyes of the entire world to the dismay of our friends and the delight of our enemies. The harm was done by the very fact that the Zionists were followed by the oppositionists clamoring for a hearing, too.

It seems that the only remedy would be a kind of Jewish parliament within whose framework all minorities, no matter how extreme, would find a place, bound to abide by the decisions of the majority.

This may or may not be the basic idea and principle upon which the American Jewish Conference was built. The difficulties that had confronted the American

Jewish Conference would inevitably confront also the new organization, whatever its name. Yet it would seem Jewish Parliamentarianism is now the order of the day, becoming an urgent necessity if we are to realize our aims as a people.

San Francisco must be a lesson to us."

D.L.Meckler, The New Palestine, 5/31/45.

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NEW PLATFORM FOR ACTION.

"A new platform for action must be found by world Jewry in the serious task of assuring the application of a Bill of Rights to the precarious position of nearly 2,000,000 of our people who have survived the Nazi holocaust, and in guaranteeing international adherence to pledges for the re-establishment of the Jewish nationality in Palestine.

It is clear that if Jews are to be treated on a basis of equality everywhere, and if Palestine is again to become Eretz Israel, the sacredness of pledges must be emphasized.

American Jewry, the largest and most influential Jewish community in the world, must take the lead in formulating a program for action and in putting it into effect.

But first we must cease to be "a nation of leaders with no one to lead," and we must face issues with a sense of realism and with courage."

Philip Slomovitz, Jewish News, 6/1/45.

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BRITISH JEWS FOR CONTINUED ANGLO-AMERICAN JEWISH UNITY

"Just as the maintenance of world peace is based on Anglo-American cooperation, so does the attainment of equality and justice for the Jewish people depend to a great extent upon the continued harmonious working together of British and American Jewries," declared Councillor Abraham Moss, of Manchester, England, at a reception for him and for Adolph G. Brotman, of London, given by the American Jewish Conference at the Hotel Biltmore on May 31st.

Councillor Moss and Mr. Brotman have returned recently from the San Francisco Conference, where they represented the Board of Deputies of British Jews on a Joint Jewish Committee composed also of representatives of the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress. They have already returned to England.

"In my view, the 42 consultant organizations to the American Delegation at San Francisco, and not the least of them the American Jewish Conference, were a potent force at the Conference. This appointment of consultants by the American Government was an excellent innovation," said Councillor Moss.

"We feel that the accomplishments of the Joint Committee, which acted for 90% of the Jews in the world, (outside of Soviet Russia) amply justified our trip to America," said Mr. Brotman. "This Joint Committee shall continue to function so that our common objectives, the restoration to living decency of the Jews in Europe, and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, become realities."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, Co-Chairman of the American Jewish Conference, introduced the guests of honor. Judge Morris Rothenberg, of the Conference's Committee on United Jewish Representation, emphasized the importance of the Joint Committee's role in securing inclusion of clause 5, interpreted as a Palestine safeguard clause, in the final trusteeship plan under the world security charter. "The clause is still being debated in San Francisco," he said, "but the United States and Britain stand firm for inclusion."

ELEVEN—CONFERENCE—11
REPORT OF THE PALESTINE COMMISSION

I. THE CONFERENCE RESOLUTION

THE ADOPTION of the Palestine Resolution by the American Jewish Conference on September 1st, 1943 was the first in a series of events which projected the issues of Palestine into the forefront of discussion in this country. The significance of the Conference decision can now be evaluated in the light of the action which followed the Conference and which was stimulated and reinforced by it.

The gathering in New York in September, 1943, and its clear and decisive pronouncement on the subject of Jewish rights to Palestine, must be regarded as a turning point in the fight for the assertion of those rights in this country. It gave the signal for advance and action—for a nation-wide program of education and enlightenment on the Jewish position, which was climaxed on October 15th, 1944 by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's historic declaration identifying the American people with the objectives of the Conference Resolution on Palestine and pledging his efforts for their realization.

The Palestine Resolution itself was neither new nor revolutionary. The declaration in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth was, in fact, a reaffirmation of the resolution adopted a quarter of a century ago, when American Jews had assembled in the American Jewish Congress to prepare for the peace that was to follow the first World War. The phrase "Jewish Commonwealth" was one employed by President Wilson on March 2nd, 1919. That reaffirmation of a past resolve was necessitated by the deterioration of the Jewish position. In the twenty-five years between the two wars, the implementation of the first resolution had been obstructed by a continuous abridgment of the rights promised in the Balfour Declaration and incorporated in the Mandate for Palestine.

On the eve of the first session of the American Jewish Conference, Palestine was in the hands of unfriendly administrators determined to arrest the progress of the Jewish development and to congeal the Jewish population into a permanent minority; a policy which would transform the Jewish National Home into a ghetto. This was in accord with the White Paper which was issued by the Chamberlain government in the 1939 era of appeasement and which was being severely enforced. The local authorities had launched a propaganda war to discredit the Jewish people in an effort to alienate the sympathies of the United Nations from the Jews. Jewish contribution to the war effort had been discouraged and later its magnitude and significance had been minimized. Under discussion in the Middle East was a proposal that a statement be issued by the leading powers commanding silence on the future of Palestine until the end of the war. This would have silenced protests and permitted the White Paper to become effective without challenge. It had even been suggested in some quarters that the Conference itself—then on the eve of the first session—refrain from action on Palestine, on the ground of military necessity.

These aggressions against Jewish hopes for reconstruction in the post-war world dictated the reaffirmation which issued from the American Jewish Conference. But that declaration was more than a reaction to external stimuli. It was a clarification and a crystallization of the viewpoint of American Jewry.

That millions of American Jews were interested in the development of Palestine was an accepted fact, but the extent of that interest was not always clear. Some had been moved by sentimental considerations and by philanthropic impulses, by an interest in Jewish education and culture and religion and the need for a Jewish center in which these might have a foundation; and some by a desire to open up new avenues of self-expression for a people whose economic opportunities had been severely restricted in a hazardous existence on the periphery of a contracting economy in Europe. And in the years which followed Hitler's advent to power, there was growing concern over the plight of Jewish refugees and their need for sanctuary.

But there appeared to be a differentiation between those whose interest in Palestine was purely philanthropic, cultural and economic, and those who accepted the classical Zionist position. This apparent gulf between those who were concerned solely with Jewish needs and those who were concerned with Jewish rights was exploited by forces antagonistic to both. The great significance of the action of the Conference was its recognition that the satisfaction of Jewish needs was predicated on the assertion and establishment of Jewish rights and that the two could not be separated in logic-tight compartments.

Implicit, moreover, in the Conference resolution, was the recognition that conciliatory tactics had been unavailing in the past and that there was a call for a more active approach, not only to the Mandatory Power, but to the United Nations.

II. REACTION TO THE RESOLUTION

The Conference declaration was a major contribution in the mobilization of American Jewry in support of Jewish aspirations to Palestine. It was, on the whole, warmly received by the Jews of this country and abroad and while, in the debate which ensued, there were inevitably released forces of dissent, these expressions cannot begin to compare in significance with the nation-wide affirmations of approval.

All but a few of the 64 organizations affiliated with the Conference adopted resolutions ratifying the Palestine Resolution. The American Jewish Committee was the only one to withdraw, giving as one of its reasons, its disagreement with respect to the timeliness of the resolution. The Interim Committee, in a statement made public on November 7th, 1943 replied to the Committee, and it is unnecessary to elaborate on the differences in this report. It should be noted, however, that the American Jewish Committee was severely criticized in many communities for its action, and a number of its constituent organizations withdrew from the Committee, including the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the United Synagogue of America, Hadassah, the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, the Free Sons of Israel, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, and the Grand Lodge of Brith Sholom, a charter member of the Committee. In addition, more than a score of Committee members resigned, including Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, dean of American orthodox rabbis and one of the five founding members of the Committee in 1906.

At the Conference, delegates of the Jewish Labor Committee and the National Council of Jewish Women had abstained from voting on the Palestine Resolution. Subsequently, the Jewish Labor Committee, while continuing in the Conference and cooperating "in all matters which are within the scope of the Jewish Labor Committee and in accordance with its decisions", did not participate in the Interim Committee or the Palestine Commission.

The National Council of Jewish Women considered the subject of Palestine for the first time in more than half a century at its 17th triennial convention in Chicago in November, 1943. It adopted a resolution calling for the abrogation of the White Paper, favoring unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine and the "uninterrupted and continued upbuilding of Palestine in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration." (See Appendix B-1)

The governing bodies of four organizations, the B'nai B'rith, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, refrained as organizations from action on the Palestine Resolution and reaffirmed neutrality. (See Appendix B-2)

A vigorous indorsement of the Palestine Resolution was recorded at the National Conference of Orthodox Jewry for Palestine and Rescue, which met in New York on January 31, 1944, and which was attended by 600 rabbis and 1,200 delegates from all parts of the country, speaking in the name of approximately 1,500,000 orthodox Jews in the United States.

III. THE BEGINNING OF IMPLEMENTATION

Immediately after the Conference session recessed, a committee, representing the Conference, formally submitted the resolutions adopted by the delegates to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. The committee consisted of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, Frank Goldman, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and Jane Evans for the secretariat. A short time later, Dr. Silver, chairman of the Palestine Commission, announced the opening of a campaign for the abrogation of the White Paper.

Spearhead of that attack was the American Zionist Emergency Council, political and public relations instrumentality for the four major Zionist bodies, the Zionist Organization of America, the Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, the Mizrahi Organization of America, and the Poale-Zion Zeire-Zion. Under the auspices of the Council, which is headed by Dr. Wise, Co-Chairman of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, and Dr. Silver, there were formed Emergency Committees for Palestine in many cities of the United States. The number of local committees grew rapidly and by the spring of this year, it totalled 215. In addition, many communities were represented in borough, county and state organizations, so that contact was eventually established with 311 communities in 42 states.

These committees consisted not only of Zionist leaders, but also of many community leaders who were in sympathy with the Zionist program, but who had not hitherto been engaged in Zionist activity. Some 2000 leaders in all were enrolled in advancing the program.

But before the struggle against the White Paper policy had even begun, and as if to anticipate it, the Mandatory Power announced a modification of its policy on November 10th, 1943. The March 31st, 1944 deadline of the White Paper was postponed. It was announced that inasmuch as the full 75,000 certificates had not been used during the five year period, the effective date on the ban of Jewish immigration into Palestine would be deferred until the quota was filled. The land restrictions remained unchanged. As of that date, the number of certificates outstanding was 31,078. Basically, while this was the first major concession on the part of the Mandatory since 1939, the White Paper policy had not been changed and the action merely resulted in an intensification of effort against that policy.

At a meeting of the Interim Committee of the Conference on November 23rd, 1943, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference directs its Palestine Commission to undertake immediately a program for the mobilization of American public opinion, against the British White Paper of 1939 on Palestine. The Palestine Commission is authorized to set up such machinery and to take such steps as will reflect the decision of the American Jewish Conference as expressed in its Palestine Resolution, to use its utmost resources to bring about the withdrawal of the White Paper."

Previously, however, on October 17th, the Interim Committee had determined that the Commissions might "utilize the services and seek the cooperation of existing agencies." Accordingly, at the first meeting of the Palestine Commission held on December 1st, 1943, the Chair was authorized to advise the delegates of the action of the Interim Committee of November 23rd endorsing the work of the Council with respect to the White Paper, and a communication was then sent by the Chairman of the Commission to the Conference delegates, requesting them to serve on their local Emergency Committees for Palestine, and detailing the work to be carried forward.

During this period there was considerable discussion as to the direction of the campaign. There were some who argued that efforts should be concentrated on the fight against the White Paper *per se* and that for the time being discussion on the ultimate political objective, a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, should be deferred. In support of this view, it was contended that there was no conflict in opinion on the issue of the White Paper, that all segments of American Jewry could unite without a dissenting voice to disturb unanimity. It was suggested in addition that this was the immediate question which called for a concentrated attack. Thus, within the Conference, although there was only one Conference resolution and it did not separate the issues, there were some who felt that two commissions should be established, one to concern itself with the White Paper fight and the other to devote its attention to ultimate political objectives. On the other hand, it was not the White Paper itself, for there had been many White Papers, but the White Paper policy which was under attack, and that attack, it was pointed out, should carry with it the affirmation of a positive policy lest there should be substituted for the current White Paper another document differing from it only in degree.

These issues came to a head at a meeting called by the American Zionist Emergency Council in Cleveland in November attended by the leaders of more than 100 Emergency Committees for Palestine, and during the course of a two-day discussion, it was determined by an overwhelming vote to be guided by the position of the American Jewish Conference. It was agreed that only those who subscribed to the Conference resolution would be invited to serve on these committees.

At the meeting of the Palestine Commission of the Conference held on January 3rd in New York, the Commission voted:

"The Palestine Commission shall not do the day-by-day work, but shall do the political and educational work in order to mobilize American Jewry for the support of the Conference program in relation to Palestine. To that end, the American Jewish Conference shall be fully utilized for the organization of mass activities in support of legislative action deemed necessary to implement the Palestine Resolution." Such legislative action was soon to begin.

IV. THE RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS

On January 27th, 1944, Representatives James A. Wright (Dem.) of Pennsylvania and Ranulf Compton (Rep.) of Connecticut introduced in the House a resolution calling for a reaffirmation of the declaration of the Sixty-Seventh Congress of the United States on June 30th, 1922, and resolving "that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

On February 2nd, an identical resolution was fathered in the Senate by Senators Robert F. Wagner (Dem.) of New York and Robert A. Taft (Rep.) of Ohio. These resolutions were introduced with auspicious support. Upon their introduction, vigorous endorsements came from Majority Floor Leader John W. McCormack (Dem.) of Massachusetts and Minority Floor Leader Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (Rep.) of Massachusetts, and the leaders of the Senate, United States Senators Alben W. Barkley (Dem.) of Kentucky and Wallace H. White, Jr. (Rep.) of Maine.

The Palestine Commission of the Conference met on January 31st and voted to endorse the resolutions and to urge their support by its delegates and its affiliated national organizations. The Conference issued the following statement:

"The American Jewish Conference is highly gratified with the Palestine resolutions which have been introduced in the Senate and in the House of the Congress of the United States. These resolutions reflect the spirit of the Palestine Resolution which was adopted by an overwhelming vote at the great gathering of the American Jewish Conference held last September. The Congressional resolutions will, if adopted, be of utmost significance in securing the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine and the opening of the doors of Palestine for unrestricted Jewish immigration. The warm reception which the resolutions have received in both branches of Congress and at the hands of the leaders of both parties augurs well for their passage. The American Jewish Conference calls upon all its delegates and all the national organizations affiliated with it to lend their utmost support to these resolutions and to make heard the voice of American Jewry against the White Paper and in behalf of the Jewish Commonwealth in the halls of Congress."

The Co-Chairmen of the Interim Committee sent letters to the authors of the resolutions and to Congressional leaders who were supporting them, expressing the Conference's appreciation. Simultaneously, the Conference addressed a plea to all members of Congress in which it was pointed out that the resolutions expressed in essence the resolution adopted by the Conference last September and with this communication went the text of the original Palestine Resolution of the Conference. At the same time, communications were addressed to the editors of six hundred leading the organizations affiliated with the Conference and to the Conference delegates requesting their active support.

Hearings on the resolution were scheduled in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for February 7th and in advance of this session, the Conference sent telegrams to its affiliated organizations urging them to give expression to their support.

Many organizations and individuals responded and seldom has Congress witnessed an emphatic expression of such volume. Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, asserted that of the thousands of communications and telegrams received, only ten registered opposition.

In the hearings of the House Committee, which were held February 7th and 8th and which were resumed the following week, the position of American Jewry as recorded by the Conference resolution was given special attention. While the issues involved were discussed and debated on their merits, members of Congress were naturally interested in ascertaining the viewpoint of the majority of American Jews, particularly in view of the presentation of the dissenting viewpoints by the American Council for Judaism and the American Jewish Committee. In opening the debate, Dr. Silver declared that he was speaking for the millions of Jews represented in the Conference. The Conference resolution was read into the record by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Co-Chairman of the Conference Interim Committee, who described in detail the action of the Conference and its representative character.

"If there are among American Jews some voices of dissent, be they ever so loud, or so often repeated or emanating from men of wealth and high social position, they must always be evaluated in their true proportion, as representing less than 10 per cent of American Jewry," Dr. Goldstein said.

Others who referred to the Conference position and the action it had taken were Dr. Wise, Dr. James G. Heller of Cincinnati, Herman Shulman and Mr. Lipsky, all members of the Interim Committee of the Conference.

Mr. Lipsky was the concluding spokesman. Meeting the arguments which had been presented in behalf of the American Council for Judaism by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, Mr. Lipsky said:

"I happen to be an official of the American Jewish Conference that conducted the elections. We devised a system of democratic representation, of proportional group representation within the Conference. We created a Conference which gave an opportunity to every group to express its opinion. We represented, according to our calculations—two and a half million Jews. All the national organizations with the exception of two were included. It was the most impressive ceremonial act on the part of the Jewish people when they voted on the Palestine Resolution. And the vote on the Palestine Resolution was taken after there had been three days' deliberation in a sub-committee in which some of these men, who subsequently did not vote, participated in the debate. They participated on the floor by making statements and declarations. . . .

"Mr. Rosenwald testified here that he represented, after an effort, after an expenditure of quite a good deal of money, the achievements of 2,500 Jews who had registered with the American Council for Judaism—2,500 as against the 2,500,000 Jews who were in the American Jewish Conference."

The witnesses in behalf of the resolution based their arguments for its adoption on the need for a reaffirmation of the historic American policy on Palestine. Its necessity, they argued, was commanded by the tragedy of the Jews of Europe, its wisdom vindicated by the great development of Palestine in the quarter of a century following the Balfour Declaration, its timeliness emphasized by the threatened repudiation of the Balfour promise, implicit in the White Paper policy.

Among those who spoke for the resolution were: Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Director of the School for Overseas Administration, Harvard University; Lewis G. Hines, legislative representative, A. F. of L.; Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, President of Hadassah; Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, assistant chief, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture; Dr. Henry Atkinson, President of the Christian Council on Palestine; Rabbi Wolf Gold, honorary president, Mizrahi Organization of America; David Wertheim, national secretary of the Poale Zion, and Dr. Emanuel Neumann.

The opposition to the resolution came mainly from two sources, the American Council for Judaism and the spokesmen for Arab groups. Mr. Rosenwald proposed to eliminate from the resolution references to the "Jewish people." He accepted the first part of the resolution calling for the opening of Palestine's doors to Jews. He was willing to have Palestine constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth, but not as a "Jewish" commonwealth and not by the "Jewish people." His advocacy of Jewish immigration into Palestine was based solely on the proposition that the White Paper was a discrimination against the Jews as such.

Mr. Rosenwald conceded that he represented a minority viewpoint. He estimated the membership of the Council at that time at only 2,500. But Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia, who followed him the next day, was not so frank. No one, he maintained, could say where the majority of American Jews stood. He had not taken a "statistic" of American Jewish opinion. Like Mr. Rosenwald, Rabbi Wolsey was fearful of the consequences of Jewish nationhood in Palestine. "Jews," he said, "would be subject to suspicion and prejudice and," he continued, "my position in America becomes equivocal."

The American Jewish Committee did not make an appearance before the Congressional Committee, but submitted a memorandum in which it urged abrogation of the British White Paper and proposed an amendment to provide "for an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations." It asked that "final determination of this controversial question [of the Jewish Commonwealth] be deferred."

At the concluding sessions of the House Committee on February 15th and 16th, spokesmen for the Arab position made it clear that Arab opposition to the resolution was directed against not only the declaration in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth, but against relaxation of curbs against Jewish immigration. This testimony and the belligerently-couched protests from the Arab states which came later, rendered untenable the arguments of those who, in urging deletion of the Commonwealth clause from the resolution, had contended that relinquishment of political objectives would induce the Arabs to accept Jewish immigration into Palestine. On the contrary, it strengthened the position of those who asserted that Jewish immigration into Palestine could be predicated logically on the creation of the requisite political conditions, on the assertion that Palestine must in the future become a Jewish Commonwealth and that admission of Jews into that country must be granted as of political right and not vouchsafed as a philanthropic or humanitarian gesture.

Thus the debate on the resolution before the Congressional Committee clarified an issue on which many had been confused. While the Commonwealth in Palestine followed Jewish immigration in time, it preceded it in logic, for mass Jewish immigration into Palestine presupposed acceptance of the principle that Palestine was to become the Jewish National Home.

At the conclusion of the hearings, it was indicated that a great majority of Congressmen favored the adoption of the resolution. Only in a few isolated cases was there any suggestion that the resolutions be amended to eliminate the words "Jewish Commonwealth," as proposed by representatives of the American Council for Judaism.

Before acting on the resolutions, Congressional leaders had moved to ascertain the position of the Executive Branch of the Government. The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wrote to the War and State Departments soliciting their opinion. At an executive session of the Senate Committee on February 23rd, Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, presented military objections to action at this time. His testimony was preceded on February 7th by a communication from

Secretary of War Henry Stimson and one from Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Secretary Hull's letter, it was reported, was non-committal, referring merely to the position of the War Department. However, he had not offered any objections to the introduction of the resolution when his advice was sought by its proponents in advance of the resolution's introduction. The objections of these officials, it was learned on good authority, did not go to the merits of the resolution, but were concerned solely with the question of timeliness.

After the War Department had recorded its objections, there suddenly came a number of seemingly concerted protests against the Congressional resolutions from the Arab States. Although the Arabs in Palestine were silent and, according to some newspaper dispatches from that country, appeared to be indifferent to political developments, the neighboring Arab states, which owed their independence to the first World War and which were perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of the peace that followed that war, were now engaged in a determined effort to deny fulfillment of the pledges which were made to the Jewish people in the 1914-18 conflict.

These communications were reminiscent of the intimidations of the period between 1936 and 1939, when Arab agitators, inspired by the paid propagandists of the Nazi-Fascist machine, succeeded in terrorizing the Mandatory Power into a breach of its trusteeship of Palestine, forcing the issuance of the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939. Their disposition so boldly to threaten the United Nations at this time, in the face of the assured victory of the United Nations, led many to inquire whether they had not been encouraged to pursue this course by those who favored perpetuation of the White Paper.

The intervention of the Arab States on this issue provoked resentment in the Halls of Congress. Senator Wagner met a request to withdraw his resolution with the pointed declaration that "Congress which for more than a century has been able to reach its own conclusions without advice from officials of foreign nations, is fully able to reach a wise conclusion in this matter which will be in accord with the wishes of the American people."

Congressman Ranulf Compton of Connecticut, co-sponsor of the resolution, concurring with Senator Wagner's rejection of the Iraqi protest, observed that "My first thought upon learning of the protests of the Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian and Lebanon Governments, was that these protests may well have been inspired by the British Government, which is in control in those countries."

This was the situation early in March and the March 31st deadline of the White Paper was fast approaching. There was a clear necessity for some word which would at once reassure the Jewish people that their hopes were not to be crushed and which would, at the same time, disabuse the leaders of the Arab States of the notion that the last word had been spoken on Palestine in 1939. The suggestion that this word might now be delayed might in itself be interpreted as a declaration of policy inimical to the Jews. Continued silence on the part of the United Nations on the subject of Palestine might be construed in some quarters, as acquiescence in the status quo. Thus, silence itself would become a political act and the forces which were urging it in the name of military expediency were, perhaps, unwittingly, forging political policy.

There was a clear analogy between the present situation and that of 1939, when the threat of military disturbance had forced political surrender. Many now turned to President Roosevelt, who had been for millions of oppressed peoples the symbol and standard-bearer for their hopes of post-war reconstruction. From all parts of the United States went pleas to the President for a clarification of United States policy on the promises of the past and the hopes of the future.

V. THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 9TH

It was following this wide-spread public expression that President Roosevelt received Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver on March 9th and authorized them to issue, on his behalf, a statement in which the United States Government formally asserted its non-concurrence with the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 and of greater significance, renewed hope that Jewish aspirations to Palestine would be realized in the post-war reconstruction. The statement follows:

"The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939.

"The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

The President's statement broke a long silence, averted its prejudicial consequences and opened the door to a clarification of American policy. At no time since the issuance of the White Paper of 1939 had our Government formally registered any objection to it. More recently, there had been a tendency on the part of many officials of our Government to abstain from positive references to the future of the Jewish National Home. The President's statement, which came after all the Arab protests had been received, dispelled the illusion fostered by Near East propagandists that the United States had abandoned the interest it affirmed in 1922, when Congress unanimously approved the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It served notice that the liquidation of Jewish rights to Palestine contemplated in the White Paper must be arrested. It strengthened the position of that section of British leadership and public opinion which concurred with Prime Minister Churchill's condemnation of the White Paper as a "breach and repudiation" of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. It relaxed tensions created by the intervention of the Department of War.

It should be noted that news of the President's statement was censored in the Near East for six days and publication was banned in the Hebrew press, although Arab papers were permitted to print criticism of it.

A number of Congressmen felt that if the President felt free to make such a statement, the ban on Congressional action was unjustified. However, on March 17th, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs formally announced that it would take no action "at this time" on the Wright-Compton resolution. "Advice and information given to us by those responsible for the conduct of the war, have convinced the Committee that action upon the Palestine resolution at this time would be unwise," the Committee stated. This action followed the receipt of a letter from Secretary of War Stimson, dated March 17th, which stated:

"Concerning our conversation with respect to House Resolutions 418 and 419, it is the considered judgment of the War Department that without reference to the merits of these resolutions, further action on them at this time would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."

Commenting on this action, Representative Wright, co-sponsor of the resolution, said:

"We are not military strategists and we cannot oppose our judgment on military matters to the judgment of our military leaders.

"But this must not be considered a judgment upon the merits. Eventually—and I hope soon—we must decide whether or not we wish to maintain the position we took in the resolution of 1922 and in the convention of 1925. The claim to Palestine is a just one and any objection which the Arabs make to it is invalid. As soon as the military position improves, it is the obligation of the House to take affirmative action on the Palestine resolution."

This, in essence, was the position taken on March 21st by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference. The previous day the Palestine Commission adopted a resolution welcoming the President's March 9th statement and expressing the hope that the military authorities would soon, consistent with the realities of the situation, withdraw their objections so that Congress could act on the resolutions. The resolution was adopted by the Interim Committee on March 21st. (See Appendix B-3)

At a White House press conference on March 28th, the President asserted that his views on Palestine, as given to Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver on March 9th, conformed to the position of the War Department and did not conflict with it. He accepted the military objection to action at this time as a temporary bar. The political question was one to be worked out in the future in connection with the peace.

The military bar did not continue long. Following inquiries made to the War Department by representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council and by Senators Wagner and Taft, Secretary Stimson wrote to Senator Taft on October 10th:

"I do feel that the military considerations which led to my previous action opposing the passage of this resolution are not as strong a factor now as they were then. In my judgment, political considerations now outweigh the military, and the issues should be determined upon the political rather than the military."

Thus, action on the resolutions may be expected in the not too distant future.

VI. PUBLIC OPINION

The introduction of the Palestine resolutions and the discussions which followed served to create throughout the country an awareness of Jewish achievement in Palestine and a sympathetic understanding of Jewish aspirations there. They focused attention on the problem and brought it to the fore. They evoked a mass demonstration on the part of American public opinion. Editorials endorsing the resolutions were printed in hundreds of American newspapers. Many Congressmen became the vigorous advocates of Jewish Palestine and their expressions of support, given to the Conference, to the American Zionist Emergency Council and to local Emergency Committees for Palestine, demonstrate that the resolutions would have been adopted by an overwhelming majority in both Houses had they come to a vote. The volume, "America and Palestine," published by the Council on October 12th, discloses that more than 400 Congressmen, 77 per cent of the 78th Congress, are on record in favor of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

During the past year, the American Palestine Committee, the vehicle for the expression of the sympathy and good will of Christian America for the movement to re-establish the Jewish National Home in Palestine, tripled its membership and its activities have expanded. The Committee is headed by Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, and Senator Charles L. McNary, Co-Chairman (Deceased). The Executive Council includes Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, Chairman, Professor William F. Albright, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, J. M. Blalock, Mrs. Walker Ferguson, Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, William Green, Eric A. Johnston, William H. King, Representative John W. McCormack, Philip Murray, Senator Claude Pepper, Judge Frank A. Picard, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Miss Daphne Robert, Monsignor John A. Ryan, Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Dr. Carl Herman Voss and Dr. Mary E. Woolley. Director of the Committee is Dean Howard M. Le Sourd. Local chapters of the American Palestine Committee have been formed in a number of cities.

The Christian Council on Palestine, which is headed by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, has doubled its membership and many outstanding American clergymen are now actively enlisted in its ranks, all over the United States.

Particularly gratifying has been the extent to which persons in liberal and progressive ranks in the United States have become warmly interested in Palestine. On March 9th, there was convened in Washington a National Conference on Palestine, which was sponsored by the American Palestine Committee, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, the Christian Council on Palestine, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Free World Association, the Union for Democratic Action, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice and the United Christian Council for Democracy.

The National Conference, speaking for millions of Americans, identified itself with the program of the Palestine Resolution of the American Jewish Conference. It declared:

"We reaffirm our faith in the spirit as well as the letter of the Balfour Declaration and ask for a maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization and economic development."

"We reaffirm the traditional policy of our Government and ask for all effective measures to the end that Palestine may be reconstituted by the Jewish people as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Adoption of the Congressional resolutions was urged "at the earliest opportunity."

Nearly 150 prominent Christians, who came from 75 communities in 38 states, attended the National Conference, to study economic and political problems in Palestine. The dinner, that evening, was attended by some 800 persons, including many government officials, and was addressed, among others, by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. A continuing committee, headed by Dr. Daniel L. Marsh of Boston, was created to carry on the Conference's work. Guests of the Conference reported back to their local communities. They have become ambassadors of good will for Jewish Palestine.

Thanks to the efforts of local Emergency Committees for Palestine, there have been hundreds of radio programs, meetings and forums on Palestine. More than 3,000 organizations have adopted sympathetic resolutions of one kind or another. Their activities may be gauged by the fact that in one city alone, Detroit, more than 22,000 postcards, and 19,000 letters are known to have been sent to Congressmen on the Palestine resolution, in addition to some 3,000 telegrams to the President. In the small community of Meriden, Conn., there were 12,000 letters.

As in England, where the British Labor Party recently issued a most vigorous pronouncement in favor of the Jewish position, American labor leaders have come to the front in the battle for Jewish rights. Shortly after the American Jewish Conference recessed, the American Federation of Labor Council, meeting in Boston in October, adopted a resolution urging that the restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement contained in the British White Paper of 1939 be withdrawn and that the Balfour Declaration be so implemented that the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people to build their own Commonwealth in Palestine be realized. The CIO in its national convention in Philadelphia in 1943 assailed the White Paper as "discriminatory, unfair, unjust and a hindrance to the war effort" and gave its "wholehearted support" to the American Jewish Conference. The United Automobile Workers, the largest union in the world, also condemned the White Paper at its convention, and many other CIO and A. F. of L. internationals have declared themselves emphatically on the question. In the spring, there was formed the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, which is headed by Max Zaritzky, and which supports the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Mr. Green and Mr. Murray are its honorary chairmen. This committee is growing rapidly all over the country.

Much progress has been made in the country's colleges and universities and one of the most impressive demonstrations of sentiment came on May 17th, the anniversary of the promulgation of the White Paper, when 1,700 American university professors joined in a petition urging President Roosevelt to act in behalf of free entry of Jews into Palestine "so that the Jewish people may ultimately constitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." The signers included 150 college presidents and the faculty members of 250 universities and colleges, situated in 44 states.

VII. OPPOSITION FORCES

Major opposition to Jewish national aspirations in Palestine has come, during the year, from the isolationist American Council for Judaism, which, it will be recalled, used disruptive tactics during the session of the Conference in September, 1943, issuing a statement attacking Jewish nationalism in an apparent effort to distract attention from the Conference and discredit its proceedings. The Council's position on Palestine has been referred to in the report on the Congressional hearing. It bases its antagonism to the White Paper solely on the ground that it is discriminatory. But its position is purely negative. It seeks no affirmative rights for the Jewish people, for it does not recognize its existence as a people. It has carried on an anti-Zionist propaganda campaign among Jews and non-Jews, and its spokesmen in the communities have been hostile to the Conference.

More blatantly disruptive were the tactics of the small group which recently identified itself as the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. This group, some of whose members were associated with the discredited Irgun Z'vai Leumi in Palestine, which submits to no control or discipline by the legally authorized Jewish bodies in Palestine, has been responsible in recent years for the creation of a series of paper organizations, the American Friends of Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and the American League for a Free Palestine. The nature and identity of this group was first brought to light in a statement issued by the Interim Committee of the Conference in December. In May, the Hebrew Committee opened an "Embassy" in Washington, acting as "trustees" for the "Hebrew Nation." This action was condemned by responsible Jewish organizations in this country.

The Administrative Committee of the Conference issued the following statement on May 19th:

"The so-called 'Hebrew Committee of National Liberation' is an irresponsible adventurer which comes to the American public without credentials and menaces the cause it presumes to espouse.

"The committee pretends to speak in the name of the 'Hebrew nation' in Palestine, but it has no mandate from the Jewish National Assembly, which is the authorized and democratically-elected spokesman of the Jews of Palestine. On the contrary, the leaders of this committee are linked with an extremist clique in Palestine, which amounts to less than one per cent of the Jews of that country, and which has been outlawed by the Jews of Palestine because of its anti-democratic and terrorist tactics. It pretends to see a distinction between 'Jews' and 'Hebrews,' which no Jew would be able to appreciate or understand, but which is intended to divide and disrupt the Jewish people. The real object of the Hebrew Committee is to destroy the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the official and internationally recognized body created by the League of Nations to act with the Mandatory Power to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

"The great majority of the Jews of the United States favor the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as the one positive solution for Jewish homelessness in the post-war world. This was made clear at the American Jewish Conference last September.

"The bizarre ideology of the 'Hebrew Committee of National Liberation' would fragmentize the Jewish people instead of uniting them. Its separatist and undisciplined tactics aim to undermine established Jewish agencies and institutions. The Jewish cause is prejudiced and humiliated by such irresponsible enterprises on the part of a group that pretends to speak for Jews."

The Jewish Agency for Palestine branded the appearance of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation as an "unscrupulous piece of political charlatanism," and addressed a warning to "all serious-minded people not to let themselves be misled and confused by freak bodies assuming high-sounding titles and enunciating policies for which none but their unrepresentative authors are responsible."

The opportunistic gyrations of these individuals served to confuse the American public. The line changed frequently and accommodatingly. At one time aggressive and militant in their espousal of Jewish statehood in Palestine, they suddenly became antagonistic to these purposes in the Spring of this year, when Congress was considering the Palestine resolutions. They deprecated all such discussion. Then they launched into their latest enterprise, the establishment of the "Hebrew nation" in a "Hebrew state" in Palestine, at the same time seeking to dissociate the Hebrew nation from "Americans of Jewish descent."

Their next action was to sponsor in Congress resolutions calling for the establishment of emergency refugee shelters in Palestine similar to the free port in Oswego, New York. These resolutions, embracing a humiliating compromise and a dangerous concession inasmuch as refugees brought to Palestine under such a proposal could be deported at the conclusion of the war, were not only at variance with the Rescue Resolution of the American Jewish Conference but were held by the Palestine Commission and the Interim Committee to be inimical to Jewish rights in Palestine. The Interim Committee authorized this advice to be communicated to the Congressional sponsors. The statement of the Conference to the Congressmen on September 13th, 1944 declared in part:

"We share your conviction that Palestine must be opened at once to all Jewish refugees who can be brought there. Like yourself, we are emphatically opposed to the appeasement-conceived White Paper which erects a wholly untenable political barrier to Jewish immigration into Palestine. We fear, however, that a suggestion that Jewish refugees now admitted into Palestine shall later be deported is a political concession to that policy, and its espousal by the Congress of the United States may prejudice Jewish rights to and in Palestine both now and in the post-war period, without, under present circumstances, alleviating the position of the Jewish people of Europe. Moreover, we would like to point out that even under the White Paper, there are some 14,000 certificates still available which could and should be used for the rescue of Jewish refugees."

The Congressmen were urged to lend their support to the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions.

VIII. INSIDE PALESTINE

Within Palestine during the past year, the Yishuv has continued to build resolutely for the future. The Jewish population has increased, industrial and agricultural production has mounted, new colonies have been established and Jews have continued to play a significant and decisive part in the winning of the war.

A—Growth

Despite the restrictions on immigration, the number of Jews in Palestine rose from 517,000 in January, 1943 to 585,000 in June, 1944, an increase of 58,000, according to the most recent estimates of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. During 1943, the Jewish National Fund acquired about 52,000 dunams of land—figures on private acquisitions are not available—and many new colonies were established during this period.

During the three year period of 1940-42 some 477 new factories of various kinds were established throughout Palestine, and this expansion continued during 1943. The entire industrial output of Jewish Palestine during 1943 was estimated at £P.45,000,000 as compared with £P.9,000,000 in the last year before the war, 1938-39.

B—The War Effort

The extent and importance of Jewish Palestine's contribution to the war effort of the United Nations can not be told in full until the war ends. In January, 1944, it was reported from Jerusalem that 33,000 Jewish men and women were serving in the various armed forces of the British Government and 15,000 Jews were in the local Military Police. In September, 1944, the persistent demand of the Jewish Agency for the establishment of a Jewish Army finally won from British authorities the creation of a Jewish Brigade, based on the Jewish Battalions of the Palestine regiment, a belated recognition of the principle for which the Jewish Agency had long contended.

Agricultural and industrial production mounted to new heights as Palestine furnished a supply base for the armies of the United Nations. The extent of industrial advance is evidenced by the fact that from 1939 to the end of 1942, the number of workers engaged in industry rose from 19,000 to 40,000. The total value of military orders rose from £P.1,000,000 in 1940 to £P.12,000,000 in 1943.

C—Political Tension

Progress during the year was marred by conflict between the Palestine Administration and the Jewish community. In the summer of 1943, there had emanated from Palestine exaggerated reports which pictured a state of extreme tension between Arabs and Jews and which were apparently stimulated by propagandists seeking to put a quietus on all political discussion. According to these dispatches, Jews were said to be arming for some future struggle and Jewish eagerness to establish a fighting force was distorted and impugned, for it was attributed to a desire to acquire arms and facility in their use for a revolt in their own national interest. Their interest in victory for the United Nations was alleged to be "secondary."

As if to give color to these reports, the authorities in Palestine began a series of arms trials in a palpable effort to create the impression that Jews were engaged in a military conspiracy against the United Nations. These prosecutions were exaggerated beyond all proportions, and a military courtroom was transformed into a propaganda forum for outrageous slander and defamation against the Jewish Agency. Although government forces had actually trained Jews for guerrilla warfare, when Palestine was threatened with Nazi invasion, Jews now found to be in possession of arms were sentenced to long prison terms by military tribunals.

In contrast, it was known that the Arabs were buying and smuggling arms and storing them away for the future. But the Arabs who were brought to trial escaped with light punishment in trials conducted in civil courts with a minimum of publicity.

The Yishuv was subjected to a series of arms searches. On November 16th, 1943 a group of Palestinian and Polish police, under the pretext of searching for Polish deserters, surrounded Ramath Hakovesh and instituted a search for arms, arresting 35 settlers. One of the colonists, Samuel Vilinetz, was killed in the altercation. Demonstrations broke out in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and in many other parts of the country. The government suspended nine Jewish dailies for eleven days because their account of the incident differed from the government communique. The settlers were later released. But on December 8th seven settlers of the village of Hulda, where 17 Jews had been killed in the disturbances between 1936 and 1939, were placed on trial by a military court after a search for Polish deserters instituted on October 3rd. On December 20th they were sentenced from two to six years' imprisonment, and in spite of protests and an appeal to the military commander of Palestine, all the sentences were confirmed.

D—Terrorism

Throughout these provocations, the Yishuv maintained the disciplined self-restraint which had characterized its reaction throughout the 1936-1939 Arab riots. However, there were a number of bomb explosions, shootings and other terroristic acts on the part of outlaw groups, among them the Irgun Zvai Leumi, an extremist gang, which were perpetrated in an effort to intimidate the government into revising the White Paper policy. The Vaad Leumi, executive committee of the Assefath Hanivcharim (Jewish National Assembly), bitterly repudiated these outrages, characterizing them as the acts of "a gang of lunatics endeavoring to establish a reign of terror." The Jewish Agency for Palestine declared that "the destructive hand which committed these crimes is unwittingly or maliciously helping the enemies of the Jewish people." In this country, the American Zionist Emergency Council joined in this condemnation.

All persons in the Yishuv were called upon to help apprehend the culprits. In October, the Commander in Chief of the Middle Eastern forces, Gen. Sir Bernard C. Paget, and J. V. W. Shaw, the Officer Administering the Palestine Government, issued a joint statement alleging that those responsible for the acts of terror have "active and passive sympathizers . . . directly impeding the war effort . . . and assisting the enemy." They called on the Jewish community in Palestine "to recognize and discharge their responsibilities—an implied accusation against the Yishuv which was deeply resented in view of the reiterated condemnation of the terrors. Subsequently on October 20th, the Palestine government ordered the deportation of 251 suspected terrorists.

E—Political Problems

A major political problem confronting the Yishuv during the year was that of Jewish immigration. Although there were 31,078 certificates available at the time the government extended the March 31st deadline of the White Paper, the government was reluctant to grant these certificates to the Jewish Agency for immigrants in liberated countries, in Spain, Portugal and Italy. It contended that these must be reserved for victims of Hitlerism, to be rescued from the Axis countries. The Jewish Agency, which played an important part in effecting the speedy rescue of Jews from Axis territory, maintained that those who had already escaped the Nazi yoke must also be brought to Palestine. After continued negotiation with the Colonial Office by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Moshe Shertok, a number of certificates were granted to Jews outside of Axis territory. The total entering Palestine in the eleven months from October 1, 1943 to September 1, 1944 was 14,500.

F—The Commonwealth Program

As the war receded from the Near East, Palestine Jewry went to the polls on August 5, 1944 to elect its Representative Assembly. No elections had been held because of the disturbances between 1936 and 1939 and the outbreak of the war. Most of the parties included a Jewish Commonwealth plank in their programs. More than 70% of the registered voters participated in the elections and of these, more than 85% voted for the Jewish Commonwealth program. A week later, the Histadrut (Palestine Federation of Labor) held elections for its council and again more than 80% of the votes were recorded in favor of the Commonwealth.

G—Future Development

The war has transformed Palestine's economy from that of an agricultural country into a semi-industrial one. The country's productivity and the demands upon it have mounted to such an extent that Palestine has suffered from manpower shortages. Continued industrialization of the country has been a striking contradiction of the contention that the country's absorptive capacity would not permit additional settlers. But the reconstruction plan of the Palestine Administration, announced in March, 1943, by the High Commissioner and by Sir Douglas Harris, Commissioner of Reconstruction, was predicated upon a continuation of the White Paper policy, for it proposed to freeze the country's future and it visualized a virtual curtailment of all industrial development. It implied that certain of the new industries would not survive, for it indicated that future development was to be subject to foreign competition and conditioned on the fortuitous bounty of international finance. The emphasis for the future was to be placed on agricultural development in presumably Arab areas. The social welfare plans of the future were designed to assist the Arabs with the Jews underwriting the cost.

The Yishuv vigorously reacted to this plan and it pointed out that the industrial development should have been the primary concern of the government and that Palestine industry, primarily Jewish, has displayed an extraordinary ability to supply not only the needs of Palestine, but also the military needs of the Middle East. With the improvement of the military situation in the Middle East, the Middle East Supply Center reduced its orders on Palestine industry by more than 50%. Despite this curtailment of military orders, Palestine industries are operating to capacity and there is no unemployment in the country.

The Jewish Agency has its own reconstruction plan for the future, embracing agriculture, industry and commerce, in preparation of the necessary economic conditions for absorbing a mass Jewish immigration after the war. The plans include an international loan, an intensive agricultural development of the country through artificial irrigation and mechanization of agriculture, exploitation of natural resources, development of marine industry, and the rehabilitation of the citrus industry. There is a marked contrast between the post-war planning of the Jews and of the local authorities. One calls for dynamic development, the other for static reconstruction.

The development of new agricultural techniques and the growth of new industries made possible by the mobilization of the productive genius of Jewish workers, farmers, technicians and scientists, have rendered obsolete past estimates of Palestine's capacity for growth. The country has now broken political straight-jackets. Its potentialities as the Jewish National Home must be appraised in the light of its proven capacity for performance now demonstrated in meeting the demands imposed by the war. But only a beginning has been made. The publication, during the year, of "Palestine, Land of Promise," written by Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, noted authority on soil conservation, discloses how Palestine's soil may be reclaimed, large areas opened for settlement, and its industrial plant expanded, if the waters of Palestine are diverted for irrigation purposes, and if hydro-electric power is developed along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Technical planning based on Dr. Lowdermilk's proposal has already begun; the Commission on Palestine Surveys has been at work on the project for more than a year, using the most able American engineers as its consultants and advisers.

That Palestine will be in a position, properly developed, to accept millions of settlers after the war, is now accepted by men who have examined the problem from an economic and scientific point of view. That Palestine will be in a position to do so, politically, is a question that can be answered by the United Nations if they recognize anew the historic connection between the Jewish people and their ancestral home.

IX. THE POLITICAL PLATFORMS

Concrete manifestation of America's support for the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth came at Chicago this summer when for the first time in history, both major political parties adopted pro-Palestine planks in election platforms, adopted at their national conventions.

The Republican plank, adopted on June 27th, reads as follows:

"In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the Mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate while he pretends to support them."

On July 20th, the Democratic Party declared:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

At both conventions, the position of American Jewry, as established at the first session of the Conference, was made clear to the platform builders. The Zionist delegation to the Republican Convention was headed by Dr. Silver. The delegation to the Democratic Convention was headed by Dr. Wise and associated with him were Mr. Shulman and Dr. Goldstein, all of whom addressed the Committee on Resolutions at the public hearings.

On October 12th, in a statement given to Dr. Silver in New York, Governor Thomas E. Dewey forthrightly endorsed his party's platform declaration on Palestine and pledged his support for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Governor Dewey's statement follows:

"I heartily endorse the Palestine plank in the Republican party platform. Again I repeat what I previously stated to the great leader of the American Zionist movement and distinguished American, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, that I am for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922. I have also stated to Dr. Silver that in order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny, I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership."

"The American people have time and again declared themselves in favor of these principles. The Republican party has at all times been the traditional friend of the movement."

"As President, I would use my best offices to have our Government working together with Great Britain to achieve this great objective for a people that have suffered so much and deserve so much at the hands of mankind."

X. THE ROOSEVELT DECLARATION

The culmination of this impressive mobilization of American public opinion in behalf of the Commonwealth Resolution came on October 15th, 1944, when President Roosevelt, who had received Dr. Wise at the White House on October 11th, sent a message to the 47th annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, in which he declared that efforts would be made to effectuate the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth and pledged his assistance to bring about its realization.

Conveyed by Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman of the American Palestine Committee, to the Convention, the message of the President declared:

"Please express my satisfaction that in accord with traditional American policy, and in keeping with the spirit of the four freedoms, the Democratic party at its July convention this year included the following plank in its platform: 'We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.'"

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim; and if re-elected, I shall help to bring about its realization."

This declaration by the President, with its clear and explicit language, ended once and for all the misinterpretations of the past position of our government which have beclouded the future of Jewish Palestine.

It raised hopes that Jewish aspirations to Palestine, as voiced by the delegates to the American Jewish Conference on September 1, 1943, would be achieved and that the promise made to the Jewish people by 52 nations at the end of the first World War would be fully implemented.

[The Commission desires to acknowledge the assistance of the research department of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the use of the Esco Foundation Palestine studies material.]

THE COMMISSION ON POST-WAR

I. INTRODUCTION

1. ORGANIZATION AND PLANS

THE COMMISSION on Post-War Problems of European Jewry was formed by the Interim Committee in January 1944 with Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath and Dr. Hayim Greenberg, as Co-Chairmen. Its first two sessions, held on January 14th and 26th, were devoted primarily to organizational matters, such as the cooption of additional members and the planning of a program of activities. An outline of a program was adopted by the Commissions and approved by the Interim Committee. (Text in Appendix, p.)

The Commission appointed two sub-committees, one on *Political Status and Reconstruction* under the chairmanship of Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg, and the other on *Relief and Rehabilitation* (in relation with UNRRA) with Jane Evans as chairman. The full Commission held meetings once a month, while the sub-committees met in the interim at frequent intervals.

2. FUNCTIONS

After the adoption of the Post-War Resolution at the first session of the American Jewish Conference, many important developments took place on the international scene, which called for the re-evaluation of each problem concerning the status of Jews in post-war Europe. As the war turned in favor of the Allies, as large sections of enemy occupied Russian territory were liberated by the Red Army and after North Africa and part of Italy were freed, the post-war policies of the United Nations began to assume more definite shape. Also since the adjournment of the first session of the Conference, there have been among the important international events the establishment of UNRRA, the Conferences in Quebec, Moscow, Cairo, Teheran, Bretton Woods, and the concomitant developments among the Governments-in-Exile, whose attitudes are of particular importance to post-war Jewry in Europe. Many declarations and pronouncements have been made by the Allied Nations, by the heads of the big Powers and the Governments-in-Exile, which have a direct or indirect bearing on post-war Jewish reconstruction in Europe. Then came the invasion of Western Europe by the Allied Armies, the liberation of France, Belgium and Luxembourg and the Armistices with Rumania, Finland and Bulgaria; the Dumbarton Oaks meeting, the second Conference in Quebec and the second session of the Council of UNRRA in Montreal.

In the light of these developments, the Commission and its Sub-Committees considered their primary function to be that of analyzing the events in Europe and the declarations and pronouncements of the United Nations, and the import of these declarations for Jewish interests in the post-war period, and of formulating the specific Jewish demands to be presented to governmental authorities at opportune moments. The Commission did not feel called upon to issue statements or make declarations at every turn of events, because the international scene was too much in a state of flux; only recently has it become more or less crystallized.

The general policies of Jewish demands for post-war reconstruction were formulated by the Conference at its first session. The concrete application of these policies to specific situations required careful deliberation, planning and preparation. The actions instituted by the Post-War Commission on certain aspects of Jewish reconstruction, have been in the nature of first steps in a long chain of operations that are continuing and will continue to occupy the attention of the Conference for some time to come.

3. RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE

The Resolution on Reconstruction of Post-War European Jewry, adopted by the American Jewish Conference at its first session, calls upon the United Nations to give full consideration to the specific needs of the Jewish people in post-war Europe, and recommends certain measures toward the solution of the following problems:

A. *Political Status of Jews in Europe: International Bill of Rights—Outlawing of Anti-Semitism.*

B. *Transition from War to Peace: Immediate abrogation of all measures of discrimination—Indemnification for property—Punishment for war crimes.*

C. *Relief, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction: Liberation of Jews from Ghettos and concentration areas—Attention to the special Jewish needs in the distribution of food, clothing and medical aid and in the provision of shelter—Return of Jews to their former occupations, or their retraining for new occupations—The re-establishment of Jewish religious, educational and welfare organizations—The right of every Jew who desires to settle in Palestine to emigrate there and to take his possessions with him.*

D. *Jewish Representation: "Recognition by the United Nations of the justice of the Jewish claim for representation, for the purpose of advice and cooperation, on agencies that have been and will be set up by the United Nations to deal with the problems of relief, rehabilitation, resettlement, and other post-war reconstruction."*

In this report an analysis will be made of the problems discussed and acted upon by the Commission, under the following headings: 1. Political Status of Jews in Europe; 2. Punishment for War Crimes; 3. Return, Repatriation and Resettlement of Displaced Jews; 4. Indemnification for and Restoration of Jewish Property; 5. Jewish Representation. The last two items, now in final preparation, will not be ready for inclusion in this report. A supplementary report will be presented to the delegates at the second session.

Before discussing in detail each of the topics mentioned above, it will be well to review briefly the activities of the Post-War Commission in the implementation of its program.

4. ACTIVITIES

Prior to the formation of this Commission, a delegation of the American Jewish Conference, consisting of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Louis Lipsky, Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, Jane Evans and Frank Goldman, presented a "Statement of the Organization of the American Jewish Conference and Its Resolutions Adopted at the First Session" to Secretary of State Cordell Hull and discussed with the Secretary the nature of the Jewish claims for the post-war era. This "Statement of Organization and Resolutions" was also submitted on November 26, 1943, to Honorable Dean Acheson, who was at that time Chairman of the first session of the Council of UNRRA, meeting in Atlantic City. The Council's attention was called to the specific needs in relief and rehabilitation of the Jews in Europe. After its formation, the Post-War Commission proceeded to carry out the program formulated in the Resolutions of the Conference.

A Statement on an "International Bill of Rights" was submitted to Under-Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., by a delegation consisting of Dr. Greenberg, Miss Evans, Dr. Trachtenberg and Dr. Alexander S. Kohanski. Acting on the eve of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, the delegation stressed the import of an international bill of human rights for the social and political security of the world.

The problem of the punishment of war criminals and the Jewish demand for a just and adequate solution, was presented on August 25, 1944, in a Statement to Secretary Hull. A Statement on the Restoration of Rights to Jews in Europe, which is the first step in the re-establishment of their political status in European countries, was submitted to Mr. Hull on September 14, 1944. The three Statements, as well as the Resolutions of the Conference, were also transmitted to the Embassies of the various governments in Washington, and to the members of both Houses of the United States Congress.

[undated]

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

MEMORANDUM

DATE:

TO:

FROM:

SUBJECT:

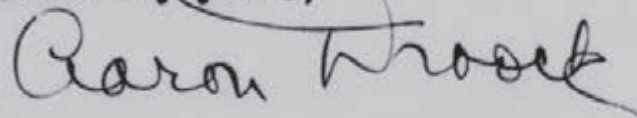
Dear Delegate:

The data herewith enclosed for your information will acquaint you with the particulars of the application submitted to your local fund-raising agency for an allocation to the 1945 Conference budget.

We are confident that your whole-hearted support of our application will aid materially in securing favorable consideration of our request. I know I need not stress that without the necessary finances, our program and activities will be correspondingly curtailed. Needless to say, this will result in increased suffering to our overseas brethren, whose plight our program and activities are designed to alleviate.

Will you kindly acknowledge this letter and keep us advised of action taken upon our request.

Sincerely yours,



Aaron Droock, Chairman
Budget and Finance Committee

AD:FS
Enc.

STATEMENT ON PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS

Submitted by the
American Jewish Conference

Since their rise to power, the leaders of the Nazi regime in Germany have repeatedly and consistently proclaimed the extermination of the Jewish people as a major aim. Both before and since the beginning of the war, they have pursued this aim with unrelenting vigor and brutality, utilizing every measure of degradation and despoliation, including forced labor, starvation, deportation and mass murder. This campaign of terror and annihilation has been carried out with unexampled bestiality in consort with Axis allies and associates, and with the connivance of Nazi followers and subordinates in their home countries and their collaborators in occupied territories. These crimes cannot go unpunished without destroying the legal and moral foundations upon which our civilization rests.

The United Nations, being aware of the manifold crimes committed by the Axis powers against the Jewish people, have solemnly and officially affirmed as their policy toward all those guilty of these crimes the exaction of full and just retribution.

Thus, the Inter-Allied Declaration signed at St. James' Palace on January 13, 1942, though not making express reference to the Jews, proclaimed that the signatory powers "place among their principal war aims the punishment, through the channel of organized justice, of those guilty and responsible for these crimes (against civilians), whether they have ordered them, perpetrated them, or in any way participated in them."

Subsequently, in a Joint Declaration issued simultaneously at London and Washington on December 17, 1942, the United Nations took formal cognizance of the fact that "the German authorities...are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe," and therefore "reaffirm their solemn resolution to ensure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution, and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end."

In conjunction with the historic Moscow Conference, the heads of the governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain, "speaking in the interests of 32 United Nations," issued on November 1, 1943, "a solemn public declaration." As Secretary of State Cordell Hull stated on November 18, 1943, before a Joint Meeting of the Senate and the House of Representatives, the Declaration promised that "due punishment will be administered...to the perpetrators of the bestial and abominable crimes committed by the Nazi leaders against the harassed and persecuted inhabitants of occupied territories -- against people of all races and religions, among whom Hitler has reserved for the Jews his most brutal wrath."

On March 24, 1944, this policy was clearly and emphatically reiterated when President Roosevelt, with the approval of Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, made a public pronouncement calling attention to the fact that the extermination of the Jewish people was "begun by the Nazis in the day of peace and multiplied by them a hundred times in time of war," and stating in part: "we...again proclaim our determination that none who participate in these acts of savagery (against Jews and other civilians) shall go unpunished. The United Nations have made it clear that they will pursue the guilty and deliver them up in order that justice be done. That warning applies not only to the leaders but also to their functionaries and subordinates in Germany and in the satellite countries...All who share the guilt will share the punishment."

In view of the solemn and unequivocal declaration of policy embodied in these and similar official statements, which leave no doubt as to the intention of the United Nations to visit just punishment upon those guilty of crimes against civilian populations, and notably against the Jewish people, the American Jewish Conference, representing the Jewish community of the United States of America, urges that in carrying out this policy the United Nations take cognizance of and proper action upon the following considerations:

1. Among the crimes to be made punishable under this policy, there be expressly included the publicly announced intent of the Axis nations and their allies and associates to annihilate the Jewish people, and all acts whereby they sought to accomplish this aim, before and during the war, within their own and occupied territories.

2. In all trials of those guilty of crimes against civilian populations, criminal acts performed against the Jewish people shall be duly specified as part of the indictment.

3. Those charged with specific crimes against individual Jews, or with acts designed to bring about the ultimate annihilation of Jewish communities, such as deprivation, starvation, deportation, unendurable forced labor, and mass murder by whatever means, in territories occupied by the enemy, shall be prosecuted with the utmost energy and vigor in the national courts of the states where such crimes were committed, irrespective of the nationality of the accused or of the victims.

4. The prosecution of those guilty of these acts against the Jews in Germany and in the territories of her allies and associates, as well as of crimes not confined to single territories, shall be within the jurisdiction of the contemplated international court for the trial of war criminals.

5. The United Nations shall agree among themselves to declare as common criminals, and shall so declare, all those guilty of these acts against the Jews, and shall require the Axis nations, their allies and associates, the neutral nations and any other country where the criminals may seek asylum, to surrender or extradite all persons thus designated. Provision for the surrender of these criminals by the Axis Powers, their allies and associates, shall be included in the terms of the armistice.

6. Representatives of the respective Jewish communities shall be consulted in the preparation of evidence against these criminals, and shall be recognized in the national courts as amici curiae, and provision shall be made to this effect.

7. Representatives of the Jewish people shall be officially admitted as amici curiae before the contemplated international prosecuting body and the international court for the trial of war criminals. The constituting acts of these bodies shall contain the necessary provisions to this effect.

8. The Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, or such other body as may be constituted for this purpose by the United Nations, shall receive and give due consideration to all suggestions which may be submitted to it by a representation of the Jewish people, and it shall grant such a representation a locus standi.

[undated]

JEWS IN LIBERATED EUROPE

Survey of Conditions and
Prospects of Rehabilitation



AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

J E W S I N L I B E R A T E D E U R O P E

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FOREWORD

The full story of the sufferings of European Jewry and of the condition of its surviving remnants has yet to be told. In the following pages a brief account is given of the present situation in the liberated countries of Europe (exclusive of Soviet territories). The information has been culled from various sources, including official documents and the overseas press up to March, 1945. All statistical data are, of course, only estimates. However, the probable errors are not so great as to change the general picture given in each country.

Only some 922,000 Jews, out of a pre-war total of 5,500,000 remain in the liberated areas under review. Between 800,000 and 900,000 escaped occupied Europe to various parts of the globe. About 3,700,000 (excluding Jews from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Russia) have met their fate at the hands of the Axis executioners. The following table gives an approximate account of the number of Jews surviving in each country.

A. In Allied Countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>No. of Jews in 1939-1940</u>	<u>No. of Jews at time of liberation</u>
1. Belgium	90,000	21,000
2. France	350,000	180,000
3. Greece	85,000	18,000
4. Luxembourg	5,000	70
5. Netherlands	180,000	9,000 (1)
6. Poland	3,300,000	50,000 (2)
7. Yugoslavia	80,000	1,600 (3)
Total	4,090,000	279,670

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- (1) Estimate includes expected survivors in areas not yet liberated.
(2) Including deportees from Western European countries.
(3) In the liberated parts.

B. In Former Axis Countries

<u>Country</u>	<u>No. of Jews in 1939-1940</u>	<u>No. of Jews at time of liberation</u>
8. Bulgaria	48,000 (4)	45,000
9. Finland	1,800	1,800
10. Hungary	400,000 (5)	280,000
11. Italy	57,000	22,000
12. Rumania	850,000 (6)	290,000
13. Slovakia	69,000	3,000
Total	1,425,800	641,800
Total A and B	5,515,800 (7)	921,470

What are the problems of rehabilitation of surviving European Jewry? While circumstances vary in each country, there are several salient features common to all parts of liberated Europe. The restoration of the rights of Jews has been legally decreed but not actually effected. Restitution of property has met with great obstacles and in many instances with obstinate opposition. Most Jews have not been able to get back to their former homes, occupations or to regain their possessions. The great majority of them are dependent on whatever relief they may receive from the Jewries of the free democratic countries. Governmental and intergovernmental aid has been negligible, or nil.

The attitude of the general population, even in countries where it had been favorable before the war and during the occupation, has changed for the worse. There is wide-spread anti-Jewish feeling throughout Europe, in many areas being manifested in open hostility and excesses. The majority of Jews in all of liberated Europe, some reports indicate, want to emigrate and are looking toward Palestine as their only salvation.

ALEXANDER S. KOHANSKI
Director of Research

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- (4) Increased in 1941 to 60,000, after annexation of Greek and Yugoslav territory.
(5) After several annexations, increased to 750,000.
(6) Number changed several times after ceding and regaining territory. Hundreds of thousands of Rumanian Jews perished in Transnistria and Hungary.
(7) Some 800,000 to 900,000 escaped occupied Europe.

J E W S I N L I B E R A T E D E U R O P E

Allied Countries

B E L G I U M

1. Before Liberation

On the day of the German invasion, May 10, 1940, Belgium had about 90,000 Jews. They tried to escape but more than half were engulfed by the Nazi advance. Thus at the end of 1940, the Germans registered 43,000 Jews in Belgium. Deportation of two-thirds of their number began in July, 1942, first to Northern France and then to the East. Lists of 26,000 deportees at Malines are available.

The economic ruin of Belgian Jewry was accomplished under German decrees of May 31, 1941 and May 20, 1942, the first ordering registry of all property and deposition of securities, and the second liquidating all Jewish business concerns. The German Brusseler Zeitung, in March, 1944, estimated "aryanized" Jewish property at 18 billion 327 million francs (\$618,000,000), excluding property of German Jewish refugees.

2. After Liberation

Some 19,000 to 21,000 Jews survived in Belgium at the time of liberation. Of these, 6,000 are German and Austrian Jews, 8,000 Polish. About 12,000 live in Brussels, 2,000 in Antwerp and the rest in smaller towns. The Jewish Defense Committee of the Belgian underground, active during the occupation, succeeded in saving 10,500 Jews by providing false identification documents, hiding places, etc. Non-Jews played an important role in this effort.

3. Attitude of Belgian Government

The Belgian Government-in-Exile declared on January 10, 1942, that anti-Jewish legislation introduced in Belgium during the German occupation was illegal because it contradicted "the principles of the Belgian Constitution of equality without distinction of creed, race, or language." No sooner were the Germans driven out than the Belgian Government radio announced that all anti-Jewish legislation was abolished and equality to Jews restored in all liberated areas.

4. Attitude of the Population

The majority of the Belgian population also shows warm sympathy toward the liberated Jews. A proclamation issued by Mayor Van Demaelbrough of Brussels assured Jewish widows and orphans, whose husbands and parents were killed by Germans, that these crimes will not remain unpunished. Municipal authorities have asked the Brussels Jewish community to submit an estimate of damages

suffered, names of Jews deported, a list of confiscated properties, etc. Queen Mother Elizabeth of Belgium has taken the initiative in creating a non-sectarian committee to aid needy Jews. Worse is the situation in Antwerp where the Jewish survivors found their possessions despoiled, their homes inhabited by strangers, mostly Flemish nationalists, who refused to vacate the premises. A Jewish deputation bitterly complained before Mayor Camille Huysman of Antwerp, and demanded immediate action.

Belgian Jewish leaders acknowledge that the Germans succeeded in instilling anti-Semitism in sections of the Belgian populations which never before had ill-feelings towards Jews. According to Albert Wolf, of Liege, regional chief of the Jewish Defense Committee which represented the Jews in the Belgian Front de L'Independence, German propaganda, using anti-Jewish films and radio talks, left anti-Jewish slogans in the minds of the Belgian masses despite their hatred of the Nazis. Jacques Albron, a Jewish partisan from Charleroi, states that while the Walloons assisted the Jews in circumventing Nazi persecutions and evading the Gestapo, many Flemish collaborationists helped the Gestapo to hound down its Jewish victims. In Antwerp the Flemish Black Brigade behaved worse than the Gestapo.

5. Anti-Semitism

It cannot be said that anti-Semitic feelings and propaganda have ceased in Belgium. Simultaneously with the re-emergence of Antwerp Jews, issues of the Stuermer, Julius Streicher's anti-Semitic sheet, were posted on Pelican Street, center of the pre-war diamond industry. Secretly distributed Flemish leaflets accuse Camille Huysmans, pre-war Socialist Mayor of Antwerp, of a "conspiracy with the Jewish diamond merchants... to put them into control of the municipal government." After the collapse of the abortive von Runstedt offensive, the Belgian Socialist Party's official organ, Peuple, reported that the pro-Nazi underground worked out a block by block plan to "effectively liquidate" the surviving Jews of Belgium, "should the Nazi offensive succeed."

U. S. Senior Chaplain L. Rabinowicz who visited Belgium in October, 1944, reported to the London Central Council of Jewish Refugees his fears of a revival of anti-Semitism in Belgium because all looted Jewish residences, now domiciled by Belgians will have to be returned to their rightful owners.

6. Needs

Chief Rabbi Dr. Ullman of Belgium reported, October 13, 1944, to the Belgian Jewish Committee in London that 90% of the surviving Jews in Belgium "do not possess anything." Chaplain Rabinowicz also confirmed that at least 15,000 were "in immediate need of food, clothing and other help." The Jewish Defense Committee in Brussels provides 1,000 meals a day in soup kitchens, grants loans to enable some to resume their

trades, and distributes relief to families on a per capita basis. It is also compiling a register of deportees. In Antwerp, a soup kitchen has been established and other aid is also extended.

7. Aliens

About two-thirds of the surviving Jews are not Belgian citizens. According to George Theunis, Belgian Ambassador Extraordinary to the United States, "all Jews who resided in Belgium before the war will be permitted to return to Belgium." Mr. Theunis stressed that his government particularly invites Jews to return to Antwerp to resume their role in the diamond industry. "Jewish Residents," i.e., "those who lived in Belgium before the Hitler period," (before 1933) may return, but all other non-citizens are expected to leave the country at the end of hostilities, and the Ministry of Justice has already started to issue deportation orders. Alien Jews who before the war had a right to work in the country, still have the same right. Others who did not have such right or who entered the country after the outbreak of the war, are not permitted to engage in gainful occupations. It is estimated that very few Jews are affected by this regulation.

German and Austrian Jews in Belgium are in a very precarious situation. Although deprived of German citizenship (by Nazi decree of April 24, 1942), they were registered with the Belgian police as "German nationals" (October 6, 1944). They had to report weekly and could not obtain working permits, and their property, such as it was, was confiscated as "German property." At the intervention of the Jewish Defense Committee, these "German" Jews were not interned, with the exception of about 100 who were arrested on the charge of collaboration.

Lately, the Belgian Government has agreed to consider Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria as non-enemy aliens and to lift all restrictions placed on their activities. It has also been reported that the Belgian Government does not intend to compel German and Austrian Jews to return to their former countries.

8. Other Problems

Some 3,200 children whose parents had been deported by the Germans, are in particular difficulty. About half of them are still in Christian homes and monasteries where they had been hidden during the occupation. Their foster parents and guardians claim the right to obtain their voluntary conversion when they become of age. Some families want to adopt their foster children.

The so-called "white marriages" of Jewish women with Christian men, contracted to escape deportation, are now a source of difficulty in cases in which annulment is requested.

FRANCE

1. Before Liberation

When Germany invaded France, there were 350,000 Jews in the country, of whom 50,000 were refugees from Hitler Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, and 25,000 from the Low Countries. According to reports, some 120,000, or virtually a third, were deported to Germany and German-occupied Poland and "disappeared." Another 10 to 15,000 are known to have been massacred in France. Only 50,000 managed to escape, some of them joining the Fighting French and the Allied Armies. The number of Jews who survived in liberated France is estimated at 180,000.

In the occupied zone, all Jews were ordered to register before May 20, 1941. The economic pogrom followed the usual pattern. All Jewish-owned property was "frozen." Jews were barred from wholesale and retail trade, banking and advertising. All Jewish-owned concerns were registered, and in December, 1940, "aryan" commissars were appointed over them.

In the "free" zone, the Vichy Government aped the German pattern through the Jewish Statute, promulgated on October 3, 1940. Jews successively lost their political and civil rights and were barred from all administrative posts. On March 29, 1941, the Commissariat of Jewish Affairs was set up to supervise liquidation of Jewish property and frame further anti-Jewish measures.

In March, 1943, Daquier de Pellepoix, Vichy Commissioner for Jewish Affairs, boasted that in the whole of France, Jewish property worth more than 100 billion francs had been "aryanized." The President of the Jewish Unity Committee in Paris stated, after liberation, that Jews in Paris have been robbed of at least 10 billion francs in property, besides household articles and furniture taken from them during the occupation. Three thousand houses owned by Jews have changed hands.

The 330,000 Jews of French North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia) had been subjected to most of the Vichy restrictions imposed in metropolitan France. In Algeria, the Jews had for seventy years enjoyed the status of French citizens under the Cremieux Decree of 1870. This decree was revoked by Vichy on October 7, 1940, reducing the Jews to the status of unnaturalized Muslims, and in certain matters (right to acquire property and business)

placing them in an even inferior position. Between 1940 and 1942, out of 2,671 Jews in Algeria, 2,202 were dismissed from the administration; practising lawyers were reduced from 135 to 22; doctors from 136 to 65. The proportion of Jewish pupils in the universities was fixed at 3% and their numbers reduced from 525 to 97. The proportion of Jewish pupils in primary and secondary schools was fixed at 14%, and in technical schools at 3% to 14%. The "aryanization" of Jewish enterprises, begun in the spring of 1942, resulted by September of that year in the transfer of 477 Jewish enterprises to the control of provisional commissars.

2. In Liberated North Africa

French North Africa was the first French territory liberated by the Allied forces, on November 7, 1942. Ten days later, Algerian Jews requested the abrogation of discriminatory laws, but met with no response. In December, Admiral Darlan "suspended" all racial laws inspired by the Germans, but no practical results were obtained. Jewish requests were renewed under General Giraud, who succeeded Darlan, but at first no change of policy occurred. Instead, a discriminatory rule was issued, segregating Jews mobilized for military service in non-combatant labor units. On March 14, 1943, General Giraud annulled a series of Vichy racial laws, but left in force the abrogation of the Cremieux Decree. This Decree was finally restored October 12, 1943, in Algeria. The political status of Jews in Morocco and Tunisia remained unchanged.

Even in Algeria the formal restoration of rights brought no practical results, since many outspoken Vichyites remain in high positions and maintain the anti-Jewish measures. Jewish officials have been reinstated but only a few have retained their posts; most have been fired under various pretexts.

The Moroccan Jews are subjects of the Sultan and are under the jurisdiction of the Pashas and the Cadis, except in personal matters which are under the authority of rabbinical tribunals. While Vichy anti-Jewish laws have been abrogated, discrimination against Jews prevails in practice.

3. After Liberation in France

Restoration of rights to Jews went on as French territory was being liberated, following Allied landings in Normandy, June 6, 1944. On June 26th, the Consultative Assembly empowered the Committee of National Liberation to nullify the Vichy laws and to restore pre-war republican laws. All anti-Jewish decrees were suspended July 7th in liberated Normandy, and August 25th in Savoie province. Similar action was taken by the French Forces of the Interior. After the liberation of Paris and the rest of

France, ordinances were issued by the Provisional French Government reinstating Jews in public office, in the Army, etc. Among those reinstated are George Cahen, Jacques Heilbronner, and Pierre Seligman, Councillors of State, Leon Meiss, vice-president of the Court of the Seine district of Paris, and fourteen Jewish generals.

4. Restoration of Property

Much more difficult was the restoration of Jewish property, confiscated under Vichy laws and distributed among numerous Frenchmen. A systematic campaign to prevent the return of this property to its Jewish owners has been conducted for a long time. As early as September 30, 1943, Marcel Deat, pretender to Laval's place as a German henchman, published in the Paris L'Oeuvre a long article advising "the hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen (for there are hundred of thousands) who have acquired property belonging to Jews, be it large or small, to unite in order to defend their rights. If they do not do so they risk being swindled." The figure "hundreds of thousands" applied to Frenchmen profiteering from robbed Jewish property is certainly exaggerated. But after liberation, Radio Paris (September 23, 1944) stated that in Paris alone more than 2,000 Vichy-appointed real estate managers (some of them handling more than 50 properties) and at least 5,000 business administrators, have operated confiscated Jewish properties during the occupation. The number of those who have "acquired" Jewish properties allegedly in good faith is considerably higher.

Anticipating opposition, prominent Frenchmen cautioned the Jews, as early as the summer of 1944, that restoration to their previous economic positions would be difficult. Michael Patique, de Gaulle's emissary, warned in a widely circulated article in the French press that the return of Jewish property would meet with adamant resistance. Michael Le Troquer, prominent French lawyer, "reported" that certain elements in liberated France would be "irritated" to see French Jews automatically replaced in industrial, commercial and political positions. He found that German inspired anti-Jewish propaganda had had some effect, and warned French and Allied leaders to be aware of this problem.

Not until November 14, 1944, were two ordinances regarding Jewish property issued. One covered restitution of Jewish de Gaullist, Alsace-Lorraine and deportee properties confiscated and still held by the state. According to Professor Rene Cassin, head of the Legal Advisory Committee to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, this objective was easily accomplished. The second ordinance required the return of living quarters to their former tenants. There was no difficulty in returning vacant premises. But the great majority of Jewish dwellings were not vacant. Many were occupied by refugees and bombed out families; in Paris alone, 10,000 to 25,000 Jewish families were thus affected. While the principle of restitution holds in these cases, considerable delay can be granted by the judges. Another difficulty was that Jews could not in many cases produce legal title to their possessions. Thus, the great majority of Jews still remain homeless.

The return of Jewish property bought by individual Frenchmen from the Vichy Commissioner of Jewish Affairs, proved to be particularly complicated, especially in cases of industrial and commercial firms which have been exploited by the new "owners." Negotiable securities have been traded on the Stock Exchange so that they can hardly be traced. Opposition to restoration of property was organized in October, 1944, by some 40,000 "buyers," under the name "National Association for the Defense and Interests of Buyers of Jewish Businesses." The Association suggested that the dispossessed Jews be treated as if they had been bombed out and be compensated by the Government. Similar protective groups were also formed in other fields, such as the "Inter-Professional Association of Merchants, Industrialists and Artisans," and the "Association of Former Administrators of Jewish Property," which defended the claims of Aryans on the ground that they bought Jewish possessions in "good faith." It was not until December 29, 1944, that the French Provisional Government ordered the dissolution of these organizations which "intended to prevent the re-establishment of Republican legality." However, the situation did not improve. The New York Times Paris correspondent wrote, January 31, 1945: "Many Jews and other victims of confiscation cannot recover their former homes, and dissatisfaction is growing."

Protest against delay in restoring Jewish property was voiced in Le Populaire, organ of the French Socialist Party, and in a resolution adopted by the political bureau of the French Communist Party (December, 1944). On several store windows in Paris and provincial cities, yellow stickers appeared, adorned with black swastikas and bearing the following

inscription in blood-red letters: "This establishment has been stolen by a profiteer under the German occupation." (January 1945) On December 28, 1944, the question of solving the problem of Jewish property was raised in the Consultative Assembly. Finally, in February, 1945, the Government submitted to the Consultative Assembly a decree concerning "a category of property confiscated by the Vichy Government, or by the German authorities and which has been ceded to acquirers who have not always acted in bad faith." The original draft submitted by the Ministry of Finance was a reversal of the policy that had been enunciated by the Fighting French and the French Committee of National Liberation promising full restitution to the victims of Vichy regardless of the claims of the acquirers.

The draft elaborated by the Ministry of Finance gave tacit legality to the status of the Vichy acquirers. They could keep profits gained during the years they held the property. The original owners, on regaining their property, had to repay them for improvements made. Their "acts of administration" remained valid. One section of the draft made possible an interpretation by the court enabling them even to claim indemnity for damages incurred as a result of the ordinance.

Every despoiled Jew had to bring individual action for repossession of his property, and face a long, hard and costly legal battle. The draft seemed to be as much concerned with the protection of acquirers or provisional administrators of property under the Vichy discriminatory laws, as with establishing the basis of restitution.

After prolonged discussion, the Consultative Assembly approved in March, 1945, the final version of the law, which is a combination of the drafts of the restitution laws submitted by the French Government and by the French Socialist Party. The law provides, inter-alia, that all confiscations, as well as sales of property by Jews under duress, be considered void, and that all legitimate profits from confiscated Jewish enterprises be refunded to the owners, while all illegitimate profits be confiscated by the state. Other clauses deal with damaged property and involuntary transactions. The combined bill is considered an improvement over the government draft, and embodies part of the suggestions voiced by the Representative Council of French Jews.

Emile Terrpine, Professor of Physiology at the Universities of Strassbourg and Lyons, who has successfully carried out similar work in Lyons, has been appointed head of the Department for the Restitution of Jewish Property.

5. Immediate Needs

The vast majority of French Jews are in desperate need. At least one-third of their number require relief, estimated at 45,000,000 francs monthly. By December 12, 1944, some 30,000 adults and 10,000 children had registered with Jewish communal institutions for assistance. It was reported in January, 1945, that hopeless economic conditions have forced over 20,000 Jews to leave Paris for smaller towns. Of the 35,000 Jews remaining in the capital, about 80% are unemployed and cannot find homes; half of them live in hostels. Conditions in Lyons, where over 15,000 Jews are unemployed, are not much better, according to the Paris newspaper Combat.

A request by the Federation of Jewish Societies in France that the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees provide funds to help rehabilitate Jewish artisans and small merchants, was frustrated by a technicality of French law barring refugees from work. On the other hand, Jewish immigrants who have the right to work in France are not within the jurisdiction of the Intergovernmental Committee.

6. Anti-Semitism

One of the leaders of the French Resistance Movement in Northern France, Roland Pré, declared in November, 1944, while in Cairo on his way to Bucharest to serve as French Ambassador, that, within his own experience, anti-Semitism had no popular roots in France. He admitted, however, that Nazi propaganda had rendered Frenchmen Jew-conscious, and that it will, therefore, be difficult for French Jews to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

The facts seem to bear out this statement. Warning that, even in liberated France racial discrimination inspired by Germany may cause the "poisoning of public life," the National Movement Against Racism issued a manifesto (November 18, 1944) asking the government to guarantee the country against any "attempts to create division." This appeal was made in answer to anti-Semitic agitation and the distribution of anti-Jewish literature by fifth-column elements.

Numerous reports from France indicate that an anti-Semitic underground, connected with Vichy irreconcilables, is conducting a systematic campaign against the Jews in the country. Frenchmen in Paris and elsewhere have been receiving in the mails anti-Jewish literature similar to that issued before

and during the occupation. In certain areas, walls have been defaced regularly with anti-Jewish inscriptions, and in one district a Jewish relief office was bombed. Some right-wing leaders in the French Resistance movement are suspected of backing an agitation purporting "to reduce Jewish influence in the political and economic life in France." A secret police round-up revealed that ring leaders of an anti-Semitic student group which boycotted lectures by Jewish professors of Jurisprudence and Medicine at Sorbonne University, were linked through a faculty committee to the German fifth-column. In February, 1945, Sorbonne students demonstrated in the streets of Paris, protesting against the life sentence meted out to Charles Maurras, editor of L'Action Francaise, and found guilty of treason. They sang anti-Semitic songs and shouted epithets at Jewish students. Anti-Semitic textbooks edited by the Vichy Ministry of Education are still in use in the elementary schools of some French towns.

The French Government is conducting an energetic fight against the remnants of anti-Semitic groups in the country. In January, 1945, the French Ministry of Justice announced that 18,700 French nationals accused of collaboration with the enemy will be brought to trial. Of these, 12,000 will be charged, among other things, with the misappropriation of Jewish property.

7. Revival of Communal Life

The first national conference of Jews in France since liberation (Paris, December 15-16, 1944) pledged itself to the defeat of anti-Semitism, to the rehabilitation of Jewish victims of persecution and to reconstruction of the Jewish community. A memorandum was sent by the conference to the Council of National Resistance requesting formal affiliation and describing the Jewish role in the resistance movement. The ORT reported that despite Nazi occupation, it had continued to conduct its trade schools, educating and preparing 900 Jewish students for self-sustaining work between 1941 and 1944.

The American Joint Distribution Committee has announced that it made a grant of five million francs to the Jewish Consistory of France to help rebuild religious and communal institutions of the Jews in France. This grant will be used for re-opening synagogues and elementary schools of Jewish education as well as for the training of Rabbis and furnishing them to communities now deprived of spiritual leaders.

G R E E C E

1. Before Liberation

Pre-war Greece had some 85,000 Jews. Over two-thirds of them lived in Salonika. Janina had 4,000, Athens 300 and Cavalla and Larissa less than 2,000 each.

After the occupation of Greece by the Axis forces in May, 1941, the occupation authorities inaugurated a systematic destruction of Greek Jewry. In Salonika more than 7,000 Jews had died of starvation by May, 1942, and some 50,000 had been deported to Poland. Jewish inhabitants of the Bulgarian-occupied Greek Aegean districts (4,269) and of Macedonia (7,141) were deported to Poland in March to May, 1943. Deportations were accompanied by wholesale seizure and confiscation of Jewish property. The total value of Jewish property in Greece is estimated at 45 million dollars.

2. After Liberation

After Greece's liberation, a census was organized to trace Jewish survivors. Some 12,000 Jews have registered in Athens and about 3,000 have so far reached Salonika from the surrounding mountains and villages where they fled during the Nazi occupation. Dr. Schwartz, of the Joint Distribution Committee, quotes strikingly contradictory figures (April, 1945). He estimates the remaining Jewish population in Greece at 8,500, half of them residing in Athens. On the island of Corfu, 170 Jews remained out of the original 2,000. Thousands of Jews who were with the partisans in the mountains have begun to return to Athens. By January, 1945, a total of some 18,000 Jews have been traced in Greece. Inquiries made by the Greek legation at Moscow as to the fate of the Greek Jews deported to now liberated Poland brought no hope of finding survivors.

3. Government Attitude

On October 22, 1941, the Greek Government-in-Exile issued a decree declaring void ab-initio and of no legal effect, all transactions through which the enemy, his subjects or persons acting under his orders acquired ownership, personal rights or any other advantages, from seizure of property owned by Greek or allied nationals. This decree is, however, quite insufficient for Jewish needs. Transfers to Greek nationals seem not to be affected at all; no automatic invalidation is provided for; problems of compensation are scarcely mentioned; changes in object, indebtedness and other aspects are not dealt with. A positive feature of the decree is that "good faith" is excluded as an excuse for the acquisition of Jewish property. Alexander Syolos, Greek Minister of Finance, officially announced that Jewish property seized during the German occupation will be returned to its owners.

4. General Condition

The survivors are in extremely pitiful circumstances. Those emerging from hiding places in the mountains are completely destitute. Others who have saved a few possessions are liquidating them to maintain a bare existence and hope to be able to emigrate to Palestine. No such emigration has, however, yet been organized. Upon liberation, representatives of Greek Jewry urgently asked for help from the Greek Government, the Jewish communities throughout the world and the Joint Distribution Committee. The then Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou assured them that the government would do everything possible to assist the victims and referred to the already issued decree for restitution of their properties to the Jews. The Alexandria (Egypt) community allotted £ 10,000 for the relief of Greek Jewry and sent a representative to Athens to supervise distribution of relief.

The first step towards what is hopefully described as the rehabilitation of Greek Jewry was taken with the publication, on October 23, 1944, in the Greek Official Gazette, of a decree providing for the formation of Jewish communal councils in Athens and Salonika. Each council will consist of three members to be selected from among refugees and members of the armed forces in the Middle East. They are to return immediately to Greece to lay the foundations for the revival of Hellenic Jewry in cooperation with the Greek Government and the main Jewish relief organizations. The councils are being appointed for a six-month term of office after which elections to the councils by the reorganized Jewish communities are to be held.

The Greek civil war has severely aggravated the situation of some 12,000 Jews in Athens, who were caught between the two contending sides. Athens ruling circles accused the Jews of being EAM sympathizers and ELAS conspirators. The basis for these accusations lies in the fact that in November, 1943, numerous young Jews who managed to escape the Nazis, joined ELAS guerrilla forces and fought the Germans. Upon their return to liberated Athens, they found their families in hiding and dispossessed. Many of the Jewish boys who were in the ELAS mountain units during the civil strife in Athens have been denounced as enemies of public order, arrested and deported to Africa. On the other hand, because Athens' Jews were concentrated during the fighting mainly in the area controlled by the British authorities and the Greek Government, stories of Jewish "connivance" with the British and the "reactionaries" were planted among the ELAS partisans.

L U X E M B O U R G

The pre-war Jewish population of Luxembourg numbered some 5,000 persons. In 1941 the German census indicated that there were no Jews in the Duchy. The property of the deported and escaped Jews, valued at a billion French francs, has been "aryanized." Only 70 Jews were found in Luxembourg at the time of liberation. It is estimated that some 830 had been deported, while the remainder fled to other countries. The Luxembourg Government-in-Exile was the only Allied government which on June 6, 1944, expressed its unequivocal consent to the return of all Luxembourg Jewish residents expelled by the Germans, regardless of nationality. The Jews were invited to return, along with all others who had fled during the occupation, in a statement issued September 13, 1944, by the Foreign Minister.

Restoration of Jewish property was simplified by a government decree of August 22, 1941, ruling that persons who bought such property from the Nazis, in good faith or otherwise, have no right to it, and confiscated property has already been returned to many of the remaining Jews.

A JTA dispatch of October 19, 1944, states that "restitution of property confiscated from Luxembourg Jews has already been accomplished in many cases, although this nation has been free for little more than a month."

T H E N E T H E R L A N D S

1. Before Liberation

At the last census (1930) before the war, about 112,000 Jews lived in the Netherlands. During 1939-40, up to 30,000 refugees were added. It is estimated that, including over 40,000 "non-Aryans" not of Jewish faith, there were about 180,000 Jews altogether before May 10, 1940. Those allowed to remain in Holland were some 6,500 Jewish (by Nazi definition) spouses of mixed marriages, most of whom were permitted to remove their Jewish badges after being sterilized. Out of the 140,000 "racial Jews," about 110,000 were deported to Poland, 2,000 were sent to Theresienstadt, 4,000 and 2,500 respectively were in concentration camps in Bergen-Belsen and Westerbork and the rest remained in hiding in the country itself.

The German decree in October, 1941, barred Jews from almost all occupations, and restricted the practice of Jewish doctors, dentists, chemists, pharmacists and lawyers to Jewish clients only. Jews were ousted from Aryan firms. The total value of Aryanized or confiscated Jewish property was estimated (June 9, 1942) at 500 million guilder (\$270,000,000). Of this sum, business enterprises totalled 150 million guilder, real estate 200 million and securities 150 million.

2. During Liberation

On the basis of data compiled by Dutch Jews in liberated parts of the country, it is estimated that 5 to 6 per cent of Holland's Jewry may survive at the time of complete liberation.

3. Attitude of the Population

Only small Jewish groups emerged from hiding in liberated Dutch towns. In Breda some 40 Jews survived. In Maastricht only half a dozen families (out of 500 Jewish pre-war inhabitants) remained. They owe their salvation to their non-Jewish fellow citizens. But the attitude of the local liberated Dutch population towards Jews varies. In Breda, the Municipal Council voted a substantial sum for the repair of the local synagogue and for aid to Jewish survivors. In Eindhoven and Maastricht, a survey made by reliable investigators showed that at present Jews are regarded with considerable disfavor even by persons who offered them hospitality during the German occupation. Continuous Nazi propaganda and certain friction between the saviours and the saved are responsible for this change in attitude.

4. Restoration of Property

The restoration of Jewish property in Holland meets with considerable difficulties. The newspaper De Zuid Limburger in Kerkerade was required to insert an article on December 30, 1944, which pointed out that while Jewish property sold under duress should be returned to its owners without compensation, the notaries who auctioned such sales are not necessarily collaborators, since they had to act under German orders. Each case should be judged on its own merits, the article stated.

5. Revival of Jewish Life

The Dutch Government has decided to give every assistance to the Jews of Holland, declared Albertus Burger, Dutch Minister of the Interior, on the eve of his return to the Netherlands in September, 1944. He stressed that Dutch Jews are covered by repatriation plans for Netherlands driven by the Nazis all over Europe.

Jewish life is beginning to revive. A Provisional Committee for the Rehabilitation of Jews in Holland published an "Appeal to all Israelites in Liberated Holland" announcing (November 16, 1944): "We shall try to restore Jewish life, to set up a Fund to alleviate the great distress and to obtain contact as soon as possible with the organizations which are temporarily established abroad.... Israelites in Holland, help to build up once more our ancient Jewish communities as well as their institutions."

A Central Registration Jewish Bureau, working under the auspices of the Netherlands Red Cross, has been established in the city of Maastricht, capital of partially liberated Limburg province.

P O L A N D

1. Before Liberation

On the eve of World War II there were 3,300,000 Jews in Poland. German conquest of Poland deprived the Jews of all political and civil rights. Their property, both private and communal, was confiscated. Dr. Sommerstein, Chairman of the War Indemnification Commission of the Provisional Polish Government, estimates material damage suffered by Jews in Poland at 4 billion dollars. Mass deportation, ruthless extermination, starvation and epidemics practically liquidated Polish Jewry.

2. After Liberation

When the Red Army cleared Polish territory, only some 50,000 Jews were found alive in the liberated areas; some of them are foreign "deported" Jews (French, Belgian, Dutch, etc.). In addition, about 600,000 Polish Jewish refugees are now in the Soviet Union, 250,000 of them from western Polish areas. The largest remaining Jewish communities are in Lublin (about 15,000), Lodz (6,000 to 8,000) and Czestochova (7,000).

3. Attitude of Polish Government

The Polish Government-in-Exile has repeatedly assured (December 18, 1939; April 26 and June 11, 1941; March 15 and August 16, 1942; June 14, 1944; January 5, 1945) that Jews in liberated Poland will enjoy full equality and restoration of property.

Early in 1944, a Soviet sponsored Polish Committee for National Liberation was formed in Moscow. With the progressive liberation of Polish territory by the Red Army and Soviet organized Polish legions, the PCNL moved to Poland. It included two Jewish members: Dr. Sommerstein (Zionist) and Dr. Drobner (Socialist). Its headquarters were established in Lublin, and it was entrusted with the administration of the liberated Polish areas. In July, 1944, the Committee issued a manifesto pledging democratic freedom and equality to all citizens, regardless of race, creed or national origin, and guaranteeing the restoration of Jewish property. On January 2, 1945, the Lublin Committee proclaimed itself a Provisional Government and has been recognized as such by the Soviet Union.

As a result, the struggle between the London and the Lublin groups has been intensified. Each side issues statements assuring the Jews of full rights in postwar Poland. Premier Tomasz Arciszewski of the Polish Government in London declared that "Jews must be given every chance of employment in government and municipal service, in factories, mines and on land" and that "in the future Poland there must be no barrier, no segregation, no ghetto." At the same time, General Rola Zimierski of the Lublin Provisional Government announced

that "there will be no anti-Semitism in the new Poland; the manifesto of the National Liberation Committee has guaranteed equal rights to all citizens of the Polish Republic, and the government will protect those rights." The Lublin regime has also appropriated a considerable sum of money for the care of Jewish orphans.

But along with these competing assurances there is also a campaign of accusations and denunciations. The first Yiddish radio broadcast from Lublin accused the Polish underground groups loyal to the London Government of murdering Jews and of handing Jews over to the Gestapo. The broadcast also asserted that when "Jewish families in liberated Poland returned from hide-outs to their former homes, they were met by anti-Semitic demonstrations organized by 'remnants of the Sosnkowky gang;'" however, the anti-Semites were "quelled before they could do damage." To this accusation, the Jewish members of the Polish National Council in London replied that it was their own government which revealed the anti-Semitic activities of extreme reactionary groups which had also been directed against loyal Poles, and told of Jewish partisan groups organized and led by Polish officers.

The Provisional Polish Government seems to realize that restoration of legal equality and even the fullest implementation of this principle are not sufficient and that the specific situation of the remnants of Polish Jewry calls for special attention. Pledging in January, 1945, that "the Jews of Poland will enjoy all rights not only legally but in actual fact,"

Premier Osobka-Morawski also stressed that his Government is aware that the Jews, like the new peasant farmers, must have special Government care. "The Government," he added, "must provide the Jews with work and, furthermore, considers it necessary to provide them with opportunities for engaging in productive work."

4. Repatriation and Emigration

The tiny group of some 50,000 Jewish survivors pin their hopes for the future on the return to Poland of a large portion of the approximately 250,000 Polish Jewish refugees (from the western areas) in the Soviet Union. It is believed that the Soviet Government will permit these people to return. It is questionable, however, if the refugees themselves, many of whom have started a new life in the Asiatic provinces beyond the Caspian Sea, will be willing to return to their ruined homes. The coming months will reveal both the political possibilities for such a return and the feelings of the former refugees themselves.

On the other hand, it is reliably reported that the Provisional Government inclines to permit and even to encourage emigration of Polish Jews

and that this attitude has met with the approval of the Soviet Union.

5. Restoration of Property

The Premier of the Polish Government-in-Exile, Tomasz Arciszewski, declared in February, 1945: "Transactions by which Jewish property was acquired under the German occupation are to be declared null and void and all such property will be returned to Jewish owners or their relatives." The Polish Committee of National Liberation was reported to have enacted a decree ordering the restitution of Jewish property to the legitimate owners. However, if the owner does not turn up and the heirs do not claim the property within a year, ownership reverts to the town where the property is situated. Since the overwhelming majority of Jews in Poland have perished and since the surviving heirs dispersed throughout Europe, will probably not be able to register their claims within a year, this decree is tantamount to wholesale confiscation of Jewish property.

6. Relief and Rehabilitation

In November, 1944, the first meeting of representatives of Jewish communities in the then liberated parts of Poland took place in Lublin, and the delegates decided to establish a "Central Committee of Polish Jews," headed by Dr. Emil Sommerstein. The new Committee stated that Jews enjoy full equality in a free, democratic Poland and that it will devote itself to caring for orphaned Jewish children, and reviving Jewish art and culture.

Later, in January, 1945, spurred by the liberation of Warsaw, the Committee launched an extensive program with the following aims: (1) to fight against all manifestations of fascism as the worst enemy of Poland, of the Jewish people and of all mankind; (2) to organize active participation of Jews in this fight, until the German forces of occupation are completely expelled from Poland, and also in the struggle for the creation of an independent, truly democratic Poland; (3) to further the productivity of the surviving Jews and their active participation in the economic rehabilitation of Poland, and to develop creative forces in Polish Jewry based on judicial and actual equality of rights; (4) to rehabilitate Jewish national and cultural life and build up a network of Jewish schools and cultural institutions and to promote the rehabilitation of the Jewish press and Jewish art in all its forms; (5) to restore the Jewish Community Councils (Kehillas) as centers of economic and cultural and religious activity; (6) to devote special attention to the education of their children, the treasure of their future; (7) to organize social maintenance for the needy, and establish close contact with Jewish relief organi-

zations abroad; (8) to collect and publish data on the sufferings inflicted by the Germans on Polish Jewry as well as on Jews from other countries who perished in Poland; (9) to collect and publish data on the armed resistance of Polish Jewry against the Germans; (10) to obtain exact figures on the losses suffered by Jewish communities, Jewish organizations and institutions; (11) to extend local aid to Jews seeking to recover property looted from them; and (12) to maintain close contact with the Organizing Committee of Polish Jews within the Union of Polish Patriots in the U.S.S.R.

The Jewish Central Committee is composed of 7 Zionists, 5 Communists and 2 members of the Jewish Labor Party "Bund." It is recognized by the Provisional Polish Government, which placed at its disposal 16 million zlotys for relief and rehabilitation. The Committee's Chairman, Dr. Sommerstein, has notified Jewish relief agencies in the United States and Canada that preparations have been completed for distributing supplies to refugees and other needy persons.

Various Polish-Jewish and American organizations are launching relief campaigns for needed articles to be sent immediately to Poland. The World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress have sent a clothing shipment of 10,000 pounds to Poland through Russian War Relief. The American Federation for Polish Jews shipped 160,000 pounds of food and 25,000 pounds of clothing in January, 1945, and 330,000 pounds of relief supplies in April; and the Joint Distribution Committee has sent relief supplies and American and Canadian manufactured tailors' and cobblers' tools, also using Russian War Relief boats. The United Galician Jews of America have operated through the JDC. Beginning with January, 1945, the JDC has sent weekly shipments of 80,000 to 120,000 pounds from Teheran; it has also forwarded medical supplies from Sweden. In February, 1945, the first transport of supplies for Jews in liberated Poland arrived in Lublin from Palestine. Distribution of all relief supplies is supervised by Dr. Sommerstein.

Meanwhile, the surviving Jews are beginning to rebuild some sort of communal life. The first appropriations made from the Provisional Polish Government's grant of 16 million zlotys were used to establish a Jewish orphanage and to reopen the Lublin synagogue. The famous Lublin Yeshiva has been reopened and "Peretz House," the headquarters of Jewish cultural groups before the war, has been returned to the Jewish community. The first kosher slaughterhouse has also been opened in Lublin.

YUGOSLAVIA

1. Before Liberation

When Yugoslavia was dismembered by the Axis partners, 20,000 of the pre-war 80,000 Yugoslav Jews remained in the puppet state of Serbia, 30,000 in Croatia, 15,000 in Voivodina, annexed by Hungary, and the rest in Bulgarian-annexed Macedonia. Most of them were deported or killed on the spot. Their property, amounting to 70 million dollars, was confiscated or "aryanized." In Italian occupied Yugoslavia (Lubiana) the Jews were comparatively safe.

2. During Liberation

At the end of 1944, 1,600 Jews were found in liberated parts of Yugoslavia. Of these, 600 joined Marshal Tito's forces. In Belgrade only 20 Jews remained out of a pre-war community of 12,000. About 1,000 are believed to have escaped. Of the 5,000 Yugoslav Jews who fled Italy during the occupation, only 2,000 have thus far reached liberated territory; the others are either in hiding or have been captured by Fascist and German authorities. Some 1,200 were registered by the International Red Cross in three Croatian concentration camps and about 800 Croatian Jews are said to be at large.

3. Restoration of Rights and Property

The Yugoslav Government-in-Exile declared that it would not recognize the anti-Jewish laws enacted during the war. It also issued a decree (June 18, 1942) invalidating all transfer of property belonging to public corporations. Transfer and disposal of private property are, on the other hand, considered unlawful only if the affected persons demand such invalidation and can prove that these transactions were made without their assent. The burden of proof is thus placed on the owner. This complicates considerably the position of robbed Yugoslav Jews. Many documents, also, have been wilfully destroyed by interested acquirers of Jewish property. The decree does not state whether the nullification of the transfer refers to restitution only or whether it also provides for compensation for income and other losses in the restored property. Nor does the decree provide indemnification for damage and losses suffered by deported Jews who were obliged to leave everything behind.

Marshal Tito is reported to have issued the following warning to the Yugoslav population: "Return Jewish property looted under the Germans, or yours will be confiscated."

The situation of the surviving Yugoslav Jews is desperate. The Sofia Jewish community, itself living under critical economic conditions, has started a campaign for the relief of Yugoslav Jewry. A medical mission under the auspices of OSE and the Joint Distribution Committee has been granted permission, through the Yugoslav Red Cross, to work in Yugoslav territory.

Former Axis Countries

B U L G A R I A

1. Under Axis Rule

According to official Bulgarian data, there were 60,000 Jews in "Greater Bulgaria," of whom 48,000 lived in the "Old Kingdom" and 12,000 in the 1941 annexed Greek and Yugoslav territories.

The "Law for the Protection of the Nation," published on January 23, 1941, completely robbed Jews of their civil rights, imposed economic restrictions and introduced Nazi racial measures in a modified form. In July, 1941, the confiscation of Jewish property began. A 20% to 25% tax on Jewish-owned property was imposed on July 13th. Only 761 Jewish enterprises out of a total of 4,272 were permitted to continue, and only a few Jewish physicians, lawyers, engineers, mechanics, etc., were allowed to continue to practice. All Jews between the ages of 31 and 47 were mobilized for forced labor. All Jewish-owned buildings were ordered sold to non-Jews by the end of 1942. In September, 1942, all Jewish-owned assets in Bulgaria were frozen and their owners were permitted to withdraw a maximum of 4,000 leva (\$72) a month. All commercial and industrial corporations where Jews owned shares were liquidated, proceeds from these enterprises to be turned over to special accounts in the Bulgarian National Bank. Jewish religious and cultural life was outlawed.

Governmental projects for deportation of Bulgarian Jewry to Poland did not materialize, mainly because of firm opposition in Parliament and among the population. Some 12,000 Jews from the annexed Greek provinces, however, were deported to German-held Polish areas and exterminated. All the 25,000 Jews of Sofia were deported to 13 Bulgarian provincial towns where they were permitted to engage only in handicrafts. Their entire property was liquidated by the government.

Bulgarian Jews have escaped deportation and have been spared physical extermination. They have, however, been completely deprived of their civil status and ruined economically.

2. Bulgaria Quits the Axis

On August 26, 1944, the Bulgarian Government announced that Bulgaria had withdrawn from the war and was now neutral. Article 5 of the Armistice (concluded October 29, 1944) provided that "the Government of Bulgaria will immediately release, regardless of citizenship or nationality, all persons held in confinement...for racial or religious reason, and will repeal all

discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom." Article 6 contained provision for the trial of persons accused of war crimes, and article 7 obliged the Bulgarian Government to "dissolve immediately all pro-Hitler or other Fascist political, military, para-military and other organizations."

3. Restoration of Rights

While negotiations for an armistice with the Allies were in progress, the Bulgarian radio announced on August 28th that the new government had removed all restrictions against the Jews. The Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was dissolved and its services transferred to respective Ministries. On the settlement of property questions, the official radio announcement stated: "Complicated legal relations in connection with property interests of individuals of Jewish descent...will be settled by instructions and legislative decrees." The obligatory wearing of the Yellow Star of David was abolished, but, according to Professor Ehrenpreis, former Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria, some Bulgarian Jews refused to take off this symbol and continued to wear it proudly. Jews of Bulgarian nationality who emigrated after January 1, 1940, and lost their citizenship in accordance with Article 15 of the Nationality Act, obtained the right to regain Bulgarian nationality if they returned to the country within six months and applied for renaturalization within the same period.

Under the new law, Jews who resided in Sofia until January 23, 1941, were permitted to return to the capital. By November, 1944, some 15,000 resumed such residence. However, they found their homes occupied and their possessions liquidated or destroyed. While they were at first promised immediate restoration of their dwellings, a "decree on settling the housing question" issued later, permitted them to occupy their dwellings after a lapse of thirty days, provided they had been expelled on account of the racial laws. Furthermore, Bulgarian tenants occupying Jewish business premises on contract with the state, were not obliged to evacuate those premises.

4. Restoration of Property

On September 19, 1944, the Minister of Propaganda, Kazasov, declared that the government would return to every Bulgarian Jew the sums resulting from the surtax of Jewish property (up to 70-75% of its value) by the overthrown

Fascist regime. Simultaneously, however, Kazasov stated that "because of the state's financial difficulties these amounts will be transferred into a state loan with definite security." Bulgarian government circles claimed that restitution of confiscated Jewish property, return of blocked Jewish money and other securities by the Bulgarian National Bank, would necessitate increased bank note circulation, which would cause further inflation and consequent depreciation of the leva.

On March 2, 1945, the Bulgarian Government published a law providing for the satisfaction of Jewish claims against the state arising from the anti-Jewish laws of 1941 to 1944. According to this law, all land confiscated from Jews will be returned to the former owners, with the exception of the "land upon which (Bulgarian) peasants have settled." For land "which cannot be returned" the law provides compensation in money. However, its value will be assessed at 1942 land prices, which in terms of the present leva, will yield only a fraction of its true worth. The law undertakes also the return to Jewish owners of money and rents collected by the government from the tenants of confiscated Jewish houses, buildings, businesses, and the sale of confiscated goods, shares and stock, and all other real and personal property. For all these the Jews are to repay the nominal sum paid to them by the previous governments. There is also provision for payment by the state for destroyed Jewish property.

The clauses of the law which determine the method and the rate of state compensation are completely unsatisfactory. Not to speak of limitations on restoration in natura of confiscated Jewish land, the government limited the amount to be repaid to Jews to 30 million leva (about \$375,000) whereas the 20% tax on Jewish-owned properties alone (introduced on July 13, 1941) supposedly netted the Bulgarian treasury one and a half billion leva (about 15 million dollars at pre-war rates). The estimated value of Jewish-owned assets frozen in September, 1942, was two and a half billion leva, or 25 million dollars (liquid assets amounting to 830 million leva and fixed assets running into one and one-third billion leva).

Second, the law provides that only Jews who are presently residing in Bulgaria will be paid within three months, while those who have left the country since 1941 will have to wait a year. And finally, the maximum sum which will be paid in cash to each individual Jewish claimant is limited to 50,000 leva (about \$625); if the amount due exceeds this limit, the balance will be paid in government bonds redeemable within six years.

5. Punishment of War Criminals

On February 15, 1945, the Government named a special panel of the People's court to try persons involved in anti-Jewish activity during the period of 1941 to 1944. The trials will involve some 80 to 90 persons, notably functionaries of the "Jewish Commissariat," those connected with Jewish concentration camps, those who profited from the liquidation of Jewish enterprises and leading anti-Semitic writers. Particular attention is to be paid to those held responsible for the deportation to Poland (and subsequent extermination) of Jews from Bulgarian-held areas of Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace and the Pirot district. These trials are obviously part of the government's attempt to throw the blame for all Bulgarian misdeeds on a handful of "Fascist agents," and thus to wipe Bulgaria's slate clean.

6. Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitism has not disappeared from the Bulgarian scene. As soon as the new Bulgarian Government announced its intention to abolish anti-Jewish restrictions, a protest demonstration of students, civil servants, ex-service-men and members of the Branik youth organization was staged on the main streets of Sofia. The demonstrators carried banners inscribed: "We shall not return to the Jews the loot confiscated from them!" German and German-controlled Bulgarian radio broadcasts conduct a venomous propaganda against Jews as "agents of Bolshevism and Anglo-American plutocrat imperialism." They speculate on the necessity of returning looted Jewish property and remind the beneficiaries that "the damage to Jewish property is to be compensated by privations forced on Bulgarian peasants and workers." By the end of 1944 the situation became so serious that Bulgarian journalists meeting in Sofia voted to launch a campaign of enlightenment to counteract the effects of anti-Semitic propaganda.

7. Revival of Jewish Communal Life and Government Attitude

With the restoration of Jewish rights, Jewish communal activity was resumed: the Jewish Consistory was revived; the Zionist organization reopened offices, and a conference of Hebrew teachers decided to reopen all Hebrew schools. Following a Zionist conference held in Sofia, October 8-10, 1944, an appeal was issued by the United Zionist Organization to Jews in the democratic world to assist in reconstructing the lives of Bulgaria's Jews. A conference of the New Zionist Organization was held in Sofia. Cooperation with the present regime was pledged at a mass meeting of Jews in Sofia, with the president of the Jewish Consistory presiding. A special weekly broadcast in Hebrew has been conducted since September 25th. The Zionists, the Jewish Labor Party, Poale-Zion and the New Zionist Organization have resumed their publications.

Originally, the Bulgarian Government showed much sympathy and understanding for the Zionist movement. On September 19th the Minister of Propaganda, Kazasov, stated: "(a) The Bulgarian Government takes a positive attitude regarding the foundation of a Jewish State in Palestine and feels that every nation deserves the right to have its own State. (b) The Government has no objection to and will make no difficulties for Jews who wish to emigrate to Palestine. It will treat them as Bulgarian citizens with full rights, and they are only required to comply with the laws and regulations obligatory for all citizens of the country."

However, very soon the situation changed abruptly. On November 24th, the Ministry of the Interior notified Jews applying for permission to leave Bulgaria that, on leaving Bulgaria, they must sign a declaration abandoning all movable and immovable property and relinquishing all claims against the government, any bank or individual. The Palestine Bureau in Sofia was informed that youths and children would not be allowed to leave the country without their parents. This change in the government's attitude is reflected in strong anti-Zionist pressure on the Jewish community by a small group of the Jewish Fatherland Front Committee. At a meeting of representatives of the Jewish communities and the Jewish Fatherland Front Committee (January 7-8, 1945) several speakers stated that "there was no bond whatsoever between the Bulgarian Jew and the American, Rumanian or Hungarian Jews." Any common effort of world Jewry with regard to Palestine was strongly repudiated in resolutions adopted at the meeting.

The Independent Jewish Press Service (January 19, 1945) reports from Sofia that "these resolutions were passed through the pressure of a small minority which has obtained control over Jewish life by a disregard of democratic procedure" and that the meeting "was stormy, with several delegates rising to their feet to voice their opposition...but were prevented from

speaking." According to several reports from Sofia, the small group which is responsible for this attitude "disregards economic-political conditions which rule out the reconstruction of Jewish economic life in Bulgaria. In the opinion of most Jewish overseas relief organizations that have surveyed the situation, the only possible solution is the immediate transfer of the bulk of Bulgarian Jewry to Palestine." On February 2, 1945, the Sofia Radio acknowledged the strong trend toward emigration to Palestine among Bulgarian Jews.

The situation of 45,000 Bulgarian Jews after restoration of their rights is characterized by the New York Times correspondent in Sofia as follows: "Craftsmen were to get back their tools to enable them to work, the manufacturers and traders would have their factories and businesses restored -- all this was promised by the present so-called liberal government, but to this day not a single promise has been held. The Government declares that all Jews now are free and enjoy equal rights with all the rest of the Bulgarians. This is a farce because the only thing the Jews in Bulgaria are able to do with equal rights and freedom is to starve and freeze."

According to Dr. Joseph Schwartz, Chairman of the European Executive Council of the JDC, 18,000 Jews in Bulgaria are in need of relief. In addition, epidemics of malaria, diphtheria and typhus have broken out in some sections heavily populated by Jews. The JDC has been supplying aid at the rate of \$50,000 monthly to the Jewish community organizations in Sofia and some other towns.

Although eager and ready to support the present Fatherland Front regime, Bulgarian Jews increasingly resent its unwillingness, or inability, to cope with their rehabilitation needs. An added cause for discontent was the prompt drafting of Bulgarian Jews into the army after September 9, 1944. Many felt that since most Jewish men had served over two years in the "penal" labor gangs (as early as summer 1942, some 8,500 Jews between the ages of 21 and 47 were mobilized for forced labor), their induction into the army was unjustified. The government, however, refused to compromise on this issue.

FINLAND

Prior to the war, there were about 1,800 Jews in Finland; 1,500 were Finnish nationals and the rest refugees. Throughout the war years, the Jews remained unmolested. Finland was the only German satellite which resisted German pressure to deprive her Jewish citizens of their constitutional rights. There were no deportations or discriminations. Leading Finnish personalities even dared openly to criticize Nazi policy with regard to Jews. Finnish Minister of Social Affairs Fagerholm wrote on October 6, 1943, in the Arbetarbladet on the persecution of Jews in Denmark: "Nothing must prevent us from declaring plainly that the Occupying Power does not gain any sympathy in Finland by such methods as have now been employed, but just the reverse." Similar views have been voiced by Eino Kaila, Professor of Theoretical Philosophy at Helsinki University, who, according to his own statement, counts himself among the pro-German elements.

The situation of the several hundred Jewish refugees from Poland was for some time precarious. However, the plan to deport them to Poland was frustrated by the action of influential Finnish circles, including Minister Tanner. Many of them were originally sent to a concentration camp on an island in the Gulf of Finland; they were later permitted to live without restrictions anywhere in the country where foreigners were allowed to reside. When 110 Jewish refugees desired to go to Sweden, the Finnish authorities provided them with the necessary passports.

Article 20 of the Soviet-Finnish Armistice stipulates: "Finland undertakes to set free immediately, irrespective of citizenship and nationality, all persons who are under detention in connection with their activities in favor of the United Nations or for their sympathy with the case of the United Nations or because of their racial origin, as well as to annul discriminating legislation of any kind and the limitation resulting therefrom."

After Finland's change of orientation, the situation of the small Jewish community seems to be normal. There never was a strong anti-Semitic movement in Finland, although the Socialist newspaper Arbetarbladet warned in October, 1943, that "suspicious symptoms of anti-Semitism can be observed in Finland, especially among the higher classes," and a violently anti-Semitic newspaper Vapaa Suomi devoted most of its articles to outbursts accusing the Jews of being responsible for almost everything that had befallen the country.

HUNGARY

1. Under Axis Rule

The Hungarian Jewish population in 1939 totalled 750,000 (including Jews in annexed territories). As early as May 4, 1939, a sweeping anti-Jewish law provided for the reduction or expulsion of Jews from the sale of monopoly products, certain commercial occupations, colleges and universities, law, medicine, engineering, theatre, journalism, dentistry and handicraft. This was to be effected on a staggered timetable ranging from several months to five years. The law affected 34.35% of the then Jewish population in Hungary. While no Jews were accepted for military service, they had to pay special taxes, and were called up for forced labor.

During the summer of 1942, a special law provided for expropriation of Jewish-owned estates; compensation was supposed to be made in the form of 30-year bonds bearing 3.5% interest. Later, Jews were forbidden to rent land. According to a report submitted at a Hungarian Chamber of Commerce meeting, \$125,000,000 worth of Jewish property had been transferred to "aryan" hands from March, 1938, to March, 1943.

Hungarian anti-Jewish legislation grew more and more restrictive. A special publication entitled Zsidok es Nemzsidok: Jogallasa es Jogriszonai (Jews and non-Jews: Their Legal Status and Legal Relation) in 1944 listed 57 anti-Jewish decrees passed by the Hungarian Government. But until the spring of 1944, Hungary's anti-Jewish laws and administrative practices, although severe, were not nearly so brutal as their German counterparts. The situation changed radically upon Hungary's complete occupation by the Nazis in March. The Nazi-established Gombos Government inaugurated a new and violent wave of anti-Jewish persecutions which began in April, 1944, with the blocking of Jewish property, the interdiction for Jews of the use of public transportation facilities, telephones and wireless sets, the confiscation of apartments, all kinds of restrictions in working conditions, forced labor decrees and the obligation to wear the Star of David. The persecutions assumed more cruel forms in May, when deportations to Germany were started and internment camps with the most primitive hygienic conditions were erected. At the beginning of June, almost the entire Hungarian Jewish population was living in concentration camps. Until the middle of June, about 335,000 Jews had been deported from Hungary, most of them to death camps in Auschwitz and Upper Silesia. At

the beginning of July, thousands of Jews were transported to camps in the suburbs of Budapest, where frightful conditions also prevailed.

Under the government, in October, 1944, of the extremist pro-Nazi Ferenc Szalasi, leader of the Fascist Arrow Cross party, the situation became even worse. In his first broadcast to the nation, October 7th, the new Minister of Home Affairs announced that the solution of the "Jewish question" would be a "merciless one...deserved by the Jews."

In November, 1944, the Hungarian Official Gazette published a decree confiscating all Jewish property with the exception of religious articles, private correspondence, school-books, medicines for personal use, wedding and engagement rings, food and fuel for two weeks, 300 pengoes in cash per family, necessary household articles, and tools for permitted work. Everything else was appropriated for the state. Transactions undertaken to save Jewish property were declared invalid.

2. The Hungarian Provisional Government

On December 22, 1944, a Hungarian Provisional Government was established in Debrecen, under Colonel-General Belu Miclos, to administer Hungarian areas liberated by the Red Army. According to Gabar Lengyel, Zionist leader in Hungary, who spoke at the newly organized Free Hungarian Parliament in Debrecen, there are 100,000 Jews left in the liberated territory and with others who may still be saved, Hungarian Jewry after the full liberation of the country may total about 280,000. There were 120,000 Jews in Budapest at the time of its liberation.

3. The Armistice

The Armistice Treaty concluded between the Allies and the Hungarian Provisional Government stipulated (Article V) that the Government of Hungary must "repeal all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom."

Further obligations contained in the Armistice are: (1) The government "will at its own expense provide all...internees, displaced persons and refugees, including nationals of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, with adequate food, clothing, medical services, and sanitary and hygienic requirements, and also with means of transportation for the return of any such persons to their own country." (Article IV) (2) The government "will take all the necessary measures to insure that all displaced persons and refugees within the limits of Hungarian territory, including Jews and stateless persons, are accorded at least the same measure of protection and security as its own nationals." (Article V) (3) The measures provided for in Article I of the Agreement regarding "the internment of nationals of Germany now in Hungarian territory do not apply to nationals of that country of Jewish origin." (A, Annex to Article I)

It may be noted that points 1 and 2, concerning relief, repatriation and legal protection, are new and important additions, inserted for the first time in the Hungarian Treaty, while the other stipulations are also found in the Armistice Treaties concluded with the other Axis satellites (Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria).

It is not clear whether the obligation to repeal all discriminatory legislation also covers the period prior to the war and Nazi occupation.

4. Restoration of Rights

In line with the Armistice conditions, the Debrecen Government is reported to have undertaken a broad program of restitution of Jewish rights. A basic decree invalidates all of the so-called Jewish laws. Jews who have lost, or have not held, Hungarian citizenship are granted six months in which to declare their intention of becoming citizens. The Debrecen Government further declared its obligation to make restitution for all the Jewish sufferings and financial losses imposed by the Germans and their Hungarian accomplices.

5. Restoration of Property

Article XIII of the Armistice states: "The Government of Hungary undertakes to restore all legal rights and interests of the United Nations and their nationals on Hungarian territory as they existed before the war and also to return their property in complete good order." As for the economic rehabilitation of the Jewish victims of racial policies it must be pointed out that no such provision has been included in the Armistice.

According to the decree of the Provisional Government, Jewish property is to be restored without delay, except in involved cases. Persons in possession of Jewish property, whether acquired legally or otherwise, have been ordered to register; failure to do so is punishable. It was reported that several persons were actually tried in Debrecen for not abiding by this order. However, the decree notes that in certain cases the economic condition of the country will only permit gradual compensation. Each dispossessed person is to receive a dole from the government until some form of restitution or compensation can be provided. All inhabitants of the country, without exception, are to share equally in the lands to be distributed by the government. Special consideration will be given to those Jews who are war orphans, war widows, victims or dependents of victims of Nazi deportation and slaughter. Such persons will also receive favorable consideration for all trades and occupations requiring a government permit. Finally, the Debrecen Government is reported to have declared that it will assist financially the rebuilding of damaged or destroyed Jewish synagogues, schools and other public institutions.

After the liberation of Budapest (February, 1945), the Provisional Government moved to the capital and issued a proclamation exhorting the populace to register all confiscated Jewish property in their possession with the authorities. The population was also called upon to divulge the names of Nazi collaborators, and persons guilty of crimes against the Jews. The proclamation included a paragraph abolishing all anti-Semitic decrees in the Budapest region.

The restoration of Jewish property will present a complicated and difficult task. The total value of Jewish property is conservatively estimated at 1.7 billion pengoes, or about 335 million dollars (German and Hungarian sources spoke of 20 and even 30 billion pengoes, i.e., 4 to 5 billion dollars). Information from Hungary reveals that few people refused to share in the robbery of the Jews. According to the Hungarian newspaper Nemerdék as early as May, 1944, over one million Magyars filed applications with the government for property confiscated from the Jews. In Budapest, over 100,000 Magyars filed applications with the municipality to take over the 28,000 apartments vacated by Jews driven to the ghetto. In the little town of Sopron, 3,000 Magyars filed application for some 150 confiscated Jewish concerns.

6. Anti-Semitism

Certain Hungarian elements showed sympathy with and even actively helped the persecuted Jews. The pro-Nazi Magyarosag complained in the spring of 1943 that some Hungarian women "now go so far as to demonstrate their sympathies in the streets and wear the Star of David on their new spring suits." At the height of Jewish persecution in June and July of 1944, numerous Jews were saved by peasants, workers and priests. The majority of the Hungarian people, however, felt differently. In addition to 20 years of anti-Semitic indoctrination under the Horthy regime, Hungarian opinion had been subjected, since the outbreak of the war, to an unprecedented barrage of anti-Jewish propaganda on which the Germans spent millions of dollars. Allied counter-propaganda has been almost non-existent. Only two Allied leaflets against anti-Semitism are known to have been published. The first is entitled "Is your conscience clear?" and the second: "Are you also washing your hands?" Both pamphlets deal with the individual responsibility of all those who introduced and executed anti-Jewish measures. Under

these circumstances, the attitude of the Hungarian public toward the Jewish question may well be surmised.

7. Punishment of War Criminals

Courts have been set up to try members of the Hungarian Fascist Party and active supporters of the Szalasi Government. Confiscated property of the Fascist organizations is to be used for the relief of Jewish widows and orphans whose husbands and parents perished at the hands of the Szalasi regime.

8. Present Situation

According to Gabar Lengyel's statement at the Free Hungarian Parliament, starvation and epidemics are rampant among the liberated Jews and thousands of them may perish, if immediate and extraordinary steps are not taken to help them.

Jewish communal activity is beginning to revive in the liberated areas. In Budapest, a Provisional Jewish Community Council of 36 members has been formed, to advise the government in behalf of destitute Hungarian Jewry. The government has assigned a million pengoes to enable the Jews to open communal kitchens in liberated towns.

It may be noted that new Hungarian legislation favoring Jews, goes considerably beyond that adopted by any of the other liberated countries in Eastern and Western Europe. In most of these lands even such legislation as has been adopted has not been enforced. It remains to be seen whether the decrees of the Debrecen Government will be implemented.

I T A L Y

1. Under Axis Rule

In 1939, Italy had 57,000 Jews, among them 7,773 foreign Jews, the majority (some 6,000) refugees from Germany. The greatest concentration was in Rome (13,700), Milan (7,500), Trieste (4,500), Turin (3,786), Florence (2,800), Genoa (2,700) and Venice (2,000). Expulsion of foreign Jews had already begun in September, 1938, and by the end of 1941, according to the Stefani News Agency, only 3,674 foreign Jews out of the original 7,773 were still in Italy. In the meantime, the number of Jews in Italy was increased by thousands of refugees from neighboring countries. In comparison with German occupied territories, Italy appeared to them a haven of safety.

Under the Defense of the Italian Race law and under several other decrees, Jews were ousted from important positions in almost all fields of Italian life: from the army, from all branches in education, from membership in the Fascist party and from all governmental and administrative posts. In economic life, this legislation banned Jews from any enterprise related to the defense of the nation. Jews were forbidden employment as salesmen, appraisers, canvassers, and were barred from wholesale trade, from the stock exchange and from the administration of private insurance companies. They were not permitted to own land valued at more than 5,000 lire or urban real estate worth more than 20,000 lire. An Institute for the Administration and Liquidation of Immovable Property was established for acquisition, administration and sale of property in excess of the amounts fixed. Under the decree of May 6, 1942, over 10,000 Jews were mobilized for forced labor.

2. The Allied Invasion

The Allied landing on the Italian mainland, September 8, 1943, was the signal for a desperate effort by thousands of Jews to reach safety in parts of Italy even at some distance from the Allied beachheads. After it became evident that the Germans and the Fascists would not soon be driven from northern Italy, groups of Roman and other Italian Jews fled towards the regions held by the Allies. Refugees in internment camps in the south were rescued by the Allied advance. In one such camp, at Ferramonte di Tarsio, near Cosenza, there were 1,866 refugees from Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, China, Turkey, Rumania and Hungary, the majority of them Jews. During the fighting in Calabria, the Italian guards left the

camp and some of the refugees tried to escape. The majority were found by the Allied armies upon their arrival and became the charges of a special staff service which, in cooperation with Red Cross personnel, is attempting to restore their health and vitality. About 2,000 Jewish refugees have found safety in Ferramonte and other centers.

Other Jews were not so fortunate. In November, the Germans, together with Mussolini's reorganized Fascist regime, began a vicious campaign of repression in Rome and northern Italy, where the bulk of Italian Jewry was trapped. The Fascists attributed their debacle to Jewish influence. They adopted Nazi laws disfranchising and expropriating the Jews. The Germans estimated on December 26, 1943, that they had confiscated 12 billion lire worth of Jewish property in parts of Italy under their control.

The rounding-up and internment of Jews has been proceeding since early November, 1943. Soon after the Germans occupied Rome they began to seize men, women and children. They were hampered, according to reports, by Dr. Carmen Samsi, local Chief of Police, who destroyed the records of Jews. On January 2, 1944, after two months, Swedish sources reported that 8,000 of Rome's 10,000 Jews had eluded the Nazis and Fascists, many of them having been hidden by friends. In Trieste, all males from 15 to 65 were ordered interned. Raids were conducted in Milan, Turin, Pisa, etc.: Jews were dragged out of Catholic churches and seminaries where they had sought asylum. By December, 1943, 25,000 had been sent to concentration camps. In April and May, 1944, some 12,000 were deported to Poland. By May, 1944, 701 Jewish-owned agricultural enterprises involving 29,480 hectares were confiscated by the "Republican Fascist Government." On June 20, 1944, Transocean News Agency announced that, so far, 14% to 35% of Jewish property had been expropriated.

3. In Liberated Areas

After the liberation of Rome, 8,000 Jews returned from mountain hide-outs where they had been concealed throughout Nazi occupation of the city. By the end of 1944, 1,500 to 1,700 Jews were reported in Florence, 900 (mostly refugees) in Leghorn, 1,100 (almost all foreign refugees) in Bari, 600 in Naples, 260 (all foreign) in Ferramonte camp, 650 (all foreign) in a camp at Santa Maria di Bagui, 300 in Pisa, 360 in the Lucca area, 100 in Viarregio. By the end of the year, 22,000 Jews, over 500 of them foreign refugees, were reported in liberated Italy. The 1,519 Italian Jews who found refuge in Switzerland have now returned to Italy.

4. Restoration of Rights

A series of decrees (from December 28, 1943, to October 20, 1944) has been published by the Badoglio, and later, the Bonomi governments on the restoration of Jewish rights. These decrees covered reinstatement of Jewish public servants and the reintegration in civil and political life of Italian citizens and foreign Jews.

Resentment was provoked in Italian Jewish circles in February, 1945, when it was revealed that Jews are barred from joining the Italian Forces under a Ministry of War mobilization decree calling up the 1920/24 classes. This was considered an apparently discriminatory measure. Signor Mario Palermo, Under-Secretary of State for War, in a statement to a JTA correspondent, stressed the fact that so far only men who have already seen military service have been called up. "As a result of the absurd racial policy adopted by Mussolini, no Jew has done military service in Italy since 1920. That is why we had to postpone the call-up of Jews of five age groups until we shall be able to reintroduce general conscription."

5. Restoration of Property

The restoration of property proved to be one of the thorniest problems. It was reported (JTA, August 25, 1944) that when the new Italian Government was still in the South, a decree prepared and signed by the King was never promulgated because liberation revealed a situation entirely unforeseen when the measure was first drafted. The issue was more a matter of principle than practical importance, since Jews south of Rome hardly numbered more than 2,000.

On July 13, 1944, Charles Poletti, Commissioner of the Allied Military Government for the Rome Region, issued Regional Ordinance No. 13 creating a special commission to investigate and settle all disputes regarding the restitution of personal and real property. However, this ordinance has not become law because it has been held that the AMG is not competent to issue regulations of such character. In August, 1944, it was reported that a series of decrees for restoration of property confiscated by the Fascists on racial and political grounds, and for indemnification to the victims of Fascist discriminations was being prepared by the Italian Government for promulgation at the earliest possible date. A special commission established by the Ministry of Justice with the advice and cooperation of AMG experts was working on a comprehensive, detailed law covering all aspects of this highly complicated problem. It was considered likely that the first of the decrees might be issued shortly but that complete legislation would be postponed until the entire country was liberated.

6. Emigration

In October, 1944, the Italian Government announced its willingness to grant Italian citizenship to stateless refugees in Italy. At a meeting of Jewish refugees in Rome, Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith, representative of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in Italy, strongly advised the refugees to accept this offer and assured that the Intergovernmental Committee would handle all formalities connected with applications of stateless refugees for Italian citizenship, and that material assistance would be forthcoming to enable the applicants to get a new start.

However, only 10 of the 150 refugees attending the meeting indicated willingness to accept Italian citizenship, while 3 refugees from Belgium said they wanted to return to their own country. All the others insisted on being transferred to Palestine. Their speaker was Abraham Paperman, himself a refugee who organized and financed the flight of 800 Jews from France to Northern Italy in September, 1944. He said that the refugees were deeply grateful to the Italian Government for its offer, but while he had complete confidence in the good intentions of the present government, he feared that conditions were unstable and succeeding governments might cancel previously accorded rights, as had happened in other countries. The only solution for the refugees in Italy was to go to a country where they could expect real security and which had shown its willingness to accept Jews.

The general consensus of opinion among the refugees was that the offer should be accepted by those having roots in Italy and who could be absorbed into the social and economic system of the country, but that it was no solution for most of them who happened to be in Italy only by chance.

7. Anti-Semitism and Punishment

The apparently little evidence of anti-Jewish sentiment in liberated Italy confirms the confession made recently by Enza Pezata, editor of Repubblica Fascista that the anti-Semitic campaign has failed because "the press did not fulfill its obligations." Still, it was reported in August that the police were hunting for those who clandestinely plastered Rome with posters warning

Jews that they "will pay dearly" for divulging the names of Fascists who confiscated their property. Students of Rome University refused to sit on the same benches with Jews; anti-Jewish demonstrations were organized, 12 Fascist students were arrested and 60 others expelled for one year. 700 Fascists were arrested in Rome following the discovery of an organization that was kidnapping Jewish children to curb anti-Fascist activities of their parents. A police raid on printing shops in Rome uncovered stocks of freshly printed, illustrated anti-Semitic leaflets in English, ready for distribution among United States soldiers.

The Italian Government has done its best to punish those responsible for anti-Jewish persecutions; 196 Fascists are being brought to trial before Italian courts on the charge of atrocities against Jews.

8. Rehabilitation and Communal Organization

Still suffering from the general dislocation caused by the war, Nazi domination and the present political crisis, as well as from the division of the country into Allied and Fascist-controlled parts, Italian Jewry is slowly but steadily getting back on its feet. Foreign aid, principally relief rendered by the Joint Distribution Committee, is an important factor in this rehabilitation process.

The first example of self-organization has been given by 2,500 Jewish refugees (mostly from Yugoslavia) now in Southern Italy, where they are not "interned" but are free to leave if they desire. More than a thousand of them have already settled in Bari and have found employment with the Allied military authorities as interpreters, clerks and in other capacities.

At the beginning of each month, two representatives from each center, in Bari, the province of Potenza and the camps at Ferramonte and Santa Maria di Bagni, meet in an informal "refugee parliament" to discuss their common problems. This "parliament" not only provides a highly satisfactory channel for distributing relief sent by American Jewry, but also makes available a great store of personal experience and knowledge on which to draw in planning rehabilitation. It is backed by the democratically organized Jewish refugees in the communities, who have their own elected representatives and committees handling such common interests as schools, training farms, wood and metal-working shops, and other enterprises.

There are encouraging signs of the revival of social and cultural activity among native Italian Jews. Community Councils, communal kitchens, schools and synagogues are being rebuilt everywhere, and there is hope that this process of rehabilitation will continue.

The JDC, which operates here under the aegis of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, has allocated \$390,000 for relief during the current year. Jews in Rome have raised among themselves a fund of 500,000 lire (approximately \$25,000), to be matched by an equal contribution from the JDC, to reopen the community's philanthropic and educational institutions. A similar campaign has been launched in Florence, where local Jews have already allocated 300,000 lire to reopen community institutions. It will cost 5,000,000 lire to repair Florence's magnificent synagogue, which the Nazis mined.

There seems to be a tendency toward a basic change in the economic structure of the Jewish population in Italy. On September 29, 1944, the New York Times reported from Rome that Dr. Ferruccio Sonnino, head of the Jewish Youth Center, urged more Jews to seek occupation on the land and in manual tasks rather than in commerce and the professions. Dr. Sonnino and the Zionists have taken practical steps in this direction. They have obtained tracts of land outside Rome and Bari where Jewish youths are learning the rudiments of farm work. Many of them are preparing for Palestine.

In the autumn of 1944, elections to the Board of the Jewish Community in Rome were planned. But in December it was announced that the Italian Government, on recommendation of Colonel Charles Poletti, head of the Allied Military Government in the Rome area, decided to postpone the election. The action was due to the conflict between two groups of Jewish leaders in Rome, each accusing the other of having had Fascist tendencies under Mussolini's regime. In view of the excitement aroused among the followers of both groups, Colonel Poletti and the Italian Government felt that elections to the Jewish Community Board were inadvisable at the time. The Jewish groups have recently agreed on the composition of the Board, which has been formed.

R U M A N I A

1. Under Axis Rule

At the outbreak of this war, there were 850,000 Jews in Rumania, distributed approximately as follows: 300,000 in Old Rumania and Dobrudja, 330,000 in Bessarabia and Bukovina, 220,000 in Transylvania and the Banat region.

In summer, 1940, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were ceded to the Soviet Union and Northern Transylvania to Hungary. On July 6, 1940, Rumania pledged adherence to the foreign policy of the Axis, and on August 9th, a Jewish Statute, based on racial principles, was enacted. On September 5th, King Carol abdicated in favor of his son Michael, and General Antonescu became Chief of State, "blessed" by Berlin and backed by the violently anti-Semitic Iron Guard. Under Antonescu's regime several bloody Jewish pogroms took place. According to Professor Hudita, Minister of Agriculture in the Radescu Cabinet, 27,000 Jews were killed between 1940 and 1942 in Moldavia alone; of these 12,000 were murdered in Jassi on June 29, 1941. Under laws issued on October 4, and November 12, 1940, Jewish rural and urban property was radically "Rumanized." According to the figures submitted by the Jewish General Council in Bucharest to the Sanatescu Government in November, 1944, the following properties were confiscated from the Jews under the Antonescu regime: 3,178 agricultural possessions, comprising 47,455 hectares of land (about 117,000 acres), of which 351 were woods; 99 timber factories, 260 mills, 152 ships, 323 varied industries; 30,691 urban properties with 93,335 flats. The dismissed Jewish employees and apprentices numbered 21,718, representing with their dependents a total of 60,000 persons.

A decree of November 15, 1941, introduced forced labor for all Jewish males between 18 and 50 years of age. The Zurich Volksrecht of August 8, 1942, reported that of the 98,000 Jews of Bucharest, 28,177 were engaged in forced labor and that, of all Jewish males in Rumania between 18 and 50, only 17,000 were at that time still exempt from forced labor because of the specialized skilled work they performed. The latter group was taxed to the tune of 1,200,000,000 lei (about \$6,000,000 at the April, 1941 rate of 200 lei to the American dollar). The Jewish population was also compelled to subscribe heavily to the Rumanian war loan and was ordered to pay a collective punitive tax of four billion lei, by December 31, 1943.

In October, 1941, all Jews of reconquered Bessarabia and 85% of the Jews of Bukovina, as well as of several towns in Moldavia (Dorohoi, Hertza), were deported across the Dniester River to the Rumanian occupied Ukraine, known as Transnistria. The Council for Bukovinian Jewish Affairs in Tel Aviv reported on August 31, 1944, that until the end of 1942, some 200,000 Rumanian Jews had been deported to Transnistria. Thousands died of maltreat-

ment, exposure, hunger and disease on the road to their destination. In Transnistria itself, the situation was such that only 55,000 survived by the end of 1943.

In Southern Transylvania, which remained under Rumanian sovereignty, the stringent Rumanian anti-Semitic laws were fully applied, so that Jews lost their positions, were drafted into forced labor, and suffered serious disabilities, political and personal. They were not, however, deported from the country, nor were any mob excesses committed against them. In Brasov and Sibiu the Jewish population was comparatively small, and persecution was limited to legal discrimination.

In Hungarian annexed Northern Transylvania, however, beginning with May 1944, persecutions of a far more serious nature took place. Out of some 150,000 Jews in this area, 125,000 to 130,000 were deported to German-held Poland, packed 60 to 70 in closed metal cattle cars without food or water.

2. Rumania Quits the Axis -- General Situation

When, on August 23, 1944, Rumania quit the Axis and asked the Allies for an Armistice, the Jewish population of the country did not exceed 290,000. Some 183,000 were completely destitute and were assisted by the International Red Cross, in November, 1944. The breakdown figures for the destitute are as follows: 17,000 deportees, repatriated from Transnistria; 90,000, representing 30,000 men released from three years compulsory labor and their families; 20,000 evacuees from villages and small towns in the frontier areas; 10,000 evacuees from war zones; 20,000 bombed-out; 20,000 workers and officials who were discharged from their former jobs; 6,000 Hungarian Jews found alive in Northern Transylvania.

At least 70,000 Jews are in need of clothing. In February, 1945, Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, Chairman of the European Executive Council of the JDC, estimated that not less than 216,000 Jews in Rumania require assistance in some form or another. Unlike other countries, Rumania has food, but these people do not have the money with which to pay the constantly mounting prices. As an emergency grant for the last three months of 1944, the JDC provided \$1,000,000 through the International Red Cross for relief requirements in Rumania. The new budget submitted by Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, Chairman of the JDC Committee in Bucharest, called for expenditure of \$800,000 monthly for the first three months of this year.

Jewish leaders in Rumania have completed plans for immediate aid to Jews repatriated from Transnistria and those liberated from concentration camps. Each family is supposed to receive 75,000 lei (approximately \$375) to restore it to more or less normal economic status. It is estimated that a billion lei (\$5,000,000) will be needed to finance such assistance.

It is clear that even the maximum contributions that might be expected from Jewish philanthropic organizations would not be sufficient to meet even the immediate needs of destitute Rumanian Jewry.

Particularly critical is the situation of some Jews in Northern Transylvania, where 6,500 to 7,000 were counted in January, 1945. Of these, 1,000 to 1,500 were, for some reason, exempt from deportation or were in hiding, while some 5,000 to 5,500 were in work detachments of the Hungarian Army (the total number of North Transylvanian Jews in this category was 18,000 to 20,000). They worked behind the front and were able to escape as the Red Army advanced.

Jews of the first category (those who remained in Transylvania) are in a poor, though tolerable condition. They have been able to save most of their clothing, and even their homes. Those who escaped from work camps have come back in rags, completely exhausted both physically and mentally. They have found their homes looted, their families deported. The majority of the men have lost their wives. In Cluj there are 1,000 Jewish men and only 20 to 30 women; in Oradea 1,500 men and 50 to 60 women. The economic situation is very critical. It is practically impossible for anyone to get his old job back. Shopkeepers and artisans found their old establishments empty or destroyed.

2. Armistice

The Armistice with Rumania was signed September 10, 1944. The following sections of the Rumanian Armistice are of particular interest to Jews: Article 6: "The Rumanian Government will liberate at once all persons, independently of their civil status and nationality, who are kept under arrest owing to their activity to the advantage of the United Nations or for their sympathy with the cause of the United Nations, or owing to their racial origin, and will also abolish all discriminatory legislation and restrictions resulting therefrom." Article 2: "The Government and the High Command of Rumania undertake to carry out measures for disarmament and internment of the armed forces of Germany and Hungary who are on Rumanian territory and also for the internment of civilians of both above-mentioned powers who are living there."

An appendix to this Article provides: "Measures laid down in Paragraph 2 concerning internment of German and Hungarian citizens on Rumanian territory are not to apply to citizens of these countries of Jewish nationality."

Article 14: "The Government and the High Command of Rumania undertake to collaborate with the Allied (Soviet) High Command in the task of detention of persons accused of war crimes and in trial of such persons." According to Article 15, the Rumanian Government immediately undertakes to disband all pro-Hitlerite organizations. These organizations are ones which were responsible for the anti-Jewish campaign. Indirectly, Article 16 dealing with the control of distribution in Rumania of literature, plays, etc., may close the door to insidious anti-Jewish propaganda from outside.

3. Restoration of Rights

As early as August 28th, a series of decrees was promulgated by the Satanescu regime, which provided, inter-alia for the abolishment of all internment and concentration camps in Rumania and for the release of the internees without further formalities, as well as amnesty for infringements of the racial laws enforced by the Antonescu Government. In a statement issued October 25th, Satanescu's Foreign Minister asserted that since all racial legislation had automatically become unconstitutional upon re-establishment on August 30th of the constitutions of 1886 and 1923, Jews enjoyed full political and economic rights. He admitted, however, that specific decrees abolishing all discriminatory legislation were necessary and would be issued shortly. Legislation to establish machinery for the restoration of Jewish property was being drafted, he further announced, and all government departments had been instructed to reinstate Jewish employees dismissed under the anti-Jewish laws, while professional organizations had been ordered to readmit Jews.

The process of carrying out these decrees and promises has been very slow. On October 22, 1944, Joseph M. Levy, Balkan correspondent of the New York Times, cabled to his paper from Istanbul:

"With the overthrow of the Antonescu regime, forced labor camps have been abolished and the Jews who survived the hard labor returned to their respective towns hoping to resume their old jobs.

"But to their consternation they discovered that they had neither jobs nor homes to go back to. Both had been occupied by 'aryans'. Although six weeks have elapsed since the Rumanian Armistice was signed, all appeals to the Government to enact a law forcing employers to reinstate Jews in their former jobs remain unheeded.

"Even the leaders of the Communist and Social Democratic parties, the so-called banner-bearers of 'justice for all' in Rumania, refuse to intervene on behalf of these Jews. These leaders are courting non-Jewish Rumanian wage-earners, 'who must not be antagonized,' I learned during a recent visit to Rumania.

"Ostensibly, the anti-Jewish laws in Rumania have been abolished, but the Government is not taking any action to restore Jewish property and normal rights, like those enjoyed by other Rumanian citizens. Abrogation of the anti-racial laws has freed the Jews from concentration and forced labor camps, but they are able to do little with this freedom.

"Unable to retake possession of their homes, the Jews are forced to share a tiny room with two or even three other families, or pay fabulous black market rental for small apartments, which are virtually unobtainable. The Government even refuses to restore Jewish institutions, such as schools, homes for the aged, and hospitals, some of which are actually vacant."

The reinstatement of Jewish officials, officers and professionals who have lost their positions under the old regime was not unconditional. On January 14, 1945, the Bucharest Radio announced army reinstatement of "a number of Jewish officers dismissed in 1940 for racial reasons." A decree published in Monitorul Oficial on August 5, 1944, provided that Jewish engineers desiring to practice their professions must submit an application with credentials to the Engineers Corps, which can fulfill or refuse these applications. In November, a special commission instituted by the Ministry of Social Insurance was given power to decide on requests for reinstatement of all former doctors, pharmacists and employees who were removed from the Institute of Social Insurance for racial reasons.

4. Restitution of Property

In November, 1944, the Jewish General Council of Bucharest, speaking for Rumanian Jewry, submitted to the Rumanian Government a memorandum demanding radical measures for the immediate amelioration of the economic plight of Rumanian Jews and for the practical implementation of the rights restored to them by the abolition of the "aryan" laws under the terms of the Armistice.

The memorandum demanded: (1) The cancellation of all forced sales of Jewish property since August 9, 1940, when the racist laws were enacted in Rumania; (2) The restoration to the Jews of all urban and rural property and movables taken from them; (3) The reinstatement of landlords, leaseholders and tenants to property or flats previously possessed or occupied by them; (4) The cancellation of all public leases, the restitution of all mortgage bonds expropriated from the Jews, and the cancelling of all special taxes imposed on the Jews; (5) All Jewish employees and apprentices with private

concerns, who had been dismissed under the "aryan" laws, should be reinstated with all rights. If their former places of work have been liquidated, identical or similar jobs are to be found for them in private or government institutions. The same is requested for apprentices whose licenses or contracts have been cancelled. In all cases, salaries are to be paid for the entire period, from the day of their dismissal to the day of their reinstatement.

This reintegration into the economic life of the country, the memorandum pointed out, was demanded by the Jewish General Council not only because of its immediate benefit to the petitioners, nor for humanitarian reasons alone, but because it is a serious social and economic question for the whole country, since all these Jews are extremely impoverished and without the possibility of earning a living. This reintegration is also imperative as a logical consequence of the abrogation of the racial laws and the restoration of the constitution, the petitioners stated.

Replying to the contention that restoring jobs to the Jews would mean the dismissal of employees who had replaced them, the memorandum explained that this problem can be solved easily. They can be distributed among identical or similar state or private enterprises. Besides, probably 60,000 vacancies will be created by the dismissal of Germans and pro-Nazis, so that all conflicts over the restoration of jobs to the Jews will be avoidable.

How Jewish property was being restored may be gauged from the following: The Universul (Bucharest) of December 6, 1944, revealed that 257,204,514 lei were contributed by the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs to Antonescu's Cabinet from "donations and sums collected from the Jews." Of this sum, 189,677,888 lei were spent by the former regime until August 23, 1944, when it was overthrown. There never was a question of returning this huge amount to the Jews. But the fate of the remaining 67,526,626 lei is also not clear. The Rumanian Home Service claimed on December 8, 1944, that "the Presidency of the Council of Ministers yesterday (December 7) returned to Jewish organizations accounts totalling 67 million lei." The above quoted usually well-informed Universul reported on December 6th, however, that in accordance with the decision of the cabinet, the remainder of 67,526,626 lei will be used as follows: (a) over 20 million lei will be returned to Jewish organizations; (b) over 13 million lei will be used for the reconstruction of the Rumanian Opera; (c) over 33 million lei which "were donated by various persons and institutions," will be turned over to the Rumanian Ministry of Finance.

Worth noticing is also the report of the Hungarian Magyarorszag of September 7, 1944, that a deputation from the Jewish community of Bucharest presented a check for 100,000 pounds sterling to King Michael "in appreciation of the fact that the Jews are again permitted to be employed in commerce and government positions." The newspaper states that this sum came from funds hidden by the Jews to evade former laws requiring the surrender of such monies. King Michael "promised pardon for the concealing of the funds."

Almost four months passed following the overthrow of the Antonescu regime (August 23, 1944), before a royal decree, abolishing all anti-Jewish legislation and restoring rights and properties to Jews, was issued on December 14, 1944. However, this decree was obviously unsatisfactory. The reinstatement of ousted Jewish employees was not made immediate and automatic. The decree required that interested Jews file requests for reinstatement within a fixed period after its promulgation. The payment of salaries for the four years during which Jewish employees had been removed from their posts under the anti-Jewish laws, promised by the original draft of the decree, was dropped in the final text. The date when Jews will regain possession of their former homes now occupied by intruding Rumanians was postponed until April 23, 1945, "in order," as explained by Minister of Justice Lucretiu Patrascanu, "to avoid the sudden evacuation of thousands of employees who are now occupying these homes."

This decree was strongly criticized by responsible Rumanian Jewish leaders. Abraham J. Zissu, leader of the Jewish National Party, declared: "The decree may satisfy lawyers, but it is not satisfactory to the Jews, since the majority of them will not secure their full rights as ousted employees and as landlords and tenants who were ejected from their homes." Even more outspoken in his criticism was Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, President of the Union of Rumanian Jews. In a statement published in Renasterea Noastra of December 22, 1944, Dr. Filderman declared: "In all, the decree grants the Jewish employees, landlords and tenants not right, but a favor which is subjected to legal procedure, fees, and to long terms of hearing... Instead of abolishing racial legislation, the Patrascanu decree maintains such legislation in force." In an article published in Semnalul, Dr. Filderman stressed that the provisions of the decree are not in keeping with the Constitution and the Armistice terms, and he insisted on immediate reinstatement of Jews ousted from employment and on the removal from Jewish apartments of Rumanians who moved in when the Jewish dwellers were ejected under the anti-Jewish regulations.

On December 18th, all Rumanian papers carried the reply of Mr. Patrascanu to the criticism levelled against the promulgated decree. The Minister of Justice said that the anti-Semitic persecutions have no greater adversaries than

the Communists; but he expressed the view that radical measures for indemnifying the Jews might be prejudicial to the war effort. "The new Rumania intends to fight racialism," he declared. "The new decree invalidates all the racial laws and establishes equal rights for Jews. The Jews should understand that we are not only defending their interests, but also attempting to establish a basis for mutual understanding between all Rumanian citizens without regard to ethnic origin." Pointing out that the section of the new decree most objected to by Dr. Filderman deals with certain categories of Rumanians who moved into Jewish homes, the Minister continued: "Despite the cruel behavior of many of the civil servants who moved into Jewish properties, Jews should not insist on retaliation if they understand the necessity of amicable relations with the Rumanian population. If the repeal of anti-Semitic legislation had been enforced earlier, i.e., in September, it would have been possible to effect the removal of the approximately 40,000 C.N.R. (State Administration of Jewish Properties) tenants. Now in the midst of winter their removal would cause tremendous trouble."

As for compensation due Jewish proprietors, Mr. Patrascanu explained that the Rumanian State cannot afford to undertake compensation before the end of the war. A law of retaliation, he emphasized, would do the greatest harm to the Jewish population itself. According to Mr. Patrascanu, the sharpest criticism came from the Jewish apartment-house owners, who are disappointed at not being able to squeeze high rents out of houseless people. Mr. Patrascanu ended his declarations with the hope that, with the support of the Jewish masses, he will be able to crush reactionary Jews who, after making profits out of their collaboration with the dictators and with the German occupants, try to provoke trouble and confusion.

The decree gained a measure of support from leading Jewish members of the National Democratic Front. According to Curierul Israelit of December 31, 1944, Jewish Communists called a public meeting of Bucharest Jews on December 22nd and "advanced a very intricate political argument trying to prove that the Patrascanu decree was an excellent one, in spite of the fact that it restored to the Jews neither flats nor jobs they had been deprived of by the very legislation it had come to abolish." The Curierul Israelit sharply denounced this attitude.

Early in 1945, the Radescu Government announced its decision to expropriate 500 Jewish-owned buildings for state administration use. Jewish leaders and the liberal press of Rumania joined in a protest against this decision. The Jewish Party issued a statement declaring that the expropriations constituted a discriminatory measure. Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, President of the Union of Jewish Communities, submitted a memorandum to the Ministry of Finance, pointing out that the expropriations were disadvantageous to the Government, first, because the Government does not at present possess sufficient funds to pay for the buildings and, second, because some of the buildings are housing Jewish communal institutions in charge of feeding and clothing the destitute Jewish section of the population.

The newspaper Jurnalul, founded by Foreign Minister Constantin Visoianu, pointed out that the decree "is obviously of a racial character and very surprising, considering that the Armistice regulations provide for the abolition of all racial laws."

Yielding to the protests of Jewish leaders and liberal opinion, the Rumanian Government rescinded the order for the confiscation of the 500 Jewish-owned buildings.

5. Punishment of War Criminals

The Rumanian Minister of Justice, Lucretiu Patrascanu, appointed a special Commission to draft, by February 1, 1945, a law providing punishment for those who committed crimes against the Jews since the beginning of the war. The draft law covers the following crimes against Jews: ordering or committing cruelties, establishing ghettos or concentration camps, deporting people beyond the country's borders, organizing labor camps, inhuman treatment of internees, issuing and practicing racial laws.

Not one of the three governments which ruled Rumania since the collapse of the pro-Nazi Antonescu regime have made a real attempt to remove Jewish disabilities or fulfill their obligations under the Armistice terms. All Rumanian political parties, without distinction, behaved in the traditional manner and bear the responsibility for the failure to rehabilitate destitute Rumanian Jewry. The new government of Peter Groza has thus far not introduced any essential improvements in the picture.

6. Repatriation from USSR

In December, 1944, a Jewish delegation, headed by Dr. Filderman, visited General Sergei Vinogradov, chief of the Russian Armistice Commission in Rumania, and submitted a memorandum containing the following requests: (1) That 9,000 Rumanian Jews who are still in Transnistria, where they were deported by the Germans, be repatriated by the Soviet authorities to their home towns in Rumania; (2) That Jews from Transylvania who were used by the Germans for forced labor on the German-Russian front, and who were taken prisoner by the Russians, should be released from internment and returned to their homes.

In February, 1945, the Rumanian Section of the World Jewish Congress was informed by Colonel Borisov and Colonel Gusev of the Inter-Allied Control Commission that the problem of the return to Rumania of Jews from Southern Bukovina deported by the former regime to the Soviet Ukraine, was definitely resolved by the Soviet authorities. The Soviet Government approved the repatriation of these Jews, as well as deported Jews from the Old Kingdom, at present in Moldavia or in the Ukrainian Republic. Commissions for reception and first aid will be established at the Rumanian frontier with the participation of representatives of Jewish organizations approved by the Rumanian Commission for the Implementation of the Armistice.

7. Mobilization of Jewish Youth

One of the first acts of the new government was to call Jewish young men of the 1935-1940 army classes to the Rumanian Army. They had to report during the month of October, 1944. Later, in January, 1945, the 1941-1946 classes were ordered to report at the district territorial centers. Rabbis who held office before 1940 were exempt from military service. This enlistment was ordered despite the fact that over 30,000 Jews between 18 and 50 years of age had been impressed for almost three years into forced labor battalions.

It was reported that hundreds of Rumanian Jewish youths refused to answer the call to serve with the Rumanian Army, which only recently had been allied with the Germans and was deeply saturated with anti-Semitism. They pointed out that many Rumanian soldiers and officers actively participated in the extermination of Rumania's Jews. To prove that their refusal to serve with the Rumanian forces did not imply an effort to evade military service, many of these youths filed petitions with the Soviet Military Mission in Bucharest asking to be taken into the Red Army. These petitions have been turned down, however, on the ground that the Red Army has no right to recruit even volunteers among Rumanian citizens on Rumanian soil. Upon protests by Jewish leaders, the Government postponed conscription of Jews for a month, while the Army was to be purged of anti-Semitic and Fascist elements. Jewish reserve officers proposed that the War Ministry establish separate Jewish battalions under Jewish commanders to avoid friction and conflicts. By the end of January, it was reported that an agreement had been reached between Jewish leaders and the Government providing for conscription of 25,000 Jewish youths into the Rumanian Army.

8. Minority Status

In November, 1944, Professor Vladescue-Racoasa, Minister of Nationalities, made the following statement concerning the status of Rumanian Jews, quoted by Timpul of November 29, 1944: "In democratic Rumania the Jews are not considered a minority or nationality; they are purely and simply Rumanians of a different religion and they will regain under the new democratic regime all the rights conferred by Rumanian citizenship." The draft of the statute of nationalities prepared early in December, 1944, forbade the investigation of the ethnic origin of Rumanian citizens (Timpul, December 6, 1944). In the bulletins issued by the official Rumanian Statistical Institute, Jews were no longer listed as a distinct ethnic group, but were classified under the category "altiisi nedeclarati" (others and non-declared).

All Rumanian Jewish groups, except the Union of Rumanian Jews led by Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, declared strong opposition to their new status of "Rumanians of the Mosaic Religion" and demanded that Jews be restored to the status of a national minority which they had until the outbreak of the war under international treaties. With the abolition of this status, the Jews have lost the rights they possessed under it, while they have not yet gained any practical results from their new status.

9. Anti-Semitism

Anti-Semitic tendencies have not disappeared in Rumania. Despite the announced policy of the new Rumanian Government and the presence of Soviet troops, several anti-Jewish outbursts have occurred. At Bucharest University anti-Semitic students refused to sit near Jews and demanded that the Jews be segregated on special ghetto benches. A group of hoodlums, armed with pistols and blackjacks, tried to cause riots in the Bucharest section. Violence flared in several Transylvanian towns (in Cluj, Temesvar, Oradea Mara) when officials sought to restore occupied Jewish homes and property. The Soviet authorities, while generally refraining from direct interference in the civil affairs of the country, were obliged in this instance to aid the Rumanian authorities.

The Jewish veteran leader, Dr. Filderman, avowed that while the Jews must naturally press for the return of what is rightfully theirs, because they cannot otherwise maintain their existence, efforts to return their property would unavoidably increase anti-Jewish sentiment, already deeply ingrained by the German occupation.

The German sponsored puppet "Rumanian National Government" of Horia Sima is conducting a violent anti-Semitic campaign, identifying Jews and Bolsheviks and placing the responsibility for all the troubles in Rumania on the Jews. The facts that a Jewish doctor, Ritter, has been installed as mayor of Brasov, that the president of the local Communist party of Alba Julia is a young Jewish journalist and playwright, Alexandru Kelets (Klein), and that a prominent Jewish Rumanian Communist, Anna Pauker, the daughter of a "shochet," was closely connected with the replacement of General Radescu's Government by the leftist cabinet of Peter Groza, have been largely utilized for anti-Jewish propaganda. Members who toured Moldavia early in January, 1945, reported that "considerable anti-Semitism is apparent among the Rumanian population." According to United States representatives, this phenomenon can be explained by the proportionately increased Jewish population in Moldavia due to the flight of many Rumanians from the area. Most towns they visited had at least a 50% Jewish population engaged chiefly in commerce. Also the Jews began to participate actively in the local administrations, usually in the leftist parties. In February, 1945, the Rumanian Minister of the Interior demanded that the Union of Jewish Community Councils issue a warning to Jews against participation in "radical propaganda aimed at undermining confidence in the Government." This the Union rejected,

pointing out that Jews cannot be held collectively responsible for the opinions or actions of individuals and that it was unfair to demand that Jewry as a whole take sides in Rumania's political controversies.

10. Emigration

All serious observers of the Jewish situation in Rumania agree that large sections of Rumanian Jewry desire to emigrate and that mass emigration presents the main solution for the Jewish problem in Rumania.

Abraham L. Zissu, Rumanian Jewish leader and representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, declared in December, 1944, that "the only solution to the problem of the 150,000 Rumanian Jews who are deprived of the means of earning a livelihood, is emigration. About 30,000 have already made all preparations to go to Palestine, and their situation is desperate because of the restrictions on Palestine immigration." Dr. Filderman, who was always opposed to Zionism, stated in November that "no person of responsibility can have the slightest doubt of the necessity for unlimited immigration into Palestine." Upon his return from the Balkans early in 1945, Eliahu Dobkin, deputy of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, reported that at least 80% of the Jews surviving in Rumania want to go to Palestine and 50,000 had already registered with the Palestine offices. After having toured Moldavia in January, 1945, American members of the Allied Control Commission stated that many Jews "wish to leave Rumania since they feel the antagonism [of the Rumanian population] is beyond cure." Edgar Snow, writing in the Saturday Evening Post of August 26, 1944, on conditions in Russian occupied cities of Rumania, also refers to the overwhelming desire of the Jews to emigrate from Rumania. A correspondent of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, who is described as a "close and reliable observer," categorically states that "the need for mass emigration from Rumania must be reckoned with."

The attitude of the Rumanian Government to Jewish emigration was formulated by Foreign Minister Constantin Visoianu, in November, 1944, as follows: "Everything possible will be done to facilitate Jewish emigration, though this does not mean that it is in the interests of Rumania; on the contrary, it is Rumania's desire that the Jews should remain in the country, as they have contributed largely to the progress of her national economy. On the other hand, the Government is not opposed to Jewish emigration to Palestine and agrees that there is a necessity for the establishment of a Jewish State." However, the Government informed the Jewish Community Council of Bucharest that Jewish youths of both sexes over eighteen years of age will not be permitted to leave the country. This government decision has come as a shock to Jewish leaders who had been negotiating for the transfer of these youths to Palestine.

11. Revival of Communal Life

Jewish social and political life is gradually being revived. As early as September, 1944, HIAS-ICA reopened its office in Bucharest, the OSE renewed its work in Rumania, and Zionist organizations revived their activities. In November, a conference of the Rumanian Section of the World Jewish Congress took place. In Cernauti (Bukovina) two Jewish schools with a total of 1,086 pupils opened their doors, and the formation of a rabbinical school by the Association of Rabbis from Poland, Hungary and Rumania, and of a Yeshiva, was announced in December in Transylvania.

The Federation of Jewish Communities is dealing with relief and educational matters. It consists of 28 members representing 7 Jewish groups. The Zionist Organization, the Jewish Party, the Union of Rumanian Jews, the Communists, the Social Democrats, the Jewish Section of the National Liberal Party and the Jewish Section of the National Peasant Party have 4 delegates each, the Chief Rabbi making the 29th member.

In August, 1944, the Rumanian Government established a General Jewish Council to act as a central political representative body for all the Jews of the country. The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Party refused to participate, and following growing internal dissension, the government dissolved this body on January 22, 1945.

S L O V A K I A

1. Under Axis Rule

When, in March, 1939, the German Reich recognized the "independence" of Slovakia, the Jewish population in this puppet state numbered 69,000 souls. Reports from official sources in Bratislava, published five years later, indicated that from March to October, 1942, the Jewish population had been reduced to 12,000, with 6,000 engaged in skilled and professional occupations, and the other 6,000 their dependents. On March 1, 1944, it was reported that 3,211 Jews were in forced labor camps and that the number working in free economic enterprises was steadily diminishing. By the middle of 1942, some 54,000 to 57,000 Slovakian Jews were transferred to Germany and from there deported East, where they disappeared. The Slovak Government paid Germany 5,000 Krons for each deported Jew.

At the end of summer, 1944, when the Red Army scored its first important gains in Slovakia, some 15,000 Jews were still alive in the country (according to Red Cross information). Sano Mach, Slovak Vice-President, announced at the time that Jews would no longer be deported "provided they behave." About 2,500 Jews, who were liberated from camps in central Slovakia,

and 4,000 to 5,000 from other districts, joined the partisan forces in an uprising against the puppet regime. All but a few of these Jews were captured and killed. At the same time, deportations were resumed; 4,000 were deported in the middle of September and by the end of the month almost all the Jews of Bratislava were sent to an "unknown destination."

2. Liberated Areas

According to a Red Cross source, only 2,000 to 3,000 Jews were left in Slovakia by the end of 1944. There are no Jews left in Eastern Slovakia. In Humene, only 30 (out of 3,000 in 1942) remain alive, and there are two or three Jews still living in each of the towns of Sekovce, Trebisov, and Medilaborce.

All the Jews, except very few, have been wiped out in Hungarian-annexed and now liberated Subcarpathian Russia. In Ungvar there are 130 Jews left; in Bereksas, 300; in Mind, 230; and in Sevlus, 120; these are all young people between 18 and 40 years of age, who were forced laborers during the Hungarian occupation.

3. The Slovak National Council

Certain parts of the liberated territory of Slovakia have been handed over by the Red Army to the administration of the Slovak National Council (Slovenska Narodna Rada, SNR). The SNR set up headquarters in Kosice at the beginning of September, 1944, in accordance with the agreements reached between its representatives, the Czechoslovak Government and Frantisek Nemec, the government delegate for the liberated territory. The legal basis of SNR's authority to act as administrative organ is the Decree on National Committees, which was signed by President Benes on December 4, 1944. The two Slovak political parties, the Communists and the Democrats, are represented in the SNR.

There are no precise data on the policy adopted by the SNR with regard to the Jewish question. According to reliable information, members of the SNR en route to Moscow, in February, 1945, stated that no automatic repatriation of deported Slovak Jews will be permitted. Each Jew who would like to return will have to make application to a special commission, which will permit return only in cases where the interested person "will be of benefit to the Slovak people." This regulation -- if and when carried out -- would automatically exclude a large section of Slovak Jews engaged in inn-keeping and small trade which are not considered as "contributing to the benefit of the people." According to the same source, the SNR does not intend to give back automatically to the returning Jews property confiscated from them and "nationalized" or distributed among the Slovaks. It was also reported that in the liberated areas,

commercial enterprises owned by Jews and confiscated by the Germans will remain temporarily under state control. A decree of the Slovak National Council says: "All enterprises in the possession of persons of German nationality are to be controlled by the state, including Jewish enterprises acquired under the anti-Jewish laws or by private agreement."

This policy is obviously in striking contradiction to the official stand taken by the Czechoslovak Government, on whose authority the SNR is acting. When asked, in May, 1944, what were the Czechoslovak Government intentions concerning the repatriation of Czech Jews and the restitution of their property, President Benes stated: "The repatriation of all Czechoslovak citizens, Jews and non-Jews, will be accomplished by the Government, helped by the Army, immediately after the overcoming of transport difficulties. I shall be glad to see among us again, all members of our nation, without regard to creed or origin. As to the restitution of Jews to their former position, our laws do not make a difference between loyal citizens whatever may be their origin or religion."

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RELIGION

in Present-Day Jewish Life

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D.D., Litt.D.
Rabbi, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio



Address delivered at the xxxvi BIENNIAL CONVENTION, U.A.H.C.
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RELIGION

in Present-Day Jewish Life

MANY factors have tended to make religion of secondary importance in the life of our people.

Religion, generally, has been pushed into a subordinate position in the Western World. Science has steadily divested it of many of its franchises. The satisfactions which men experienced in the increase of power, wealth and material well-being, yielded by science, placed the latter upon the pedestal which was formerly occupied by religion, whose gifts were now less prized and sought after. Science successfully refuted many pronouncements which were made by religion in its sacred texts concerning the universe, nature and man. This cast suspicion upon much else in religion. The separation of church and state, the growth in civil authority and the contraction of ecclesiastical authority, the secularization of education and, in the realm of speculative thought, the divorce of philosophy from theology—all these were both cause and effect of the diminishing importance of religion in modern society.

Other forms of loyalty clamored for supremacy, nation, country, race, class. Each of these derived its sanctions and mandates from sources other than religion, and proceeded to construct systems of thought with little or no reference to it.

The Jewish people left the ghettos of the Western World at a time when these secular movements were unfolding. The world from which the Jews emerged was thoroughly pervaded by religion. It had been thus pervaded for centuries. Every phase and activity of life was bound by its discipline. Nevertheless, the Jews yielded to the new temper of the age as readily as any other people. In some countries they not only caught up with the new secular mood of the Western World but out-distanced it in dogmatic ardor and intensity.

There transpired among the Jewries of Western and Eastern Europe not only reform movements designed to revamp their religious ideas and practices, to "modernize" them and to bring them into consonance with the new outlook of Europe, but also strong centrifugal movements away from Judaism altogether—movements of flight, not towards other faiths so much—these latter flights were dictated, as a rule, by careerism and social escalade—but towards religious negativism and indifference, expressed in non-affiliation with the synagogue and in a renunciation of the entire religious regimen of Judaism.

This flight from Judaism was also motivated by strong political and economic considerations. Throughout the 19th century, Jews struggled for emancipation. They reached out after complete equality. They believed that their distinctive religious beliefs and traditional way of life segregated them and disadvantaged them among men. They further believed that by surrendering them they would succeed in acquiring those rights and privileges which other peoples possessed. This political and economic motif behind the flight complex was soon rationalized into a system of thought, conveniently neutral and agnostic, which discounted religion generally and proclaimed that the scientific progress of mankind had finally outstripped religion

and that while religion may still have a certain usefulness for the young, the poor and the unenlightened, cultured and prosperous folk can get along very well without it. All religious and racial differences were certain to be merged very soon in a common brotherhood of men, dedicated to the life of pure reason. The mighty accents of the American and French Revolutions and the other up-surgings political struggles of the century reverberated through all this hopeful and wishful thinking. Thus Enlightenment and Emancipation were the Pied-Piper whose music beguiled many Jews away from their ancient loyalties and spiritual securities.

The wealthy and the well-placed Jews especially pampered themselves with these comforting notions. The richer they became and the more important positions they occupied, the less need they had for religion. The upper classes which succeeded in reaching, if not the center, then at least the periphery of the non-Jewish world, were most supercilious in their attitude towards Judaism. When men are prosperous they find it easy to dispense with God—especially with a Jewish God.

Fortunately not all Jews were of the same mind. Many refused to exchange spiritual treasures for material advantage. They saw neither the need nor the wisdom of it. They were of the opinion that if freedom and equality are to come to all men, they should come also to the Jews as a matter of right, as a restoration of that which belongs to them and to all men as a natural endowment, and not in payment for unwarranted sacrifices of religious convictions, a distinctive culture and an historic way of life. They furthermore suspected that the new millennium might turn out to be quite as much of a mirage as many others in the long past of Israel, and, on the basis of past experiences, they feared that should another such reaction in their political and economic fortunes set in, Jews would find themselves spiritually shattered, homeless and utterly bereft, unless they had the secured sanctuaries of Jewish life and faith into which to retreat for refuge and solace. Many other Jews, out of force of habit or because of the strong appeal of ancient ties and memories, remained constant. So that Judaism was not lost.

Throughout the 19th and the early 20th centuries, wide and ominous cracks appeared in the beautiful facade of European Enlightenment and Emancipation. Startling eruptions of violent anti-Semitism occurred, at one time or another, in nearly every country of Western Europe. Medievalism raised its ugly head over and over again, either as a Magyar blood libel or a Germanic literary pogrom or a Gaelic "cause celebre" or an outright Slavic slaughter of Jews. The rains sadly disfigured the wall "daubed with whited plaster," and the foundations thereof were uncovered.

Some Jews were quick to read these warning signs. They returned to their faith and their people as if to a shelter from a gathering storm. Others, however, persisted in their hypnosis, discounted these evidences of an underlying menace and blithely proceeded on their way. In the generation before the World War, Judaism in Western Europe touched bottom, and it languished also among vast sections of Jewry in the United States.

Then came the World War which unleashed all the furies. Who can number the high hopes of mankind which perished upon its battlefields? What was apparently won, was actually sunk and lost in their bloody bogs—freedom, democracy, the self-determination of peoples, the rights of minorities and the vision of an international order based upon law, justice and peace. Out of the ten million graves of the need-

lessly slain, there arose the dread ghosts of hatred, of national and racial passions, of arrogance and vindictiveness, of widespread want and bitter class struggle, and of a dread stampede towards force, violence and terror as life's sole technique. These ghosts are dancing today their "dance macabre" in the hearts of men and nations. Civilization is plunging into darkness and chaos. A paganism far more crass and cruel than that of antiquity is engulfing the whole Western World.

For the Jewish people, the World War and its aftermath spelled Golgotha! A quarter of a century of mounting disasters and calamities culminating in the unprecedented horrors of recent months. Great Jewish communities, rich in history, culture and achievement, among whom the dream of a free, enlightened and tolerant humanity was most ardently cherished, have been plunged into Hell. Gone for them are Enlightenment and Emancipation. Gone are the dreams of human brotherhood and equality. Gone are the beckoning horizons of great careers and great service. Gone are all shelter and all security. Gone, even, the scant and tenuous security of the ghetto! Into exile, broken, stripped and impoverished, they must go, even as their forefathers before them, who knew neither Enlightenment nor Emancipation. From countries and homes where they had known dignity, honor, power and wealth, Jews, in their mounting legions, must now wander forth, bewildered and disillusioned into a bewildered and disillusioned world.

For the world, generally, stands today bewildered and disillusioned. The strong and sure foundations upon which it had builded its life have been rudely shaken. That high optimism which fed upon truly remarkable achievements in every scientific field has vanished. Marvelous had been the vistas which opened up before the eyes of men in the preceding century. Men could dream then and men did dream, unabashed, of a glorious and uninterrupted progress for mankind, of an unending conquest of nature, and of building, in a world of abundance, a civilization free from all poverty, ignorance and war. "In the nineteenth century", wrote Victor Hugo, "war will be dead, the scaffold will be dead, hatred will be dead, frontiers will be dead, royalty will be dead, dogmas will be dead, man will begin to *live*!" But here we are in the twentieth century, and war is not dead, the scaffold is not dead, hatred is not dead, frontiers are not dead, royalty is not dead, dogmas are not dead, and man is beginning to *die*. The vista which stretches before our generation today ends at the edge of a wilderness. For twenty-five years now, men have lived in a world of mounting hate, intolerance, and bigotry, of revolutions, invasions, wars, of the rise and fall of empires, and amidst the slaughter of millions of their kind. Great peoples have destroyed their liberties and enslaved themselves. Millions of men cower today in terrorized submissiveness. The wealth of nations is being drained in preparation for wars which will also drain the lives of their people. The mind of man, trained and sharpened by generations of scientific education, is now applied to the perfection of the war technique. So that the discoveries which science records in our day in such great numbers no longer fill the hearts of men with pride or enthusiasm. They suspect that these things will not contribute either to their happiness or security, or to greater decency in the world. The human spirit stands today frightened, weighted down with apocalyptic foreboding, as if awaiting the crash of doom.

The thoughtful among men have accordingly begun to search earnestly for some way of salvation—a road away from disaster. They are seeking desperately hard to

rediscover that vision which was somehow lost amidst the brilliant pageantry of scientific achievement in the last century, to the hurt and sorrow of the world. They understand now what the wise men of the earth have always known: that increased knowledge does not necessarily mean increased goodness or happiness, that facts are not in themselves blessings, that "truth can make us mad as well as free," that the prolongation of human life is not the same as the improvement of human life, that the acceleration of a process does not always insure a finer product and that change does not necessarily spell progress. They realize now that the fault is not with science or education or democracy, as such, but with the interpretation which men put on them, with the omnipotence and autonomy which they ascribed to them, and with their failure to understand that science, education and democracy are means and not ends in themselves.

What has been tragically missing in our civilization has been the compelling and coordinating belief in the great human goals which religion, and religion alone, has set for mankind, and towards the attainment of which science, education and democracy must contribute, if they are to fulfill their sole function. Mankind lost sight of these goals. Therefore human progress today has no clear direction. Good material and good tools are not enough for the builder. He must have a plan. To build a noble and enduring society, it is not enough to have wealth and intellect. Mankind must be possessed of the architectural plan, which the spiritual vision of man designed, and it must have the will and loyalty to follow that plan. That will and loyalty only the moral sense of man can provide. Without faith in God, the reality of spiritual vision as well as the sanctions of morality are quickly denied and rejected in the world.

Mankind's way of salvation is the way which leads back or forward to God.

In the same way, and even more earnestly, are thoughtful Jews reaching out today for the religious vision of Jewish life. For ours is a double measure of disillusionment and a double measure of misfortune. More than any other people do we require today the everlasting arms of a great religious conviction to sustain us.

To thoughtful Jews it is becoming increasingly clear that there are no substitutes in Jewish life for religion. Neither philanthropy nor culture nor nationalism is adequate for the stress and challenge of our lives. All these interests can and must find their rightful place within the generous pattern of Judaism. But the pattern must be Judaism, the Judaism of the Torah, the synagogue and the prayer book, the Judaism of the priest, the prophet, the saint, the mystic and the rabbi, the Judaism which speaks of God, and the worship of God, and the commandments of God and the quest of God. Most eloquently did Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, in his "Misillat Yesharim"—the Path of the Upright—define Judaism in terms to which every classic teacher of Israel, I am sure, would have subscribed:

"We thus see that the chief function of man in this world is to keep the commandments, to worship God, and to withstand trial. The pleasures of this world should be only the means of affording that contentment and serenity which enables man to apply his mind to the fulfillment of the task before him. All of man's strivings should be directed toward the Creator, blessed be He. A man should have no other purpose in whatever he does, be it great or small, than to draw nigh to God and to break down all separating walls, that is, all things of a material nature, be-

tween himself and his Master, so that he may be drawn to God as iron to a magnet. He should pursue everything that might prove helpful to such nearness, and avoid everything that is liable to prevent it, as he would avoid fire. In the words of the Psalmist, 'My soul cleaveth to Thee; Thy right hand upholdeth me fast' (Ps. 63:9). Since man came into the world only for the end of achieving nearness to God, he should prevent his soul from being held captive by the things which hinder the realization of that end."

Our leaders would do well to understand this. Our people, and more especially our youth, require, now that Jewish life is entering again upon an age of persecution and martyrdom, more than the example of generosity towards our unfortunate brothers overseas, and more than the example of a valiant defense of Jewish rights at home. They require the example of the practice of Judaism, as Luzzatto defined it: "to keep the commandments, to worship God and to withstand trial"—the example of religious discipline, piety and sacrificial loyalty. These leaders must help us to rebuild our inner world, now that our outer worlds are beginning to crumble again.

There have been many false prophets of "ersatz" Judaism in our midst who have frequently misled our people. There were those professional social-workers who announced that a full complement of scientifically administered hospitals and orphanages and other social agencies was a sufficient "vade mecum" for the Jewish people, and that the synagogue and the religious school were quite unnecessary. At best they were to be tolerated only as a concession to those who still take such things seriously, and in order not to create unpleasant friction in the community. Such social-workers had many ready adherents among our would-be assimilated and rich Jews.

There were certain Jewish educators who resented the intrusion of religion in their ultra-scientific curricula. Judaism, they said, was not a religion, but a way of life—that is to say, *their* way of life, which of course, was non-religious or anti-religious. Jewish education should, therefore, not be religious at all, only nationalistic and linguistic. At best the religious note might be smuggled in, but only as a concession to old-timers and cranks who don't know any better.

There were those Jewish spokesmen who offered Jewish nationalism as a substitute for Judaism, forgetting nationalism as such, unredeemed by a moral vision and responsibility, has sadly fragmentized our world, provincialized its peoples and is driving nations madly from one disaster to another; forgetting, further, that there is a widely-felt and widely answered need for religion and religious institutions even among peoples, whose national life is already fully established in their own lands and who are possessed of a rich national culture. Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah felt the need to preach religion—God and obedience to God's moral law—to their people even though they were established as a nation in their own land and spoke their own language. It is not possible to brush aside the spiritual needs of Jews in the diaspora, and their problems of survival as Jews in lands outside of Palestine, where most Jews will continue to live, merely by talking long, loud and enticingly about Palestine. The upbuilding of a Jewish national home in Palestine is one great, urgent and historically inescapable task of Jewry. The upbuilding of Jewish religious life in America and elsewhere throughout the world, inclusive of Palestine, is another. One is no substitute for the other. One is not opposed to the other.

Again there were other Jews who advised their people that Judaism can well be

laid aside, now that the proletarian Messiah has already appeared in the land of the Slav, riding upon a droshky, and the Kingdom of Heaven was near at hand.

All these false prophets have had their clamorous hour among us. But their hour is over. Thoughtful Jews are turning to the sure and classic highways of Jewish life and thought. We are not likely to be beguiled again, at least the men of this generation, by these prophets and their alien teachings.

Humanity has sickened of its Godless civilization. Because the spiritual interpretation of human destiny was allowed to languish, other interpretations have come to life and are now driving mankind mad. For when God is dethroned, His throne does not remain vacant for long. Some false god, some Wotan, Moloch, Mammon or Mars soon occupies it. Because the ideal of the Imitation of God was banished from the hearts of men, the imitation of some Satan is now the ideal. In place of piety, reverence, humility, compassion, self-sacrifice, other qualities—insolence, cruelty, aggression and combativeness are now extolled. Because men have rejected the ideal of the sanctification of human life under God, they now have a world in which human life is cheap, in which the stature of the individual has been reduced, his rights usurped by the state, his labor a commodity and his life just a statistical item. Because the world rejected God, it rejected also Man, fashioned in the image of God, possessed of a sacred and inviolable personality, endowed by His Creator with certain inalienable rights. Because men have ignored the sovereignty of God's moral Law, they have a world in which men, parties and governments have set themselves up above all law. Where there is no longer the Law of God, there ensues the law of the Duce, the Fuehrer, or the Commissar before which all men must tremble.

Now that lights are going out everywhere in the world, men are turning to the Light of God.

Jews can do no less. Jews will do no less. I sense an incoming tide of faith among our people, a faith charged in some instances with deep mysticism. It should not surprise us and it would be in keeping with similar moments in our past history, if our age should witness a strong mystic movement among our people. Such mystic movements followed the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal at the close of the 15th century and the appalling disasters which overtook Polish Jewry in the 17th century. The present-day expulsions of the Jews from Germany and Austria, the dismal plight of Jews throughout Eastern Europe, the stress under which Israel finds itself everywhere, coupled with the distressed mood of mankind generally, may give rise to a strong mystic movement which will express itself in religion, literature and art and in personal habits of thought and conduct.

In a sense, the problem of the survival of Judaism is much simpler in our day than at any time in the past. Our leaders need no longer expend the energy which was expended during the last century to persuade Jews to remain Jews. The doors of escape from Jewish destiny have been shut. The choice confronting intelligent Jews today is a very simple one. They have realized that God has not placed the shears of destiny—to be, or not to be—in their hands. Forces which they have not summoned are driving all would-be escapists back upon their people. Somehow there has always been an element of unavoidable compulsion, of the inevitable, in Jewish experience. It is the "Ba'al Korcha" element, the quality of shunless destiny. It was under such compulsion, the Rabbis declared, that our forefathers accepted the Torah

at Mount Sinai . . . "And that which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in that ye say: 'We will be as the nations, as the families of the countries, to serve wood and stone. As I live, saith the Lord God, surely with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with fury poured out, will I be king over you . . . And I will cause you to pass under the rod, and I will bring you into the bonds of the covenant.'"

The choice today is not between survival and extinction, but between doom and destiny, between burden and mission. Shall we live our Jewish lives greatly or meanly? Shall Jews walk "darkling to their doom" or advance confidently and exultingly to their destiny along the eternal road which stretches from Ur of the Chaldees to the distant messianic lands of "Acharit Ha-yamim"? Shall we quarrel with our fate and beat helpless hands against the unyielding bars of circumstances or shall we, by a miracle of faith, remembering that "stone walls do not a prison make" cease to be the unwilling prisoners of circumstance, and in the service of God, and of God in man, become magnificently free?

"The slave of God—he alone is truly free." Our choice today is between the "Ol Malkut" and the "Ol Malkut Shamayim"—between the yoke of earthly kingdoms, which is grievously hard to bear, and the yoke of the Kingdom of God, which makes all other yokes easy to bear.

What hands shall weave the loom of our future years? Our *own* hands, tender and skillful, drawing the golden strands from our own treasures of wisdom, piety, passion and dreams, which all the goodly folk from Abraham to our own day have stored for us, or shall alien hands, rude and unsympathetic, weave the web of the destiny of ourselves and our children?

Now that many doors are closing, should we not open wide to our children the doors leading to the treasure-troves of their own people's spiritual and intellectual wealth, for their future sustenance, inspiration, solace and pride? The days ahead will be hard days for them. Until the world completes the latest stage in its economic transformation and steadies itself again, after a long, violent period of readjustment, Jews, because they are everywhere an exposed minority, easily blamed and easily victimized, will be hammered on the anvil of every world event. The days ahead will be hard days for our children, but they need not be ignoble or unrewarding days. Give them their total heritage—the copious bounty of Judaism—the Torah, the synagogue, the prayer book, the noble literature and the beautiful language of their people. Give them the millennial companionship of their kinsmen and their kinsmen's heroic faith and dreams and their matchless saga and they will be matched with their great hour. They will then come to understand what it is in our heritage that has kept us alive; what it is that laid waste the paganism of the ancient world and now finds itself again in mortal combat with another paganism which it is also destined to destroy; what it is that makes their people the brunt of attack whenever privilege, power and reaction make a major onslaught on the precious hopes of mankind, and why the ancient ideals of their people are forever the battle-cries of upstruggling humanity. They will then come to understand that it is not because we are weak or unworthy that barbarous governments have vowed to destroy us, but because we are strong, and they fear us. Not us, but the faith which is in us, the torch which is in our hearts and the passion which is in our blood for the prophetic mandates of our Jewish heritage, for justice, freedom, brotherhood and

peace, for the vision of Ir Ha-Tzedek, Kiryah Ne'emanah, the City of Justice, the City of Faith, in place of the Ir Ha-damim, the City of Blood, built upon the pride of blood and upon glory drenched in the blood of the conquered, the despoiled and the slain. These reckless adventurers of Power, who have put all ethics, all science and all religion in the service of a design for Power, who have made all ethics relative to tribal temperament and national interests and only Power, absolute, who have forced upon civilian life the discipline, the dumb obedience, the drill, the barrack room, the court martial, the censor, the espionage system, the whole code, complex and outlook of the military, and, by so doing, have destroyed civilian life completely, these present-day heirs of the tradition of Ishmael—the "Pere Adam," the Wild Man, "whose hand is against every man and every man's hand is against him," these heirs of the traditions of Esau, the Hairy Man, the "Ish Tzayid," who sees life only as the hunter sees the hunted, and who delights "to live by his sword,"—these abhor and dread the tradition of Jacob, the "Ish Tam," the man seeking perfection through rational and moral pursuits, "Yoshev Ohalim," content to live in the peaceful tents of work and study, devoted to the greatness of morals instead of the morals of greatness . . .

And understanding this—and understanding further that they must now become the active trustees of this classic tradition of civilization—they will, along with all other men of good will, feel themselves challenged. They will not be ashamed or cast down. They will face their world without fear or apology. They will not seek the world's approval—only God's. They will not be afraid of hostile voices—only of their own voice when silenced in fear. The insolence and naked impudicity of the heathens who rage will never humiliate them, only their own apostasy, back-sliding and fear. They will try to be worthy of their great hour of testing!

For each young heart will say: I stood with Abraham in his lonely vigil and read the destiny of my people in the stars. With Isaac I built the altar of a patriarch's stern faith and ultimate sacrifice. At Jabbok's ford I learned to wrestle through the night with the dark angel of despair and to wrest a blessing at the break of dawn. With Joseph I dreamt the dream of sheaves and stars and climbed the steps from a dungeon's pit to a prince's throne. I wandered with Moses, an alien prince among an alien people. Unshod, I knelt with him before a vision in the wilderness, and from within the inextinguishable fires of God I heard the Voice summoning to duty and freedom. I saw the lightnings and the clouds, and heard the thunder roll around Mt. Sinai, and witnessed the everlasting covenant between my people and its God. I learned how to suffer and hunger in long and weary marches to reach a promised land. I was with Joshua fighting at Gibeon, and with Deborah by the waters of Megiddo, when the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. I stood with the blind Samson in his agony, and heard the wild cry of his desperate courage as he pulled down the temple over the Philistines. I heard Samuel admonish his people to remain free, and not to reject God by enslaving themselves to a king. I listened to the harp of the shepherd king, David, and saw the great king cowering before the righteous wrath of the prophet, and bowing in contrition before the majesty of the overarching Law of God. I prayed with Solomon in the Temple which he dedicated as a House of Prayer for all peoples, and I learned of a God Whom Heaven, and the Heaven of Heavens, cannot contain, and Whose compassion extendeth to all, even to the

stranger who cometh out of a far country.

I marched with the resolute band of the prophets who came to destroy old worlds and to build new ones. I shuddered at the wrath of their spirit as they lashed out against oppression and injustice, against false gods and gilded idols, against blind leaders and lying prophets. I warmed at their infinite compassion for the weak, the denied, and the wronged. From them I learned the nature of Mission and what a raging fire within one's bosom and unfulfilled mandate of God may become.

I wandered with my people by the slow-moving rivers of Babylon, and I heard their oath of deathless loyalty "If I forget Thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning." I entered their humble and improvised synagogues, and I discovered that prayer and devout study are beautiful, and as acceptable to God as the sacrifices of the priests in the Temple, and the songs of the Levites.

I returned from captivity, and standing with those who rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, I learned how a people can build upon ruins. I sat with the sages and scribes who piously taught and interpreted the word of God, and molded a people's reverence for its spirit enshrined in a timeless Book. I moved among the mountains of Judea, pulling down the heathen altars, with the lion-hearted sons of the Maccabees. I saw the miracle of a single cruse of spiritual oil inexhaustibly illumine the rededicated temple of their faith. I was the companion of the gentle Hillel who revealed to me the whole of the Law in the single kernel of neighborly love; and of Akiba who knew how to inspire a revolution, defy an empire and die a martyr.

And then into the long dark exile I wandered with my people, into many lands over which cross and crescent reigned, and I walked with them the weary highways of the world. I was with them when they drank deep out of the bitter chalice of pain, humiliation, cruelty, and hate. But never did I fail to sense the stress of their imperious vision, their pride of a great past, their hope of a greater future, their superb courage, their unflinching faith. Philosophers, poets and saints never failed them in the lands of their dispersion, and the light of their Torah was never extinguished.

And then I saw the night lift and the dawn break; and into a reborn world, drenched with a new light of freedom and justice, I marched with them exaltingly. I heard the shackles fall from off their limbs. I saw the radiance of their emancipated minds and hearts. I beheld them, mounting as on eagles' wings, rising to bless the world with matchless gifts of heart and mind in every field of human creation.

And now I see the night descend again, and into the dark and the storm my people are wandering forth again. Shall I leave them now? *Can* I leave them now? Shall I part company with this immortal band? They have become too dear and precious to me. The urgency of their pilgrimage is now coursing thru my own blood too. Their beckoning shrine is now the shrine of my quest also. Like unto the first pilgrim, out of Ur of the Chaldees, I, too, seized by the hand of God, am listening to the Divine summons: "Get thee out of thy country . . . and from thy father's house, unto a land which I will show thee . . . and I will bless thee, and thou shalt be a blessing . . ."