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Central Conference of American Rabbis, "I" and "J", 1946-1947.

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October 29, 1946

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105th & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Abba Hillel:

I enclose herein a letter from the National Religion and Labor Foundation asking that we sponsor a Southern Religion and Labor Conference in Atlanta on January 7-8.

I believe that our commission should join in sponsoring this conference and if you agree, I shall write to them accordingly. While there is a Conference ruling that we need permission to sponsor such meetings, in view of the fact that we have sponsored them in other years and that the principles of the National Religion and Labor Foundation are in accord with frequent announcements by our Conference, I believe that we would have a right to sponsor this.

Do let me hear your opinion on this. Please return this letter when you have read it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Ferd

Ferdinand M. Isserman

fmi/sje

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NATIONAL RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION

106 Carmel Street - New Haven 11, Conn.

Telephone: 6-1327



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Executive Secretary

October 26, 1946

Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman
5017 Washington Avenue
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Rabbi Isserman:

Our Foundation is setting up a southwide program in support of labor's campaign. We have raised a fund of \$7500.00 for this purpose. A culminative point to the first three month's work will be a Southern Religion and Labor Conference in Atlanta, January 7-8. We would very much like to have a great number of religious bodies join with us in sponsoring the meeting as they have done on previous occasions.

I invite the Commission on Justice and Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to be one of the sponsors. There will be no financial commitment involved. However, at the appropriate time, if you are agreeable, we might send personal invitations to the members of the Central Conference to make contributions. We have worked together so often during the last decade that I feel sure there will be few formalities in securing the co-sponsorship of the Commission.

Do you have an extra copy of your membership list that you can spare me? I am especially eager to send personal invitations to all the rabbis in the south. With best wishes and thanking you for a reply, I am

Sincerely yours,

Willard Uphaus
Executive Secretary

WU: jm

from

National

RELIGION and LABOR FOUNDATION



106 CARMEL STREET

6-1327

NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

October 3, 1946

To Our Members and Friends in the South:

We have good news for you. The Religion and Labor Foundation now has a fund that will permit our opening an office in Atlanta and setting up a Southern Religion and Labor Conference. This fund will be ample for printing, secretarial help, travel expense for a number of state representatives who will volunteer to meet with local groups, and city and state meetings looking toward the big conference. It will be the task of a sponsoring committee made up almost entirely of our Southern leaders to frame the Call to the conference and arrange the program. So far Atlanta is recommended as the place, and January 7-8 as the time.

Now that labor's southern organizing drive is picking up momentum the church has an unprecedented opportunity to implement its long-standing social teachings by interpreting and supporting the drive. This fellowship of understanding and action on the part of the church and labor is filled with promise for a better life on this earth. One of the most hopeful aspects of the present transformation taking place is the degree to which labor organizers themselves are imbued with the religious ideal.

You will soon be hearing more about developments from our Atlanta address. We very much want to have your full cooperation in shaping the kind of program that the South and our country needs to bring justice and peace. Will you please fill in the form attached below and send it in at once?

Sincerely yours,

Willard Uphaus

Willard Uphaus

Executive Secretary.

Date _____

- () You may list me as one of the sponsors of the Southern Religion and Labor Conference.
- () I will be a member of a local committee to set up a Religion-Labor meeting to discuss issues and work up a delegation to the conference.
- () I shall be glad to fill a few speaking engagements in various communities in my state (Travel expense allowed).

COMMENT AND QUESTIONS:

Name _____

Address _____

November 12, 1946

Mr. Samuel Josolowitz
Director, Personnel Department
National Jewish Welfare Board
145 East 32nd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Josolowitz:

I have referred the matter of Rabbi Gotthelf to Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, who is Chairman of the Committee on Ethics of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. I am sure that he will follow up the matter and will be in touch with you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Banquet May 11, 1947 19

Care of or Apt. No. Isaiah Israel

Street and No. Palmer House
Place Chicago, Ill.

THE CCAR EXTENDS TO THE RABBI OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF TEMPLE ISALIAH
ISRAEL HEARTIEST FELICITATIONS ON THE OCCASION OF THE CELEBRATION OF
ITS 95TH ANNIVERSARY. MAY YOU GATHER AN EVEN LARGER HARVEST OF
ACHIEVEMENT AND SERVICE IN THE YEARS TO COME.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, President

Sender's name and address
(For reference only)

Sender's telephone
number

1852 - 1947

THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS
of
TEMPLE ISAAH ISRAEL

Chicago, Illinois

cordially invite you to

A DINNER AND DANCE

in celebration of its

NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

to be held in the

GRAND BALLROOM

PALMER HOUSE

Sunday evening, May eleventh

nineteen hundred forty-seven

at six o'clock

Informal

Program

Temple Isaiah Israel

THE UNITED CONGREGATIONS B'NAI SHOLOM,
ISRAEL AND ISAIAH

NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

1852

1947

SERVICE OF REDEDICATION

Friday Evening, May 9, at 8:15 o'clock

TRIBUTE TO RALPH M. GERBER

Marking the Close of Forty Years of Service as Choirmaster

Guest Preacher

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN

Rabbi, Anshe Emet Synagogue, Chicago

Musical Program by the Joint Choirs of Kehilath Anshe Mayriv
Congregation and Temple Isaiah Israel under the direction
of Max Janowski

NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY COMMUNITY SERVICE

Saturday Morning, May 10, at 10:15 o'clock

Guest Preacher

MRS. LOUIS ROSETT

President, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods

The Sisterhoods of the Community will be Honored Guests at this Service
in Recognition of the Contribution of Jewish Womanhood
to the Synagogue

ISAIAH ISRAEL SCHOOL CELEBRATION

Sunday Morning, May 11, at 10:15 o'clock

"NINETY and FIVE"

A Dramatization of Our History

Directed by Miss Ruth Shames

Musical Program directed by Robert Spiro

NINETY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
DINNER MEETING AND DANCE

Sunday Evening, May 11, at 6:00 o'clock
PALMER HOUSE

THEME: "FOR NOBLER ACHIEVEMENTS"

(Suggested by President Truman's Greeting to the Congregation)

National Anthem

EVA GORDON HORADESKY

Invocation

RABBI ALFRED L. FRIEDMAN

Presiding

HERBERT J. BUCHSBAUM

President, Temple Isaiah Israel

Dedication of Plaque

Honoring the Men and Women of the Congregation
Who Served Their Country in World War II

DR. MORTON M. BERMAN

Greetings

DR. SAMUEL M. BLUMENFIELD

President, Chicago Rabbinical Association

DR. MAURICE N. EISENDRATH

President, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Address

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

Senior Rabbi, Free Synagogue, New York
President, Jewish Institute of Religion

Benediction

Herbie Mintz and His Orchestra

No Solicitation of Funds

General Chairman, 95th Anniversary Celebration

DANIEL L. FRIEDMAN

June 25, 1947

REPORT OF COMMISSION ON JUSTICE AND PEACE

To the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

Colleagues:

The second post-war year has witnessed a continuing deterioration in human relationships. On the industrial front the forces of reaction are determined to destroy the gains of labor through repressive legislation. The bright hopes for an improvement in race relations have suffered a bitter defeat in new reports of lynchings as well as in the unholy spectacle of self-confessed murderers being freed in a court of law instead of receiving the punishment which they so justly merited. On the international scene, power politics continues to hold sway and the peace of the world remains far from secure, with millions of men under arms and the atomic bomb an ever-present threat.

The word "Communist" is used as an epithet to destroy the reputations of liberal-minded men and women in the same manner that the term "Atheist" was hurled at champions of ordinary justice and decency in Jefferson's day. Conscientious liberals are becoming increasingly reluctant to be identified with movements which seek only to further the cause of simple justice in human relationships out of the fear that they may be branded "Communist" or "Red".

This unhappy condition in human affairs should not frighten us. On the contrary; it should challenge us who consider ourselves the spiritual descendants of Israel's prophets to be more determined than ever to uphold those principles by which alone men may live and not die. In fact, it should not have been difficult to have foretold the trend of events. Periods of reaction always follow periods of violence. We are merely paying the price for having committed the sin of war.

To declare, on the other hand, that America would have been spared her present trials if she had not taken up arms when she was attacked is to be guilty of self-deception. For surely we must agree that the world would have been in an infinitely more frightful condition if the forces of Naziism and Fascism had been victorious. This does not detract from the fact that war remains a most grievous evil and that those who take part in it - whether victorious or defeated - must pay a heavy toll in blood, suffering, maladjustment and the destruction not only of precious lives, but of precious values.

Your Commission, in view of the exceedingly difficult and complicated problems in the midst of which we live, faced an even more gigantic task than did its predecessors in attempting to do a job without the assistance of a professional secretary. Following the instructions of the Executive Board, a sub-committee of the Commission met with representatives of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for the purpose of implementing the actions of both the Conference and the Union calling for the creation of a Joint Commission which would establish a permanent office. It was decided to recommend that a Joint Commission on Justice and Peace of eighteen members, nine each from the Conference and the Union, be created. At a meeting of your Commission in Chicago last April, it was voted that a budget of no less than \$16,000, one half to be provided by the Conference and the other half by the Union, be recommended for the first year's activities of such a project. As this report is being written, the Administrative Board of the Union has not as yet met to consider this matter. If the Union approves the recommendation of your Commission for a \$16,000 budget, it is strongly urged that the Conference give its approval at this

session. The Joint Commission can then be created and we can go ahead. Otherwise, we shall be obliged to merely "limp along", satisfied to be followers instead of leaders in a time of utmost challenge and urgency.

This report is divided into four parts: First, a general statement of activities; secondly, resolutions recommended for adoption; thirdly, reports of sub-committees on various aspects of your Commission's work and, fourthly, a statement presented by your Commission at a hearing of State Department officials on the proposed charter for an International Trade Organization and another growing out of the Institute on Judaism, Management and Labor which was held in Chicago on April 20-21.

I. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

The Administrative Committee of your Commission met in Cincinnati early in December for the purpose of planning the year's work. The first draft of a statement on race relations, prepared by Robert I. Kahn, was considered and approved after revision. The statement entitled, "Race Hatred is Blasphemy", was printed and distributed throughout the country. It received favorable comment in the press and was read over many radio stations. More than 20,000 copies were mailed to Christians as well as Jewish individuals and organizations requesting them. Many of the colleagues observed Race Relations Sabbath by inviting Negroes to occupy their pulpits, a practice which, we are happy to note, has grown during the years.

In view of the suspicions and antagonisms in the field of industrial relations, the Administrative Committee approved the chairman's suggestion to convene an Institute on Judaism, Management and Labor. Since the Commission's previous institutes, namely those on "Judaism and a Just and Enduring Peace" and "Judaism and Race Relations" were held in Cincinnati and New York, respectively, it was felt that Chicago might be considered as a desirable city for the new venture.

On Sunday and Monday, April 20 and 21, your Commission, in cooperation with the Chicago Federation of Reform Synagogues, was host to the "Institute on Judaism, Management and Labor". The colleagues in the Chicago area cooperated magnificently, most of them devoting their discourses on the Friday evening preceding to a discussion of the Institute theme. To relate our purpose directly to the Synagogue, the Institute commenced with special Services in Temples Sholom and Sinai, which are accustomed to conducting worship on Sunday mornings. More than 1400 were in attendance at these Services, each of which was addressed by a representative of management, labor and the rabbinate.

The remaining sessions were conducted in the Board of Jewish Education Building in downtown Chicago. A total of 156 delegates, including 41 Rabbis, attended the round tables and plenary sessions. Among the thirty-three industrialists, labor leaders, representatives of the public and rabbis on the program were the following colleagues: Norman H. Diamond, Abraham J. Feldman, G. George Fox, Eric Friedland, Alfred L. Friedman, Leon Fram, Abram V. Goodman, Ferdinand M. Isserman, Julius Mark, Ely E. Pilchick, Byron T. Rubenstein, Phineas Smoller, Samuel Teitelbaum and Jacob J. Weinstein. Selwyn D. Ruslander was responsible for the splendid publicity which the Institute received.

In a resolution, unanimously passed, the Institute condemned the "excesses of the Hartley Bill", which had already been passed by the House of Representatives, deplored "all legislation which would liquidate the improved status which labor has enjoyed since the passage of the Wagner Act" and expressed its belief that

differences between management and labor unions could be peaceably resolved "without the necessity of Congress attempting to club the unions into submission". The proceedings of the Institute have been published in mimeographed form and copies are available to all requesting them. A statement expressing the thinking of those present on the important subject of management-labor relations in the light of the teachings of Judaism was adopted in principle and an editorial committee appointed to whip it into shape. The text of this statement, the original draft of which was proposed by Abram V. Goodman, is appended to this report.

Your chairman represented the Commission at the Southern Religion and Labor Conference in Atlanta, Ga. on February 4-5. On February 28, he appeared at a hearing on the proposed charter for an International Trade Organization before a committee of State Department officials meeting in New York. The statement which he made in behalf of the Commission and the Conference is appended.

Authorization was given to Herman E. Snyder to represent the Commission in the efforts that were being made in Illinois to pass FEPC legislation.

Your chairman appointed Sidney E. Goldstein to cooperate, in the Commission's behalf, with the Workers Defense League, which had invited the clergy of America to use its influence in persuading President Truman to veto the omnibus labor legislation.

II. RESOLUTIONS

The Commission on Justice and Peace places before the Conference the following recommendations for consideration and adoption:

1. This Conference re-affirms its position on the following issues which it deems vital to the promotion of justice and peace:
 - a. Its opposition to compulsory military training in times of peace.
 - b. Its plea to the President of the United States to free all conscientious objectors still imprisoned and the restoration of full civil rights to them as well as to those who have already completed their sentences.
 - c. Its conviction that FEPC legislation has resulted in a greater measure of justice for minorities in those States where such legislation has been adopted and its plea that all States of the Union follow suit.
 - d. Its confidence in the United Nations as the most hopeful means toward the achievement of justice and peace in the world.
2. We re-affirm our conviction that the Wagner Labor Relations Act and the Norris La Guardia Act have resulted in assuring labor many well-merited gains and urge the President to veto any legislation which might destroy these gains.
3. We believe that issues such as the closed shop and industry-wide bargaining should be decided not by legislation, but through collective bargaining between management and labor.
4. We favor the establishment of labor-management courts, but oppose compulsory arbitration except as a last resort to avoid the paralysis of our economic

life.

5. We call upon labor unions to clean house, by removing proven Communists from positions of influence and power, by avoiding jurisdictional strikes, by refraining from slow-down policies and by admitting to membership all qualified persons without reference to race or creed.

6. We renew our demand upon Congress to pass legislation which will make lynching a federal offense.

7. We urge the President and the State Department to strengthen the foundations of the United Nations and avoid any action which might be interpreted as bypassing or ignoring it.

8. We recognize the inherent differences in philosophy and practice between the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. We nonetheless believe that it is quite possible for both systems to exist side by side peacefully. We, therefore, deplore the efforts of those who appear to be intent upon stirring up strife between the two countries. We heartily endorse the policy established by former Secretary of State Byrnes, who urged that we deal with Russia "patiently but firmly."

X 9. We applaud the action of Congress in refusing to be influenced by a spiteful campaign of malice, hatred and villification and endorsing the nomination of Mr. David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Commission and Mr. Gordon Clapp as chairman of T.V.A.

10. We view with alarm the general increase in prices which followed the termination of O.P.A. and has already brought much suffering and hardship into millions of American homes. If the President's plea for a reduction in prices is not heeded or the general level of wages not materially increased, we favor the reconstitution of price controls along the lines of the O.P.A.

11. We strongly urge the Congress of the United States to pass legislation extending rent control to remain in effect until such time as the present housing crisis is over. To this end, we extend full cooperation to the National Fair Rent Committee, of which the Hon. F. H. LaGuardia is chairman.

12. We strongly urge the passage by Congress of the "Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act", H. R. 2910, also known as the Stratton Bill, which provides for the immigration into the United States of 400,000 displaced persons of all faiths over the next four years period.

13. We hail with pride the dignified restrained and statesmanlike presentation made by the president of our Conference, Abba Hillel Silver, before the Political and Security meeting of the United Nations on the Palestine question. We call upon Great Britain, even while the Committee of Inquiry is at work, to grant permission for 100,000 displaced Jews to enter Palestine immediately and to withdraw the illegal and iniquitous White Paper of 1939.

III. REPORTS OF SUB-COMMITTEES

(A) Civil Liberties

Abram V. Goodman, Chairman

The United States during World War II was fortunately spared the wholesale betrayal of civil liberties which marked the course of the First World War. We are today witnessing, however, the same contempt for elemental civil rights and the same hysteria which characterized the anti-Red Crusades of A. Mitchell Palmer after the Armistice. It is a situation to cause concern.

Now, if ever, as we face the complexities of the transition to a new order in the affairs of men, we must have complete opportunity to evaluate policies and institutions. Yet there is a strong tendency to shut off every opinion that conflicts with the programs of those in power. When the President proposes a complete reversal in the field of our foreign relations and Mr. Henry Wallace, one of our respected national leaders who has served as vice-president of the United States, voices his disapproval, every effort is made to suppress him. The dangerous argument has been advanced that since Mr. Wallace does not represent the majority viewpoint, he should be denied a public hearing. If only the majority should be listened to on any question, minority sentiments in every sphere--politics, sociology and religion--would be silenced. We utter the solemn warning that once we muzzle our unfavorable critics, we begin the march down the tragic road of regimentation and totalitarianism.

Our government, like that of every other nation, has the right to demand the loyalty of those who serve it. President Truman was justified in issuing his executive order for an investigation into the loyalty of federal employees. We recognize this step as a contribution to national security, but as formulated it also is a threat to the well-being of hundreds of thousands of patriotic men and women on the government payrolls.

The atmosphere of surveillance and suspicion will create a demoralizing sense of insecurity in the hearts of liberal minded employees who fear that the price of New Deal opinions may be dismissal. Furthermore, if the administration of the President's order is left to fanatical and stupid officials, they will begin a witch hunt against those whose beliefs differ from their own.

We propose the following modifications in the order to preserve the full civil rights of the employees: (1) Organizations and individuals charged with disloyalty should be given a fair opportunity to present their side of the case rather than being made victims of Star chamber proceedings. (2) The names of blacklisted organizations should be published so that employees should not affiliate without knowledge of their true significance. (3) The task of assuring the loyalty of the government service should be delegated only to men who are outstanding for character, fairness, and decency.

The problem of the existence of the Communist party as a legally recognized movement in the United States depends on the answer to the question: Does its continuance menace national security? We enter no defense for the Bolshevik strategy in this country, and we recognize the government has a right to deal forcefully where its life is menaced, whether in peace or in war. France and England are two democracies with stronger Communist movements than ours, and yet

they have not found it necessary to ban them. We believe that our national welfare would not be served by outlawing Communism. The party would function underground and out of its retreat in the catacombs would emerge a company of martyrs.

We favor an amnesty for all men imprisoned during the War for the violation of the Selective Service Act for conscience' sake. Some of these men were not designated conscientious objectors by their draft boards; yet on the basis of evidence submitted, they should have been. The majority of these men have already been released from prison, but unless the President grants this amnesty, all will continue to be deprived of their civil rights and will be prevented by the laws of many states from voting, holding office, qualifying for civil service, or even practicing medicine, dentistry, or law.

(B) Management-Labor Relations

Norman H. Diamond, Chairman

Some 15,000,000 Americans, representing approximately 60,000,000 consumers, are today members of recognized labor organizations. Since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act and the Wagner Labor Relations Act, Labor has made huge strides which have benefited the nation as a whole. Notwithstanding the many accusations directed against Labor, its contributions to the war effort surpassed even the most optimistic predictions.

Many fair-minded employers have cooperated with Labor, and vice versa.

There is little question, however, that both Management and Labor have been guilty of excesses and lack of self-discipline. Both must be curbed without striking at basic freedoms and rights - a gigantic task in our complicated, highly-developed economic system. But in no case dare we overlook human rights and profit motives, thus returning to laissez-faire days of exploitation, competition on the labor market and similar evils.

The present mood of Congress to restrict Labor to such a degree that its voice is stifled must be halted. Somewhere between the excessive demands of Labor and the restrictive measures of Management there must be a mean satisfactory to both, if they approach the problem calmly and objectively, with a sincere resolve to untangle the snarl to the advantage of both.

It was in order to attain this end, on the basis of justice to all concerned, that this Commission convened the Institute on Judaism, Management and Labor in Chicago last April. Our convictions as to how this purpose can best be served are included among the resolutions in this report.

(C) Race Relations

Julian B. Feibelman, Chairman

The relations between the races of the World, and in the United States, continues to be one of the agonizing perplexities that indicts a vaunted Christian civilization, and a nation founded on democratic principles. On the one hand there is the threat to vitiate a system which calls itself free, and on the other hand forbids the implementation of universal claims made by war time leaders to rescue the principles of liberty and justice for all men everywhere. The world scene is delicately enough poised, with inter-racial strife in India, Asia, and Europe. In other precipitous spots, such as Palestine, the Near East, and the Balkans, the situation bids fair to negate the vast claims of both Democracy and Communism. America's interest in elections in Europe and Latin America, as well as its maneuvering for position in Greece and Turkey, elicited an unanswerable invitation from a Polish spokesman to give first attention to the "Mississippi primaries and the Bilbo debacle." The Conference in Paris failed, as did the meeting in Moscow. Peace has not been concluded, and an increased uneasiness and insecurity infest all small nations. Minority peoples everywhere rise up to challenge the entire structure and purpose for which the Allies fought.

Racial identification is not the cause of these manifold difficulties on the world and national scene, but the nefarious instrument by which deliberate tensions are heightened, and inspired strife fomented. That they are sustained by definite interests, be they political, social or economic, is proof positive that the seed of strife, sowed in war and antagonism, have neither been uprooted nor sufficiently condemned by individual or nation. Although it was possible in America for people to merge their differences in the overall promotion of the war and forget their many wounds in the hope that the body would be healed by the offer of their all, it becomes another hope unvindicated.

The most hopeful note in the promise of peace and security has been the proposal by Mrs. Roosevelt, before the United Nations Organization, that an international Bill of Rights guarantee "economic, social, and cultural well-being" to all peoples.

The barometer of race relations in America has been fluctuating between the heat-burdened, and febrile outbursts of irrational hatred, and the cooler and calmer reckonings of a better and more progressive social order. On the whole, the scene has brighter and truer substance than in former years, and may even be said to outshine the dimmer shadows of perverse retrogression or static usualness.

The dark side reveals the 79th Congress' failure to pass any measure recommended by the President for human reconversion. Full Employment and Housing were left unresolved: FEPC, national health insurance, unemployment benefits, minimum wage, anti-poll tax, and anti-lynching elicited neither action nor sympathy.

Mass lynchings, the ugliest of bitter strife, and rioting were evident in several states; the election of Bilbo and Talmadge; appeals to intolerance and preachments of white-supremacy, all sprang as the pseudo promises of hatred and salvation to all too eager listeners. The FBI failed to apprehend or arrest many whose protection was safeguarded by fellow citizens and like-dyed courts, as in the recent Greenville, S.C. trial. Terrorism still spreads its ominous head clothed in the white sheets of the KKK. Georgia's House of Representatives passed by 133 to 62 the Democratic "White Primary Bill".

Negroes who fought for freedom naturally desired a greater portion of it. Whites, who accepted their sacrifice, were loath to change the pattern of discrimination and seized the opportunity to stifle or prevent better relations, and at times resorted to unspeakable brutalities.

Dr. Howard E. Wilson disclosed in a study that, while text books, with few exceptions, were free of intentional bias, the prejudice and unconscious or careless judgments of teachers perpetuate antagonisms. The school could be a mighty factor in eradicating the stereotypes which generalize prejudice into fixed patterns.

Discrimination in jobs, deprivation of opportunity, disfranchisement in politics, and disinclination to remove barriers, and inaugurate privileges common for all, appeal to too many mis-called democrats.

Yet, there is a brighter side, which vindicates our faith in progress this past year, and sustains our hope by definite strides towards a rightly directed goal.

More Negroes voted in Georgia and Mississippi than at any time in the history of this country. More than 650,000 voted throughout the South. President Truman appointed a Commission on Civil Rights composed of white and Negro members. Supreme Court rulings on interstate bus transportation confused the segregation enactments of Southern States, and lessened the attempts at enforcement of static laws.

Hopeful signs appear against mob violence in the growing determination on the part of the Federal Government, as well as citizens and groups in their respective communities, to bring to trial perpetrators of crimes.

Eight Southern States provided for Negroes 21.6% of the new National Housing units planned under Veteran Emergency Housing. West Virginia broke tradition by taking Negro troops into the National Guard. Florida abolished by Supreme Court action racial segregation by zoning. The Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac Railroad discontinued racial segregation on interstate travel. Fairburn, Georgia, enacted an ordinance forbidding assembly for the purpose of violating the civil rights of any person.

Substantial gains were made in the employment of Negroes, as sales and clerical workers in department stores, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and other industries in New York, Boston, Cambridge and Milwaukee. Negro scholars on the faculties of major universities and colleges rose from 5 to 52. Dr. Ira Reid, of Atlanta, became the first Negro to be called to a full-time professorship at New York University. New York named a Negro head of its Civil Service Commission, and California another the head of its Parole Board. The War Department confirmed the report that 12 Negro scientists were among the responsible group for the creation of the Atomic Bomb.

The Y.W.C.A., National Council, Federal Council of Churches, and the National Catholic Welfare Conference, with the C.C.A.R., committed themselves to a declaration of human rights, equality and justice for all people. There is no gainsaying the fact that the church and the synagog are failing to set an example by opening their doors to all, regardless of race, and forming their choirs upon the basis of musianship.

More than thirty labor organizations outlawed bans against Negroes. A Negro was elected as the international representative of the C.I.O., and another as the liason representative of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, a position comparable to that of vice-president at large. Four negroes were seated with the 64th General Assembly at Missouri. The President appointed a Negro to the United States District Court in New York, and Judge William Hastie as the first Negro governor of the Virgin Islands. A native Puerto Rican, for the first time, was appointed governor of his country.

An interracial school for industrial workers in the South, the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, concluded its fifth year of successful operation without discrimination or segregation in any form. Suits are now pending against two State Universities, Texas and Louisiana, to admit Negro students. University students assisted the Negro youth, Herman Sweatt, in Texas. Louisiana State University students voted two to one to invite students from Xavier, Negro-Catholic, University in New Orleans, to attend a student's Conference. A Negro youth was elected to the office of vice-president of this Conference. Interracial Youth groups increased in number throughout the country. Interracial groups of ministers met in New Orleans and in Baton Rouge, and Negro and white Baptists met in Savannah, Georgia, for the first time. The Press is reporting minority news with less coloring. Negroes were admitted as correspondents to the Congressional Press Gallery, for the first time. Jackie Robinson is the first Negro admitted to a big leagues base ball club in more than half a century. Mrs. Clarissa Clement, of Louisville, was named the American Mother in 1946, by the Golden Rule Society.

The Negro press reveals a growing interest, and feels that it has a definite stake, in the welfare of the Jewish minority, and in oppressed peoples everywhere. Injustices and oppressive patterns against one group extend their communicable poisonous and infectious tentacles to other minor groups.

The problem of altering social attitudes and reducing prejudices on the one hand, and of encouraging wholesome relations on the other, still appears to be critical. Among these evils, fostered by psychotic frustration, economic and social disadvantage, as well as emotional shortsightedness, are housing with its attendant overcrowded conditions, half-met expense, family disorganization, poor health and growing delinquency. All portend a miserable neglect of constituted segments of our society, whose position in a democracy needs no justification. Self-interests and the assumed pretense of self-appointed protection of the larger commonwealth, raise their ugly heads in vicious conviction that the country must remain in encrusted patterns which have too long abused and denied American democracy. The solution for these out-moded problems is the integrity of a workable democracy for all peoples in the United States. It is not yet promising enough to allow even the least spiritually minded person to relax his vision or compromise his effort for even a moment.

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(D) The Housing Problem

Eric Friedland, Chairman

The most persistent domestic problem in America continues to be Housing. Before Pearl Harbor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt declared that one-third of our

nation was badly housed. Since World War II, the housing problem has increasingly worsened. Hundreds of thousands of veterans and war workers, returning to their home towns, have been unable to find adequate, sound, and decent dwellings for themselves and their families. There is an unprecedented overcrowding in large cities and small. Millions of people are compressed into slum areas and new slums are being created as a result of the housing bottleneck.

Ironically, we emerged from the war with the greatest productive capacity in man's history. With labor and material at a premium, America turned out planes, ships, arms and clothing beyond our expectations. One and one-half million houses were made available and plans called for an additional million. Despite the fact that a housing shortage threatened, when hostilities ended, the housing program was virtually scrapped. With countless factories and workers ready for civilian production, money abundant, only three hundred and fifty thousand (350,000) dwellings, both temporary and permanent, were built during the year following the war.

The war may have been responsible for some temporary shortages. However, the housing crisis was evident in the nineteen-thirties. Two-thirds of our farm families were known to be inadequately sheltered; two-fifths of non-farm families resided in sub-standard homes in 1940. There had been no private housing planning in years for families in the low-income bracket. Some would have us believe the housing shortage is an emergency situation and the agitation for new homes and large-scale planning will subside when the fanfare involving veterans, subsidies, This attitude meant the scrapping of our housing program and the scuttling of the war housing agencies. But the crisis will be with us until the deeper causes of the problem are understood and a farsighted, long-range program is undertaken to solve it.

There is a pressing, immediate need for four million homes for veterans and a minimum of twelve million homes within the next decade. Between World War I and World War II, the building industry could build only five hundred thousand (500,000) homes annually. None of these homes was within the reach of low income facilities. None will be within the means of the same group in our current building program. High costs in building make homes available only to the well-to-do. The "filtering-down" process does not make homes available to the poor. The building industry is geared to serve only the top third of the nation.

This deterioration in building adequately is responsible for the extension of slums which jeopardizes the health of our people. It makes delinquents of millions, disturbs the integrity of family life, undermines the financial structure of cities, breeds discontent and disaffection and becomes a source of tension and strife. These facts are known; yet little is being done.

This, despite fifteen billion dollars poured into housing by the government since 1933 and the prospect of additional millions in cash and credit in the future. The problem will continue obstinately, indifferent to private effort or public aid, until we recognize the inability of private industry to meet the needs and that the federal government must evolve an effective program to that end.

The weakness of federal efforts in the past was due to the fact that the government's purpose was to reactivate home building rather than to reform it. The Home Loan Bank system and the FHA were commendable efforts to create some mortgage resiliency, but the over-all problem remained unsolved; the housing crisis unalleviated. No housing policy has been evolved to reorganize the building

industry and to correct abuses. Indeed with recovery in 1937, some housing agencies were jettisoned even as they were a few years later, when the war ended.

We need to recognize the close relationship between private and public building. Erecting a community is a joint venture of private and public endeavor. The latter has immense investments in streets, parks, schools and public utilities. Sustaining these is a continuous public concern. Any deterioration forces the expenditure of huge sums for maintenance.

The government's inherent obligation to plan in an area distinguished by confusion and bottlenecks is obvious. Such programming would not involve profit to the speculator and risk to the government. Its aim should be to attain adequate homes in planned areas and to accomplish this through a great measure of participation from private enterprise, plus security of possession to the user.

But the housing policy should not depend upon piecemeal development and random appropriation. We recommend an over-all public housing program. The first step in that direction is the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill, which would set up a permanent national Housing Agency, provide federal funds for research and local planning. It would initiate an urban redevelopment program, enabling the creation of 500,000 public housing units; and a rural program enabling the creation of 250,000 housing units for low-income farm families.

This Bill, important though its passage is, is no more than a step in the direction of a more comprehensive problem of housing. Much more is required to clear slums and to rehabilitate blighted areas. An intelligent program should be geared to the following goals:

- I. A democratic program - The entire problem must be met within the framework of the democratic system, encouraging private initiative and personal possession.
- II. A socially sensitive building industry. The ineffectual home-building industry must be geared to understand public needs in order to discharge its function.
- III. Low-Income housing. Decent homes must be made available to those in the low-income bracket to prevent the creation of slum areas.
- IV. Veterans' housing. Opportunities should be extended to veterans to obtain good, sound homes which they can keep.
- V. Urban and rural reconstruction. A national housing program needs to be initiated so that our cities and towns can be built in accordance with our wealth, talent and productive capacity.
 - A. There must be comprehensive planning in metropolitan areas rather than within artificial city limits, to serve as a basis for an over-all plan for housing.
 - B. Community participation must be obtained for planning and housing programs.
 - C. There must be a recognition of the fact that of all housing, the negro housing problem is the worst and the first step

in meeting that problem is to remove the injustices attendant upon restrictive covenants.

- VI. Mortgage resiliency. Private and public mortgaging needs to be revamped so that it is fair and just to both lender and borrower.

With these goals attained, we can go a long way to infusing our people with new hope and confidence in the democratic process. We would introduce new meaning into the dignity of the home and family. Certainly, these are goals worth fighting for. Their realization would make for a stronger, healthier and happier America.

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(E) The Problem of Inflation

Samuel Teitelbaum, Chairman

Inflation is a witch's brew whose poisonous potion vitiates chiefly those who are least responsible for it and can least resist it. Or, to alter the figure slightly, as the witch's cauldron continues to boil, its poisonous fumes not only spread further and further but penetrate deeper and deeper into the tissues of human life.

The word "inflate" is derived from the latin and means, literally, to blow in. It is significant that the primary meaning of the word in English, according to Webster's Dictionary, is, "To swell or distend with air or gas". This definition is most appropriate in the application of the term inflation to the field of economics. It implies that that which is inflated, namely, the economic structure of the country, is full of air (whether hot or cold is immaterial), as it were, that it is essentially bereft of real substance. It is therefore dangerous, not only because of the "swelled" and "distended" proportions it assumes in the immediate situation, but principally because, if the "air or gas" keeps "blowing in", as it is likely to do, the delicate and intricate structure of society will, like an overstretched balloon, burst and explode, and then crumple, and thereby bring about all the dire social and moral tragedies of deflation and depression.

Economically, inflation has been defined and described in numerous ways. Inflation, it is said, is:

1. An increase in the quantity or the effective quantity of money.
2. An increase in general prices.
3. An increase in prices caused either by a growing consumer preference for the goods or by diminished physical supply or by both simultaneously.
4. Any increase in government spending and debt which may affect prices.
5. Any increase in the effective quantity of money which is greater than the increase in money work to be done.

6. Any increase in money and prices which does not result in a correspondingly increased output of goods.
7. Any increase in prices which occurs after full or nearly full employment has been attained.
8. A situation in which the public loses faith in the ability of money to keep its value and rushes to get rid of money in exchange for commodities or securities which promise to be a better store of value.

There are many other explanations for the phenomenon of inflation, such as the avid desire of capital for quick and high profits, but these here offered should suffice to bring the present state of affairs into proper focus.

The inflationary spiral usually takes the following course. In a period of recovery, as the rise in general prices continues, the tendencies towards equilibrium do not continue. Flexible cost elements begin to overtake fixed selling prices. Monopoly controls accept, nay, demand higher prices. They may reluctantly pay higher wages -- rarely, if ever, high enough to keep pace with the rising prices and to maintain purchasing power. The output of goods may rise but not at the same rate as prices. Fixed income and salaried people are generally forced to curtail the volume of their buying. Speculative purchases of products, of minerals, of land and real estate, and of securities will have been made at prices far beyond any reasonable value. Eventually the bubble bursts. (It is "boom and bust," as the saying has it.) The country is then started down on a vicious spiral of deflation, with all its consequences of drastically reduced prices, diminished sales of goods, decreased production, bankruptcies, mass unemployment, the impoverishment of large sections of the population and all its attendant results (hunger, disease, homelessness, mass migrations as those of the "Okies" and the "Arkies") with which we became so familiar in the thirties. During the inflationary period windfall profits may accrue to a sector of finance and industry. Some of these may be retained by a small portion, the "upper crust", of the business and industrial world during the subsequent deflationary period, but the majority of small businesses and industries will either fail completely or will be in a most shaky and precarious position.

Fitting this more general picture to the contemporary scene, we have the following outline of developments. The Roosevelt administration succeeded, finally, in having industry convert during the war from civilian to military production. This attained heights unheard of and unprecedented not only in the annals of American but also world history, and succeeded in supplying and equipping not only our own armed forces but, to a large extent, also those of our Allies. It certainly contributed vastly to the victory of the United Nations. But it also proved conclusively the enormity of the potential civilian productive capacities of our country.

With the defeat of Germany and Japan, it was hoped that industry would reconvert to civilian manufacture and produce at the same rate or perhaps at an even higher one. It was of course realized that the transition period during which the reconversion would take place would be one of enlarged demand and relatively short supply, especially because earnings and incomes had risen sharply during the war. But it was expected that the price range would be held in line by the continued operation of government controls. Hence it was recommended that the Office of Price Administration, which, on the whole had been so successful during the war, should be maintained until such a time as supply and demand are

more or less in equilibrium.

But certain vested interests, chiefly those represented by the National Manufacturers Association and the United States Chamber of Commerce, not satisfied with the generosity of the government in suspending excess profits, taxes and with the billions they received in tax rebates -- which are in themselves inflationary moves, -- motivated no doubt by a selfish desire for even more swollen profits, brought pressure to bear upon the President and the Congress to terminate price controls. Their slogan was no government interference and "free enterprise", as if an economy largely concentrated in the hands of trusts and monopolies and rapidly becoming more so could follow the laissez-faire doctrine. These interests assured us that after a brief interlude the economy of the nation would become stabilized and prices would drop. We know how (remember the "meat strike"!) they succeeded in strangulating OPA and choking it to death. Prices, instead of falling, have risen more than appreciably and are still mounting. The hard-earned savings of the people are being exhausted. Wages, too, following a series of strikes in mass-production industries, seemed to rise; but actually real wages fell. Particularly marked was the accelerated increase in the cost of living, in the primary necessities of life, in food and farm products. The average wage-earner and laborer has been hit hard enough; but even worse off has been the fixed income and salaried worker. And the executioners of OPA and other economic control arms of the government are devouring the sweet fruits of their successful conspiracy; for their profits in 1946 and in the first quarter of 1947 were above anything ever before encountered in American history.

This state of affairs cannot long continue, and there is already some evidence that it is changing downward. Indeed, it has been pointed out that if it were not for the vast sums the Federal government has been pouring into G-I terminal leaves and veterans' benefits and by many State governments into veterans' bonuses, the recession would already have been on the way. Consumer demand is showing signs of diminishing, not because it is being met or fulfilled, but because the "customer" is losing his former purchasing power. Labor is clamoring for a real wage with which to cope with the highest price index in history. Inventories are accumulating.

It is probably because of these circumstances -- including the fear of insecurity, of loss of profits, of unemployment -- that the present administration and the Republican Congress are embarking jointly upon a far-flung imperial policy, -- military aid to Greece and Turkey (and other "anti-communist" nations later, no doubt), containment of communism and of Soviet Russia, etc. This diversionist and expansionist policy is reflecting itself domestically in the crude antics of the Un-American Committee of the House of Representatives, the punitive Taft-Hartley Labor Bill, the red-baiting and witch-hunts in and out of the government, the failure to expand social security, health, education and housing measures, the flood-tide of anti-Negroism, anti-Semitism and racism, the reactionary and fascist practices of large segments of the American people.

These are some of the social consequences of the current inflation and the impending deflation. They are at the very crux of the question whether we shall have peace or war -- atomic war, if you please. For the inevitable course of the vicious cycle of inflation is recession, deflation, depression, crisis, mass poverty. Then to dam the dykes against the sea of popular unrest and possible or potential revolt, the economic powers that be, finance-capital, management, or by whatever names they may be called, may, as in Germany, Japan and Italy, resort to fascism or war, probably both. And the war will no doubt be waged against the

only other contemporary great power, Soviet Russia. The American ruling classes will feel more confident of victory than even the former or late so-called "anti-comintern" powers because they will be armed with the atomic bomb. No doubt their fascism will assume an American odor, color or flavor for the purpose of making it more palatable to the American people. It may even go under another name than that of fascism or nazism or in another and concealed guise; but it will still be fascism; it will still deprive us of our democratic rights; it will still wage war. And its first victims and scapegoats will be the minorities: Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Catholics and other racial, national and religious elements; labor unions, progressives and liberals, free-minded intellectuals, and all "different" people. In short, it will destroy every vestige of democracy at home. But its aggressions will not and will not be able to stop within; it will be compelled by the concatenation of events to expand them abroad and to engage in a so-called "anti-communist" crusade. What this imperialistic venture will, even if it is triumphant, do to our world is too dreadful to contemplate.

It should also be added that the deleterious effects of any form of an economic crisis in America, resulting from the present inflation, will have world-wide repercussions, for our country, as the most powerful and wealthy nation can sustain or break the economies of almost all nations today.

Are there any solutions for this inflationary situation? It should be obvious that pious words and fervent entreaties, even if uttered by the President of the United States, that his purely verbal attacks upon "greedy people", will not avail. Nor is it true that there is any inexorability about the economic principle of supply and demand. This principle, despite the hue and cry of conservative economists and business men, bears little resemblance to, say, the law of thermodynamics. Supply and demand, especially in a country containing the physical resources that ours possesses, are created by human effort and human need, and can, therefore, be controlled by man. Long-range planning involving a radical overhauling of our economic system is now due or even overdue. In a land of plenty and abundance it seems utterly irrational and absurd, if not downright immoral, that men, women and children should go hungry, naked and shelterless, that they should be drafted and massed for the purpose of hurting and destroying the men, women and children of other lands.

There are, however, recommendations that offer themselves for the mitigation and amelioration, if not the complete solution, of the immediate inflationary problem at hand. Some of them are the following:

- I. Taxes should by no means be reduced. If they are they will but contribute to the inflationary situation and will cause the subsequent economic collapse to be even more precipitous and severe. On the contrary, taxes should be increased, especially on high income brackets and levels and on excess profits.
- II. Whatever budgetary balance may remain after paying for the ordinary operations of our government, for veterans' health and benefits, for military requirements and social welfare and security shall be utilized for the payment and reduction of the national debt.
- III. Military expenditures should be reduced to the minimum commensurate with our defensive, not our imperialistic, needs and the requirements of occupation troops.

- IV. Commodity and other surpluses, if any, should by no means, as has been the criminal practice hitherto, be destroyed or dumped, or be allowed to glut the market. They should be shipped abroad for the relief and economic restoration of war devastated countries, particularly of those that were our Allies during the war, without reference to their "communism" or non-communism. Similarly, our country should extend liberal loans to these nations for food, clothing and shelter and for economic reconstruction. These measures will not only diminish the danger of inflation in our country but will also allay the fear of war surely far more effectively than "anti-communist" crusades. Our country financed and supplied our Allies during the war. There is all the more reason for following this course for the enhancement of the greater cause of peace.
- V. Commodity controls must be reconstituted. The OPA should be reenacted with the power not only to hold prices, rents, etc., but also reduce them to a level commensurate with the wage index of the bulk of our population. Material controls should also be exercised and rationing re-introduced for such supplies and commodities as may still be short.
- VI. Veterans' and other public housing projects and programs, far more comprehensive than the Wagner-Taft-Ellender Bill proposes, should be at once established. A government investigation should be made of the actual housing needs of our people, especially of those who dwell in blighted and slum areas. The construction of homes should proceed in such a manner that wherever and whenever private industry fails to fulfill the needs of the people, the government should undertake the projects. In either case, the national government should have full control and supervision, and should be empowered to make loans and extend financial aid. The government performed miracles in housing the armed forces of the nation during the war. Why cannot it not repeat this performance in even greater magnitude during peace-time?
- VII.. Veterans' benefits should be increased. These should not be handouts in the form of bonuses and what not -- which are but bribes to still the demands and protests of veterans, like crumbs or bones thrown to barking dogs -- but veritable benefits. Veterans do not ask for gifts. They do not even want rewards for the tremendous sacrifices they made during the war. They merely want compensation for the years in which they were handicapped in comparison with the civilian population; they want to be given a chance to catch up. They seek better job opportunities than have so far been offered. They are entitled to higher and more educational benefits in view of the increased cost of living. And their most crucial need is housing, housing and more housing.
- VIII. The wage and hour law should be so modified and amended as to insure everyone who works for a living a minimum return for his labor commensurate with a decent standard of living.
- IX. Social security measures -- unemployment benefits, old-age pensions, etc. -- should be enlarged and more widely distributed. The benefits should be greater and more people, including farm laborers, domestic workers, employees of non-profit making institutions and organizations, and others should be receiving them.

X. A comprehensive plan of public health protection, of socialized medicine, if you will, and of equalizing free educational opportunities in every State and every community, from elementary school to college, should be adopted.

XI. The Full Employment Measure should be furnished with teeth. The government should be in a position to take steps leading towards the employment of such as may be unemployed or threatened with unemployment through such projects as public housing, roads, reclamation and soil reconversion, valley authorities, etc.

Unless these and other related proposals, which are essentially anti-inflationary, are immediately adopted, there will be no stopping the economic retrogression and its dire and calamitous international consequences which are already looming. Only by channeling money and funds into such safe and usable harbors and havens as herein recommended, can the impending economic crisis, which will wreak far more havoc than any previous one, be averted.

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(F) The United Nations

Lee J. Levinger, Chairman

The Central Conference of American Rabbis stands committed to the world-wide purposes for which the United Nations stand: the moral influence of united mankind; the pursuit of peace and security; the advancement of humanity. We believe profoundly that the goal of One World, based on a just and enduring peace, depends on the cooperation and mutual understanding of the 55 governments which constitute the United Nations.

We are proud of the part the United States of America has played and is playing in furthering this great cause. We look forward to the abolition of all unilateral action, as nations become accustomed to working together within this body of the family of nations. We deplore action by our own government or any other which may weaken this central organization.

Within the past year the United Nations has been steadily advancing in the organization of many of its phases, juridical, fiscal, economic, labor and military. The Trusteeship Council has begun the work which should eventually protect the rights of the depressed masses in colonial lands. Step by step the complex organization for world welfare has been growing; in many aspects it has already achieved notable progress.

Its outstanding handicaps today are the distrust and competition among nations, remnants of an earlier and outworn system. We call upon our own government to take the lead in bringing about that mutual confidence, that fidelity to principle, which alone can make this great instrumentality effective for peace and justice. The interests of mankind are, in the long run, superior to those of any one of its subdivisions; from this realization the United Nations was born, by its fulfillment alone can it accomplish its purpose.

Several of the agencies of the United Nations have special significance for a body of religious leaders. The International Relief Organization, designed to take the place which has been filled by UNRRA, carries with it the hope for life of many millions of starving and suffering men, women and children. We urge upon our government the speedy ratification of the I.R.O. and the appropriation of our share of its funds. The call for action is urgent; any further delay can only result in disaster rivalling that of the war itself.

We hail the organization of the Commission on Human Rights and the initiation of its far-reaching efforts. We look to this commission to establish world-wide moral principles for the guidance of every nation, including our own. The ideals of our common humanity which it is engaged in formulating should be influential in guiding national policy and in establishing that spirit of brotherhood which must underlie all organizational machinery.

We greet the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization as another step in this vast work of brotherhood. By proclaiming the principles of international science, of world-wide culture, and by bringing them to young and old through every instrumentality of education, UNESCO will certainly prove a necessary and effective link in the chain of universal human brotherhood.

Finally, at this moment we look to the Assembly of the United Nations for justice to the house of Israel, for the rescue of the remnant of European Jewry and for the firm foundation of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The issues may be complex, but justice to the persecuted must override the interests of competing imperial systems. The Jews, as the most tragic victims of the war, turn to the conscience of the world for their defense and their hope.

The dreams of our ancient prophets are today being embodied in institutional form; their words are being echoed in many tongues. It remains for the deed to follow the word, that year by year mankind shall approach nearer to complete understanding, to unity of action, to a realization of one humanity on earth, as we have one God in heaven.

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(G) Soviet-American Relations

Leon Fram, Chairman

We deplore the so-called Truman doctrine and its enactment into law. We believe that it constitutes a setback to the cause of peace and democracy. The Truman doctrine commits us to give financial and moral support to fascist, royalist, absolutist, dictatorial anti-democratic and corrupt governments under the illusion that we thereby resist communism and Soviet expansion.

The way to resist communism is to strengthen democracy and to give no aid or comfort to fascism or absolutism in any form. The Truman doctrine commits the United States to a repetition of the very same mistaken policies that led to the Second World War. After the First World War Great Britain and America gave recognition and various forms of aid and comfort to the fascist regimes of Italy, Germany, Spain and other countries in the belief that they were thereby stemming the tide of Russian communism. Nourished by aid from the democracies, these

fascist regimes became so powerful that they were able to turn upon the democracies and all but conquer and enslave them. The democracies then welcomed communist Russia as a powerful ally in the war against fascism. The Truman doctrine means that the democracies are once again giving of their wealth to nourish fascism. We deny that the cause of democracy can be served by handouts to any corrupt anti-democratic regime that offers to combat communism.

Above all, the way to deal with all international problems is to bring them before the United Nations which was specifically organized to establish international security and promote international peace. Our unilateral military adventures on all the borders of Russia means repudiation of the United Nations and the weakening of the prestige and influence of that organization before it has an opportunity to begin functioning. The Truman doctrine means our deliberate return to the outworn methods of international intrigue and chaos in preference to the development of international order.

We deplore the obstacles that Russia has thrown in the way of the long overdue settlement of the peace treaties with Germany and Austria, and we deplore Soviet Russia's intransigent attitude on international control of atomic energy. We deny, however, that there is any justification for any such interpretation of Russian policy as that war between Russia and the United States is inevitable. Russian policy could be understood as motivated by a passionate desire for national security and national reconstruction. It is for us to persuade Russia that both security and reconstruction will be better achieved by international cooperation than by isolationism or imperialism.

Our present policy of giving aid and comfort and arms and military advice to every anti-democratic regime on the fringe of Russia is not calculated to reassure that country which was for so long victimized by policies of intrigue, assault and non-recognition on the part of the Western powers. Our Government should be planning the strategy of permanent peace instead of jockeying for position for a third world war.

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IV. STATEMENTS BY THE COMMISSION

(A) Proposed Charter for an International Trade Organization

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, through its Commission on Justice and Peace, has frequently expressed the conviction that permanent peace in the world requires the satisfaction of economic needs as well as the assurance of political freedom. At its Institute on Judaism and a Just and Enduring Peace, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, on December 21-24, 1942, the following statements, among others, were adopted:

1. It shall be one of the first duties of the victorious nations to emancipate, reconstruct and rehabilitate all oppressed peoples and groups.
2. All nations shall have free and equal access to the raw materials, economic resources and markets of the world.

3. International cooperation must be economic as well as political. Even as individuals cannot live by themselves alone and be unconcerned about other men, so no nation can plan only in terms of its own prosperity. Economic isolationism, expressing itself through tariff barriers and other obstacles which impede the flow and exchange of food, materials and products, at best brings only temporary gains and creates the bitterness, the friction and the poverty which eventually lead to war. Nations, like individuals, have common responsibilities to establish economic justice for all.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis believes that the adoption of the Charter which will lead to the creation of an International Trade Organization will, by making available to all peoples the products which they require to carry on their economic life, do much to assure lasting peace in the world. The Trade Agreements Act, passed by Congress in 1934 and since renewed four times, by encouraging international commerce, has helped to create lasting friendships between the United States and the 29 countries with which trade agreements have been concluded. We regard the proposed ITO, which is intended to include all countries, as the logical outcome of the highly successful economic policy which was instituted and pursued by our former distinguished Secretary of State, Hon. Cordell Hull.

The glorious vision of One World, in which human beings may enjoy a just and enduring peace, will be realized when it is universally recognized that no nation is sufficient unto itself alone, but that all are dependent one upon the other in their common goal of achieving "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." America once more has an opportunity to show the way.

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(B) Statement of The Institute On Judaism, Management And Labor

Introduction

The Historical Role of Judaism

The Bible, in contrast to other ancient literature, ascribes dignity to toil. "When thou eatest of the labor of thy hand", declared the Psalmist, "happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee." The Talmud designated the rabbis by their occupations, such as sandalmaker, wood chopper, blacksmith, tailor, potter, as much as by their names. "Great is work, for it honors him who performs it", said the Sages.

Both prophets and rabbis inveighed against the exploiters of labor. This was the law of Deuteronomy: "Thou shalt not oppress a hired servant that is poor and needy; whether he be of thy brethren or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates". Biblical and Talmudic law recognized no caste system. All men were regarded as free and equal. Employer and worker were enjoined to respect each other.

In modern times these precepts have proved their worth. We have seen the garment industry, where both management and labor are largely Jewish, emerge from an era of sweat-shop and exploitation. Today the formerly conflicting

elements recognize their common interest and work as partners for the mutual benefit of all concerned. It is no accident that this industry has been free from strikes in the post-war period. Great names have been associated with the stabilization of worker-management relations in the garment trades. We recall Sidney Hillman, the great labor statesman, the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, which enlisted the cooperation of its employees in solving the problems of production, and Louis D. Brandeis, who, through his experience as arbitrator, acquired a new respect for his fellow-Jews and a vision of the prophetic ideal which as a citizen he endeavored to realize on behalf of his country.

The tradition linking the prophets and sages of old with our own day is found in the teachings and work of the modern rabbis. The Year Books of the Central Conference of American Rabbis indicate a continuing concern on their part for the progressive solution of labor-management problems. They have supported, through the Social Justice Committee, founded decades ago, and more recently through the Commission on Justice and Peace with which it is incorporated, every program to achieve a righteous solution for the opposing claims of labor and management. Through the years, their advocacy of humanitarian principles has sounded a prophetic note. Many of the ideals, for which they have pleaded, are now knit into the fabric of American economy. Much still remains to be done, however, before we realize the ideals of Judaism in the life of our time.

DECLARATION ON MANAGEMENT AND LABOR RELATIONS

As men and women of Israel, we are conscious of the spirit of our faith which proclaims that all are children of the one God and which seeks to achieve justice and righteousness among the elements of our common humanity. Cognizant of the existing conflicts and tensions in the relationship between labor and management, we issue the following declaration:

I

We recognize that management and labor are partners in their contribution to the complex industrial order we know today. Their apparent divergent interests are by no means irreconcilable. Enlightened labor leadership recognizes the soundness of the profit motive, while progressive elements in management welcome the participation of their employees in responsible decisions governing the welfare of their enterprises. Under the prevailing economic system, one cannot succeed without the other.

II

Management should have a sense of social responsibility even though it pursues a philosophy of free enterprise. We deplore the tendency often associated with the rise of giant corporations to seek the welfare of none but those in command. We urge the benefits of increased production, whereby profits rise with volume rather than with unit prices. The consumer should benefit by lower prices, the worker by higher wages or some form of profit sharing. Such policies are particularly called for to meet the threat of inflation and to avoid a wave of bitter strikes to secure adjustments that will meet the increased cost of living.

III

In a democratic society the right of the workers to band together in associations that will defend their interest and secure their rights has become axiomatic. The role of the unions in enhancing the dignity of labor and improving its economic status has been a source of blessing to the nation at large.

IV

The growth and power of labor unions offer a challenge to the idealism and integrity of their leadership. We note with disapproval that arbitrary policies prevail in certain quarters which are not consonant with the general welfare. Some bodies have unfairly restricted the admission of apprentices to their craft, others have practiced slow-down policies in production or have carried on inter-union strikes at the expense of management and the public. Such practices should be outlawed.

V

We express our concern for those workers who lack the protection of a strong union organization. Among white collar workers, particularly teachers, there has come a gap between their income and the amount necessary to maintain a minimum standard of nutrition, shelter, health and comfort. It is the duty of management to pay a wage adequate for that standard to those who are unorganized as most office workers are.

VI

Believing as we do in industrial democracy, we favor the meeting of designated representatives of employees with their employer to engage in collective bargaining, whereby they may have a voice in determining their wages, hours, and other conditions of employment. It is our opinion that the basic solution for our industrial ills is not less collective bargaining, but more.

VII

We recognize the need for appropriate government intervention to secure free collective bargaining, to protect the working conditions of industrial labor and to safeguard the dignity, as individuals, of both the worker and his employer. The conciliation and mediation services of government should be strengthened and improved to assist industrial disputants to achieve agreement through collective bargaining. If an accord is not reached, the parties should be encouraged by the government to consent to voluntary arbitrations. When a crisis does arise, which the public cannot in safety leave unresolved, no one device commends itself as a prearranged solution. The resources of government must be kept flexible and adapted to the specific emergency in the light of all the facts.

VIII

We do not regard compulsory arbitration as a panacea in the solution of industrial controversies. Arbitration, like other judicial sanctions, pre-supposes the existence of governing principles to be applied by the arbiter. Except for disputes over the interpretation of labor contracts, such principles are in only a formative stage.

IX

At this time when there is much agitation in favor of laws to ban the closed shop, we venture to assert that it is not the place of government to restrict or forbid the closed shop, the union shop or similar forms of union security. Such matters should be left in the area of collective bargaining for voluntary agreement between employers and trade unions.

X

Equal access to employment or to union membership should be open to all without discrimination as to color, creed, nationality, or sex, and the government should insure this by appropriate legislation. We reaffirm the conclusions of the Institute on Judaism and Race Relations held in November, 1945, that it is a function of the Government to eliminate discrimination through the passage of a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act.

XI

We voice the belief that there is no basic contradiction between what is ethically right and what is economically good. Policies which result in the benefit of society as a whole are both materially good and ethically right for the individual employer and those who work for him.

CONCLUSION

The Role of the Contemporary Synagogue

We should like to see the synagogue of our time have a membership widely representative of every social and economic group. Instead of relying mostly on the middle class for support, as is the case today, we need to strengthen our ties with those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. A religion which is estranged from the workers is reduced to the status of a cult. Every possible effort should be made to attract members of low income groups to the synagogue. Dues should be sufficiently flexible to encourage such affiliation.

We believe that the achievement of social justice should be a primary concern of modern Jewish religious life. Each congregation and its affiliates should pursue a dynamic and constructive program through civic affairs committees that have two purposes:

1. To educate the membership as to their obligations as citizens and their responsibilities to the community in which they live.
2. To initiate, promote and support attitudes, organizations and legislation which have as their objective better living conditions for all people.

We advocate the prompt formation of a joint Committee on Justice and Peace, already approved by the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. This commission should be provided with sufficient funds to establish an office and to secure a Director and an adequate staff. Among its functions should be the furnishing of guidance to local affairs committees through literature, programs and other directives.

Respectfully submitted

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