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The American Jewish community in wartime and after, 1944.

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CLEVELAND, OHIO
BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE ON MAY 17, 1944.

"THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WAR TIME AND AFTER"

Following the war we shall be kept busy for a time undoing the mischief which the virulent Nazi-inspired propaganda of recent years will have accomplished in this country, busy disinfecting the human mind. This will prove a job of no mean proportions. Thereafter we shall proceed to make the necessary adjustments to the more "normal" forms of prejudice without spending too much time and thought upon the subject, -- a preoccupation neither satisfying nor edifying, -- and we shall turn our attention to the more constructive areas of Jewish life. We have been admonished by our seers not to observe the wind too closely lest we fail to sow, nor regard the clouds with too much concern lest we fail to reap.

The organization of Jewish community councils, which began in our country some years ago, represented a clear insight and a sound approach to an adequate organization of American Jewish life. I do not know how far these councils have progressed in recent years, either in number or in the extension of their areas of operation in their respective communities. The further organization of these community councils, locally and nationally, is clearly the direction in which American Jewry should move, if it really intends to organize itself on a satisfactory, permanent and democratic basis, and if it wishes to free itself some day of the numerous competing organizations which today clutter up the scene, all of whom presume to speak for American Jewry and none of whom has ever received a properly validated mandate from it.

Another attempt at proper communal organization on a national scale was made last September. As an emergency measure, a national conference was convoked, of representatives of national organizations and of democratically elected community representatives to speak for American Jewry in this critical period of the war and on all matters affecting Jewish life in post-war settlements. It was an earnest and commendable effort, and American Jewry responded to it in a remarkable degree.

The conference served well its original purpose. It should meet soon again to survey again the Jewish position, to review what transpired during this fateful year, and give direction for future action wherever needed.

Everyone realizes that European Jewry will emerge from the war physically ravaged and seriously depleted both in numbers and resources. Financial and material aid will be required for a considerable time after the war to heal the wounds which the war inflicted, just as after the last war only on a much larger scale. Jews in the war-stricken countries will have special and peculiar problems of their own which will have to be met by supplementary aid given to them by their fellow Jews in other parts of the world. This will be our first task.

There will also be a large uprooted Jewish population, a floating population of human misery also seeking new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The world was inhospitable to Jewish immigration before this war. Our refugees knocked at a hundred doors and only a few were opened, and those few admitted only a pitifully small number. Our own country failed to use even its unfilled immigration quotas to shelter our refugees, and we are content now to appeal for "free ports" to be established on our shores for the temporary refuge and sojourning of refugees who will have to move on after the war -- where to? There is no reason to assume that the world will be more hospitable after the war, when most countries will be faced with serious economic problems of their own, problems of conversion from war-time to peace-time economy, demobilization, debts and unemployment.

It is very doubtful whether the original homelands from which these refugees came will wish to welcome them back. Probably no official obstacles will be put in the way. The political climate after the war will not permit it. But in actual practise it will be extremely difficult for these refugees to return to their former homes or positions. Their positions and jobs and their commercial and industrial establishments will have been occupied not by the invaders, but by the native population. They will have little to go back to but desecrated cemeteries.

One does not know how many Jews will remain in Central and Eastern Europe after the war, nor how many of them will have to be transplanted elsewhere, nor yet how many who had fled will require repatriation to other lands. But it can readily be assumed that ^{there}~~there~~ will be large numbers who will seek new homes and that new homes will not be available for large numbers.

Palestine alone offers a sound and realistic prospect for mass-scale Jewish immigration, provided the political barriers which the mandatory power has illegally erected are removed. In Palestine the Jewish people enjoys an internationally recognized and unique status -- that of a people in its own national home. The nations of the world resolved after the last war that Palestine shall become a place for large-scale Jewish immigration, and instructed the Mandatory Government to facilitate such immigration into the country. The country is readied to receive additional mass immigration and the Yishuv is eager to welcome it. It is the clear task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the illegal obstacles which have been put in the way of this immigration be completely removed, that the work of upbuilding the country be not interrupted, that the rights of the Jews to acquire land for colonization be not restricted, and that the Jewish Agency recognized in the Mandate, be given power to plan, direct and control the new immigration into the country. It has now matured to a point where it can undertake this responsibility ^{ing} and it is the only agency which is wily to assume such a responsibility.

Our people will emerge from this war not only physically but spiritually shaken and ravaged. The spiritual destruction of European Jewry has been as disastrous as the physical. Many old centers of Jewish life have been destroyed. Many cultural and religious institutions from which world Jewry drew strength and sustenance, many schools and academies have been swept away and their scholars and students either slain or scattered.

World Jewry today faces a spiritual crisis of appalling proportions. It is therefore not enough to plan for the physical rehabilitation of our people after the war. We must also plan for our cultural and spiritual rehabilitation -- how

to keep alive the spirit of Israel, the light of Jewish thought and the torch of Jewish learning, how to safeguard our heritage which alone gives dignity and distinction to our lives and meaning to our millennial suffering, how to vitalize those institutions which have preserved the ethical and religious idealism of Judaism for ourselves and for mankind.

As quickly as circumstances will permit, the direction of our interests and the emphasis of our activities should be shifted from eleemosynary to the educational, cultural and spiritual. Fortunately we have by now almost our full quota of orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged and other necessary philanthropic institutions. Here Jewish generosity and intelligence have built well and adequately. But our religious, cultural and spiritual life has been languishing. No Jewish community can long survive on philanthropy alone, or on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and cultural life must be nurtured. Our fathers taught us the strategy of survival. In every grave crisis they turned not to their statesmen, generals or philanthropists, but to their schoolmen and to their teachers.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WAR TIME AND AFTER

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

The American Jewish community faced the problems which the war forced upon it in a creditable manner. We have no reason to condemn or disparage ourselves. We have not, of course, responded as fully as we might have or as we should have to the challenge of the great, testing times. But what people or what group has? In a sense the hour called and calls for a quality of selflessness and a measure of wisdom, vision and competence far beyond the capacity of our generation -- perhaps of any generation.

But we did not wholly or even largely fail in the grave emergencies which suddenly confronted us. We may not have been as dexterous as we might have been in the handling of all the new situations, but we did not burke the great moment, nor shirk our responsibilities nor lack in devotion and generosity. What was true of our ancestors in former times under similar conditions of menace and disaster proved true also of their descendants in our day. A great hour did not find us a small people.

I need not dwell here upon the manner in which the Jews of America faced up to the paramount demands of the war. They met their obligations of citizenship in an eager and ardent spirit of patriotism. They sent their sons, in the hundreds of thousands, into all the armed services of our country. These young Jews are fighting on every battlefront and are giving an excellent account of themselves. Many have been killed. Many more have been wounded. Many have been signally honored for extraordinary bravery in action. All are prepared to defend with their lives this gracious land and its noble heritage of freedom, equality and the inalienable rights of man. They have sent their daughters into the auxiliary armed services. We have not neglected the care and spiritual ministrations of our fighting men. Our religious bodies and our Welfare Board have performed the tasks with intelligence, devotion and

skill. Our civilians at home are engrossed in the numerous civilian war activities, bond drives, blood donors, Red Cross work, nurses aides, relief campaigns. Jews know how to fight for the things they love -- and they love America. They know, too, the avowed intent of the enemy against whom they fight. If victorious, he means to destroy them. In order to survive -- they must destroy him. Every America Jew understands this -- and this knowledge lends drive and resoluteness to his war efforts.

But other demands, likewise grave and imperious, were made upon us. A disaster for which even our long, tormented history can offer no parallel, swept over our people in Europe, and left them broken, decimated and doomed. Sundry and terrible evils can come upon a world in the grip of war and revolution. Our people experienced them all. The cup of the whole world's staggering was thrust into their hands and they were made to drink of it and drain it to its very last poisonous dregs. Our myriads who were scattered and ^{who} crowded the broken highways of exile, or languished in unwelcoming ports of temporary refuge or faced death in the conquered lands turned to us for help. Though we could not help them fully, we did not fail them utterly. Would that we had done more and that more quickly! We were not unwilling, but inept. We permitted precious months and years to slip by while the Nazi scythe swung wider of conquered Europe and ever wider swaths and mowed down the Jewish communities/one after another in a bloody harvest of death. Governments, friendly governments, beguiled and misled us with vague promises and ineffectual ~~and~~ rescue agencies and conferences. We did not know how to focus the attention of what remained of the free and decent world, so absorbed in its own problems, upon the appalling tragedy of our people nor how to induce action. And so many perished who might have been saved.

Nevertheless we did organize in all our communities for relief and rescue. We expanded and implemented the existing agencies and created new ones to carry our help to those who were so desperately waiting for it. Year by year, increasingly larger funds were raised and increasingly more of our people came to share in the giving. We took care of the refugees who came to our shores. We sent help to our

exiles in all parts of the world. We aided in the upbuilding of Palestine. All these additional obligations were readily assumed without neglecting our domestic institutions of philanthropy, education, culture and religion. This is not an unworthy record. Undoubtedly much more should have been done by us -- the largest and richest Jewish community in the world. Much more, I am sure, will yet be done. What has been done, however, is reassuring augury of greater things to come, and evidence of an inner soundness and wholesomeness. There is much to build on in *this* our American Jewish community and much to build with. With good architects and skillful and diligent builders, a truly noble edifice of Jewish communal life can be erected in this good land.

The war has made the Jews of America more alert than they have ever been before, and more self-aware. A generation ago the incidence of Jewish awareness of the average American Jew was slight and casual. Today it is considerable and fairly constant. Among certain sections of our people this involuntary awareness is attended by varying degrees of irritation. Some still harbor the hope that the end of war and the defeat of the Nazis will remove all the unpleasant evidences of prejudice and discrimination which force this Jewish awareness upon them. This, I am afraid, is a vain hope -- and in their heart of hearts, I suspect, they know it.

American Jews are at last finding themselves under the necessity of doing that which Jews in the old world have always had to do: -- consciously to orient themselves as Jews in a non-Jewish environment and realistically to face all the implications of their status as a minority group. The Nazis succeeded in their attempt to make the whole Western World Jew-conscious, but they also succeeded, and without any intention on their part, to make all Jews more Jew-conscious. While some Jews are rather unnerved by this new experience and are unable to make an intelligent adjustment to it, the majority of our people are being helped by this keener awareness of their true position to a fuller, franker and more dignified life as American Jews.

These American Jews are facing the future without any illusions but certainly not without hope. The New World, for a time, made possible a pleasant sense of almost complete identification. That is no longer the case and in all probability will never be again. The Old World brand of anti-Semitism is here to stay — not forever, of course, but for a period long enough for all practical considerations. This is realism, not defeatism. This is the landscape. After the political anti-Semitism of the Nazi variety, that is, the kind which is sanctioned and organized by governments and employed as a weapon of economic reaction, ^{and imperial aggression} will have been defeated as a result of the defeat of the Nazis in this war, the high fever-temperature of anti-Semitism will undoubtedly drop here and elsewhere, provided of course no disastrous economic debacle and vast unemployment follow the Armistice. But much of what we may now call the "good" and temperate anti-Semitism, in contrast to the killing and annihilationist kind, that which in happier times we used to call prejudice, will remain as a constant factor in our experience. The Civil War ended slavery in the United States. It did not solve the race problem. A country may be democratic and yet its people may be bitterly anti-Semitic. Witness Poland before the war and Weimar Germany. Political equality is not yet brotherhood. It is doubtful whether the popular sentiment of most of the countries of Europe ever heartily approved of Jewish emancipation. It seems to have come rather as ^{or} ~~the~~ by-product of new political theories and principles of human rights which had to be consistently applied, ^{and therefore had to include} ~~even to~~ ^{also} the Jews.

American is not likely to go Fascist, but Fascistically-minded Americans, who will always be anti-Semites, will persist in large numbers until such time as our age finds its new economic and political equilibrium after the prolonged upheavals ^{of} ~~which~~ the technological revolution, ^{spiritually formless} ~~will have wrought~~. This period of re-orientation ^{will continue to be} which ~~is~~ fraught with ~~so~~ much danger and unhappiness for mankind ~~and which is~~ ^{Last} ~~spiritually so formless and chaotic~~ will ~~continue~~ far beyond our present generation.

What I am trying to say is that our lives as American Jews have now fallen into the well known pattern of Israel's millennial experience in Diaspora. For a

time we were able to regard ourselves as different. But America itself has become far less different, far less removed, and far less isolated from the Old World. It is no longer a distant land on the rim of a vast ocean. It is now the center of the world. Politically, economically and culturally it is now enmeshed in a common destiny with the rest of the world. And American Jews also have come to share, however reluctantly, the common and inescapable destiny of their fellow Jews in the rest of the world. An unfailing rule in that millennial experience of our people has been that in normal times of political and economic stability, of peace and prosperity we are not greatly annoyed. When conditions become disturbed and unsettled, for whatever reason, we are suddenly and severely menaced.

All the literature on anti-Semitism of recent years, -- and it has been considerable, and some of it very erudite and scientific -- has yielded nothing more ^{positive and} illuminating than this. Anti-Semitism has been tracked down by scholars to its last speculative retreat. Many a profound explanation ^{for} it has been given, but unfortunately an explanation is not yet a solution.

Following the war we shall be kept busy for a time undoing the mischief which the virulent Nazi-inspired propaganda of recent years will have accomplished in this country, busy ^{as it were} disinfesting the human mind. This will prove a job of no mean proportions. Thereafter we shall proceed to make the necessary adjustments to the more "normal" forms of prejudice without spending too much time and thought upon the subject, -- a pre-occupation neither satisfying nor edifying, -- and we shall turn our attention to the more constructive areas of Jewish life. We have ^{long ago} been admonished by our ^{sages} ~~seers~~ not to observe the wind too closely lest we fail to sow, nor ^{to} regard the clouds with too much concern lest we fail to reap.

We will stop trying to find a solution for anti-Semitism and we will reconcile ourselves to a condition. We will of course join forces with all those elements in our population which work for the preservation of the basic traditions of American democracy. We shall be portion of all that is around us and will share as fully as we

shall be permitted in the common life. We will continue to resist the forces of darkness and disruption in our country. We will not surrender the hope of a future which will achieve in practice what has been projected in ^{declaration} ~~theory~~, but like the Messiah idea among our people, we shall think of it with hope but also with a saving measure of scepticism. We shall act as people who have finally matured and who do not attempt to escape into delusions or self-delusions.

As mature and responsible people we shall continue our efforts to organize our community life ~~more~~ efficiently. We are not unorganized now. In fact we are over-organized. This is not unnatural. Our community is large. Its origins are diverse and manifold, its interests are varied. As a people, from the days of Moses on, we have never been especially distinguished ^{either} for docility or tractability. We ^{have} always had more candidates for leadership than for discipleship. But we shall ^{nevertheless} continue to work out plans and methods for better organization and proper collective action, and we shall continue to learn the required disciplines of Jewish community life. X

This does not mean that we shall strive to achieve so-called "unity" in American Israel. This slogan of "Jewish unity" has been one of the most misleading and disruptive ones in American Jewish life. Every organization seeking to maintain a special-privilege position ~~in American Jewish life~~, every venal champion of a minority point of view, unwilling to submit to the judgment of the majority, everyone who out of assimilationist tendencies attempts to hold down American Jewish life to a minimal program, has sheltered himself behind this slogan. No people of five million souls anywhere in the world is "unified" on the basic issues which affect its life. Only dictatorship can achieve such a specious unity of action, — never of thought, — and certainly not for any long time. It is not unity which is essential, but organization, democratic organization in which all points of view can find their legitimate expression and by means of which the majority can ^{properly} ~~receive its proper~~ authority to speak and act for the entire community. Minorities in Jewish life

have the right to be heard, to organize and to advocate their points of view. They have no right to speak as if they represented the majority of ~~American Jews~~ or to sabotage and disrupt efforts at organization in the hope of keeping the majority from exercising its rightful authority ^{and} of preserving for themselves a special status and vested privileges.

The organization of Jewish community councils, which began in our country some years ago, represented a clear insight and a sound approach to an adequate organization of American Jewish life. I do not know how far these councils have progressed in recent years, either in number or in the extension of their areas of operation in their respective communities. The further organization of these community councils, locally and nationally, is clearly the direction in which American Jewry should move, if it really intends to organize itself on a satisfactory, permanent and democratic basis, and if it wishes to free itself some day of the numerous competing organizations which today clutter up the scene, all of whom presume to speak for American Jewry and none of whom has ever received a properly validated mandate, ~~submit~~.

Another attempt at proper communal organization on a national scale was made last September. As an emergency measure, a national conference was convoked, of representatives of national organizations and of democratically elected community representatives to speak for American Jewry in this critical period of the war ~~and~~ on all matters affecting Jewish life in post-war settlements. It was an earnest and commendable effort, and American Jewry responded to it in a remarkable degree. The conference demonstrated that great sections of American Jewry had matured sufficiently to welcome and accept the disciplines of organized community life. But it also demonstrated that there are groups and organizations, which are not yet ready for a truly democratic organization of American Jewish life. These groups or their spokesmen must either have it their own way or like peevish children they will not play. Their approach is one either of domination or secession. Many specious arguments were used by the vestigial oligarchs who formerly held sway but whom the people's great assembly refused to follow and who ^{came to} feared the dismemberment of their

little empires, to justify their universally condemned secession and to discredit the conference. It was a melancholy spectacle. ~~Especially was~~ ^{was} criticism levelled ^{by them} at the election machinery which had been set up ^{with their own consent} to select the delegates. The fact of the matter of course is that regardless of what electoral machinery would have been set up, provided it was ^{not} purposely devised to throw the election to a minority, the elections would have resulted in approximately the same kind of a representation. It was also argued that in matters of principle one cannot compromise and therefore one must withdraw. But a group or a party does not compromise its principles if it remains in an over-all democratically constituted body ^{but} and declares its opposition to the decisions of the majority and remains free to advocate its principles. This is of the very essence of the democratic procedure.

The American Jewish Conference, after earnest and thoughtful deliberation, expressed itself with remarkable agreement, in most instances with unanimity ^{and} on the more controversial subjects by a vote so large that the true mind of the overwhelming majority ^{was} could not be left in doubt, on the basic issues which confronted American and world Jewry, on rescue work, post-war rehabilitation and the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. It indicated what our objectives were, and in a general way, what should be done to achieve them. In so doing the conference fully served its purpose. Those who had expected the conference to become the day by day functioning agency to carry out in practice all the work of rescue and rehabilitation and the full implementation of the Palestine program failed to realize that the conference possessed neither the machinery nor the finances nor the personnel for ~~such~~ ^{responsibility} such a ~~charge~~ nor did the constituent organizations wish it to undertake or to supplant their functions. The conference was to have been and should have remained a consultative and deliberative not a ~~functionary~~ ^{working} and executive body. It was intended as a great sounding board and a clearing house of American Jewish thought on vital Jewish problems, where periodically these could be discussed and clarified, where our major activities could be appraised, where new programs could be projected, where ^{the} ~~our~~ attitudes of governments towards our

problems could be reviewed, and where the collective will of American Jewry could find authoritative expression — not on the basis of any monolithic unity but on the only possible and Parliamentary basis of majority opinion. This, you will recall, was the original purpose of the conference as defined at the preliminary meeting which ^{and also in the official call for its organization} was held in Pittsburgh in December, 1942. The conference was "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world" and "to consider and recommend action on all matters looking towards the implementation of rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine." It was only later on, and as a result of the terrible urgency which made itself manifest to rescue European Jewry from extermination, that that problem of rescue was added to the ^{agenda} ~~program~~ of the conference and the conference was charged with executive and administrative duties for which it was not prepared or equipped. The conference served well its original purpose. It should meet soon again to survey ~~again~~ the Jewish position, to review what transpired during this fateful year, and give direction for future action wherever needed. ^{have been} ~~There are~~ little foxes ^{at} busily at work trying to spoil the vineyard which American Israel has planted. These little foxes should have their little ^{tails} ~~tails~~ scorched.

I believe that there are three principal tasks which face American Jewry today. As the war approaches its climax, and the prospects of peace become bright, men and nations are turning their attentions more and more to plans for the post-war world. Every responsible government has for some time now been drawing up blueprints for post-war economic, political and social reconstruction. It ^{should} ~~is~~ also the part of wisdom for us ~~Jews~~ Jews, to plan our post-war tasks, even though at the moment we are still deeply engrossed in the necessary work of rescue and relief.

Everyone realizes that European Jewry will emerge from the war ~~physically~~ physically ravaged and seriously depleted both in numbers and resources. Financial and material aid will be required for a considerable time after the war to heal the

wounds which the war inflicted, just as after the last war only on a much larger scale. Jews in the war-stricken countries will have special and peculiar problems of their own which will have to be met by supplementary aid given to them by their fellow Jews in other parts of the world. This will be our first task ~~to~~ ^{to salvage,} to rebuild whatever can be rebuilt, to reunite broken families, to re-establish shattered communities.

^{also}
There will ~~be~~ a large uprooted Jewish population, a floating population of human misery ~~also~~ seeking new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The world was inhospitable to Jewish immigration before this war. Our refugees knocked at a hundred doors and only a few were opened, and those few ~~admitted~~ ^{to admit} a pitifully small number. Our own country failed to use even its unfilled immigration quotas ^{to admit} ~~to shelter~~ our refugees, and we are ^{now} content to appeal ~~today~~ for "free ports" to be established on our shores for the temporary refuge and sojourning of refugees who will have to move on after the war — where to? There is no reason to assume that the world will be more hospitable after the war, when most countries will be faced with serious economic problems of their own, problems of conversion from war-time to peace-time economy, demobilization, debts and unemployment.

It is very doubtful whether the original homelands from which these refugees came will wish to welcome them back. Probably no official obstacles will be put in ~~their~~ ^{the} way. The political climate after the war will not permit it. But in actual practise it will be extremely difficult for these refugees to return to their former homes or positions. Their positions and jobs and their commercial and industrial establishments will have been occupied not by the invaders, but by the native population. ^{In many places} ~~They~~ will have little to go back to but desecrated cemeteries.

The recent confidential report made by a government envoy from the official Polish Underground to the Polish Government in Exile is a straw which shows in what ^{I see report has not been acknowledged officially but one should not, in that context, discount it.} direction the winds are blowing. ~~It~~ warns that repatriation of Jews would be regarded with hostility by the Polish population. "The population would consider the mass

re-immigration of the Jews not as a return to their previous positions, but as an invasion against which it would defend itself even in a physical manner." "The non-Jewish population has taken over the positions of the Jews in the towns and cities, and in a large part of Poland it is evidently a change which bears a character of finality." Thus the report continues: "The government does well in reassuring the public opinion of the world that there will be no anti-Semitism in Poland, but anti-Semitism will not exist in Poland only if the Jews who escaped from the pogroms do not endeavor to return en masse to Polish cities and towns." This report maintains that "the country sees only one way out of this difficult situation, namely that the Polish Government should in due time, possibly immediately, take the initiative in the creation of a national home for the Jews." He suggests a national home somewhere in Eastern Europe. Palestine is not favored because "it is too crowded, too exotic and evokes conflicts with the Arab world."

That there is a great element of truth in this report touching the sentiments of the Polish population to Jewish repatriation ^{remains the intensity of Polish anti-Semitism before the war,} no well-informed person can doubt. Unfortunately these sentiments are probably not limited to Poles ~~only~~. It is probably true of ~~most~~ the population of most of the occupied countries from which Jews have fled—Slovaks, Croats, Magyars, Roumanians, not to speak of Germans and Austrians. The remaining Jews of Europe will find themselves ^{after the war} in the midst of great tensions and bitter economic competitions. These tensions existed and grew in intensity in the years following the last war. They ~~were~~ ^{were} not ~~be~~ relieved by the formal grant of citizenship or even of minority rights. It will be no different at the close of this war.

One ^{can} ~~cannot~~ know how many Jews will remain in Central and Eastern Europe after the war, nor how many of them will have to be transplanted elsewhere, nor yet how many who had fled will require repatriation to other lands. But it can readily be assumed that there will be large numbers who will seek new homes and that new homes will not be available for large numbers.

Palestine alone offers ^a sound and realistic prospect for mass-scale Jewish immigration, provided the political barriers which the mandatory power has illegally

erected are removed. In Palestine the Jewish people enjoys an internationally recognized and unique status — that of a people in its own national home. The nations of the world resolved after the last war that Palestine shall become a place for large-scale Jewish immigration, and instructed the Mandatory Government to facilitate such immigration into the country. The country is readied to receive additional mass immigration and the Yishuv is eager to welcome it. It is the clear task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the illegal obstacles which have been put in the way of this immigration be completely removed, that the work of upbuilding the country be not interrupted, that the rights of the Jews to acquire land for colonization be not restricted, and that the Jewish Agency, ~~recognized~~ recognized in the Mandate, be given power to plan, direct and control the new immigration into the country. It has now matured to a point where it can undertake this responsibility and it is the only agency which is willing to assume such a responsibility. It is the task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the full rights of the Jewish people shall be implemented. What was intended by the nations of the world who agreed to the Palestine Mandate, what was intended by the statesmen of Great Britain and the United States who fathered the idea before the whittling process began at the hands of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, was clearly the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth. It was the just and wise solution then. It is the ^{and wise} just solution now. The Jewish National Home is now ready to assume the status which was originally ^{intended for it Balfour} ~~contemplated~~ in the Declaration and the Mandate. This is not the time nor the occasion to give an exposition of Zionism. But every responsible Jewish leader and communal worker owes it to himself and to his people at this ^{pre-eminent} ~~critical~~ ^{and} ~~junction~~ ^{was} in our history to realize fully one fact. We may set aside for the moment the necessity and desirability of rebuilding our national life in our ancestral home in order to normalize our status as a people among the peoples of the world. We may also set aside for the moment the beneficent reaction ^{which} ~~of~~ a reborn Jewish

Will have
Palestine upon the spiritual and cultural life of the Diaspora, and all other
Considering only
cogent and valid arguments for Zionism. The immediate task of rescuing great numbers
It should be clear that that task
of our people and of finding a home for them in Palestine, can be accomplished only
if our national claims to Palestine and the historical connection of the Jewish
people with Palestine, *which were* internationally acknowledged a quarter of a century ago, are
denied or not rejected now. For on purely humanitarian grounds we have no case against the
White Paper. If Palestine is just another country where we have no special status
and no special rights, then it may well be argued that it has already done more than
its share towards helping Jewish refugees, far more than *other* countries many times its
size; and Arab leaders and Palestinian administrators and officials of the Colonial
Office have been quick to point this out.

To assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home which has now
entered upon its final phase of fulfillment is thus the second great task confronting
American Jewry.

There is a third task. Our people will emerge from this war not only
physically but *also* spiritual shaken and ravaged. The spiritual destruction of European
Jewry has been as disastrous as the physical. Many old centers of Jewish life have
been destroyed. Many cultural and religious institutions from which world Jewry
drew strength and sustenance, many schools and academies have been swept away
and their scholars and students *have been* either slain or scattered. "That which has
fallen is more than that which remains standing."

In 1917, three million Jews in the Soviet Union were isolated from the
rest of world Jewry, and the spiritual and cultural traditions of Russian Jewry ceased
to flow into the channels of world Jewish life. Since 1933, the rest of European
Jewry has been crushed. World Jewry today faces a spiritual crisis of appalling
proportions. It is therefore not enough to plan for the physical rehabilitation
of our people after the war. We must also plan for our cultural and spiritual

rehabilitation -- how to keep alive the spirit of Israel, the light of Jewish thought and the torch of Jewish learning, how to safeguard our heritage which alone gives dignity and distinction to our lives and meaning to our millennial suffering, how to vitalize those institutions which have preserved the ethical and religious idealism of Judaism for ourselves and for mankind.

Our ancestors were content and proud to carry the "Sevel ha'Yerusha," the burden of their heritage, because they were convinced that it contained something exquisitely precious and noble and vital to their salvation and to the salvation of the world. Thus their frustrations were not wanting in compensations. Our children and those who come after them will ~~xxx~~ also have to carry the same burden. But will they know why, or wherefore?

Our youth is not impervious to the appeal of our ancient faith and its glorious traditions. From army camps and battle fronts come abundant testimony that their hearts are eager and their minds are open to receive the message of Judaism. Perhaps we are entering an age when our ~~best shall~~ ^{people} again experience not a famine ~~of~~ bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord ~~and they shall seek it.~~

Only two great centers of Jewish life ^{now} remain -- Palestine and America. The American Jewish community is now the largest in the world. The future of Jewish life on a scale and of a quality worthy of our great past will depend on what we do here. We cannot forever live on our past and "banquet upon upon borrowing." We must begin to create values of our own in this country even as our people did in every great center where they lived in the ~~past~~ ^{past}. ~~For~~ ^{Nowhere} did ~~the Jews~~ ^{our ancestors} regard themselves as "a piece of stubborn antiquity," to use Charles Lamb's phrase, strangely embedded in an alien age, but rather as a vital, challenging and molding spiritual force in every age ^{and clime}.

As quickly as circumstances will permit, the direction of our interests and the emphasis of our activities should be shifted from elymosynary to the

educational, cultural and spiritual. Fortunately we have by now almost our full quota of orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged and other necessary philanthropic institutions. Here Jewish generosity and intelligence have built well and adequately. But our religious, cultural and spiritual life has been languishing. Neither our older people nor our younger people are experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives. Many of our lay-leaders who have distinguished themselves in philanthropic activities seldom, if ever, take a vital part in the propagation of our faith, or in the purposes and activities of our Jewish educational institutions. Many of these lay-leaders seldom if ever enter a synagogue. They are of it, but not in it. No Jewish community can long survive on philanthropy alone, or on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and cultural life must be nurtured. Our fathers taught us the strategy of survival. In every grave crisis they turned not to their statesmen, generals or philanthropists, but to their schoolmen and to their teachers. Whenever one center of Jewish life was destroyed it was the men of the ~~past~~ spirit and of the book who carried the seeds of national survival to the new center.

The last few decades have of necessity channeled most of our energies and ⁱⁿ interests ~~to~~ the immediately urgent tasks of relief and rescue. We must soon begin to redirect our energies into the ^{more} positive and constructive channel of Jewish community life.

I believe that we shall live up to the challenge of these three great tasks which confront us. I have an abiding faith in the capacity of our people to rise to its great emergencies, ~~and~~ in its genius to discover the means, the methods and the men adequate to meet emergencies, in its inexhaustible inventiveness and adaptability and its unquenchable will to live.

Dr. Ismar Elbogen concludes his great book, recently published, called "A Century of Jewish Life" with these words: "Through all the moral and spiritual crises of the last hundred years we have not given up our identity. We have saved our faith, saved our morale, saved our mental faculties. Battered from all sides,

we were capable of giving to the world some of the greatest luminaries of the period. We don't despair! As long as Israel believes, Israel will not perish! We trust in God, and we go on!"

Men who can die as bravely as the ghetto Jews of Warsaw and who can build as magnificently as the pioneer Jews of Eretz Yisrael belong to a deathless race. We are of that race, and something of their passion and power and faith and tenacity is with us and we shall share their immortality.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WAR TIME AND AFTER

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio

The American Jewish community faced the problems which the war forced upon it in a ^{decidedly} creditable manner. We have no reason to condemn or disparage ourselves.

We have not, of course, responded as fully as we might have or as we should have to the challenge of the great, testing times. But what people or what group has? In a sense the hour called and calls for a quality of selflessness and a measure of wisdom, vision and competence far beyond the capacity of our generation -- perhaps of any generation.

But we did not wholly or even largely fail in the grave emergencies which suddenly confronted us. We may not have been as dexterous as we might have been in the handling of all the new situations, but we did not burke the great moment, nor shirk our responsibilities nor lack in devotion and generosity. What was true of our ancestors in former times under similar conditions of menace and disaster proved true also of their descendants in our day. A great hour did not find us a small people.

~~I need not dwell here upon the manner in which the Jews of America faced up~~ to the paramount demands of the war. They met their obligations of citizenship in an eager and ardent spirit of patriotism. They sent their sons, in the hundreds of thousands, into all the armed services of our country. These young Jews are fighting on every battlefront and are giving an excellent account of themselves. Many have been killed. Many more have been wounded. Many have been signally honored for extraordinary bravery in action. All are prepared to defend with their lives this gracious land and its noble heritage of freedom, equality and the inalienable rights of man. They have sent their daughters into the auxiliary armed services. ^{We have also} not neglected the care and spiritual ministrations of our fighting men. Our religious bodies and our Welfare Board have performed the tasks with intelligence, devotion and

skill.) Our civilians at home are engrossed in the numerous civilian war activities, bond drives, blood donors, Red Cross work, nurses aides, relief campaigns. Jews know how to fight for the things they love -- and they love America. They know, too, the avowed intent of the enemy against whom they fight. If victorious, he means to destroy them. In order to survive -- they must destroy him. Every America Jew understands this -- and this knowledge lends drive and resoluteness to his war efforts.

But other demands, likewise grave and imperious, were made upon us. A disaster for which even our long, tormented history can offer no parallel, swept over our people in Europe, and left them broken, decimated and doomed. Sundry and terrible evils can come upon a world in the grip of war and revolution. Our people experienced them all. (The cup of the whole world's staggering was thrust into their hands and they were made to drink of it and drain it to its very last poisonous dregs. Our myriads who were scattered and crowded the broken highways of exile, or languished in unwelcoming ports of temporary refuge or faced death in the conquered lands turned to us for help.) Though we could not help them fully, we did not fail them utterly. Would that we had done more and that more quickly! We were not unwilling, but inept. We permitted precious months and years to slip by while the Nazi scythe swung wider of conquered Europe and ever wider swaths and mowed down the Jewish communities/one after another in a bloody harvest of death. Governments, friendly governments, beguiled and misled us with vague promises and ineffectual ~~and~~ rescue agencies and conferences. We did not know how to focus the attention of what remained of the free and decent world, so absorbed in its own problems, upon the appalling tragedy of our people nor how to induce action. And so many perished who might have been saved.

Nevertheless we did organize in all our communities for relief and rescue. We expanded and implemented the existing agencies and created new ones to carry our help to those who were so desperately waiting for it. Year by year, increasingly larger funds were raised and increasingly more of our people came to share in the giving. We took care of the refugees who came to our shores. We sent help to our

exiles in all parts of the world. We aided in the upbuilding of Palestine. All these additional obligations were readily assumed without neglecting our domestic institutions of philanthropy, education, culture and religion. This is not an unworthy record. Undoubtedly much more should have been done by us -- the largest and richest Jewish community in the world. Much more, I am sure, will yet be done. What has been done, however, is reassuring augury of greater things to come, and evidence of an inner soundness and wholesomeness. There is much to build on in our American Jewish community and much to build with. With good architects and skillful and diligent builders, a truly noble edifice of Jewish communal life can be erected in this good land.

The war has made the Jews of America more alert than they have ever been before, and more self-aware. A generation ago the incidence of Jewish awareness of the average American Jew was slight and casual. Today it is considerable and fairly constant. Among certain sections of our people this involuntary awareness is attended by varying degrees of irritation. Some still harbor the hope that the end of war and the defeat of the Nazis will remove all the unpleasant evidences of prejudice and discrimination which forces this Jewish awareness upon them. This, I am afraid, is a vain hope -- and in their heart of hearts, I suspect, they know it.

American Jews are at last finding themselves under the necessity of doing that which Jews in the old world have always had to do: -- consciously to orient themselves as Jews in a non-Jewish environment and realistically to face all the implications of their status as a minority group. The Nazis succeeded in their attempt to make the whole Western World Jew-conscious, but they also succeeded, and without any intention on their part, to make all Jews more Jew-conscious. While some Jews are rather unnerved by this new experience and are unable to make an intelligent adjustment to it, the majority of our people are being helped by this keener awareness of their true position to a fuller, franker and more dignified life as American Jews.

These American Jews are facing the future without any illusions but certainly not without hope. The New World, for a time, made possible a pleasant sense of almost complete identification. That is no longer the case and in all probability will never be again. The Old World brand of anti-Semitism is here to stay -- not forever, of course, but for a period long enough for all practical considerations. This is realism, not defeatism. This is the landscape. After the political anti-Semitism of the Nazi variety, that is, the kind which is sanctioned and organized by governments and employed as a weapon of economic reaction, will have been defeated as a result of the defeat of the Nazis in this war, the high fever-temperature of anti-Semitism will undoubtedly drop here and elsewhere, provided of course no disastrous economic debacle and vast unemployment follow the Armistice. But much of what we may now call the "good" and temperate anti-Semitism, in contrast to the killing and annihilationist kind, that which in happier times we used to call prejudice, will remain as a constant factor in our experience. The Civil War ended slavery in the United States. It did not solve the race problem. A country may be democratic and yet its people may be bitterly anti-Semitic. Witness Poland before the war and Weimar Germany. Political equality is not yet brotherhood. It is doubtful whether the popular sentiment of most of the countries of Europe ever heartily approved of Jewish emancipation. It seems to have come rather as the by-product of new political theories and principles of human rights which had to be consistently applied even to the Jews.

American is not likely to go Fascist, but Fascistically-minded Americans, who will always be anti-Semites, will persist in large numbers until such time as our age finds its new economic and political equilibrium after the prolonged upheavals which the technological revolution will have wrought. This period of re-orientation which is fraught with so much danger and unhappiness for mankind and which is spiritually so formless and chaotic will continue far beyond our present generation.

What I am trying to say is that our lives as American Jews have now fallen into the well known pattern of Israel's millennial experience in Diaspora. For a

time we were able to regard ourselves as different. But America itself has become far less different, far less removed, and far less isolated from the Old World. It is no longer a distant land on the rim of a vast ocean. It is now the center of the world. Politically, economically and culturally it is now enmeshed in a common destiny with the rest of the world. And American Jews also have come to share, however reluctantly, the common and inescapable destiny of their fellow Jews in the rest of the world. An unfailling rule in that millennial experience of our people has been that in normal times of political and economic stability, of peace and prosperity we are not greatly annoyed. When conditions become disturbed and unsettled, for whatever reason, we are suddenly and severely menaced.

All the literature on anti-Semitism of recent years, -- and it has been considerable, and some of it very erudite and scientific -- has yielded nothing more illuminating than this. Anti-Semitism has been tracked down by scholars to its last speculative retreat. Many a profound explanation of it has been given, but unfortunately an explanation is not yet a solution.

Following the war we shall be kept busy for a time undoing the mischief which the virulent Nazi-inspired propaganda of recent years will have accomplished in this country, busy disinfesting the human mind. This will prove a job of no mean proportions. Thereafter we shall proceed to make the necessary adjustments to the more "normal" forms of prejudice without spending too much time and thought upon the subject, -- a pre-occupation neither satisfying nor edifying, -- and we shall turn our attention to the more constructive areas of Jewish life. We have been admonished by our seers not to observe the wind too closely lest we fail to sow, nor regard the clouds with too much concern lest we fail to reap.

We will stop trying to find a solution for anti-Semitism and we will reconcile ourselves to a condition. We will of course join forces with all those elements in our population which work for the preservation of the basic traditions of American democracy. We shall be portion of all that is around us and will share as fully as we

shall be permitted in the common life. We will continue to resist the forces of darkness and disruption in our country. We will not surrender the hope of a future which will achieve in practice what has been projected in theory, but like the Messiah idea among our people, we shall think of it with hope but also with a saving measure of scepticism. We shall act as people who have finally matured and who do not attempt to escape into delusions or self-delusions.

As mature and responsible people we shall continue our efforts to organize our community life more efficiently. We are not unorganized now. In fact we are over-organized. This is not unnatural. Our community is large. Its origins are diverse and manifold, its interests are varied. As a people, from the days of Moses on, we have never been especially distinguished for docility or tractability. We always had more candidates for leadership than for discipleship. But we shall continue to work out plans and methods for better organization and proper collective action, and we shall continue to learn the required disciplines of Jewish community life.

This does not mean that we shall strive to achieve so-called "unity" in American Israel. This slogan of "Jewish unity" has been one of the most misleading and disruptive ones in American Jewish life. Every organization seeking to maintain a special-privilege position in American Jewish life, every venal champion of a minority point of view, unwilling to submit to the judgment of the majority, everyone who out of assimilationist tendencies attempts to hold down American Jewish life to a minimal program, has sheltered himself behind this slogan. No people of five million souls anywhere in the world is "unified" on the basic issues which affect its life. Only dictatorship can achieve such a specious unity of action, -- never of thought, -- and certainly not for any long time. It is not unity which is essential, but organization, democratic organization in which all points of view can find their legitimate expression and by means of which the majority can receive its proper authority to speak and act for the entire community. Minorities in Jewish life

have the right to be heard, to organize and to advocate their points of view. They have no right to speak as if they represented the majority of American Jews or to sabotage and disrupt efforts at organization in the hope of keeping the majority from exercising its rightful authority and of preserving for themselves a special status and vested privileges.

The organization of Jewish community councils, which began in our country some years ago, represented a clear insight and a sound approach to an adequate organization of American Jewish life. I do not know how far these councils have progressed in recent years, either in number or in the extension of their areas of operation in their respective communities. The further organization of these community councils, locally and nationally, is clearly the direction in which American Jewry should move, if it really intends to organize itself on a satisfactory, permanent and democratic basis, and if it wishes to free itself some day of the numerous competing organizations which today clutter up the scene, all of whom presume to speak for American Jewry and none of whom has ever received a properly validated mandate from it.

Another attempt at proper communal organization on a national scale was made last September. As an emergency measure, a national conference was convoked, of representatives of national organizations and of democratically elected community representatives to speak for American Jewry in this critical period of the war and on all matters affecting Jewish life in post-war settlements. It was an earnest and commendable effort, and American Jewry responded to it in a remarkable degree. The conference demonstrated that great sections of American Jewry had matured sufficiently to welcome and accept the disciplines of organized community life. But it also demonstrated that there are groups and organizations, which are not yet ready for a truly democratic organization of American Jewish life. These groups or their spokesmen must either have it their own way or like peevish children they will not play. Their approach is one either of domination or secession. Many specious arguments were used by the vestigial oligarchs who formerly held sway but whom the people's great assembly refused to follow and who feared the dismemberment of their

little empires, to justify their universally condemned secession and to discredit the conference. It was a melancholy spectacle. Especially was criticism levelled at the election machinery which had been set up to select the delegates. The fact of the matter of course is that regardless of what electoral machinery would have been set up, provided it was purposely devised to throw the election to a minority, the elections would have resulted in approximately the same kind of a representation. It was also argued that in matters of principle one cannot compromise and therefore one must withdraw. But a group or a party does not compromise its principles if it remains in an over-all democratically constituted body and declares its opposition to the decisions of the majority and remains free to advocate its principles. This is of the very essence of the democratic procedure.

The American Jewish Conference, after earnest and thoughtful deliberation, expressed itself with remarkable agreement, in most instances with unanimity on the more controversial subjects by a vote so large that the true mind of the overwhelming majority could not be left in doubt, on the basic issues which confronted American and world Jewry on rescue work, post-war rehabilitation and the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. It indicated what our objectives were, and in a general way, what should be done to achieve them. In so doing the conference fully served its purpose. Those who had expected the conference to become the day by day functioning agency to carry out in practise all the work of rescue and rehabilitation and the full implementation of the Palestine program failed to realize that the conference possessed neither the machinery nor the finances nor the personnel for ~~such~~ such a charge nor did the constituent organizations wish it to undertake or to supplant their functions. The conference was to have been and should have remained a consultative and deliberative not a functionary and executive body. It was intended as a great sounding board and a clearing house of American Jewish thought on vital Jewish problems, where periodically these could be discussed and clarified, where our major activities could be appraised, where new programs could be projected, where ^{the} ~~our~~ attitudes of governments towards our

problems could be reviewed, and where the collective will of American Jewry could find authoritative expression -- not on the basis of any monolithic unity but on the only possible and Parliamentary basis of majority opinion. This, you will recall, was the original purpose of the conference as defined at the preliminary meeting which was held in Pittsburgh in December, 1942. The conference was "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world" and "to consider and recommend action on all matters looking towards the implementation of rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine." It was only later on, and as a result of the terrible urgency which made itself manifest to rescue European Jewry from extermination that that problem of rescue was added to the program of the conference and the conference was charged with executive and administrative duties for which it was not prepared or equipped. The conference served well its original purpose. It should meet soon again to survey again the Jewish position, to review what transpired during this fateful year, and give direction for future action wherever needed. There are little foxes busily at work trying to spoil the vineyard which American Israel has planted. These little foxes should have their little ^{Tails} ~~tails~~ scorched.

I believe that there are three principal tasks which face American Jewry today. As the war approaches its climax, and the prospects of peace become bright, men and nations are turning their attentions more and more to plans for the post-war world. Every responsible government has for some time now been drawing up blue-prints for post-war economic, political and social reconstruction. It is also the part of wisdom for us, as Jews, to plan our post-war tasks even though at the moment we are still deeply engrossed in the necessary work of rescue and relief.

Everyone realizes that European Jewry will emerge from the war ~~physically~~ physically ravaged and seriously depleted both in numbers and resources. Financial and material aid will be required for a considerable time after the war to heal the

wounds which the war inflicted, just as after the last war only on a much larger scale. Jews in the war-stricken countries will have special and peculiar problems of their own which will have to be met by supplementary aid given to them by their fellow Jews in other parts of the world. This will be our first task. To salvage, to rebuild whatever can be rebuilt, to reunite broken families, to re-establish shattered communities.

There will ^{also} be a large uprooted Jewish population, a floating population of human misery also seeking new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The world was inhospitable to Jewish immigration before this war. Our refugees knocked at a hundred doors and only a few were opened, and those few admitted only a pitifully small number. Our own country failed to use even its unfilled immigration quotas to shelter our refugees, and we are content to appeal today for "free ports" to be established on our shores for the temporary refuge and sojourning of refugees who will have to move on after the war -- where to? There is no reason to assume that the world will be more hospitable after the war, when most countries will be faced with serious economic problems of their own, problems of conversion from war-time to peace-time economy, demobilization, debts and unemployment.

It is very doubtful whether the original homelands from which these refugees came will wish to welcome them back. Probably no official obstacles will be put in the way. The political climate after the war will not permit it. But in actual practise it will be extremely difficult for these refugees to return to their former homes or positions. Their positions and jobs and their commercial and industrial establishments will have been occupied not by the invaders, but by the native population. They will have little to go back to but desecrated cemeteries.

The recent confidential report made by a government envoy from the official Polish Underground to the Polish Government in Exile is a straw which shows in what direction the winds are blowing. He warns that repatriation of Jews would be regarded with hostility by the Polish population. "The population would consider the mass

re-immigration of the Jews not as a return to their previous positions, but as an invasion against which it would defend itself even in a physical manner." "The non-Jewish population has taken over the positions of the Jews in the towns and cities, and in a large part of Poland it is evidently a change which bears a character of finality." Thus the report continues. "The government does well in reassuring the public opinion of the world that there will be no anti-Semitism in Poland, but anti-Semitism will not exist in Poland only if the Jews who escaped from the pogroms do not endeavor to return en masse to Polish cities and towns." This report maintains that "the country sees only one way out of this difficult situation, namely that the Polish Government should in due time, possibly immediately, take the initiative in the creation of a national home for the Jews." He suggests a national home somewhere in Eastern Europe. Palestine is not favored because "it is too crowded, too exotic and evokes conflicts with the Arab world."

That there is a great element of truth in this report touching the sentiments of the Polish population to Jewish repatriation no well-informed person can doubt. Unfortunately these sentiments are probably not limited to Poles only. It is probably true of most of the population of most of the occupied countries from which Jews have fled. Slovaks, Croats, Magyars, Roumanians, not to speak of Germans and Austrians. The remaining Jews of Europe will find themselves in the midst of great tensions and bitter economic competitions. These tensions existed and grew in intensity in the years following the last war. They will not be relieved by the formal grant of citizenship or even of minority rights. It will be no different at the close of this war.

One doesn't know how many Jews will remain in Central and Eastern Europe after the war, nor how many of them will have to be transplanted elsewhere, nor yet how many who had fled will require repatriation to other lands. But it can readily be assumed that there will be large numbers who will seek new homes and that new homes will not be available for large numbers.

Palestine alone offers ^a sound and realistic prospect for mass-scale Jewish immigration, provided the political barriers which the mandatory power has illegally

erected are removed. In Palestine the Jewish people enjoys an internationally recognized and unique status -- that of a people in its own national home. The nations of the world resolved after the last war that Palestine shall become a place for large-scale Jewish immigration, and instructed the Mandatory Government to facilitate such immigration into the country. The country is readied to receive additional mass immigration and the Yishuv is eager to welcome it. It is the clear task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the illegal obstacles which have been put in the way of this immigration be completely removed, that the work of upbuilding the country be not interrupted, that the rights of the Jews to acquire land for colonization be not restricted, and that the Jewish Agency ~~recognized~~ recognized in the Mandate, be given power to plan, direct and control the new immigration into the country. It has now matured to a point where it can undertake this responsibility and it is the only agency which is willing to assume such a responsibility. It is the task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the full rights of the Jewish people shall be implemented. What was intended by the nations of the world who agreed to the Palestine Mandate, what was intended by the statesmen of Great Britain and the United States who fathered the idea before the whittling process began at the hands of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, was clearly the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth. It was the just and wise solution then. It is the just solution now. The Jewish National Home is now ready to assume the status which was originally contemplated in the Declaration and the Mandate. This not the time nor the occasion to give an exposition of Zionism. But every responsible Jewish leader and communal worker owes it to himself and to his people at this critical junction in our history to realize fully one fact. We may set aside for the moment the necessity and desirability of rebuilding our national life in our ancestral home in order to normalize our status as a people among the peoples of the world. We may also set aside for the moment the beneficent reaction of a reborn Jewish

Palestine upon the spiritual and cultural life of the Diaspora, and all other cogent and valid arguments for Zionism. The immediate task of rescuing great numbers of our people and of finding a home for them in Palestine can be accomplished only if our national claims to Palestine and the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, internationally acknowledged a quarter of a century ago, are not rejected now. For on purely humanitarian grounds we have no case against the White Paper. If Palestine is just another country where we have no special status and no special rights, then it may well be argued that it has already done more than its share towards helping Jewish refugees, far more than countries many times its size; and Arab leaders and Palestinian administrators and officials of the Colonial Office have been quick to point this out.

To assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home which has now entered upon its final phase of fulfillment is thus the second great task confronting American Jewry.

There is a third task. Our people will emerge from this war not only physically but spiritual shaken and ravaged. The spiritual destruction of European Jewry has been as disastrous as the physical. Many old centers of Jewish life have been destroyed. Many cultural and religious institutions from which world Jewry drew strength and sustenance, many schools and academies have been swept away and their scholars and students either slain or scattered. "That which has fallen is more than that which remains standing."

In 1917, three million Jews in the Soviet Union were isolated from the rest of world Jewry, and the spiritual and cultural traditions of Russian Jewry ceased to flow into the channels of world Jewish life. Since 1933, the rest of European Jewry has been crushed. World Jewry today faces a spiritual crisis of appalling proportions. It is therefore not enough to plan for the physical rehabilitation of our people after the war. We must also plan for our cultural and spiritual

rehabilitation -- how to keep alive the spirit of Israel, the light of Jewish thought and the torch of Jewish learning, how to safeguard our heritage which alone gives dignity and distinction to our lives and meaning to our millennial suffering, how to vitalize those institutions which have preserved the ethical and religious idealism of Judaism for ourselves and for mankind.

Our ancestors were content and proud to carry the "Sevel ha'Yerusha," the burden of their heritage, because they were convinced that it contained something exquisitely precious and noble and vital to their salvation and to the salvation of the world. Thus their frustrations were not wanting in compensations. Our children and those who come after them will ~~xxx~~ also have to carry the same burden. But will they know why, or wherefore?

Our youth is not impervious to the appeal of our ancient faith and its glorious traditions. From army camps and battle fronts come abundant testimony that their hearts are eager and their minds are open to receive the message of Judaism. Perhaps we are entering an age when our men shall again experience not a famine or bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord, and they shall seek it.

Only two great centers of Jewish life remain -- Palestine and America. The American Jewish community is now the largest in the world. The future of Jewish life on a scale and of a quality worthy of our great past will depend on what we do here. We cannot forever live on our past and "banquet upon upon borrowing." We must begin to create values of our own in this country even as our people did in every great center where they lived in the past. For nowhere did the Jews regard themselves as "a piece of stubborn antiquity," to use Charles Lamb's phrase, strangely embedded in an alien age, but rather as a vital, challenging and molding spiritual force in every age.

As quickly as circumstances will permit, the direction of our interests and the emphasis of our activities should be shifted from elymosynary to the

educational, cultural and spiritual. Fortunately we have by now almost our full quota of orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged and other necessary philanthropic institutions. Here Jewish generosity and intelligence have built well and adequately. But our religious, cultural and spiritual life has been languishing. Neither our older people nor our younger people are experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives. Many of our lay-leaders who have distinguished themselves in philanthropic activities seldom, if ever, take a vital part in the propagation of our faith, or in the purposes and activities of our Jewish educational institutions. Many of these lay-leaders seldom if ever enter a synagogue. They are of it, but not in it. No Jewish community can long survive on philanthropy alone, or on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and cultural life must be nurtured. Our fathers taught us the strategy of survival. In every grave crisis they turned not to their statesmen, generals or philanthropists, but to their schoolmen and to their teachers. Whenever one center of Jewish life was destroyed it was the men of the ~~pxi~~ spirit and of the book who carried the seeds of national survival to the new center.

The last few decades have of necessity channeled most of our energies and in interests to the immediately urgent tasks of relief and rescue. We must soon begin to redirect our energies into the positive and constructive channel of Jewish community life.

I believe that we shall live up to the challenge of these three great tasks which confront us. I have an abiding faith in the capacity of our people to rise to its great emergencies, and in its genius to discover the means, the methods and the men adequate to meet emergencies in its inexhaustible inventiveness and adaptability and its unquenchable will to live.

Dr. Ismar Elbogen concludes his great book, recently published, called "A Century of Jewish Life" with these words: "Through all the moral and spiritual crises of the last hundred years we have not given up our identity. We have saved our faith, saved our morale, saved our mental faculties. Battered from all sides,

we were capable of giving to the world some of the greatest luminaries of the period. We don't despair! As long as Israel believes, Israel will not perish! We trust in God, and we go on!"

Men who can die as bravely as the ghetto Jews of Warsaw and who can build as magnificently as the pioneer Jews of Eretz Yisrael belong to a deathless race. We are of that race, and something of their passion and power and faith and tenacity is with us and we shall share their immortality.



1/ Paris - Cherbourg - whose face
Giant - "Festung" - Invincible Unbreakable
Free men are breathing -
None can be strong - with - riches
We know - war is not over - but
~~even cautious~~ - Churchill
We know - grave problems - ahead
tax on resources - starvation
But - in fested jungle - build highway
Rebuild our world - peace -
free from arbitrariness, aggression
persecution, org. hate -

2/ We Jews meet ^{not} in an easy
more hopeful time -
We can no see thru darkness days
As we look back - we may take
pride - for - decidedly creditable
Condemn or Disparage ourselves
We have not responded as fully
great testing time
But what people has? In a
sense the home called - to beyond

3/ But we did not wholly or largely fail (²)
dexterous - broke the great incumbent
war shrink - war lack in devotion
what was true of our ancestors

4/ We need not dwell here - how Am. Jews
forced up - paramount demands, the
met obligations of citizenship - ardent
sent their sons - many have died
signally honored -

All are prepared to defend with
gracious - with heroisms of
Daughters - auxiliary around service
Our civilians at home expressed
Jews know how to fight
They know, too, armed intent
drive - resolutions

5/ But other demands were made
upon us - grave - imperious
A disaster for which even -
parallel - swept over - broken
Sunday & terrible evils

Cups of white wine Stappery (3)
Our wizards scattered - ex. B. -
Karpinski in a welcome party
Tho we could not help them fully
we did not fail them utterly
Would that we had done more +
more graciously - not unwilling
but swift

We permitted previous months' grants
Nazi say the - Swamy wider
grants - friendly grants - repaid
promises - rescue conferences
How to focus -

6/ Nevertheless - we did ag. for relief
we expanded

Year by year, increasingly larger

Talk can & our Refuges here - IVHS

We sent help - SDC
to Palestine - UPA

All these add. obligations arose
without weakening Donorship

4
This is not unworthy record
Undoubted much more - richer
much more, I am sure, will
What has been done - reassuring
anxiety of future things to come
Evidence of inner soundness
There is much to build on -
and with.

- 7/ We have 3 conflicting tasks
- (a) Carry on with - re-est-prepare
not - work of mercy
 - (b) Plan now for post-war -
average savings - require
for considerable time. I am
special problems - needs
which will have to be solved
re-est-prepare - rebuild
 - (c) 7 leading pop. of human misery

Seeking new Homes - inhospitable - (5)
In hospitable before the war - 100 jobs
There is no reason - conversion
Uncertain - how many - return to
original homelands - Western
Poles - Magyars - Slovaks - Rumanians
Rumanians - Austrians.

Positions occupied
Returning refugees - territories - Econ. Conf.
Not relieved by formal restoration
One does not know - how many will
remain - transplanted - repatriated
But large numbers - new homes
not available

8/. Palestine alone - mass-scale
provided - pol. barriers

In P. Jews enjoy an inter. very
stable
after last war - 52 native Arabs

place for large scale - facilities 16

Currency has been reached - Yeshua
- 300 columns - probably 3-4 M.

Stationary - work not interrupted
has resumed - money - land

Jesus have earned their right

① Rebut it - whatever

② Freight for it -

9/ By your contribution -

file in clipping book page 5 44-4

The Conference Record

Issued by the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

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June, 1944

Second Session of the American Jewish Conference

ACTING under the authority vested in it by the delegates when it was established, the Interim Committee of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE voted on May 12th in New York to convene the second session of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE at the Hotel Stevens, Chicago, Ill., on September 2nd, the first anniversary of the initial gathering in New York. The session will continue through September 3rd and 4th and may extend over September 5th.

The Interim Committee meeting was attended by 18 members and 11 alternates, and its three Co-Chairmen, Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York, Henry Monsky of Omaha, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, who presided.

In voting to reconvene the CONFERENCE, the Interim Committee accepted a recommendation by a sub-committee, which was created at the Interim Committee meeting of March 21st and which consisted of Charles P. Kramer, Chairman, and Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Magistrate Morris Rothenberg, Justice Meier Steinbrink and David Wertheim.

An Administrative Committee was created by the Interim Committee as its executive organ with power to implement its decisions. It is charged with all matters pertaining to the organization of the second session. The chairman of the Administrative Committee is Louis Lipsky, of New York, who was Chairman of the National Board of Elections preceding the first session.

Formal notification of the call to the second session has been sent to the delegates by the Administrative Committee. New elections will not be held inasmuch as the CONFERENCE is in recess and the forthcoming session is convened by the authority of the delegates who attended the first session.

The 379 delegates elected by the communities have been requested to notify the CONFERENCE before June 30th whether they will be in a position to serve at the Chicago meeting so that steps may be taken to provide for alternates if necessary.

The 64 national organizations, which have adhered to the CONFERENCE and who are represented by 120 delegates, have been requested to notify the CONFERENCE

of any substitutions that may be made in the list of their representatives.

Preparations for the Session

The newly-established Administrative Committee, at meetings on May 17th and May 25th, began preparation of the program for the second session.

Members of the Committee are: Louis Lipsky, Chairman; Maurice Bisgyer, Samuel Caplan, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Jane Evans, J. George Fredman, Leon Gellman, William Gerber, Charles P. Kramer, Samuel Rothstein, Herman Shulman, Meyer W. Weisgal and David Wertheim. The three co-chairmen of the Interim Committee are ex-officio members of the Committee. Additional members may be coopted.

The Committee directed the three Commissions of the CONFERENCE, which were created by the Interim Committee to implement the three major resolutions adopted at the last session, to begin preparation of reports to the delegates and recommendations for future action.

The Commissions are directed to review events of the past year as they affect implementation of the CONFERENCE resolutions and to prepare, for submission to the delegates, specific proposals to assist in the realization of the CONFERENCE objectives in the three fields of the CONFERENCE agenda: the rescue of European Jewry; the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world; and the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

The "unfinished business" of the last session includes the election of "a delegation to carry out the program of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world."

A consensus of the Administrative Committee, as indicated by expressions from its membership, is that the problems of the rights and status of the Jews in post-war Europe should occupy the major attention of the delegates.

It is also believed inevitable that the agenda will include a consideration of the future functions of the CONFERENCE, its relationships with constituent bodies, a definition of the concept of "implementation" and the terms of reference of any interim body that may be established by the delegates.

The Administrative Committee intends to call meetings of delegates and electors in the larger cities of the country.

A credentials committee to certify the credentials of delegates and alternates was designated. It consists of Mr. Kramer, Chairman, Miss Evans, and Mr. Wertheim. The committee to supervise the arrangements for the session will be headed by Mr. Weisgal.

Rules Governing Vacancies

The Interim Committee, in anticipation of vacancies in the roster of delegates, voted that "the amended rules which governed the filling of vacancies of delegates for the first session shall govern the filling of vacancies for the second session."

The amended rules referred to read as follows:

"30-B. In the case of a vacancy occurring for any

reason in any election district or region, a delegate elected to the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE must choose his successor from among the non-elected candidates on the ballot nominated by the same groups or organizations, or if there are none, then a person to be proposed by the organizations or groups which had nominated said delegate.

"30-C. If the vacancy be due to death of the elected delegate, or in case the delegate vacating his seat shall fail to act and name a successor within the rules not later than 5 days before the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, the vacancy shall be filled by the local election committee by a majority vote of its members, with due regard for the intent and purpose of amended Paragraph 30 (in 30-A)."

To this, the Interim Committee added:

"In the event that delegates cannot or will not act, then the local election committee shall be empowered to fill the vacancy in the same manner."

*The language of 30-A, amended by 30-C, reads as follows:

"30-A. SUCCESSOR IN EVENT OF DEATH: If the vacancy be due to the death of the elected delegate, the district or regional election committee shall have the right to designate a successor, selected, however, from the group under whose designation the original delegate was a candidate."

B'nai B'rith and the Conference

THE SUPREME LODGE of the B'nai B'rith met in New York on May 6th, and adopted a resolution to continue "full participation in the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE and its Interim Committee," affirming the position taken by the Executive Committee in January in Washington.

The text of the resolution adopted follows:

"Be it resolved that the B'nai B'rith shall continue its full participation in the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE and its Interim Committee, and be it further resolved that we fervently express the hope that, through the instrumentality of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, complete unity of action may be attained."

No action was taken by the Convention or its Resolutions Committee on a number of resolutions dealing with a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. All of the resolutions on this subject were withdrawn from the Resolutions Committee by their sponsors, in view of the following statement made by Henry Monsky, President of B'nai B'rith and Co-Chairman of the Interim Committee of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, before the Resolutions Committee and approved by the Convention:

"There are pending before this Committee on Resolutions several resolutions urging this convention to go

on record with respect to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. In my message to the convention (on the subject of B'nai B'rith participation), I stated in part:

"B'nai B'rith was a membership of diverse ideologies. We must not attempt, by the rule of the majority, to regiment the thinking or encroach upon the freedom of action of the minority, however small. . . . The adoption or defeat of these resolutions would be contrary to this principle. I ask that, because in the membership of B'nai B'rith there are divergent opinions on ideological and political issues and because B'nai B'rith as an organization, in accordance with its traditional policy, recognizes the right of each member to determine his own attitude on any such issues, B'nai B'rith as an organization takes no position either for or against the above mentioned resolutions."

In his presidential message, Mr. Monsky had also said: "B'nai B'rith would cease to be worthy of its tradition if, under the guise of neutrality, it failed to adhere to and participate fully in a program of action calculated to meet the challenging problems and the stark realities of the gravest tragedy in the history of the Jewish people. The program of the CONFERENCE, all claims to the contrary notwithstanding, is that of the

American Jewish community. The B'nai B'rith is a part of that community. The B'nai B'rith is an agency in and the servant of that community. It strives to minister to the needs of that community. It endeavors to give to that community leadership in dealing with Jewish problems. One of the prerequisites for leadership is that it shall have a sympathetic understanding of, and it shall be psychologically attuned and adjusted to the attitudes, the thinking, and the yearnings of the people whom it presumes to serve.

"Leadership must be responsive to the realities of the times. Ideological disputations will not meet our distressing problems. Such discussions may give us intellectual solace, but they afford little comfort and no help to the devastated victims of the Nazi catastrophe. Never in the history of the Jewish people has there been such imperative need for a haven of refuge for tens of thousands of homeless, stricken wanderers. Never before has there been such indispensable need for a psychological atmosphere, some place in the Universe, which would be conducive to resettlement and rehabilitation of hundreds of thousands of our co-religionists who have been so brutally devastated. Yet, we are confronted with the distressing spectacle of public debate and controversy between Jews before a Congressional Committee when it meets to consider a Palestine resolution. Consideration of that resolution, as you know, has been temporarily postponed 'for military reasons' which we all recognize to be of paramount and controlling importance. We may take comfort, however, from the statement authorized by the President of the United States, that the American government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939, 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.'

Resolutions in Congress

"It is not strange that the Palestine Resolutions before Congress should be opposed by the Arabs. Their opposition, it must be noted, was not limited to that part of the resolution which dealt with the Jewish Commonwealth. That opposition was an all-out attack against any move to abrogate the British White Paper. They opposed any further immigration to Palestine. Their attack was upon the whole concept of a National Jewish Home. It is not beyond our understanding that certain 'oil' interests should deem it necessary to appease the Arabs by collaboration, to the end of defeating these resolutions. What is not so readily under-

standable is that Jews should be more interested in a proper definition of Judaism than in the future status of the Jew in Palestine; that they should be so concerned in these critical times in the settlement by a Congressional Committee of the question of Jewish nationhood, vis-a-vis the Jew as a religious group. The tragedy of our people cannot be mitigated by a leadership which thinks first and primarily in terms of its own self-interest. We cannot serve well in this crisis if we think in terms of appeasement, whether it be appeasement of the Arabs or appeasement of the anti-Semites. Leadership must consider itself an integral part of, and be wholly identified with, the Jewish people, fully conscious that every problem which affects the least of us, the most humble, the most modest, affects the most prominent and the most influential among our people. Our enemies make no distinction between Jews. The Jewish slave-labor battalions of the Nazis are made up, I am sure, of Zionists and non-Zionists, of bankers, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, laborers, assimilationists, and non-assimilationists, devoutly religious Jews, and those of our people who are indifferent to their religion—the simple, basic, and unchangeable fact is they are made up of Jews.

"The intangible and indefinable forces that unite Jews as a people are vastly more potent than the apparent differences that seem to divide us. The democracies learned belatedly, but well, that their choice was between death alone or victory together. Jews must recognize that our continued disunity portends our loss of opportunity for salvation."

Resolution of Temple Sisterhoods

The Executive Board of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods adopted the following resolution on May 2nd at a meeting in New York City:

"Mindful of the appalling plight of European Jewry and of the necessity for the voice of the American Jewish community to be heard in alleviating the distress of their brethren, as well as to assist in the post-war reconstruction of their lives, the Executive Board of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods concurs in the resolutions on the Rescue of European Jewry and on Post-War Problems adopted by the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE at its historic sessions held August 29-September 2, 1943. Recognizing that the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is a subject in which the members of the Federation must exercise the right of individual conscience and belief, the Executive Board refrains from action on the CONFERENCE's Palestine Resolution. But it calls upon its units and members to cooperate fully in all measures seeking to aid the oppressed, both of our own and other peoples."

Issues of the Conference

The Issues of the Second Session will be discussed in these columns. . . . We invite expressions of opinion.

Let's Face the Situation

by LOUIS LIPSKY

The problems confronting the second session of the CONFERENCE are analyzed in the following statement by the Chairman of the Administrative Committee, which is presented as his personal viewpoint.

IN considering the position of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, it is important that the delegates take into account not only the objective difficulties, but what were the intentions at the first session. The objective was to establish "a program of common action to deal with post-war Jewish problems" and to elect a delegation "to act for the Jews of America in cooperation with the accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world."

The program adopted covered the two areas included in the text of the call to the CONFERENCE, as well as the problem of rescue, which was unanimously accepted, as a subject to be discussed and acted upon. The field of action covered rescue, post-war European conditions, and Palestine. But the election of the delegation was laid over on the ground that it would be premature to elect such a delegation at a time when the war had not yet reached its climax. It was apparent, however, that provisions would have to be made for an agency to function on behalf of the CONFERENCE, pending the election of the proposed delegation. Certain aspects of political development involving fundamental Jewish interests were bound to come up for discussion and it would be necessary for someone to speak and act on behalf of the CONFERENCE. It was therefore agreed to elect an Interim Committee, which was authorized to proceed "to implement the resolutions and decisions of the first session" and to call a second session of the CONFERENCE "not later than twelve months following the adjournment" of the first session.

It was not clear what was meant by implementation. It soon became evident that the consequences of a lack of proper definition of the term had not been given adequate attention.

For if, by implication, the CONFERENCE was intended to be not only limited in program but also in time, the assumption of functions by the CONFERENCE would inevitably create a conflict of jurisdictions and an interference, on its part, with the continuing responsibilities of established organizations and agencies. It

was not to be expected that long-established organizations, pursuing well-defined purposes, could suspend their activities during the life of the CONFERENCE. Precisely because of the tragic circumstances of Jewish life, the established organizations were facing greater demands, laboring under greater excitement and strain, and more jealous than ever before of their organizational traditions and prestige. They were not prepared to quit the scene temporarily in the face of a great crisis and to resume their interrupted existence after the passing of the emergency.

It was a mistake to think that in a twinkling of an eye, the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE would appear on the scene, fully armed and equipped in personnel and resources, to meet the great responsibilities that were involved in what was then lightly called the implementation of the program, but which turned out to be the most serious burden of responsibility any organization in Jewish life was ever called upon to carry. Such an organization could not so easily and quickly be set up.

The Interim Committee met the dilemma in which it found itself almost immediately after adjournment of the first session, by striking compromises and making adjustments with the active forces in the American Jewish Community. It established a working arrangement with the American Zionist Emergency Council, with the various agencies laboring in the field of rescue, and finally also, in a measure, with the World Jewish Congress, in the field of post-war European problems. But these adjustments served inadequately to present a picture of unity and full cooperation in the field. The AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE had to operate as one among a group of organizations, all zealous and jealous of their prestige and engaged in making their record in the journal of Jewish life in their own names.

A Disorderly Impression

If the CONFERENCE could not produce unity in action with the organizations committed its loyalty to its service, how much less could it exercise authority over organizations expressly dedicated to the purpose of defying the organized responsibility of the American Jewish Community, which the CONFERENCE presumably represented? These rebellious groups went about their business with more energy and zeal than ever before, intruding by design, creating an amazingly disorderly impression upon the American scene, and challenging the CONFERENCE in a way which it could not meet

effectively without the invocation of authority or recourse to tribunals of arbitration which did not exist, and which, if they did exist, would not be recognized by the rebels.

The situation was made more difficult by the fact that the general public, excited by the remarkable success of the first session, stimulated in its hopes by an active Jewish press, was under the impression that the CONFERENCE was to cure all the ills of Jewish disorganization and establish itself as an all-inclusive central body, in which not only what had been agreed to at the first session, but also many other categories of interest, on which there was a decided difference of opinion within the CONFERENCE, were to be included in the range of the responsibilities of the CONFERENCE. Many overlooked the fact that the CONFERENCE could not interfere in the defense of Jewish rights in the American field. Its scope was limited by agreement to the post-war problems of Jewish life in Europe, to the defense of our position in Palestine, and to the rescue of European Jewry. All else was actually beyond the jurisdiction of the CONFERENCE. But the public was not satisfied with this limited program. Its criticism of the CONFERENCE arose largely out of the fact that the CONFERENCE was not able to fulfill the great expectations of the public in every regard.

By the nature of its composition, the Interim Committee during the entire period, seemed to have no organ of expression, no voice in defense, no instrument of interpretation. The Interim Committee's duties were performed in executive session. It was not equipped for effective representation of its own interests.

The Post-War Resolution

Since Labor Day, 1943, events in the political world have moved rapidly. Many changes have taken place. We are approaching the time when it will become possible for a Jewish representative to tackle the various Jewish problems in a field of negotiation and not merely in the field of propaganda. The general resolutions on post-war Europe, adopted without dissent at the Waldorf-Astoria, are now due for a revision; what was general can now be made specific; what was under study and advisement can now become the subject of action. Consideration can now be given to certain specific political and financial enterprises that must be undertaken without delay, in order to bring the post-war program within the circle of negotiation.

Without further elaboration, all of this indicates that the omissions of the first session will have to be taken up at the second; that the delegates coming to Chicago will have to give more thorough-going consideration to problems that were passed over as being

of slight importance in New York last year. The experiences of the CONFERENCE, in a year that was filled with agony and confusion for Jewish life, will have to be checked and re-checked, and judgments arrived at that will represent the considered view of all those interested in what the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE was expected to do on behalf of the Jewish cause.

The Original Purpose

by DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

An excerpt from an address delivered by the Chairman of the Palestine Commission before the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers, and the National Council for Jewish Education, in Cleveland, May 17th.

ANOTHER attempt at proper communal organization on a national scale was made last September. As an emergency measure, a national conference was convoked, of representatives of national organizations and of democratically elected community representatives to speak for American Jewry in this critical period of the war on all matters affecting Jewish life in post-war settlements. It was an earnest and commendable effort, and American Jewry responded to it in a remarkable degree.

The AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE demonstrated that great sections of American Jewry had matured sufficiently to welcome and accept the disciplines of organized community life. But it also demonstrated that there are groups and organizations which are not yet ready for a truly democratic organization of American Jewish life. These groups or their spokesmen must either have it their own way or, like peevish children, they will not play. Their approach is one either of domination or secession. Many specious arguments were used by the vestigial oligarchs who formerly held sway but whom the people's great assembly refused to follow and who came to fear the dismemberment of their little empires, to justify their universally condemned secession and to discredit the CONFERENCE. It was a melancholy spectacle. Criticism was levelled by them at the election machinery which had been set up with their own concurrence to select the delegates. The fact of the matter of course is that regardless of what electoral machinery had been set up, provided it was not purposely devised to throw the election to a minority, the election would have resulted in approximately the same kind of a representation. It was also argued that in matters of principle one cannot compromise and therefore one must withdraw. But a group or a party

(Continued on Page 11)

The Spectacle in Washington

IN WASHINGTON, on May 19th, seven young men from abroad, headed by Peter Bergson, whose passion for exhibitionism has caused them to transform the tragedy of the Jewish people into a spectacle and show, turned the spotlight on themselves. The results were disconcerting and unforeseen. The glare they produced revealed them in their true colors and confirmed the criticisms advanced against them for their previous exploits.

Last December, the Interim Committee of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE brought to public notice the nature and identity of this group, which, during the past few years have set up paper organizations to speak on matters of vital Jewish concern "without having in fact or endeavoring to secure a mandate from any constituency." The CONFERENCE and other Jewish bodies had denounced them for their misrepresentations when they were masquerading as the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe and the American League for a Free Palestine; for their mendacious and irresponsible behavior when they were manipulating the Committee for a Jewish Army; for their exploitation of the names of prominent figures in American life for purposes which did not always serve the interests of the Jewish people.

The group now publicly identified themselves as the "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation." Over a \$63,000 "embassy" building at Washington, they unfurled the Zionist flag. They invited some 25 newspapermen to witness the rebirth of the "Hebrew Nation," and to partake of cocktails. A hush descended when, flanked by two adjutants, "Ambassador" Bergson arrived and announced that they were standing on what would henceforth be considered as "Hebrew soil."

Mr. Bergson proclaimed that his committee speaks for the voiceless "Hebrews" of Palestine and Europe, regards itself as the temporary "trustee" of "Hebrew National interests," proposes that it be accorded recognition on intergovernmental bodies. The "Hebrew" people were distinguished from Jews of the United States and other countries, an ideological fancy which few could understand. Political and boundary problems in Palestine were to be dismissed until after the war. In the interim, the launching of the Hebrew nation would be floated by a \$1,000,000 bond issue to be redeemed when the Committee matured to nationhood, and which the SEC had not yet sanctioned.

Questions were put, both sharp and soft, and answered in a guarded manner. The Jewish newspapermen were angry and denunciatory. Representatives of the

metropolitan papers and the Washington press corps shrugged their shoulders and departed to write stories which reflected incredulity and bewilderment.

The Statement of the Conference

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE issued the following comment:

"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 terroristic 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 co-operation 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 Statement of the Agency

THE following statement was issued by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, American representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine:

"The Jewish Agency for Palestine is the only international body recognized under Article IV of the Mandate for Palestine by the British Government, the United States and the League of Nations, as representing the Jewish people in all matters concerning the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

It is composed of all Zionist organizations the world over and numerous non-Zionists in various countries.

"The attempt of a few persons who have come from Palestine to this country without any authority, without having been delegated by any group in Palestine, having played no role whatever in Jewish life in Palestine or elsewhere, to proclaim themselves as the 'trustees of the Hebrew Nation's interest' is an act which, I am sure, will be rejected by all sections of the Jewish people as a fraud.

"There is some danger that well-intentioned non-Jewish groups, eager to help the Jewish people in a time of tragedy, may be misled by the bombastic phrases and claims made by an insignificant group which substitutes noise for complete lack of standing, authority and influence in Jewish life. These well-meaning friends must be warned that by allowing themselves to be persuaded by these impertinent maneuvers they are harming the very cause which they wish to serve.

"The insignificant group which the members of the new committee claim to represent has already done untold damage in Palestine by trying to break the unity of Palestinian Jewry and by introducing methods which the overwhelming majority of Palestinian Jewry has rejected with scorn and contempt. American public opinion should not allow itself to be fooled by the acts of a few men whom a normally organized people would deal with as traitors to the common cause and exclude from its community. There is not the slightest chance that any responsible group, Jewish or non-Jewish, not to speak of governments or the League of Nations, will pay any attention to this group, but as they have in the past, through various tricks, succeeded in misleading and confusing spokesmen of American public opinion, this warning is necessary. Whoever wants to help the Jewish people and the Zionist movement must do it by cooperating with the established and recognized organizations, the leading one of which is the Jewish Agency—the only internationally recognized body authorized to act for the Jewish people in all matters affecting Palestine. By helping the self-styled Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, which purports to speak on behalf of Jews who never gave them authority to represent them, the prestige and influence of the Jewish organizations charged with the complex and responsible task of building the Jewish Homeland will be weakened and harm will be done to the Jewish people."

The Zionist Viewpoint

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, through Dr. Leon Feuer, director of its Washington Bureau, issued the following statement in part:

"It is all fantastic and would be comic if it were not so tragic. A handful of young men are attempting to perpetrate a colossal hoax upon the American people, and we would warn the public, the press, and all official circles against being taken in by such a brazen fraud. The self-appointed 'Hebrew Committee of National Liberation' is made up of half a dozen adventurers from Palestine with no standing, no credentials, no

mandate from anyone unless it be from the Irgun Zevai Leumi in Palestine, an insignificantly small pistol-packing group of extremists who are claiming credit for some of the recent terror outrages. Every movement has its lunatic fringe and irresponsible splinter factions, and it is natural that they should exist also in our midst. The danger is that uninformed people may be taken in and may be led to believe that a new Moses has arisen in Israel. . . .

"For more than 40 years, Jews throughout the world have been concerned with the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. To that end, there were constituted on a democratic basis the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine which for 25 years have been headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann. The World Zionist Organization's representatives meet biennially as the Zionist Congress and elect their leadership, who constitute the Executive. Together with the representatives of the non-Zionists, they constitute the Jewish Agency for Palestine, officially recognized in the Palestine Mandate to represent Jewish interests and Jewish rights with respect to Palestine. The Jewish Agency maintains permanent offices in London, Jerusalem, Geneva and elsewhere. It carries on necessary political work and handles immigration and colonization into Palestine. For this work it spends annually about \$10,000,000 provided by regular contributions of Jewish communities.

"In America, the Zionist movement is represented by the American Zionist Emergency Council, headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of New York, and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, as co-chairmen. . . .

"So far as the Jewish community of Palestine, which numbers approximately 600,000, is concerned, it is democratically organized and is represented by a National Council, the Vaad Leumi. This body is likewise officially recognized by the Palestine Government, controls and directs the Jewish school system, social welfare work, etc. It also has a limited taxing power under the law. The Vaad Leumi, of course, recognizes the Jewish Agency for Palestine and cooperates with it closely.

"To complete the picture, it should be added that the overwhelming majority of American Jews, through a democratically constituted AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE in New York last summer adopted a post-war program with reference to Jewish rights in Europe, as well as to the Palestine question. Represented in the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE are hundreds of local communities, as well as about 60 leading national organizations, including all the Zionist organizations, the B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Congress, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the Council of Jewish Women, etc. . . ."

Practically the whole roster of organizations representing movements and causes rejected and condemned the Bergson group. Statements were issued by the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, the American Jewish Congress and many others. Every Jewish newspaper in New York carried lengthy editorials and articles joining in the general condemnation.

REPORTS

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Meeting on May 12th

The Interim Committee met on May 12th in New York, with Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Co-Chairman, presiding. Present were the following members and alternates: Dr. Israel Goldstein and Henry Monsky, Co-Chairmen, *Samuel Berson, Maurice Bisgyer, Naomi Chertoff, Sigmund W. David, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, J. George Fredman, *Isaac Hamlin, Herman Hoffman, Charles P. Kramer, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, *Dr. Isidore Margolis, *Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Louis Lipsky, *Mrs. A. J. May, Rabbi Irving Miller, *Herman Quitmann, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Dvora Rothbard, Herman Shulman, *Mrs. Herman Shulman, Herman Stern, *Rabbi Mordecai Stern, *Ralph Wechsler, David Wertheim, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Baruch Zuckerman.

Guests: Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Bernard Postal, Meyer W. Weisgal.

* Alternates

Principal business included:

1. Consideration and approval of a sub-committee report recommending the convening of the second session at Chicago, September 2nd.
2. Appointment of the Administrative Committee to act as the executive organ of the Interim Committee with power to act for it between meetings of the Interim Committee. (Additional details are reported on Page 1 of this issue.)
3. Authorization to the Administrative Committee to fill the vacancy in the chairmanship of the Commission on Rescue.
4. Reports from Rabbi Irving Miller and Herman Shulman on activities of the Commission on Rescue.
5. Report from Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath on activities of the Commission on Post-War.
6. Agreement in principle on a clarification of the functions of the Interim Committee and the Commissions.
7. Report from the Committee on Budget and Finance.

Coopted

Miss Naomi Chertoff, president of Junior Hadassah, has been coopted as a member of the Interim Committee representing youth organizations.

Dr. Max Nussbaum of Los Angeles has been coopted to membership in the Palestine Commission.

Mrs. Samuel Golding and Mrs. Benjamin Spitzer have been coopted to membership in the Rescue Commission.

COMMISSION ON RESCUE

Meeting on May 3rd

The Commission met on May 3rd, with Mr. Shulman presiding. Present were: A. David Benjamin, Maurice Bisgyer, Rudolph Callman, Louis Fabrikant, M. Maldwin Fertig, Mrs. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Hazel Greenwald, Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Benjamin Koenigsberg, Dr. Leon Kutzowitzki, Jacob Pat, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Sol Rosman, Benjamin Winter.

The executive committee of the Commission reported that:

1. On April 24th, Sir Herbert Emerson, director, and Patrick Malin, vice director, of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, had met with the executive committee in the office of the CONFERENCE for a thorough discussion of rescue possibilities, with particular reference to the crisis in Hungary and Rumania and the situation in Italy, Yugoslavia, Spain, France, Poland, North Africa and Mauritius.
2. On April 26th, Mr. Ira Hirschmann, recently returned from Turkey where he acted as emissary of the War Refugee Board, had addressed the Executive Committee of the CONFERENCE, describing the Board's activities to facilitate the movement of refugees to Palestine via Turkey and to effectuate the removal of Jews from concentration camps in Transnistria, where they were imperilled by the Nazi retreat.
3. Several meetings had been held with officials of the War Refugee Board, at which spokesmen for the Commission urged approval of the plan to establish "free ports," as a means of making room for additional refugees in Italy, where facilities and food are limited, and as a means of breaking down barriers which now block egress from Hungary.
4. Meetings marking the anniversary of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto had been held in many cities, following the call of the CONFERENCE. In a number of cities, these had been initiated by the CONFERENCE delegates.

The Commission authorized further action on free ports and recommended enlargement of staff.

The executive committee met on May 18th and May 25th to consider steps that might be taken in view of reports that Hungary's puppet government intended to ignore President Roosevelt's warnings that those who share in crimes against the Jews will share in the punishment. The co-chairmen met with representatives of the War Refugee Board on May 24th.

The Chairmanship

Rabbi Irving Miller and Mr. Herman Shulman of New York were elected Co-chairmen of the Commission by the Administrative Committee on May 17th. Previously Rabbi Miller was executive vice-chairman of the Commission and Mr. Shulman was associated with him in the Commission's political work at Washington.

Free Ports

A Senate resolution urging the President of the United States to establish refugee reception camps or free ports where refugees would be given sanctuary for the duration was introduced into the Senate by Senator Guy M. Gillette, Democrat, of Iowa on May 29th. The text of the resolution follows:

"Whereas the Congress of the United States by concurrent resolution adopted on March 10, 1944, expressed its condemnation of Nazi Germany's 'mass murder of Jewish men, women, and children'; and

"Whereas the American tradition of justice and humanity demands every possible measure to save the surviving Jews of Europe from extermination by Nazi torture; and

"Whereas two million lives are in immediate peril for want of a temporary sanctuary from their persecutors;

"Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Senate of the United States urge upon the President of the United States that it is the will of the American people, expressed through their elected representatives, that Jews and other special victims of Nazi hatred hereafter escaping from territory occupied by Nazi Germany and its allies, as determined by the War Refugee Board, be received on Ellis Island or other designated reception centers for temporary detention and care until the President has determined that they may be returned to their homeland without undue risk of their personal safety; and that transportation and other facilities be made available for this purpose, consistent with the effective prosecution of the war."

At a press conference on May 30th, President Roosevelt made public the fact that the government was working on the proposal for rescue camps. He added that the plan had the advantage that it might be tried in other countries as well.

The AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE and many of its constituent organizations are on record for the plan. It is in line with the CONFERENCE resolution on rescue:

"The democracies should recognize and proclaim the right of temporary asylum for every surviving Jewish man, woman and child who can escape from the Hitlerite fury into the territories of the United Nations."

Among the organizations which have urged approval are the National Council of Jewish Women, the Jewish Labor Committee, B'nai B'rith, the Synagogue Council of America, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the American Federation of Jews from Central

Europe the Mizrahi Women's Organization, the National Council of Young Israel and many others.

Many leading citizens, Congressmen and newspapers have voiced support. Establishment of temporary havens of refuge was urged in a statement made public by former Governor Alfred E. Smith and signed by 72 prominent Americans, including the governors of 18 states. Others who have pressed for the plan are the National Committee Against Persecution of the Jews headed by Associate Justice Frank Murphy, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the Farmers' Union, the International Y. W. C. A., the *New York Post*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Daily Mirror*.

The worker delegates from 24 countries to the recent Conference of the International Labor Organization signed a statement which demanded that the doors of Palestine be kept open for Jewish immigration, that free ports be established in democratic countries for refugees escaping from Nazi Europe and that the remaining Jews in Hitler-occupied countries be recognized as prisoners of war. Their statement was made public by the Jewish Labor Committee.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE

Meeting on May 15th

The Commission met on May 15th, with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver presiding. Present were: Jacob Alson, Jane Evans, Rabbi A. Simon Federbusch, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, Isaac Hamlin, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Isidor Sack, Harry Shapiro, Carl Sherman, Dr. Benjamin Shwadron, Mrs. Simon Sobeloff, Meyer W. Weisgal.

The Chair reported on developments since the Commission's meeting of March 20th. Among subjects discussed were the following:

1. The Congressional resolutions: "We are carefully canvassing the situation. It is perhaps likely that action on the resolutions will become increasingly feasible later in the year."

2. The Oil negotiations: As a result of inquiries in official quarters "we are becoming persuaded, although that is still open to final conclusions, that our cause is not being in any way prejudiced by any negotiations that have been going on with reference to oil and that no commitments have been made."

3. Educational and propaganda work: This has been carried forward on a large scale through various channels and the local committees of the American Zionist Emergency Council. "There has been something of a lull since the resolutions were deferred. . . . It is

a gathering of our forces for the second major attack on the problem. There has been, in the last few months, a rather forceful counter-offensive which, in a way, is a tribute to the success of our propaganda in this country. Those groups who are opposed to us in London, Jerusalem and in Washington have become disturbed about the successful spread of our educational work among our fellow citizens in this country. And they have begun to carry on anti-Zionist propaganda work and there have been quite a number of manifestations of it."

4. The President's statement: The Chair analyzed the statement given at the President's press conference on March 29th and expressed the view that it did not affect in any way the statement which the President had authorized him and Dr. Stephen S. Wise to issue on March 9th.

5. Future activities: The Chair reported on a number of future undertakings. These included the signing of a petition by 1700 presidents and educators from 250 universities and colleges, indorsing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. [This was submitted to President Roosevelt on the fifth anniversary of the White Paper.] Leaders of local Emergency Committees for Palestine were being summoned to a two-day conference in Washington to plan future action in their communities. [This meeting, held on May 23rd, was attended by representatives of 130 cities in 38 states.]

The Next Session

In preparation for the second session of the CONFERENCE, the Commission approved a motion by Mr. Hamlin authorizing the appointment of a committee of five to prepare a report. During the discussion, Mr. Weisgal said that the report should review all activities that have come under its jurisdiction during the year with reference to the implementation of the Palestine resolution and indicate the steps that should be taken in the future. Dr. Silver stated: "The important resolutions to be introduced on Palestine should be drafted by this Commission. These resolutions should concern themselves not with reaffirming the basic things which have been already adopted, which are now more or less the constitution of the CONFERENCE, but specific recommendations on the carrying out of our purpose."

Mrs. Sobeloff commented: "While I agree that we be fully prepared, we ought not be over-prepared. What ailed the CONFERENCE last time was that everything was predigested." Mr. Alson: "I think that we ought to face the fact that there is some disappointment in the communities as to this whole implementation of the resolutions and there is some feeling in the communities that the Zionists are not blameless about the results."

COMMISSION ON POST-WAR

Meeting on May 15th

The Commission met on May 15th with Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath and Hayim Greenberg, Co-chairmen, presiding. Present were Jane Evans, Jacob Marrus, Mrs. Albert J. May, Herman Muller, Dr. Jacob Robinson, Mrs. Herman Shulman, Rabbi David Wice, Leo Wolfson.

It was reported that the Sub-Committee on Political Status, of which Dr. Joshua Trachtenberg is chairman, had met twice since the Commission's last meeting on April 17th to give further study to the questions of an "International Bill of Rights and Specific Jewish Rights in Post-War Europe" and "Retribution."

In a preliminary statement on the subject of "Retribution" Dr. Jacob Robinson, director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress said that the concept must be broadened both in space and time; that punishment for crimes against Jews must be meted out not only within the occupied countries but in all Fascist countries and that crimes committed before the war broke out—going back to 1933—must be included. Pointing out that the Allied Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes had been inactive since its formation in October, 1942 and that in several trials of war criminals in North Africa and in Russia, the indictment had omitted any reference to crimes against the Jews, Dr. Robinson suggested five points:

1. There must be one specific trial of those who committed crimes against the Jewish people, before an international court of justice.
2. In the trials of Nazi leaders, the Jewish case must not be omitted.
3. There should be Jewish representatives on the Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes.
4. In all cases where Jewish interests are involved, Jewish representatives should be present as *amicus curiae*.
5. In all cases where the criminals are brought before national courts, official representatives of the Jewish community should be present.

In connection with Jewish representation on the Commission, Dr. Robinson said that unofficial requests had already been made and that action on the part of the CONFERENCE was necessary.

Miss Evans, chairman of the Sub-Committee on UNRRA reported that a CONFERENCE statement was in preparation for submission to the forthcoming meeting of the UNRRA Council.

The CONFERENCE resolutions have been submitted to all the government in exile.

International Bill of Rights

An International Bill of Rights to protect the rights of individuals in the post-war world is urged by the Commission to Study the Organization of the Peace, which, in a report issued on May 25th, calls for the establishment of a United Nations Conference on Human Rights to examine the problem.

The AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE in its post-war resolution called for the promulgation of such a charter and it has been a subject of study in the Post-War Commission of the CONFERENCE.

The Commission to Study the Organization of the Peace is headed by Dr. James T. Shotwell, historian.

The report recommends in addition:

"Establishing at the Conference a permanent United Nations Commission on Human Rights to develop further the standards of human rights and the methods for their protection.

"Seeking the incorporation of major civil rights in national constitutions and promoting effective means of enforcement in each nation.

"Recognizing the right of individuals or groups under prescribed limitations to petition the Human Rights Commission after exhausting local remedies to call attention to violations."

The Commission's stand is in sharp contrast with the position of those who regard civil rights and the treatment of minorities as matters of local concern undeserving of the interest of the nations of the world.

On this issue, Dr. Shotwell observes that:

"It has become clear that a regime of violence and oppression within any nation of the civilized world is a matter of concern for all the rest," and that "to ignore this suffering as having no part in our own lives is contrary to the dictates of Christian teaching; and to offer only useless sympathy, attempting no measure of redress, is the kind of hypocrisy which lessens the moral fiber of those who attempt to satisfy their consciences with mere emotional appeals."

Dr. Silver's View

(Continued from Page 5)

does not compromise its principles if it remains in an over-all democratically constituted body and reserves to itself the right to declare its opposition to the decisions of the majority and remains free to advocate its principles. This is of the very essence of the democratic procedure.

The AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, after earnest and thoughtful deliberation, expressed itself with remarkable agreement, in most instances with unanimity, and on the more controversial subjects by a vote so large that the true mind of the overwhelming majority was not left in doubt, on the basic issues which confronted American and world Jewry, on rescue work, post-war

rehabilitation and the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. It indicated what our objectives were, and in a general way, what should be done to achieve them. In so doing the CONFERENCE fully served its purpose. Those who had expected the CONFERENCE to become the day by day functioning agency to carry out in practice all the work of rescue and rehabilitation and the full implementation of the Palestine program failed to realize that the CONFERENCE possessed neither the machinery nor the finances nor the personnel for such responsibility, nor did the constituent organizations wish it to undertake or to supplant their functions.

The CONFERENCE was to have been and should have remained a consultative and deliberative, not a functioning and executive body. It was intended as a great sounding board and a clearing house of American Jewish thought on vital Jewish problems, where periodically these could be discussed and clarified, where our major activities could be appraised, where new programs could be projected, where the attitudes of governments towards our problems could be reviewed, and where the collective will of American Jewry could find authoritative expression—not on the basis of any monolithic unity but on the only possible and parliamentary basis of majority opinion. This, you will recall, was the original purpose of the CONFERENCE as defined at the preliminary meeting which was held in Pittsburgh in January 1943, and also in the official call for its organization. The CONFERENCE was "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world" and "to consider and recommend action on all matters looking towards the implementation of rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine." It was only later on, and as a result of the terrible urgency which made itself manifest to rescue European Jewry from extermination that the problem of rescue was added to the agenda of the CONFERENCE and the CONFERENCE was charged with executive and administrative duties for which it was not prepared or equipped.

The CONFERENCE served well its original purpose. It should meet soon again to survey the Jewish position, to review what transpired during this fateful year, and to give direction for future action wherever needed. Little foxes have been busily at work trying to spoil this vineyard which American Israel has planted. These little foxes should have their little tails scorched. . . . Unless the organizational structure of the American Jewish community is advanced, there is grave danger of a disastrous and bitterly feuding fragmentation which will encourage every conceivable free lance and adventurer, and will lose for us whatever of prestige, dignity or influence we, as a community, may possess.

Proceedings of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
First Session, August 29—September 2, 1943
 Will Be Published by the End of June, 1944

Contents Include

- PART ONE:** The Pittsburgh Meeting.
PART TWO: Preparations for the Convening of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE.
PART THREE: The AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE in Session.

Plenary Sessions:

Symposia on Rescue of European Jewry, Palestine, and Post-War European Jewish Problems.
 Discussions, Resolutions, Statements, General Addresses.

Committees in Session:

The discussion of resolutions on Rescue of European Jewry, War Problems of European Jewry, Credentials, Budget and Finance, Resolutions, General Committee.
 Roster of Delegates Registered at the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE.

Appendix:

Organizations represented at the Pittsburgh Meeting—Proposals adopted at Pittsburgh—Number of Delegates elected in each city and region—Roster of Delegates elected by cities and regions

and designated by national organizations—Praesidium—Secretariat—Committees—Rules of Election—List of Organizations and individuals that sent messages of Greetings, and other documents.

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
 The Temple
 Cleveland, Ohio

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WAR TIME AND AFTER

by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY faced the problems which the war forced upon it in a creditable manner. We have no reason to condemn or disparage ourselves. We have not, of course, responded as fully as we might have or as we should have to the challenge of the great, testing times. But what people or what group has? In a sense the hour called and calls for a quality of selflessness and a measure of wisdom, vision and competence far beyond the capacity of our generation—perhaps of any generation.

But we did not wholly or even largely fail in the grave emergencies which confronted us. We may not have been as dexterous as we might have been in the handling of all the new situations, but we did not burke the great moment, nor shirk our responsibilities nor lack in devotion and generosity. What was true of our ancestors in former times under similar conditions of menace and disaster proved true also of their descendants in our day. A great hour did not find us a small people.

Facing the Demands of War

I need not dwell here upon the manner in which the Jews of America faced up to the paramount demands of the war. They met their obligations of citizenship in an eager and ardent spirit of patriotism. They sent their sons, in the hundreds of thousands, into all the armed forces of our country. These young Jews are fighting on every battlefield and are giving an excellent account of themselves. Many have been killed. Many more have been wounded. Many have been signally honored for extraordinary bravery in action. All are prepared to defend with their lives this gracious land and its noble heritage of freedom, equality and the inalienable rights of man. They have sent their daughters into the auxiliary armed services. We have not neglected the care and spiritual ministrations of our fighting men. Our religious bodies and our Welfare Board have performed the tasks with intelligence, devotion and skill. Our civilians at home are engrossed in the numerous civilian war activities, bond drives, blood donors, Red Cross work, nurses aides, relief campaigns. Jews know how to fight for the things they love—and they love America. They know, too, the avowed intent of the enemy against whom they fight. If victorious, he means to destroy them. In order to survive, they must destroy him. Every American Jew understands this—and this knowledge lends drive and resoluteness to his war efforts.

But other demands, likewise grave and imperious, were made upon us. A

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disaster for which even our long, tormented history can offer no parallel, swept over our people in Europe, and left them broken, decimated and doomed. Sundry and terrific evils can come up on a world in the grip of war and revolution. Our people experienced them all. The cup of the whole world's staggering was thrust into their hands and they were made to drink of it and drain it to its very last poisonous dregs. Our myriads who were scattered and who crowded the broken highways of exile, or languished in unwelcoming ports of temporary refuge or faced death in the conquered lands turned to us for help. Though we could not help them fully, we did not fail them utterly. Would that we had done more and that more quickly! We were not unwilling, but inept. We permitted precious months and years to slip by while the Nazi scythe swung wider and ever wider swaths and mowed down the Jewish communities of conquered Europe one after another in a bloody harvest of death. Governments, friendly governments, beguiled and misled us with vague promises and ineffectual rescue agencies and conferences. We did not know how to focus the attention of what remained of the free and decent world, so absorbed in its own problems, upon the appalling tragedy of our people nor how to induce action. And so many perished who might have been saved.

Nevertheless we did organize in all our communities for relief and rescue. We expanded and implemented the existing agencies and created new ones to carry our help to those who were so desperately waiting for it. Year by year, increasingly larger funds were raised and increasingly more of our people came to share in the giving. We took care of the refugees who came to our shores. We sent help to our exiles in all parts of the world. We aided in the upbuilding of Palestine. All these additional obligations were readily assumed without neglecting our domestic institutions of philanthropy, education, culture and religion. This is not an unworthy record. Undoubtedly much more should have been done by us—the largest and richest Jewish community in the world. Much more, I am sure, will yet be done. What has been done, however, is reassuring augury of greater things to come, and evidence of an inner soundness and wholesomeness. There is much to build on in this our American Jewish community and much to build with. With good architects and skillful and diligent builders, a truly noble edifice of Jewish communal life can be erected in this good land.

Jewish Self-Awareness

The war has made the Jews of America more alert than they have ever been before, and more self-aware. A generation ago the incidence of Jewish awareness of the average American Jew was slight and casual. Today it is considerable and fairly constant. Among certain sections of our people this involuntary awareness is attended by varying degrees of irritation. Some still harbor the hope that the end of war and the defeat of the Nazis will remove all the unpleasant evidences of prejudice and discrimination which force this Jewish awareness upon them.

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This, I am afraid, is a vain hope—and in their heart of hearts, I suspect, they know it.

American Jews are at last finding themselves under the necessity of doing that which Jews in the old world have always had to do—consciously to orient themselves as Jews in a non-Jewish environment and realistically to face all the implications of their status as a minority group. The Nazis succeeded in their attempt to make the whole Western World Jew-conscious, but they also succeeded, and without any intention on their part, to make all Jews more Jew-conscious. While some Jews are rather unnerved by this new experience and are unable to make an intelligent adjustment to it, the majority of our people are being helped by this keener awareness of their true position to a fuller, franker and more dignified life as American Jews.

Diaspora Pattern

These American Jews are facing the future without any illusions but certainly not without hope. The New World, for a time, made possible a pleasant sense of almost complete identification. That is no longer the case and in all probability will never be again. The Old World brand of anti-Semitism is here to stay—not forever, of course, but for a period long enough for all practical considerations. This is realism, not defeatism. This is the landscape. After the political anti-Semitism of the Nazi variety, that is, the kind which is sanctioned and organized by governments and employed as a weapon of economic reaction and imperial aggression, will have been defeated as a result of the defeat of the Nazis in this war, the high fever-temperature of anti-Semitism will undoubtedly drop here and elsewhere, provided of course no disastrous economic debacle and vast unemployment follow the Armistice. But much of what we now call the "good" and temperate anti-Semitism, in contrast to the killing and annihilaticnist kind, that which in happier times we used to call prejudice, will remain as a constant factor in our experience. The Civil War ended slavery in the United States. It did not solve the race problem. A country may be democratic and yet its people may be bitterly anti-Semitic. Witness Poland before the war and Weimar Germany. Political equality is not yet brotherhood. It is doubtful whether the popular sentiment of most of the countries of Europe ever heartily approved of Jewish emancipation. It seems to have come rather as a by-product of new political theories and principles of human rights which had to be consistently applied and therefore had to include also the Jews.

America is not likely to go Fascist, but Fascistically-minded Americans, who will always be anti-Semites, will persist in large numbers until such time as our age finds its new economic and political equilibrium after the prolonged upheavals of the technological revolution. This spiritually formless period of re-orientation which will continue to be fraught with much danger and unhappiness for man-

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kind will last far beyond our present generation.

What I am trying to say is that our lives as American Jews have now fallen into the well known pattern of Israel's millennial experience in Diaspora. For a time we were able to regard ourselves as different. But America itself has become far less different, far less removed, and far less isolated from the Old World. It is no longer a distant land on the rim of a vast ocean. It is now the center of the world. Politically, economically and culturally it is now enmeshed in a common destiny with the rest of the world. And American Jews also have come to share, however reluctantly, the common and inescapable destiny of their fellow Jews in the rest of the world. An unfailing rule in that millennial experience of our people has been that in normal times of political and economic stability, of peace and prosperity we are not greatly annoyed. When conditions become disturbed and unsettled, for whatever reason, we are suddenly and severely menaced.

All the literature of anti-Semitism of recent years—and it has been considerable, and some of it very erudite and scientific—has yielded nothing more positive and illuminating than this. Anti-Semitism has been tracked down by scholars to its last speculative retreat. Many a profound explanation for it has been given, but unfortunately an explanation is not yet a solution.

Readjustment and Community Organization

Following the war we shall be kept busy for a time undoing the mischief which the virulent Nazi-inspired propaganda of recent years will have accomplished in this country, busy as it were disinfecting the human mind. This will prove a job of no mean proportions. Thereafter we shall proceed to make the necessary adjustments to the more "normal" forms of prejudice without spending too much time and thought upon the subject—a pre-occupation neither satisfying nor edifying—and we shall turn our attention to the more constructive areas of Jewish life. We have long ago been admonished by our sages not to observe the wind too closely lest we fail to sow, nor to regard the clouds with too much concern lest we fail to reap.

We will stop trying to find a solution for anti-Semitism and we will reconcile ourselves to a condition. We will of course join forces with all those elements in our population which work for the preservation of the basic traditions of American democracy. We shall be part of all that is around us and will share as fully as we shall be permitted in the common life. We will continue to resist the forces of darkness and disruption in our country. We will not surrender the hope of a future which will achieve in practice what has been projected in declaration, but like the Messiah idea among our people, we shall think of it with hope but also with a saving measure of skepticism. We shall act as people who have finally matured and who do not attempt to escape into delusions or self-delusions.

As mature and responsible people we shall continue our efforts to organize

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our community life efficiently. We are not unorganized now. In fact we are over-organized. This is not unnatural. Our community is large. Its origins are diverse and manifold, its interests are varied. As a people, from the days of Moses on, we have never been especially distinguished either for docility or tractability. We always have had more candidates for leadership than for discipleship. But we shall nevertheless continue to work out plans and methods for better organization and proper collective action, and we shall continue to learn the required disciplines of Jewish community life.

This does not mean that we shall strive to achieve so-called "unity" in American Israel. This slogan of "Jewish unity" has been one of the most misleading and disruptive ones in American Jewish life. Every organization seeking to maintain a special-privilege position, every venal champion of a minority point of view, unwilling to submit to the judgment of the majority, everyone who out of assimilationist tendencies attempts to hold down American Jewish life to a minimal program, has sheltered himself behind this slogan. No people of five million souls anywhere in the world is "unified" on the basic issues which affect its life. Only dictatorship can achieve such a specious unity of action—never of thought—and certainly not for any long time. It is not unity which is essential, but *organization*, democratic organization in which all points of view can find their legitimate expression and by means of which the majority can properly receive its authority to speak and act for the entire community. Minorities in Jewish life have the right to be heard, to organize and to advocate their points of view. They have no right to speak as if they represented the majority or to sabotage and disrupt efforts at organization in the hope of keeping the majority from exercising its rightful authority or of preserving for themselves a special status and vested privileges.

The organization of Jewish community councils, which began in our country some years ago, represented a clear insight and a sound approach to an adequate organization of American Jewish life. I do not know how far these councils have progressed in recent years, either in number or in the extension of their areas of operation in their respective communities. The further organization of these community councils, locally and nationally, is clearly the direction in which American Jewry should move, if it really intends to organize itself on a satisfactory, permanent and democratic basis, and if it wishes to free itself some day of the numerous competing organizations which today clutter up the scene, all of whom presume to speak for American Jewry and none of whom has ever received a properly validated mandate.

American Jewish Conference

Another attempt at proper communal organization on a national scale was made last September. As an emergency measure, a national conference was convoked, of representatives of national organizations and of democratically elected

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community representatives to speak for American Jewry in this critical period of the war on all matters affecting Jewish life in post-war settlements. It was an earnest and commendable effort, and American Jewry responded to it in a remarkable degree. The conference demonstrated that great sections of American Jewry had matured sufficiently to welcome and accept the disciplines of organized community life. But it also demonstrated that there are groups and organizations, which are not yet ready for a truly democratic organization of American Jewish life. These groups or their spokesmen must either have it their own way or like peevish children they will not play. Their approach is one either of domination or secession. Many specious arguments were used by the vestigial oligarchs who formerly held sway but whom the people's great assembly refused to follow and who came to fear the dismemberment of their little empires, to justify their universally condemned secession and to discredit the conference. It was a melancholy spectacle. Criticism was levelled by them at the election machinery which had been set up with their own concurrence to select the delegates. The fact of the matter of course is that regardless of what electoral machinery would have been set up, provided it was not purposely devised to throw the election to a minority, the elections would have resulted in approximately the same kind of a representation. It was also argued that in matters of principle one cannot compromise and therefore one must withdraw. But a group or a party does not compromise its principles if it remains in an over-all democratically constituted body but declares its opposition to the decisions of the majority and remains free to advocate its principles. This is of the very essence of the democratic procedure.

A Deliberative Body

The American Jewish Conference, after earnest and thoughtful deliberation, expressed itself with remarkable agreement, in most instances with unanimity, and on the more controversial subjects by a vote so large that the true mind of the overwhelming majority was not left in doubt, on the basic issues which confronted American and world Jewry, on rescue work, post-war rehabilitation and the up-building of the Jewish National Home. It indicated what our objectives were, and in a general way, what should be done to achieve them. In so doing the conference fully served its purpose. Those who had expected the conference to become the day by day functioning agency to carry out in practice all the work of rescue and rehabilitation and the full implementation of the Palestine program failed to realize that the conference possessed neither the machinery nor the finances nor the personnel for such responsibility, nor did the constituent organizations wish it to undertake or to supplant their functions. The conference was to have been and should have remained a consultative and deliberative not a functioning and executive body. It was intended as a great sounding board and a clearing house of American Jewish thought on vital Jewish problems, where periodically these could

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be discussed and clarified, where our major activities could be appraised, where new programs could be projected, where the attitudes of governments towards our problems could be reviewed, and where the collective will of American Jewry could find authoritative expression—not on the basis of any monolithic unity but on the only possible and Parliamentary basis of majority opinion. This, you will recall, was the original purpose of the conference as defined at the preliminary meeting which was held in Pittsburgh in January 1943, and also in the official call for its organization. The conference was “to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world” and “to consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.” It was only later on, and as a result of the terrible urgency which made itself manifest to rescue European Jewry from extermination that that problem of rescue was added to the agenda of the conference and the conference was charged with executive and administrative duties for which it was not prepared or equipped. The conference served well its original purpose. It should meet soon again to survey the Jewish position, to review what transpired during this fateful year, and to give direction for future action wherever needed. Little foxes have been busily at work trying to spoil this vineyard which American Israel has planted. These little foxes should have their little tails scorched.

Post-War Problems

I believe that there are three principal tasks which face American Jewry today. As the war approaches its climax, and the prospects of peace becomes bright, men and nations are turning their attentions more and more to plans for the post-war world. Every responsible government has for some time now been drawing up blueprints for post-war economic, political and social reconstruction. It should also be the part of wisdom for us Jews, to plan our post-war tasks, even though at the moment we are still deeply engrossed in the necessary work of rescue and relief.

Everyone realizes that European Jewry will emerge from the war physically ravaged and seriously depleted both in numbers and resources. Financial and material aid will be required for a considerable time after the war to heal the wounds which the war inflicted, just as after the last war only on a much larger scale. Jews in the war-stricken countries will have special and peculiar problems of their own which will have to be met by supplementary aid given to them by their fellow Jews in other parts of the world. This will be our first task—to salvage, to rebuild whatever can be rebuilt, to reunite broken families, to re-establish shattered communities.

There will also be a large uprooted Jewish population, a floating population of human misery seeking new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The world was inhospitable to Jewish immigration before this war. Our

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refugees knocked at a hundred doors and only a few were opened, and those few to admit a pitifully small number. Our own country failed to use even its unfilled immigration quotas to admit our refugees, and we are now content to appeal for "free ports" to be established on our shores for the temporary refuge and sojourning of refugees who will have to move on after the war—where to? There is no reason to assume that the world will be more hospitable after the war, when most countries will be faced with serious economic problems of their own, problems of conversion from war-time to peace-time economy, demobilization, debts and unemployment.

It is very doubtful whether the original homelands from which these refugees came will wish to welcome them back. Probably no official obstacles will be put in their way. The political climate after the war will not permit it. But in actual practice it will be extremely difficult for these refugees to return to their former homes or positions. Their positions and jobs and their commercial and industrial establishments will have been occupied not by the invaders, but by the native population. In many places they will have little to go back to but desecrated cemeteries.

Example of Poland

The recent confidential report made by a government envoy from the official Polish Underground to the Polish Government-in-Exile is a straw which shows in what direction the winds are blowing. The report has not been acknowledged officially but one should not, on that account, discredit it. It warns that repatriation of Jews would be regarded with hostility by the Polish population. "The population would consider the mass re-immigration of the Jews not as a return to their previous positions, but as an invasion against which it would defend itself even in a physical manner. The non-Jewish population has taken over the positions of the Jews in the towns and cities, and in a large part of Poland it is evidently a change which bears a character of finality." Thus the report continues: "The government does well in reassuring the public opinion of the world that there will be no anti-Semitism in Poland, but anti-Semitism will not exist in Poland only if the Jews who escaped from the pogroms do not endeavor to return en masse to Polish cities and towns." This report maintains that "the country sees only one way out of this difficult situation, namely that the Polish Government should in due time, possibly immediately, take the initiative in the creation of a national home for the Jews." He suggests a national home somewhere in Eastern Europe. Palestine is not favored because "it is too crowded, too exotic and evokes conflicts with the Arab world."

That there is a great element of truth in this report touching the sentiments of the Polish population to Jewish repatriation no well-informed person, remembering the intensity of Polish anti-Semitism before the war, can doubt. Unfortunately these sentiments are probably not limited to Poles. It is probably true

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WAR TIME

of the populations of most of the occupied countries from which Jews have fled—Slovaks, Croats, Magyars, Roumanians, not to speak of Germans and Austrians. The remaining Jews of Europe will find themselves after the war in the midst of great tensions and bitter economic competitions. These tensions existed and grew in intensity in the years following the last war. They were not relieved by the formal grant of citizenship or even of minority rights. It will be no different at the close of this war.

One can not know how many Jews will remain in Central and Eastern Europe after the war, nor how many of them will have to be transplanted elsewhere, nor yet how many who fled will require repatriation to other lands. But it can readily be assumed that there will be large numbers who will seek new homes and that new homes will not be available for large numbers.

Role and Status of Palestine

Palestine alone offers a sound and realistic prospect for mass-scale Jewish immigration, provided the political barriers which the mandatory power has illegally erected are removed. In Palestine the Jewish people enjoys an internationally recognized and unique status—that of a people in its own national home. The nations of the world resolved after the last war that Palestine shall become a place for large-scale Jewish immigration, and instructed the Mandatory Government to facilitate such immigration into the country. The country is readied to receive additional mass immigration and the Yishuv is eager to welcome it. It is the clear task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the illegal obstacles which have been put in the way of this immigration be completely removed, that the work of upbuilding the country be not interrupted, that the rights of the Jews to acquire land for colonization be not restricted, and that the Jewish Agency, recognized in the Mandate, be given power to plan, direct and control the new immigration into the country. It has now matured to a point where it can undertake this responsibility and it is the only agency which is willing to assume such a responsibility. It is the task of Jewish statesmanship at this time to insist that the full rights of the Jewish people shall be implemented. What was intended by the nations of the world who agreed to the Palestine Mandate, what was intended by the statesmen of Great Britain and the United States who fathered the idea before the whittling process began at the hands of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, was clearly the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth. It was the just and wise solution then. It is the just and wise solution now. The Jewish National Home is now ready to assume the status which was originally intended for it in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. This is not the time nor the occasion to give an exposition of Zionism. But every responsible Jewish leader and communal worker owes it to himself and to his people at this pre-eminent and critical juncture in our history to realize fully one fact. We may set aside for the

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moment the necessity and desirability of rebuilding our national life in our ancestral home in order to normalize our status as a people among the peoples of the world. We may also set aside for the moment the beneficent reaction which a reborn Jewish Palestine will have upon the spiritual and cultural life of the Diaspora, and all other cogent and valid arguments for Zionism. Considering only the immediate task of rescuing great numbers of our people and of finding a home for them in Palestine, it should be clear that that task can be accomplished only if our national claims to Palestine and the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, which were internationally acknowledged a quarter of a century ago, are not denied or rejected now. For on purely humanitarian grounds we have one case against the White Paper. If Palestine is just another country where we have no special status and no special rights, then it may well be argued that it has already done more than its share towards helping Jewish refugees, far more than other countries many times its size; and Arab leaders and Palestinian administrators and officials of the Colonial Office have been quick to point this out.

To assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home which has now entered upon its final phase of fulfillment is thus the second great task confronting American Jewry.

Cultural and Spiritual Rehabilitation

There is a third task. Our people will emerge from this war not only physically but also spiritually shaken and ravaged. The spiritual destruction of European Jewry has been as disastrous as the physical. Many old centers of Jewish life have been destroyed. Many cultural and religious institutions from which world Jewry drew strength and sustenance, many schools and academies have been swept away and their scholars and students have been either slain or scattered. "That which has fallen is more than that which remains standing."

In 1917, three million Jews in the Soviet Union were isolated from the rest of world Jewry, and the spiritual and cultural traditions of Russian Jewry ceased to flow into the channels of world Jewish life. Since 1933, the rest of European Jewry has been crushed. World Jewry today faces a spiritual crisis of appalling proportions. It is therefore not enough to plan for the physical rehabilitation of our people after the war. We must also plan for our cultural and spiritual rehabilitation—how to keep alive the spirit of Israel, the light of Jewish thought and the torch of Jewish learning, how to safeguard our heritage which alone gives dignity and distinction to our lives and meaning to our millennial suffering, how to vitalize those institutions which have preserved the ethical and religious idealism of Judaism for ourselves and for mankind.

Our ancestors were content and proud to carry the "Sevel ha'Yerusha," the burden of their heritage, because they were convinced that it contained something exquisitely precious and noble and vital to their salvation and to the salvation of

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the world. Thus their frustrations were not wanting in compensations. Our children and those who come after them will also have to carry the same burden. But will they know why, or wherefore?

Our youth is not impervious to the appeal of our ancient faith and its glorious traditions. From army camps and battlefronts come abundant testimony that their hearts are eager and their minds are open to receive the message of Judaism. Perhaps we are entering an age when our people may again experience not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord—and they shall seek it.

Only two great centers of Jewish life now remain—Palestine and America. The American Jewish community is now the largest in the world. The future of Jewish life on a scale and of a quality worthy of our great past will depend on what we do here. We cannot forever live on our past and "banquet upon borrowing." We must begin to create values of our own in this country even as our people did in every great center where they lived in the past. Nowhere did our ancestors regard themselves as "a piece of stubborn antiquity," to use Charles Lamb's phrase, strangely embedded in an alien age, but rather as a vital, challenging and molding spiritual force in every age and clime.

Turning to Men of the Spirit

As quickly as circumstances will permit, the direction of our interests and the emphasis of our activities should be shifted from eleemosynary to the educational, cultural and spiritual. Fortunately we have by now almost our full quota of orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged and other necessary philanthropic institutions. Here Jewish generosity and intelligence have built well and adequately. But our religious, cultural and spiritual life has been anguishing. Neither our older people nor our younger people are experiencing Judaism as a directive force in their lives. Many of our lay-leaders who have distinguished themselves in philanthropic activities seldom, if ever, take a vital part in the propagation of our faith, or in the purposes and activities of our Jewish educational institutions. Many of these lay-leaders seldom if ever enter a synagogue. They are of it, but not in it. No Jewish community can long survive on philanthropy alone, or on fighting anti-Semitism. Its spiritual and cultural life must be nurtured. Our fathers taught us the strategy of survival. In every grave crisis they turned not to their statesmen, generals or philanthropists, but to their schoolmen and to their teachers. Whenever one center of Jewish life was destroyed it was the men of the spirit and of the book who carried the needs of national survival to the new center.

The last few decades have of necessity channeled most of our energies and interests into the immediately urgent tasks of relief and rescue. We must soon begin to redirect our energies into the more positive and constructive channel of Jewish community life.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY IN WAR TIME

Faith in the People

I believe that we shall live up to the challenge of these three great tasks which confront us. I have an abiding faith in the capacity of our people to rise to its great emergencies, in its genius to discover the means, the methods and the men adequate to meet emergencies, in its inexhaustible inventiveness and adaptability and its unquenchable will to live.

Dr. Ismar Elbogen concludes his great book, recently published, called "A Century of Jewish Life" with these words: "Through all the moral and spiritual crises of the last hundred years we have not given up our identity. We have saved our faith, saved our morals, saved our mental faculties. Bettered from all sides, we were capable of giving to the world some of the greatest luminaries of the period. We don't despair! As long as Israel believes, Israel will not perish! We trust in God, and we go on!"

Men who can die as bravely as the ghetto Jews of Warsaw and who can build as magnificently as the pioneer Jews of Eretz Yisrael belong to a deathless race. We are of that race, and something of their passion and power and faith and tenacity is with us and we shall share their immortality.



562 44.4
MAY 17th
to
MAY 21st

The 1944 Annual Meetings

PROGRAM

Conference Headquarters
HOTEL STATLER
Cleveland, O.

- NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE
- NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH CENTER WORKERS
- NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR JEWISH EDUCATION

PROGRAM

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General Information

ANNOUNCEMENTS—Announcements for posting on the Conference Bulletin Board, inclusion in the *Conference Clipsheet* or communication to sessions of the Conference should be transmitted to the Secretary in writing as far in advance as possible. The hotel management will accept for posting on its bulletin boards only such items as have been cleared with the Secretary.

BULLETIN BOARD—Notices of Conference events not scheduled in this Program will be posted daily on the official Bulletin Board in the lobby of the Statler Hotel. Delegates should consult the Bulletin Board frequently.

CONFERENCE CLIPSHEET—Following the practice of the past several years the Conference will publish a daily bulletin, *Conference Clipsheet*, from Wednesday, May 17, through Saturday, May 20. Copies will be available before the 8 p.m. session each evening.

EXHIBITS—Because of the difficulty of transportation and other wartime conditions, the usual Conference Exhibits will not be held this year. However, in cooperation with the National Association of Jewish Center Workers and the National Council for Jewish Education, the Conference has taken a booth at the National Conference of Social Work. Delegates who remain for the National Conference are invited to visit our booth at the Public Auditorium.

INFORMATION—Delegates are invited to consult the staff at the Information Desk regarding Conference sessions or activities which may not be listed in this Program. The information staff, which has been provided through the courtesy of the Local Arrangements Committee, will also be glad to answer questions and give information to delegates and their guests about events and places of interest in Cleveland.

MAIL AND TELEGRAMS—The Registration Desk will receive mail telegrams and messages for registered delegates stopping elsewhere than at the Statler Hotel. It can, however, assume no responsibility for delivery. Delegates are therefore requested to call at the Registration Desk for such information at least once each day.

MEETING ROOMS—In addition to the Hotel Statler, meetings of the Conference and its associated groups will be held in the places listed

General Information

below. *Delegates are urged to note meeting places carefully and to allow sufficient time to reach the hall before the scheduled hour of the session.* A map of downtown Cleveland is printed on page 48 of this program.

Hotel Cleveland Public Square
Hotel Hollenden Superior Ave. at 6th St.
Hotel Carter Prospect Ave. at 9th St.
Hotel Allerton Chester and 13th St.
Friedland Jewish Educational Center.....10501 East Boulevard
Montefiore Home3151 Mayfield Road, Cleveland Heights

NOMINATIONS AND VOTING—The Committee on Nominations has reported its recommendations to the members of the Conference, in accordance with the provisions of the By-Laws. Ballots have been mailed to all members of the Conference who are in good standing under the provisions of Article V of the Constitution. Members who have not mailed their ballots to the Conference office may deposit them with the Secretary until 8 p.m., Saturday, May 20. Members who have paid their dues for 1943, but who have not received a ballot, may obtain one upon payment of 1944 dues before 8 p.m., Saturday, May 20.

Results of the balloting will be announced at the Business Session of the Conference on Sunday, May 21.

OFFICE AND PRESS ROOM—The Conference Office and Press Room is located in Parlor M, on the Second Floor. Mr. Samuel Jaffe, who is in charge of publicity for the Conference, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers and the National Council for Jewish Education, will be glad to meet press representatives and facilitate their work.

REGISTRATION—The Joint Registration Service for delegates to the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers and the National Council for Jewish Education, will be located in the Assembly Foyer on the Mezzanine Floor on Wednesday and Thursday, May 17 and 18. Beginning 9 a.m. Friday morning, it will be located in Parlor K on the Second Floor. *If you have not registered, please do so at once.* The Registration Desk will be open on Wednesday, May 17, from 5 p.m. to 10 p.m.; Thursday, May 18, and Friday, May 19, from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.; and Saturday, May 20, from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m.

General Information

Every person attending the sessions of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare or the General or Joint Sessions is required to register. *Be sure to keep the Conference badge which will be given you at the time you register. Presentation will be required for admission to all sessions.*

REGISTRATION FEE—The registration fee is twenty-five cents for paid-up members of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers or the National Council for Jewish Education. Non-members may register upon payment of the minimum membership fee of \$2 for the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, and will receive membership cards after the Conference.

Organization members paying annual dues in excess of \$25 are entitled to register two representatives at the twenty-five cent rate; agencies paying \$25 or less are entitled to register one representative. Delegates planning to register under their agency membership are requested to bring appropriate credentials.

Persons who are unable to attend the Conference more than a single day may obtain a special admission ticket good for that day only upon payment of \$1, or single session tickets at fifty cents.

Bona fide students of universities or schools of social work may register for the Conference at the rate of \$1, regardless of membership. Spouses of registered members may register for twenty-five cents.

RESOLUTIONS—Delegates who have resolutions which they wish to propose for adoption by the Conference should submit them in writing to Mr. Samuel Gerson, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, in advance of the meeting of the Committee, notice of which will be posted on the Conference Bulletin Board. They may be left for him at the Registration Desk or with the Secretary.

Resolutions to be considered should fall within the scope of Conference activity which is defined by the Constitution as follows:

- "a. To provide a forum for the consideration and discussion of problems and principles of Jewish welfare and programs of Jewish social agencies;
- "b. To formulate principles and programs for the enrichment of Jewish life;
- "c. To formulate principles and programs of social and economic welfare."

General Information

CLEVELAND RECEPTION AND ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE—A local reception committee, of which Mr. Jerome Curtis and Mrs. Benjamin Levine are Co-Chairmen, will assist delegates and their families in planning a leisure time program while in Cleveland. Delegates and their guests are invited to an Informal Reception tendered by the Cleveland Reception and Arrangements Committee in the Pine Room of the Hotel Statler, following the First General Session on Wednesday evening, May 17.

TIME OF MEETINGS—Because of the many sessions which have been scheduled for the five-day period of the Conference, it is essential that meetings begin promptly at the hour scheduled. Delegates are asked to cooperate by reporting to scheduled meeting rooms at the time specified in the program so as to avoid disturbing meetings by entering late. Chairmen have been asked to begin promptly without waiting for latecomers.

Program Symbols

Initials in bold-face type following scheduled hours of session indicate the name of the organization or organizations sponsoring each session. The initials and organizations, respectively, are:

NCJSW—National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare.

NAJCW—National Association of Jewish Center Workers.

NCJE—National Council for Jewish Education.

DAILY PROGRAM

Wednesday, May 17th

12:00 noon (NAJCW Luncheon) Hotel Statler, Parlor B

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Meyer E. Fichman, President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers, *presiding*

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Parlor L

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Louis Kraft, President, National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, *presiding*

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Room 345

COMMISSION A—SOCIAL SECURITY AND DEMOBILIZATION

Philip Schiff, National Jewish Welfare Board, Washington, *chairman*

Purpose: To study and recommend action on plans for social security and demobilization, with relation to the Center field and the Association. This applies to a consideration of all plans—Federal, regional and local—which will help meet problems of social and economic readjustment for the nation as a whole.

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Tavern Room

COMMISSION B—PARTICIPATION IN THE JEWISH SCENE

Miriam R. Ephraim, YM & WHA, Pittsburgh, *chairman*

Purpose: To study and recommend active participation of the Association in the Jewish scene, as a basic responsibility for the Center field. Relationships with other national Jewish organizations are part of its concern in relation to this purpose.

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Parlors F-G-H

COMMISSION C—PERSONAL SERVICES IN JEWISH CENTERS

Julian L. Gaifer, Neighborhood Center, Philadelphia, *chairman*

Matthew Eason, Metropolitan Section, Jewish Welfare Board, *organizer*

Purpose: To examine community programs designed to meet individual needs in group work agencies.

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DAILY PROGRAM

Wednesday, May 17th

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Parlors 2 and 3

COMMISSION D—JEWISH COMMUNITY PLANNING

Sidney Simon, Jewish Community Council, Springfield, *chairman*

Purpose: To consider plans of local and national Jewish community organizations and national Jewish representative action.

Meetings will be held of two sub-commissions:

SUB-COMMISSION ON CENTER-SYNAGOGUE RELATIONSHIPS

Albert M. Brown, Jewish Federation, Toledo, *chairman*

This sub-commission will consider such problems as the relationship of Centers to synagogues, both on a professional and organizational level; the development of the Synagogue Center in terms of objectives, functions and relationship to JWB; and the relationship of NAJCW to rabbinical bodies.

SUB-COMMISSION ON YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN CENTERS

A. Harold Murray, Jewish Community Center, Canton, *chairman*

This sub-commission will consider the relationships of national Jewish youth service organizations to local Centers, study existing relationships and developments, and recommend criteria for constructive relationships. The relationships considered will include housing, leadership participation, membership participation, programs integration and the like.

2:00 p.m. (NCJE) Hotel Statler, Parlor C

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfeld, President, National Council for Jewish Education, *presiding*

1. Reports of Officers
2. Reports of Standing Committees
3. Appointment of Conference Committees

4:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Room 345

COMMISSION E—PERSONNEL PROBLEMS GROWING OUT OF THE WAR

William Pinsker, YMHA, Roxbury, *chairman*

Purpose: To study personnel needs in the field, recruiting and training of staff, reabsorption of former Center workers now in the armed services, and USO personnel for placement in the Center field.

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DAILY PROGRAM

Wednesday, May 17th

4:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Tavern Room

COMMISSION F—INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION
AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

Louise Meyerovitz, Juvenile House, New York, *chairman*

Purpose: To consider more active cooperation of the Association with other national organizations in this field. This involves a primary consideration of problems affecting Jewish group life in terms of all forms of discrimination and the concomitant concern for all groups.

4:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Parlors 2 and 3

COMMISSION G—NAJCW ORGANIZATION

Jack Nadel, 92nd St. YMHA, New York, *chairman*

Purpose: To act as a standing commission to study the effectiveness of NAJCW, to recommend the expansion or contraction of its program, and to aid in making the organization a more effective and representative professional society.

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE) Hotel Statler, Euclid Ballrooms

FIRST GENERAL SESSION

Louis Kraft, President, National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare, *presiding*

Address of Welcome

Joseph M. Berne, President, Jewish Welfare Federation, Cleveland

President's Message

The 1944 Conference Program

Kurt Peiser, Chairman, Joint Program Committee

The Stake and Responsibility of the American Jewish Community in the Present Period

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland

An informal reception will be tendered by the Cleveland Reception and Arrangements Committee in the Pine Room immediately following this session.

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DAILY PROGRAM

Thursday, May 18th

9:30 a.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE)

Hotel Statler, Euclid Ballroom

SECOND GENERAL SESSION

Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfeld, President, National Council for Jewish Education, *presiding*

This session will be devoted to a summary presentation of studies conducted in twenty-five local communities during the past two years, by committees representing all phases of Jewish communal interest and activity. It is intended to serve as background for the discussion groups meeting at 2 p.m. and 8 p.m., and on Friday, May 19, at 9:30 a.m.

The material will be presented by a panel of five speakers under the following headings:

1. Changes in Population and in the Industrial Character of the Community
Maurice Taylor, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, Pittsburgh
2. Health and Welfare Needs and Programs
Harold Silver, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Detroit
3. Group Work and Recreation
Miriam R. Ephraim, YM & WHA, Pittsburgh
4. Jewish Education, Cultural and Religious Life
Ben Rosen, American Assn. for Jewish Education, New York
5. Jewish Community Relations, Internal and External
Philip Bernstein, Council of Jewish Federation and Welfare Funds, New York

General discussion will follow.

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE)

DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY STUDIES

Eight parallel discussion groups will meet to consider the material developed in the community studies, from the point of view of the major problems affecting community service and the operation of communal institutions. Assignment to the groups will be arranged in such manner

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DAILY PROGRAM

Thursday, May 18th

that each represents a cross-section of functional interest. Discussion leaders and discussants have been drawn from the personnel of the committees which conducted the community studies.

The following subjects will be discussed at this session:

1. Youth
2. Problems of the Service Man and his Family
(including the rejectee and the returned soldier)

Group 1 Hotel Statler, Room 345

Philip Bernstein, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds,
discussion leader

Group 2 Hotel Statler, Tavern Room

Sanford Solender, Council Educational Alliance, Cleveland,
discussion leader

Group 3 Hotel Statler, Parlor C

Joseph E. Beck, National Refugee Service, New York,
discussion leader

Group 4 Hotel Statler, Parlor L

Ben M. Edidin, Jewish Education Committee, New York,
discussion leader

Group 5 Hotel Statler, Parlor E

Leonard Seliger, Jewish Federation, Youngstown,
discussion leader

Group 6 Hotel Cleveland, Rose Room

Jacob H. Kravitz, Jewish Welfare Federation, Dallas,
discussion leader

Group 7 Hotel Cleveland, Rooms 34 and 36

Sidney Simon, Jewish Community Council, Springfield,
discussion leader

Group 8 Hotel Statler, Parlor B

Benjamin B. Rosenberg, Jewish Federation for Social Service,
Dayton, *discussion leader*

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DAILY PROGRAM

Thursday, May 18th

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE)

DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY STUDIES (continued)

This is a continuation of the group discussions begun at 2 p.m. The following topics will be covered:

1. Education in the Jewish Community
2. Vocational Readjustment
3. Jewish Community Relations

Group 1 (second session)	Hotel Statler, Room 345
Group 2 (second session)	Hotel Statler, Tavern Room
Group 3 (second session)	Hotel Statler, Parlor C
Group 4 (second session)	Hotel Statler, Parlor L
Group 5 (second session)	Hotel Statler, Parlor E
Group 6 (second session)	Hotel Clewland, Rose Room
Group 7 (second session)	Hotel Clewland, Rooms 34 and 36
Group 8 (second session)	Hotel Statler, Parlor B

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DAILY PROGRAM

Friday, May 19th

9:30 a.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE)

DISCUSSION OF COMMUNITY STUDIES (*continued*)

This is the third and last meeting of the eight parallel discussion groups.

The following subjects will be covered at this session:

1. Wartime Financing
2. Community Interpretation
3. Personnel and Lay Leadership

Group 1 (third session)	Hotel Statler, Room 345
Group 2 (third session)	Hotel Statler, Tavern Room
Group 3 (third session)	Hotel Statler, Parlor C
Group 4 (third session)	Hotel Statler, Lattice Room
Group 5 (third session)	Hotel Statler, Parlor E
Group 6 (third session)	Hotel Cleveland, Rose Room
Group 7 (third session)	Hotel Cleveland, Rooms 34 and 36
Group 8 (third session)	Hotel Cleveland, Rooms 27-29-31

12:30 p.m. (NCJE Luncheon) Friedland Jewish Educational Center
LUNCHEON RECEPTION TENDERED BY THE CLEVELAND BUREAU
OF JEWISH EDUCATION

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Room 345

A FAMILY CASE WORK PROGRAM IN LARGE COMMUNITIES

Frances Taussig, Jewish Social Service Assn., New York, *presiding*

The discussion will consider the question "What should be the content of a community-wide program for family case work in a large community and how can it be implemented?" It will be based to a considerable extent on the statement which was presented by a committee of Jewish family agency executives to the Pittsburgh General Assembly. Copies of the statement will be available.

This discussion will continue at 8 p.m.

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Tavern Room

A FAMILY CASE WORK PROGRAM IN MEDIUM SIZED COMMUNITIES

Joseph Galkin, Jewish Family and Children's Service, Providence, *presiding*

Current and post-war programs of case work agencies in intermediate

Notes



DAILY PROGRAM

Friday, May 19th

communities will be considered as they relate to content, scope of service, sources of intake, personnel, community interpretation and participation, relationship to other functional agencies, both private and public, and to Federation. Emphasis in the discussion will be placed on extension of services on a community-wide basis and, specifically, ways and means by which the family agency in the intermediate community can overcome the stigma of "charity" that has been attached to it.

This discussion will continue at 8 p.m.

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Cleveland, Rooms 1 and 3

A COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAM FOR THE SMALL COMMUNITY

A. Harold Murray, Jewish Community Center, Canton, *presiding*

This group will consider the elements of a desirable community service program for the small community and how it can be implemented. In this connection consideration will be given to (a) the content of such a program, (b) the extension and integration of new services, (c) the relationship of the Jewish agency to non-sectarian and public agencies in the community, (d) utilization of regional resources and those of nearby communities and (e) the effect of the war on relationships within the Jewish community.

This discussion will continue at 8 p.m.

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Latice Room

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN CHILD WELFARE

Herbert Aptekar, New York Assn. for Jewish Children, *presiding*

This group will consider the following problems:

1. In what way has the impact of wartime child care problems been different for Jewish child care agencies?
2. What have been the results of participation in community-wide home finding programs?
3. What expansion of fee services has taken place and what problems arise in connection with this?
4. What have Jewish communities done about day care?
5. What emergency use of institutions is being made in view of the wartime shortage of foster homes?
6. What wartime adaptations are being made within institutions?
7. How do Jewish agencies in war communities meet the influx of non-resident cases?

This discussion will continue at 8 p.m.

Notes



DAILY PROGRAM

Friday, May 19th

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Parlor E
AN ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT SERVICE PROGRAM
FOR THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Eli E. Cohen, Jewish Occupational Council, New York, *presiding*
This group will consider the basic function of an economic adjustment service program for the American Jewish community in the post-war period. Consideration will be given to the extension of services to new communities, more effective coordination of existing programs, and problems of personnel, standards and interpretation. Discussion will be based on the "Master Plan" which has been prepared by a special committee of the Jewish Occupational Council.

This discussion will continue at 8 p.m.

2:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Cleveland, Rooms 34 and 36
CURRENT PROBLEMS IN THE CARE OF THE AGED

Julius Weil, Montefiore Home, Cleveland, *presiding*
Major consideration will be given to the concept of the care of the aged and chronically ill in general, and to programs and methods as related to service in the community and institution. An examination of case work service with the aged in both settings will be included.
The first session will be devoted to a discussion of case work with the aged. Additional sessions will be held at 4:15 p.m. and on Sunday, May 21, at 9:15 a.m.

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollender, Parlor B
SOCIAL SECURITY AND DEMOBILIZATION
Philip Schiff, National Jewish Welfare Board, Washington, *presiding*

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollender, Parlor A
PARTICIPATION IN THE JEWISH SCENE
Miriam R. Ephraim, YM & WHA, Pittsburgh, *presiding*

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollender, Parlor C
INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION
Louise Meyersovitz, Juvenile House, New York, *presiding*

2:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollender, Cypress Room
JEWISH COMMUNITY PLANNING—CENTER-SYNAGOGUE
RELATIONSHIPS
Sidney Simos, Jewish Community Council, Springfield, *presiding*
Albert M. Brown, Jewish Federation, Toledo, *discussion leader*

Notes



DAILY PROGRAM

Friday, May 19th

2:30 p.m. (NCJE) Friedland Jewish Educational Center
PLANNING FOR JEWISH EDUCATION

Alexander M. Dushkin, Jewish Educ. Comm., New York, *presiding*

Discussion Leaders:

Uriah Z. Engelman, Bureau of Jewish Education, Buffalo

Leo L. Honor, Board of Jewish Education, Chicago

Louis Hurwich, Bureau of Jewish Education, Boston

General Discussion

4:15 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Cleveland, Rooms 34 and 36
CURRENT PROBLEMS ON THE CARE OF THE AGED

Jacob Abrams, Home for Aged Jews, New Haven, *presiding*

This session will be devoted to a discussion of the chronically ill.

6:30 p.m. (NCJE) Hotel Allerton, Junior Ballroom
SABBATH DINNER IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR ZWI SCHARFSTEIN
(Hebrew Session)

Azriel L. Eisenberg, Bureau of Jew. Educ., Cleveland, *toastmaster*

Professor Scharfstein—An Appreciation

Mordecai Halevi, Bureau of Jewish Education, Cincinnati

Jewish Education in the Post-War World

Professor Zwi Scharfstein, Jewish Teachers Institute, New York

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Room 345
A FAMILY CASE WORK PROGRAM IN LARGE COMMUNITIES

Frances Taussig, Jew. Soc. Serv. Assn., New York, *presiding*

Continuation of discussion begun at 2 p.m.

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Tavern Room
A FAMILY CASE WORK PROGRAM IN MEDIUM SIZED COMMUNITIES

Joseph Galkin, Jew. Fam. & Children's Serv., Providence, *presiding*

Continuation of discussion begun at 2 p.m.

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Parlors 2 and 3
A COMMUNITY SERVICE PROGRAM FOR THE SMALL COMMUNITY

A. Harold Murray, Jewish Community Center, Canton, *presiding*

Continuation of discussion begun at 2 p.m.

Notes



DAILY PROGRAM

Friday, May 19th

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Lattice Room

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN CHILD WELFARE

Herbert Aptekar, New York Assn. for Jewish Children, *presiding*
Continuation of discussion begun at 2 p.m.

8:00 p.m. (NCJSW) Hotel Statler, Parlor E

**AN ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT SERVICE PROGRAM
FOR THE POST-WAR PERIOD**

Eli E. Cohen, Jewish Occupational Council, New York, *presiding*
Continuation of discussion begun at 2 p.m.

8:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollenden, Parlor B

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS GROWING OUT OF THE WAR

William Pinsker, YMHA, Roxbury, *presiding*

8:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollenden, Cypress Room

JEWISH COMMUNITY PLANNING—

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN CENTERS

A. Harold Murray, Jewish Community Center, Canton, *presiding*
Meyer Bass, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York, *discussion leader*

8:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollenden, Parlor A

NAJCW ORGANIZATION

Jack Nadel, 92nd St. YMHA, New York, *presiding*

8:00 p.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Hollenden, Parlor C

PERSONAL SERVICES IN JEWISH CENTERS

Julian L. Greifer, Neighborhood Center, Philadelphia, *presiding*
Graenum Berger, Bronx House, New York, *organizer*
Sanford Solomser, Council Educational Alliance, Cleveland, *reporter*

An examination of the content of case work-group work patterns through case histories.

9:00 p.m. (NCJE) Hotel Allerton, Junior Ballroom

PLANNING FOR JEWISH EDUCATION (continued)

Samuel J. Bosowsky, Vice-President, National Council for Jewish Education, *presiding*

Continuation of discussion begun at 2:30 p.m.

Notes



DAILY PROGRAM

Saturday, May 20th

12:00 noon (NAJCW Luncheon) Hotel Carter, Ballroom

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF NAJCW

Meyer E. Fichman, President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers, *presiding*

Remarks

Louis Kraft, Honorary President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers

Presentation of Honor Roll

Charles S. Bernheimer, Honorary Vice-President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers

Summary Reports of Commissions

3:00 p.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE) Hotel Carter, Dutch Room

HARRY L. GLUCKSMAN MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

Philip L. Semon, Chairman, *presiding*

3:00 p.m. (NCJE) Hotel Statler, Parlor C

ONEG SHARRAT

Israel S. Chipkin, Jewish Education Committee, New York, *presiding*

Community Singing

The Impact of Jewish Education on the Men in the Armed Services

Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Euclid Avenue Temple, Cleveland

General discussion

8:30 p.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE) Hotel Hollenden, Ballrooms

THIRD GENERAL SESSION

Meyer E. Fichman, President, National Association of Jewish Center Workers, *presiding*

Planning for the Peace and for Post-War Organization

Adolph A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, Washington

Nathan Reich, Dept. of Economics, Hunter College, New York

(The Harry L. Glucksman Memorial Lectures for 1944)

10:30 p.m. (NAJCW, NCJE and Social Workers Chapter, League for Labor Palestine) Hotel Hollenden, Ballroom

PALESTINE NIGHT

Notes



DAILY PROGRAM

Sunday, May 21st

9:15 a.m. (NCJSW Breakfast) Montefiore Home for the Aged

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN THE CARE OF THE AGED

Michael Freund, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds
New York, *presiding*

Continuation of discussion begun on Friday afternoon.

9:30 a.m. (NAJCW) Hotel Statler, Lattice Room

BUSINESS SESSION

Meyer E. Fichman, President, National Association of Jewish
Center Workers, *presiding*

1. Report of the President
2. Plan for Publicizing Center Work
Samuel Jaffe, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York
3. Reports of Committees
4. Report of the Treasurer
5. Resolutions
6. Election of Officers

9:30 a.m. (NCJE) Hotel Statler, Parlor C

BUSINESS SESSION

Rabbi Samuel M. Blumenfeld, President, National Council for
Jewish Education, *presiding*

1. Summary of discussion on Planning for Jewish Education
Emanuel Gamoran, Union of Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati
2. Reports of Committees
3. Election of Officers and Executive Committee

11:30 a.m. (NCJSW, NAJCW, NCJE) Hotel Statler, Salle Moderne

FOURTH GENERAL SESSION

Louis Kraft, President, National Conference of Jewish Social
Welfare, *presiding*

1. Business Meeting
2. Summary of the Conference
Nathan E. Cohen, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York

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