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The Conference Record, 1943.



# CONFERENCE RECORD

The Daily Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference

NUMBER 1

184

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## CONFERENCE OPENS FIVE-DAY SESSION

### Solemn Memorial Service Held for Martyred Jews

In an atmosphere of profound solemnity, charged with the poignant knowledge of the millions of Jews done to death by Hitler's hangmen in Nazi Europe, 500 chosen representatives of American Jewry assembled to consider a program of action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world, and on all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of Jews with regard to Palestine. In the presence of more than 1,000 guests and several hundred representatives of the Jewish, Anglo-Jewish and general press, the first session of the American Jewish Conference was called to order by Henry Monsky at 3:15 P.M., Sunday, August 29, in the Ballroom of the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria.

The delegates and the huge audience stood and joined in the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and Hatikvah, led by Mme. Emma Lazarus Schaver of Detroit. While the audience remained standing, an impressive memorial service was conducted in tribute to the millions of Jews who died in Europe. Participating in the solemn service, which consisted of the reading of psalms and prayers in Hebrew and in English, and the recitation of the Kaddish, were Rabbi William Drazin of Savannah, Ga., President of the Rabbinical Council of America; Rabbi Solomon Freehof of Pittsburgh, Pa., President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Rabbi Louis M. Levitsky of Newark, N. J., President of the Rabbinical Assembly of America; and Rabbi Naftoly Riff of Camden, N. J., Vice-President of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis. The service was concluded with the chanting of the *El Mole Rachamim* by Cantor Benzion Kapov-Kagan of New York.

Following the memorial service, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal of Philadelphia delivered the invocation and prayer in Hebrew.

#### FIRST SESSION

The deliberations of the Conference got under way with the opening address by Mr. Monsky, who was one of the Presidium of three which directed the organization of the Conference before its convocation.

In his address, Mr. Monsky reviewed the steps leading up to the calling of the Conference, beginning with the preliminary meeting of national Jewish organizations, which he convened in Pittsburgh in January of 1943. Mr. Monsky also set forth the problems with which the Conference is to deal, emphasizing that American Jewry "must strive for a common basis for action."

(The full text of Mr. Monsky's address is printed elsewhere in this issue.)

The first order of business was the presentation of the report of the National Board of Elections by Louis Lipsky, Chairman. The report stated that 2,250,000 adult American Jews — approximately half of the Jewish population of the United States — were represented by the 500 delegates participating in the Conference. Of these, 375 were elected in 80 cities and 54 regions, covering 46 states and the District of Columbia. Another 125 delegates were designated by 65 Jewish national membership organizations.

(The full text of the report of the Board of Elections is printed elsewhere in this issue.)

A plan for the organization of the Conference on democratic lines was then submitted by Mr. Lipsky on behalf of the Committee of Five, which included, in addition to Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Monsky, Louis Segal, Herman Shulman, and Morris D. Waldman.

"The Committee of Five," Mr. Lipsky stated, "was appointed by

the convening of the Conference. This Committee of Five prepared a plan for the organization of the Conference, which is submitted here for official approval by the Conference."

Mr. Lipsky's report for the Committee of Five was as follows:

#### I.

##### Introduction

The procedure outlined is intended to make possible the democratic organization of the Conference, adequate representation on a proportional basis in all committees of all organized opinion, and a balanced discussion on the floor.

In any established body holding an annual or biennial convention, procedures have been worked out that fit its special needs. Here, however, we have the first meeting of a new body in which delegates holding various opinions are assembled who have never before joined in deliberation and decision on matters of accepted common interest. Controversial issues are to be settled. A limited time is at its disposal. If it were intended merely to register a vote on proposals the majority has formulated, it would be simple to have these proposals submitted directly to the Conference as speedily as possible and to have a vote taken. But it is assumed that the objective is not just to register a vote.

It is to win by persuasion the voluntary cooperation of all concerned in a program of action affecting Jewish life and to secure as large a majority for that action as may be possible. This requires deliberation at every stage of the proceedings—from the committees to the Plenary Session—and

throughout all varieties of opinion will have to be given adequate opportunity to express themselves.

A Congress or convention usually reflects the views of existing functioning groups. In the American Jewish Conference there are groups in which opinion has crystallized and groups in which opinion is still in the formative stage. A method will have to be found to enable all groups to adjust themselves within a democratic structure, to find a way for delegates to express their views through their representatives, and to assure minority representation.

To this end it is proposed that there be created within the Conference an authority to be called General Committee, which will represent all groups of delegates, organized on a democratic basis to whom shall be given representation according to their numbers.

#### II.

##### The General Committee

The General Committee is to be the guardian of the interests of the Conference as a whole, representing, as it does, a cross-section of the Conference. It shall be the coordinator of the reports of committees dealing with the programmatic objectives of the Conference. It shall serve as the Committee on Rules and organize the Committee. The key of proportional representation shall be applicable to all committees. Members of the General Committee shall not be members of more than one other committee. The General Committee should also perform such other functions as may be decided by the Conference.

#### III.

##### The Key of Representation

The key of representation on

committees shall be one for the first ten members and for every major fraction thereafter, organized as a group.

#### IV.

##### How the Groups Are to Be Formed

Every delegate shall determine what group he intends to register with, but no delegate shall be registered in more than one group. When such groups are formed they shall be reported to the Secretariat together with a list of their registered members.

#### V.

##### How the Committees Are to be Formed

Groups of ten or more delegates registered as a group with the Secretariat shall meet and elect their representatives on the General Committee on the basis of one member for each ten registered delegates or a major fraction thereof. Registration may be with only one group. The names of the representatives thus elected on the General Committee shall be reported to the Secretariat. The first meeting of the members of the General Committee shall be called by the Secretariat. The same procedure shall govern the organization of all other committees of the Conference.

#### VI.

##### The Committees of the Conference

The General Committee shall organize the following committees, in accordance with the Key:

1. Committee to Draft Resolutions on the Implementation of the Rights of the Jewish People with respect to Palestine. 50-55 members.
2. Committee to Draft Resolutions on the Problems Related

(Continued on page two)

## The American Jewish Conference In Session



Alexander Archer, Official Photographer



## Plan for Organization Of Conference

(Continued from page one)

- ing to the Rights and Status of Jews in the Post-War World. 50-55 members.
3. Committee to Draft Resolutions on the Proposals for the Rescue of the Jews of Europe. 50-55 members.
  4. Committee on General Resolutions. 50-55 members.
  5. Committee on Organization. 50-55 members.
  6. Committee on Budget and Finance. 50-55 members.
  7. Committee on Credentials. 50-55 members.

The General Committee shall serve as the Committee on Nominations, if such a committee becomes necessary.

The functions of the first, second and third committees need not be described. Their names indicate what subject matter will come under their consideration. But a few words are necessary with regard to the Committee on Organization and the Committee on General Resolutions.

The committee on General Resolutions will consider all resolutions that do not fall within the purview of those committees whose functions are clear. It will take up miscellaneous or unclassifiable resolutions.

The Committee on Organization will have to deal with such problems of organization as may arise during the course of the Conference as to whether the Conference is to establish an Executive Committee to function during the period when the proposed delegation is engaged in its activities, or whether all such organizational functions should be allocated to the delegation. It may be necessary to establish a form of administration independent of the activities of the delegation. All such matters are within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Organization.

The Committee on Budget and Finance will have to consider the financing of the operations of the Conference after adjournment. What it will have to consider will depend in large measure upon what the decision of the Conference may be on various important questions.

### VII.

#### Rules of Procedures

Pending additional rules to be proposed by the General Committee, it will be suggested that the following preliminary rules of procedure be adopted to govern the proceedings of the Conference for the time being:

**FIRST:** Only such resolutions shall be considered by the Conference as are first submitted in writing through the Secretariat to the appropriate committee. A resolution rejected by a committee shall be reported out to the Conference upon request of ten members of the committee.

**SECOND:** The members of the Praesidium shall alternate as chairmen by agreement among themselves. All appeals on matters of procedure from the decision of any acting chairman shall be determined by the Praesidium as a whole; its decision shall be regarded as final and conclusive.

**THIRD:** A majority of the delegates registered at the Conference shall constitute a quorum.

**FOURTH:** Voting in the plenum shall be by a show of credential cards. A roll call must be taken upon the request of one-fifth of the delegates present at the time.

### VIII.

#### The Praesidium

The Conference shall elect a praesidium of fourteen to be nominated and proposed by the General Committee. The General Committee shall accept ten names, as designated by the groups, on the basis of one representative for fifty delegates. The balance of four shall be nominated by the

General Committee itself from among the delegates at large.

The Conference shall elect a Secretariat of not less than five, who need not be delegates.

Following the submission of Mr. Lipsky's report, Louis Moss of Brooklyn proposed an amendment that in place of the scheme of proportional representation, "each committee shall consist of 70 members and each delegate may designate his committee choice, which shall be referred to the General Committee for adoption, and that the Praesidium be increased from 14 to 15."

Upon being put to a vote, Mr. Moss' amendment was lost and Mr. Lipsky's report was adopted almost unanimously.

The first session was adjourned at 5:30 P. M.

### SECOND SESSION

The evening session was devoted to the immediate problem of the rescue of the Jews in Europe. The speakers included Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress; Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee; Dr. Israel Goldstein, Vice-President of the Zionist Organization of America; Mrs. David de Sola Pool, President of Hadassah; Gedaliah Bublick, Honorary President of the Mizrahi Zionist Organization; Baruch Zuckerman of the Labor Zionist group; and Joseph Weinberg of the Jewish Labor Committee.

Dr. Wise urged the appointment of a delegation from the American Jewish Conference to seek an audience with President Roosevelt to submit the request of the American Jewish community for immediate action to rescue the remnants of European Jewry.

He declared that only 3,000,000 of the 8,000,000 Jews who formerly lived in Europe survive today and that further delays would mean that there would be no Jews left to save.

"Let not the reproach be incurred that more could and would have been done if the threatened and endangered had not been Jews. This would be too terrible a reflection upon the professions and principles and practices of the United Nations, and above all, upon the moral quality of our own nation and its leadership," he said.

Rescue now would in part redeem the world's shame of the years from 1933 to 1939 when "every manner of nameless crime was committed against our brothers, with none save a handful of Christians such as Cardinals Faulhaber and Mundelein, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Cadman to plead angel-tongued for the victims of the devils of extermination."

He contrasted the contribution which the Jews had made to the cause of democracy and the democracies' failure in 10 years of Hitlerism to halt the war of destruction against the Jews. No people, he said, had suffered losses comparable with that of the Jewish people.

#### Calls for Opening of Palestine

As a first act of rescue, he demanded that the doors of Palestine be opened to Jewish exiles. "No act of relief on the part of the United Nations will seem sincere or be worth while as long as the gates of Palestine threaten to close," he declared.

"Whatever we may hope and plan is to be the future of Palestine, and there may be room for discussion, its gates must not be closed. There must be Jewish immigration under the control of the Mandatory and the Jewish Agency," Dr. Wise continued.

He pointed out that when, two years ago, Palestine stood under the shadow of Nazi invasion, "in all the vast Arab complex of populations and territories, great and small, that of Palestine, which

is Jewish, stood out alone in passionate and unreserved support of freedom's cause. Yet," he continued, "in the face of the greatest of disasters befallen the Jewish people, the spirit and letter of appeasement still obtain in Palestine."

He expressed the hope that in response to "the deepest promptings of humanity and in compliance with the will of the American people, our President, together with Prime Minister Churchill will take the lead in performing the supremely imperative task of Jewish rescue."

He called for the establishment, without further delay, of the Intergovernmental Committee and he demanded that the commission to punish those guilty for the crimes against Jews and other civilians be constituted and proceed with its work.

Dr. Wise urged Jews to act in unison and also to unite their action with that of Jews the world over, and to "reforge the old bonds with the Jewish population of the Soviet Union."

#### Proskauer Urges United Action

Judge Proskauer urged that the Conference emphasize "not our differences but our agreements" and that "we base our action not on the conflicts but on the great concords and the great achievements of American Jewry."

He pointed out that there is "an enormous area on which we are all agreed."

"We agree that the United Nations should give relief from the havoc and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on its millions of victims; that the processes of redress and rehabilitation be largely undertaken, as they must be, as government functions," Judge Proskauer said.

"We are as one in demanding the complete restoration and safeguarding of the equal civil and religious rights of Jews, as of all others."

"We stand together for the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land shall be guaranteed the right of equality, so that, in the language of our Secretary of State, we shall have a world in which Jews, like all others, are free to abide in peace and in honor."

"Just as we all stood together against the revocation of the Cremieux decrees and have no patience with considerations of expediency such as led to temporizing with that intolerable action, so we must demand the fundamental rights of citizenship as the inalienable rights of every Jew in every country in the world."

## Report of the National Board of Elections

It is my duty—on behalf of the National Board of Elections—to present the official report on the special task, which was designed to produce, in a democratic way, the delegates who constitute this distinguished Conference. The credentials of the delegates elected have been validated. Certificates have been issued and the register is completed. The detailed story is told in the volume of records we have made available for the use of the Committee on Credentials. The first edition of the Rules of Election issued and circulated on April 5, 1943, to which are attached all subsequent amendments and interpretations of the rules made under authorization given to the Board, is also filed with the officers of the Conference.

The Board was instructed to create a Conference to consist of 500 delegates, 375 to be elected by communities and regions and 125 by the national membership organizations accepted as such by the Executive Committee of the Conference. We are pleased to report that 500 are present. The two seats allotted to one of the national organizations which were not taken up, have been used to

"We have a right to take courage also from the great achievements of Jewish organizations at home and abroad in the task of rehabilitation," he continued.

"We are united in recognizing the superb achievement made by our people in Palestine, in our admiration for the skill and devotion which has transformed the desert into the farm, the factory, the vineyard and the orange grove."

"We look with pride on the great organizations that have functioned for the relief, the rescue and the rehabilitation of our brethren in so many quarters of the world."

Mr. Bublick called for the re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. "The United Nations are fighting for equality of rights. The Jewish people too, demand equality together with all the peoples on God's earth," he said.

Describing anti-Semitism as "the source of all that is evil," he called for a fight against "this enemy of mankind."

Mrs. Pool told of the rescue of 10,000 children by the Youth Aliyah in Palestine.

"Thousands upon thousands of certificates to Palestine are available for other children to join the first 10,000. Places are ready for them and homes are open. It remains only for the United Nations to join hands with us and do their share as we shall do ours to resuscitate these tens of thousands of children and youth," she declared.

#### Outlines Program of Rescue

Dr. Goldstein outlined the following five point program of immediate rescue work, which he declared is practical at this time:

1. To curb further massacres by sternly warning the gangster nations now, when they feel the weight of the attacking force, that there will be retribution, and by setting up a tribunal of investigation in which Jews, the chief victims, would have a representative.

2. To relieve the starvation of the Jews in the ghetto by a program similar to that adopted in the case of the people of Greece.

3. To secure the release of the Jews in the lands of Germany's satellites.

4. To encourage neighboring neutral countries to provide temporary asylum to those who can be rescued.

5. To provide for the settlement in Palestine of large numbers of such Jews as can be rescued, since Palestine is accessible by overland routes and is the best prepared from every standpoint to accommodate large numbers of Jews.

correct an error in the distribution of delegates to the communities, so that the records should show 377 elected by the communities and regions, and 123 by the national organizations. All differences of opinion in connection with the allotment of seats have been adjusted, all contests have been disposed of.

The authority and jurisdiction of the Board was fixed in the Rules approved by the Executive Committee. It was given full charge of the elections. It was authorized to issue regulations and instructions to the Election Committees. It was given final jurisdiction over the local and regional Elections Committees. It had the right to pass upon all election contests arising before the convening of the Conference. It was authorized to submit proposals to the Executive Committee as to how the seats to communities and regions should be distributed; and it was responsible for making the allotment of seats to the national membership organizations, subject to the review of the Executive Committee.

#### All American Jewry United.

The task confronting the Board

was unique and difficult. For the first time in the history of our community, all groupings, the representatives of practically all views on Jewish issues, were joined in a common election. They were expected to elect their delegates on a democratic basis through a common ballot. They were all to join in a National Conference which was expected to give deliberation and decision on a program of action on problems vital to the future of the Jewish people. They were to elect persons to act for them on these problems, not one segment of the community alone, but all segments together. Twenty-five years ago American Jews joined in a similar attempt, although a scheme of direct elections was agreed to at that time, not all groups who were parties to the agreement participated in the experiment in democracy. It is gratifying to be in a position to report that in 1943 practically all groups are represented here, not only through their national organizations but through representatives elected in their communities with the cooperation of all elements.

To achieve this end, a special procedure and a new apparatus for the administration of the elections had to be created. Most of the community councils could not be used for this purpose, either because they were not all-inclusive or that their program would not allow for their diversion to this special task. It was decided, therefore, to create the local election administration by appointing, in every community or region a suitable Convenor who would undertake the responsibility of organizing in the first instance a provisional committee on which all groups were to be given representation. This committee, in turn, was to select the local Committees on Elections designed to give every group an opportunity to participate, and was to be subject to the Rules of the National Board.

**2 1/2 Million Jews Represented.**

It should be said at once that the elections in the communities—with very few exceptions—were a revelation of uncommon zeal and devotion on the part of their leaders, as well as organizational intelligence. The elections proved beyond any doubt that the communal life of American Jewry has made great strides forward in organizational ability, in appreciation of the far-flung interests of the Jewish people, and in understanding of the issues that now confront us.

350 delegates were assigned to 80 cities and 54 regions, covering 46 states, exclusive of the District of Columbia. There were 23,432 ballots cast in communities where more than one candidate was voted for. This figure does not include the 22 cities and regions where only one candidate was nominated and unanimously elected without the use of ballots. These electors came from 8,437 local groups. It is a fact that every elector voting in the communal elections, represented at least 50 members of his group. It would thus appear that over 1,171,600 adult Jews participated in these elections. The membership of the national organization represented in the Conference shows an equal number, but these must be discounted as the allowance for duplications. It may also be assumed that for every adult Jew voting in the elections, one may be added to account for members of the family. It seems, therefore, that the total number of persons directly or indirectly involved in the elections for the American Jewish Conference was not less than 2,250,000, out of an estimated Jewish population of 5,000,000.

The Rules of Election were accepted by the Executive Committee on April 17, but the call for the Conference was not issued until April 23. The time schedule allotted for the elections was about three months. It was assumed

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# Address By Henry Monsky

At the opening session Sunday afternoon, August 29

*Hineh Mah Tov umah Na'im Shevet Ahim Gam Yahad!* "How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity." Nathan Straus, of sainted memory, opened his address before the American Jewish Congress, held in Philadelphia in December 1918 with this quotation. It was appropriate on that occasion, as it is most appropriate now.

This Conference was made possible by the profound and earnest realization, on the part of the American Jewish community, of its sacred responsibility for the salvation and future fate of the people of Israel, in this, the most tragic period in our history. It is the outgrowth of a desire to discharge that responsibility.

We are too prone to be content with eloquent phrase and rhetorical flourish as an outlet for our pent-up emotions. This Conference, may I predict, will be more interested in practical measures than in speeches, more zealous about program and the means for its accomplishment, than in discussions of unimportant differences. Having regard for this attitude, your chairman will endeavor to submit only such material as may be useful in your deliberations.

## History of Conference

On this day, we may look back with gratification upon that fateful meeting held in Pittsburgh in January of 1943, attended by representatives of 32 national Jewish membership organizations, with an approximate aggregate membership of 1,000,000 of our fellow Jews. The Pittsburgh meeting was a preliminary conference to consider the possibility of a common program of action in respect to the postwar status of the Jews and the upbuilding of the Jewish Palestine. Because it affords a perspective as to the difference in function between the Pittsburgh Conference and this Conference, I repeat the following brief quotation from the opening address at Pittsburgh:

We have come together not to adopt or propagandize for one or another post-war plan; not to issue or publish manifestos or proclamations in reference to the important role of Palestine in any such plan; but rather to take such preliminary steps as will result in a course of action and procedure calculated to accomplish the single objective, devoutly to be desired, of some basis of agreement between the diverse and conflicting groups that constitute the American Jewish community. American Jews, in collaboration with other Jewish communities of the free countries, will be required to assume a greater measure of responsibility than at any previous time in the long, dark history of the Jewish people, for the preservation of the remnant of Israel in the war devastated lands and for the establishment of an acceptable post-war status of Jews, after the United Nations shall have purged the world of the evil forces that have so sorely threatened the values—yes, the very existence—of our whole civilization.

Even though the Pittsburgh Conference was primarily to establish a plan of procedure, there were at the outset important differences. These differences were resolved, however, because of the consciousness on the part of the representatives, that the fate of our people, if not their whole existence is dependent upon the united action of the American Jewish community.

Pursuant to the resolve of the Pittsburgh meeting, on May 22, 1943, the Executive Committee issued the call for this American Jewish Conference, from which I quote:

These crucial days may determine the position Jews are to occupy in organized society for generations to come. The relentless war that has been waged

against us by Nazi-Germany and its allies has not only brought ruin and death to countless Jews, but it has wrecked the whole structure of rights in which Jews lived since the beginning of the period of emancipation.

The hopes of the whole democratic world are turned to the United Nations in their effort to destroy the common enemy and to win Victory for the freedom of the individual man, equality for all peoples and faiths, and for international justice.

In common with all men, we Jews have a vital stake in the general peace that is to come after Victory. The right of Jews to freedom, equality and justice should find place in the new world that will emerge when peace comes. The economic rehabilitation of Jewish life should be integrated in the plans for world reconstruction. And the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine should be fully implemented.

This situation makes imperative a reaffirmation on the part of the Jews of America of their duty to themselves and their fellow-Jews under oppression. The desirability of establishing a program of common action to deal with post-war Jewish problems has been recognized by all American Jewish groups.

The agenda of this Conference as adopted at the Pittsburgh Conference and as set forth in the call is:

- To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world.
- To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.
- To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Conference in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

There are now represented in the Conference 65 national Jewish membership organizations, by their selected delegates in the number of 125, and communities throughout the land by their duly elected delegates in the number of 375. The delegates here assembled are vested with a serious and important responsibility. They hold a mandate from the Jews of America—they represent the conscience and are charged with the duty of expressing the views and the will of the largest and perhaps the most vital Jewish community now remaining in this tragic and war-shattered world.

## Democratically Chosen Leadership

One of the essential virtues of this Conference is that it comprises leadership democratically chosen from the ranks of American Israel. It is the antithesis of the once prevalent practice or representation by *Stadlonim*. The spirit of democracy and the development and appreciation of democratic processes, have changed the whole concept of Jewish leadership. Leadership must be responsive to the yearnings, the aspirations and the hopes of those for whom they presume to speak. We must begin with the assumption that the American Jewish Community possesses the vitality, the resources, material and spiritual, essential for any effective effort to save our people and to restore in part their deteriorated status.

An Executive Committee elected at the Pittsburgh Conference has met frequently since that meeting and has labored arduously to carry out the mandate of that historic meeting. That its efforts have been successful, is due to the patience and the zealous cooperation of the members of the Executive Committee and its Secretariat who labored with a fine spirit of consecration. The course was not free from difficulties,

but we are gratified to report that all but one of the organizations originally invited to the Pittsburgh Conference and an additional number, making the total of 65, are now integrated with and participating in this Conference.

The delegates have received a report of the Preliminary Studies Committee, which under the able leadership of Rabbi Milton Steinberg, in an amazingly brief period of time, produced what may well be considered an authentic documentation of the historic background of the questions we shall be called upon to consider.

You have been advised of the method devised and recommended for the organization of committees of this Conference. This method has been the subject of discussion and has perhaps caused some confusion and misunderstanding. The very nature of the Conference, meeting for the first time, and comprising 500 delegates, adhering to groups with divergent points of view, seemed in the judgment of the majority of the Executive Committee to suggest the advisability of a change from the routine method of conducting conventions and conferences. The system is calculated to insure representation on all committees of these diversified points of view. It must be made clear that group designations were intended to furnish the key to proportionate representation on committees and do not contemplate regimentation of individual delegates in the Conference, as respects action upon all programmatic and ideological questions. Some delegates have registered under the heading "designation reserved." Such delegates remain free to become affiliated with any of the now existing groups or to organize themselves in groups of ten or more for the purpose of designating representatives on the several committees of the Conference.

We are enjoined by the agenda "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world."

What are the problems? How broad shall be the scope of inquiry and action? To consider the postwar status of the European Jewish community without considering ways and means of rescuing that community from complete annihilation seems incongruous. It has been said that "post-war" is "post mortem," unless practical and effective measures of relief and rescue are immediately inaugurated. Therefore, notwithstanding the more limited phraseology of the agenda, plans for the immediate rescue of the remnants of our people in the Nazi occupied countries must and will receive full and adequate consideration at this Conference. One complete session of this Conference will be devoted exclusively to this important and compelling subject.

## Tragedy of European Jewry

It is assumed that every delegate to this Conference is fully conversant with the tragic details of the great calamity that has befallen our people. The discussions at this Conference will be replete with heart-rending details of the horrible fate of the millions of our fellow Jews who have been the victims of history's classic example of "man's inhumanity to man." Just prior to the opening of this Conference, extensive publicity was again released in respect to the mass murder of Jews in Europe. Nothing is to be gained from its repetition. The time has come to say less and do more about it. Just a brief general description of the dark and tragic scene of European Jewry should be sufficient.

The barbarians of Nazi Germany have written the blackest record of all time. Homes have been destroyed, sacred altars have been profaned, complete loss of life and liberty has been the fate

of millions of Jews and non-Jews alike—all because of a lust for power and conquest, bolstered by a ruthless campaign of hate and persecution, unloosed upon the world by the would-be destroyers of our civilization. Enslavement, starvation, mass murder, confiscation of property, and unbelievably inhuman cruelty have been the lot of millions of Jews, Czechs, Poles, Greeks and of many other nationalities. It is significant, however, that it was against the Jewish people that Hitler's war of extermination was first declared. I say it is significant and yet not at all strange, for the Jew is and always has been the symbol of those moral, ethical and spiritual forces, that are wholly incompatible with the Nazi philosophy of hatred, conquest and power politics. That symbol had to be destroyed if Hitler and his legions were to succeed. The philosophy of Nazism could not co-exist in the same world with the philosophy of Judaism.

In Germany today, few native Jews remain alive, but the German campaign of Jewish annihilation continues unabated. Robert Ley, the German labor leader recently declared: "We shall not stop until the last Jew of Europe is destroyed."

In Holland, the traditional haven of refuge since the days of the Spanish Inquisition, there remain perhaps 4,000 Jews out of what was once a cultured, flourishing, well-integrated community of 180,000. Dispatches pour in from day to day and week to week, which tell of the continuing, ever accelerated reign of terror. As the tide of the battle moves against the Nazi legions, their leaders attempt, in desperation, to strengthen the home front, by the intensification of their campaign of destruction against the Jew.

Thousands of Dutch Jews have been machine-gunned in Poland. Hardly a town or village in the whole of Poland has escaped the scourge of massacre. More than 52,000 Jews have been driven out of Belgium. Large numbers have been deported from France for slave labor in Germany. More confiscatory fines are levied upon the remnant of the Jewish population in Rumania.

Bulgaria, yielding to German pressure, orders the deportation of all the 25,000 Jews from Sofia. Each day brings a new shock to stir the conscience and arouse the moral resentment and indignation of the civilized world.

It is with regret that we record the lack of practical measures for the relief of the millions who have been persecuted, pillaged, pilloried and devastated. Many statements of sympathy and compassion have been issued by our Government and its allies. Such statements are reassuring, but distressingly ineffective in so far as the plight of the victims is concerned.

We read not long ago of the suicide of a great Polish Jewish leader, Samuel Zygelbojm, who was a member of the Polish National Council. His last note read:

I cannot be silent—I cannot live while remnants of the Jewish people of Poland, of whom I am a representative, are perishing. My comrades in the Warsaw ghetto took weapons in their hands in the last heroic impulse. It was not my destiny to die there together with them, but I belong to them and in their mass graves. By my death I wish to express my strongest protest against the inactivity with which the world is looking on and permitting the extermination of my people.

I refer to this tragic incident and quote from the note, primarily for two reasons: first, to emphasize that except by the grace of Divine Providence, many of us and those whom we represent might have been among the victims in Poland, in Germany, or in some one or other of the conquered lands; and second, to stress the folly of futility. An individual, crushed by the overwhelming

tragedy of his people, may find his escape in suicide, but a people can find no such escape. The lack of response to the call of distress from those who have been plunged into the depths of abject misery, calls for greater courage and unswerving determination. Expressions of sympathy and compassion will not save one human life. Concrete measures, promptly planned and expeditiously executed are the indispensable imperatives.

## Program of Rehabilitation

We must urge the facilitation of emigration by whatever proper method it can be brought about. We must urge and bring about the rehabilitation of refugees who had the good fortune to escape from the hell-hole of Nazidom and now survive within neutral countries. The strength, the resources, the influence, the resolute determination of this Conference, speaking for the whole of the American Jewish community, must be brought to bear in order that constructive, practical and effective measures shall no longer be delayed, and in order that those who can may yet be saved.

The needs are so great, the problem so overwhelming, that it transcends the bounds of private philanthropy. It will require the interest, the attention and the resources of governmental agencies. May we not hope, in the name of humanity, may we not expect, in the light of the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the recognized war aims of the United Nations, that our appeals will meet with a satisfactory response? Provision for relief in the postwar world will require our consideration. Formulation of plans for voluntary mass-emigration and colonization is a subject with which we shall be required to deal.

We shall have to deal with the problem of reconstruction of Jewish life and with the rehabilitation of Jews in devastated war areas—yes, reconstruction and rehabilitation, both physically and spiritually. We must consider and devise ways and means of bringing assurance, after the present devastating reign of terror, of civic, political, cultural, religious and social rights for our fellow Jews on the basis of equality with all of the inhabitants of the several countries in which they may find themselves.

The recommendations that we may here formulate will undoubtedly be wholly consistent with the war aims of the United Nations because they will emanate from the plain dictates of justice and humanity.

On December 17, 1942, the following statement was issued for publication by the United States and European members of the United Nations:

The attention of the Belgian, Czechoslovak, Greek, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norwegian, Polish, Soviet, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav governments and also of the French National Committee (Fighting French) has been drawn to numerous reports from Europe that the German authorities, not content with denying to persons of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule has been extended, the most elementary human rights, are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe.

From all the occupied countries, Jews are being transported in condition of appalling horror and brutality to eastern Europe.

In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughter house, the ghettos established by the German invader are being systematically emptied of all Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for the war industries.

None of those taken away are ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labor camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions.

(Continued on page four)



## CONFERENCE RECORD

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## Address by Mr. Monsky

(Continued from page three)

The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children.

The above mentioned governments and the French National Committee condemn in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination.

They declare that such events can only strengthen the resolve of all freedom loving peoples to overthrow the barbarous Hitlerite tyranny.

They reaffirm their solemn resolution to insure that those responsible for the crimes shall not escape retribution and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end.

This statement recognizes the problem but falls short of any practical accomplishment. We may, however, upon the basis of this expression of good will and interest, be able to point the way for practical measures.

As respects the foregoing, there will be little diversity of opinion. All will agree, first, as to the scope and extent of the calamity and the problem; second, as to its unique and special character; third, as to the necessity for immediate practical measures, and fourth, as to the inescapable responsibility of immediate, forthright, and unequivocal action by this Conference in the name of the American Jewish community. We must formulate our demands and we must create and establish those instrumentalities through which such demands can be made effective.

### The Place of Palestine

What is the place of Palestine—what role can it play in meeting the problems of our people of the post-war world? We are to consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, endorsed by 52 nations, concurred in by joint resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, were hailed as documents of state, legally recognizing the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to rebuild their national home in that country.

Addressing the first session of the American Jewish Congress in December, 1918, the late Louis Marshall, that preeminent Jewish leader and statesman, said:

The future of Palestine is no longer a mooted question. It has become a settled question. The action of the British Government as announced by its eminent spokesman, Mr. Balfour, endorsed as it has been by France, Italy, Serbia, Greece and other of the Allied Nations—approved as it has been by the President of the United States—will undoubtedly receive at the Peace Conference which is about to assemble at Versailles, the sanction of all the nations of the world. Mr. Marshall made the further

significant statement: "We here in America sympathize with every Jewish aspiration."

Encouraged by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine, the Yishuv in Palestine, with the aid and support (regretably not too universal nor adequate) of the Jewish community throughout the world has wrought a miraculous change in Palestine. In the past ten years, the most tragic of all of Jewish history, Palestine has absorbed more than 280,000 Jewish immigrants. More than 40,000 Jewish refugees have entered Palestine since the outbreak of the present war. The Jewish population has grown from 55,000 at the close of the first World War to over 550,000 in 1942. We have invested in Palestine during the last two decades an estimated total of \$560,000,000 of which approximately \$100,000,000 came from Jewish national and public funds. Social, cultural and religious institutions established in Palestine represent an achievement of the most romantic character. These institutions are beginning to serve as a source of inspiration to the Jewish communities throughout the world. Can there be any question that Palestine in the light of long-term planning, represents the most realistic single opportunity for the resettlement of large numbers of the unfortunate and harassed of our people?

Can there be any doubt, that consonant with the principles of freedom, justice and self-determination, basic in the war aims of the United Nations, there will be after the complete triumph of the Democracies, an opportunity for the realization of the purpose and aims of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate? Can there be any question that we have a right to hope for and expect the victorious United Nations, in the name of justice and humanity, to make Palestine available to the greatest extent possible to those of our people who desire to make it their homeland? The development in Palestine, notwithstanding all of the difficulties, political and economic, and notwithstanding the setbacks that have come about as a consequence of the war, and weak and uncertain appeasement diplomacy, must be recognized as an heroic and thrilling chapter in Jewish history.

### Condemns "White Paper"

Can there be any substantial difference of opinion with respect to the flagrant injustice of the White Paper of 1939? It has been correctly described not only by Jews, but by non-Jewish public opinion and by statesmen in the Congress of the United States and in the British Parliament as "cruel and indefensible." In June 1939, Winston Churchill, whose magnificent leadership of the British people in the present crisis has won the esteem, the admiration and affection of all freedom loving men throughout the universe, made the declaration in Parliament: "There is much in this White paper which is alien to the

spirit of the Balfour Declaration—I shall feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself by silence or inaction to what I must regard as an act of repudiation."

We commend for your careful reading that section of the Preliminary Studies Committee report entitled "Area Six—Palestine" which furnishes background material for the consideration of this most important question.

We are not unaware of the difficulties in Arab-Jewish relations, unquestionably aggravated by and largely the result of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda and political stimulation. The removal or dissipation of this cause after a United Nations victory, and following the annihilation of the sources of hate, will bring, in my judgment, a completely changed attitude on the part of the Arab population. The utilization by enemy propaganda machinery of any disaffection between the Jews and the Arabs is understandable. The readiness, however, with which those of our own people who, however earnestly and sincerely they disagree with certain ideological concepts, appropriate, adopt and help to spread such propaganda is incomprehensible and represents a malady in Jewish life.

The tragedies that have overwhelmed mankind as a result of the diplomacy of expediency as distinguished from rigorous adherence to the principles of justice and equity, should serve as a compelling admonition to those who plan the postwar world, of the bankrupt character of the whole appeasement doctrine. The "Treaty of Friendship" signed by Emir Feisal and Chaim Weizmann in January 1919, expressed cordial good will and understanding for Jewish aspirations in Palestine and endorsed the fullest guarantee for carrying into effect the cooperation of Jews and Arabs for their common destiny. That this attitude was changed under the leadership of the Mufti of Jerusalem, the collaborator of the Axis, is not strange. The Yishuv has courageously continued its colonization and the development of Palestine. Its will to survive in the face of all obstacles, its determination to reclaim and establish Palestine as a homeland, have resisted and overcome every frustration. I make bold to predict that with the advent of peace and the restoration of friendly relationships between the various peoples of the earth, this affliction of Arab-Jewish dissension will run its course and substantially disappear.

There are different points of view in this Conference with respect to Palestine. The diversity of opinion runs the whole course, from the minimum which subscribes to the support of Palestine as a haven of refuge and as a spiritual and cultural center, to the maximum represented by the concept of a Jewish state in Palestine.

It is not the function of your Chairman, in his official capacity, to commend or criticize any of these various points of view. It will be the responsibility of this Conference, in the consideration of this problem with an attitude of tolerance toward and mutual respect for the diverse opinions, to determine what shall be the declared position of the American Jewish community.

### We Ask For Justice

There are some among our people who view with anxiety, if not alarm, any forthright expression by the Jewish community on behalf of our fellow Jews in time of war. This attitude, in my opinion, is a grievous mistake. It grows out of the fallacious notion that we are asking for special privileges—that we desire to be singled out for special consideration. The sad and irrefutable fact is that we have been singled out for persecution, for oppression, for destruction. Our demand is only this—that we shall enjoy in common with all free men the

freedom for which our beloved nation and its allies are now engaged in a global conflict. All that we ask for is that justice shall be done.

As Americans and as Jews, the cause of the United Nations is doubly ours. All that we possess must be dedicated without reserve to this cause. Every sacrifice which the needs of the war effort may demand of us must be made. We may record with gratification that throughout the world and upon every United Nations' front, our people are found rendering patriotic service of a high and distinguished character.

The Jews in Russia have played a magnificent role in the Red Army. More than 600,000 Jews are now actively participating in the glorious performances of that army, apart from the fine demonstrations of heroism in the effective guerilla warfare. We find the Jews fighting in the ranks of the Chetniks, in the legions of the Greek guerillas, in the armies of the Free French, Free Poles, Free Norwegians, Free Czechs and Free Dutch. In the South African army there are 9,250 Jewish men and women volunteers, 10 percent of the entire Union's Jewish population. There are the modern Macabees of the Polish ghettos. Here in America the record is well known. The London Evening Standard editorially commented in connection with the resistance of the Warsaw ghetto: "Jews are fighting today on all fronts for the cause of humanity and the Jew will be among the proud participants of common victory." There are the 21,000 heroic Jewish warriors of Palestine whose important role in the Nazi debacle of North Africa is yet to be told.

### We Ask for Justice

The Jew will be among the proud participants in a common victory.

If after the war is won, we shall not lose the peace, not only the Jew but every nation ravished by Axis lust, all peoples now deprived of their freedom, all mankind will participate in the fruits of that victory. Our demands should be easily grantable. We want no special privileges—we ask only for simple justice and equality.

Our destroyers 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.

Let us emulate the fighting Jews of the Warsaw ghetto. They were thoroughly conscious of their common bond and went heroically to their death, but not without glory. They found no time or place for ideological disputation. The entire Jewish community was galvanized into action for the heroic last stand. Radicals and conservatives, Bundists and Zionists, Orthodox and Liberals, all were agreed on the dynamic decision to fight together, though it meant inevitable death. The Jewish guerillas in the Red Army, the Jewish partisans in the armies of the Greek and Yugoslav guerillas, have likewise had their unity sealed in blood. The whole Yishuv in Palestine is one, in its determination to build a free homeland, and in its unshakeable resolve to defend the accomplishment of a quarter of a century of consecrated self-sacrificing labor.

With magnificent fortitude have the Jews in the stricken lands manifested once again the will of Israel to survive. Their fight is our fight. Their struggle is our struggle. Their ultimate fate may in large measure determine our fate. The doctrine of isolation in matters of Jewish interest is fatal to our cause. We are an integral group, call it what you will—religious or national—it matters not, for we do have a common inheritance, a common history, a common religion, common traditions and a common cause, and we must strive for a common basis for action.

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. We cannot in these tragic and trying times indulge in the luxury of dialectics. Our people's salvation depends upon a united front.

## Address By Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Delivered at the Sunday Evening Session

This is an American Conference. We are Americans, first, last, and all the time. Nothing else that we are, whether by faith or race or fate, qualifies our Americanism. Everything else we are and have deepens, enriches and strengthens, if that can be, our Americanism. We and our fathers chose to be, and now choose to abide as Americans. One hundred generations have chosen that we be Jews, and for another hundred and more generations our children and children's children will choose to be heirs of the Jewish past, builders of the Jewish future. Our first and sternest task, in common with all other citizens of our beloved country and with the citizens of the United Nations, is to win the anti-Fascist war. Unless that war be won, all else is lost.

The question before this American Jewish Conference is: Shall Hitler's attempted extermination of the Jewish people be accepted as the solution of the Jewish problem, or have we American Jews another solution to offer? To ask the question is to answer it, with a deep, solemn, unanimous negative. And we have a solution to offer!

We were recently reminded in a collection of the noble prose of the late Mr. Justice Holmes: "Not the least Godlike of man's activ-

ities is the large survey of causes, that to know is not less than to feel." This Conference is to be such a large survey of a cause, that we may know as well as feel.

Five thousand seven hundred three, soon to end, has not only been the saddest and mournfullest year in Jewish history, but its sorrow exceeds, alas, the combined sorrows of the last thousand years. The entire Jewish year has been one prolonged, continued never-ending day of mournful commemoration. The first Tishah b'Av marked the wanton and vandalistic destruction of the Holy of Holies 1873 years ago. This year of our calendar will forever be commemorated because of the attempted extermination of the whole Jewish people. Attempted and, alas, not in vain; for two-thirds and more of the Axis world's Jewish population has been murdered, most foully and unnaturally murdered, by methods of open and devastating terror. The aim was, as recently reported by a Christian who has just emerged from the Polish Underground, "to wipe out Jews as a people and individuals, to exterminate them systematically as a race by sheer mass murder without any exceptions."

(Continued on page five)



# Address by Dr. Wise

(Continued from page four)

## The Death Camps

The Jewish Underground relates the unbelievably hideous details of the death camps at Trembilinka, for example, on the railway running from Warsaw to Bialystok, the death houses, the special extermination machinery, the liquidating gasses piped into death cells, the victims dying daily by thousands. A huge poster greets the newcomers to Trembilinka: "You can be confident of your future!" An ironic invitation to death at its cruelest! For the victims, we say to these bestial executioners: Unlike death with honor you have brought to your victims, death and shame are swiftly becoming your portion. The United Nations have made us confident of your immediate future and there is and will hereafter be no future anywhere on earth for such as seek to set race against race and faith against faith. Yours have been ten years of horror and pillage and rapine. Oblivion were your most merciful fate! We have lived and served throughout millenia. Your thousands and years have ended within a decade. We resume life with gladder hope, because civilization and freedom are about to extirpate their organized and united enemies—the Axis Powers.

We do not parade our suffering. The casualties we suffer in war we bear as do all Americans, proudly, even gladly. But we can bear neither proudly nor stoically "the horrifying barbarism" which has resulted in the slaughter of millions of our brothers and sisters, whether three or four, of what Harold Laski calls "the foulest crime in history." The brave and noble Dutch Government-in-Exile put it: "Such abominable mass murder must be avenged." What solemn and ineluctable obligation this lays upon us, who are become far and above the largest Jewry of history, not only to bind up the wounds of but to take counsel with the surviving, that together we may plan their and our future and think ourselves together with respect to the fate of that world Jewry, including Russo-Anglo-Palestine Jewry, which is no larger than our own.

## Freedom Is Foundation

We have learned lessons and the world has learned lessons. We learned slowly and late. The world learned still more slowly and even later. Learned what? That the only safe foundation of law is freedom; that the only certain guarantee of freedoms incurred and we still incur the implacable enmity of all those to whom human freedom is an abominable heresy, to whom human quality is the sin of sins, to whom political democracy the unforgivable assault upon the sacred Ark of privilege and power.

A good rule for this Conference would be that of a recent writer on the "Captains of Their Souls"—"For this is the hour of decision, it is the most fateful moment of our lives, and only if we believe truly, can we hope to think clearly and then to act effectively." In what are we to believe truly? Is it necessary to say again that we believe in the speedy triumph of our country, the triumph of the great task it has set out to perform, the saving of itself, the safeguarding of human freedom everywhere, even ultimately for those violators and betrayers of the conquered and the enslaved, the creation of a new and better, because juster, world.

We believe truly in ourselves, in our people, in our faith and fate or destiny! Though our hearts are full of sorrow, we stand unshaken by the evil of the ten years drawing to a close, by the nameless horror of all the last year. We believe more truly than ever in Israel as in Israel's God. Millions of victims within

the life of our people, most if not all of them martyrs, those conscious witnesses to the truth which was their life and death as it is our life and deathlessness, move us to believe more truly and surely than ever before in our people, its great past, its momentous though mournful present, its puzzling withal certain future.

## Victims of Many Wars

This is an American Jewish Conference. American and Jewish! Jewish, because as a people, we have lived and battled, with uncountable victims and casualties through the most awful war in history. Not war but wars! One war in which all the nations, the free nations fought, and Jews among the free nations fought as of them and with them and for them, in every country in which Jews dwell, — goody numbers throughout the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and these United States. And we have fought or been fought against in another war—the war of the enemies of freedom against Jews in fulfillment of a thousand threats to exterminate the Jews. We have borne our full share of the war. In addition, there has been a Jewish war, a war in which Jews were singled out as the victims, not as casualties of war but as victims of extermination, the dread and alas almost completely successful threat of extermination. No people, though its population were five or ten times as large as the numbers of world Jewry, has suffered losses comparable to that of the Jewish people in the war of anti-Jewish extinction. In that war of Jewish extinction one-fourth and more of our numbers have perished.

As every American gathering aims to preserve and safeguard America, so the American Jewish Conference aims to preserve and safeguard America, and beyond that, to preserve and defend the Jewish people. Hitler said, and Goebbels echoed: "The Jewish people must be exterminated." The American Jewish Conference accepts the challenge and answers: The Jewish people will not be exterminated and joins in the high resolve and resolute determination of the United Nations that nevermore shall leader or gangster, Chancellor or President, be permitted even to threaten unrebuked and unpunished the extermination of a people or race or faith. A free world will never again passively wait for the fulfillment of such a threat, as it, alas, waited from 1933 to 1939. Such a threat will indict and convict its authors, in the sight and with the sanction of all the world, of destructive intent and purpose not against the Jew alone, not against any people or faith, but against our common civilization and freedom.

We are bidden to think clearly and to act effectively. To think clearly is to think not with confusing preconceptions or prepossessions or prejudices but with open-mindedness and clarity, with mind single to the needs of the hour. The proposal that when the delegates enter the Conference they must forget their partisan labels is only partially valid counsel. The delegates are to act in the name and in the spirit of those who chose and delegated them for the good of all. Each of us represents a segment of Jewish life. All of us together serve the whole of Israel. We shall be truer to Jewry in its entirety only if we remember the best and highest in the group or faction that sent us here.

## Disunion Brought Disaster

As for acting effectively, when Jews were threatened, beginning in 1933, Jews failed to unite save for those groups, too few and too limited, which dared to do so. Such a policy of extermination obtained as men have not aforetime known. Neither did the world unite when Hitler uttered the most terrible of threats against freedom, nor until

he attacked and devastated Poland. Even then men and nations did not unite, but waited and temporized until it became too late. Holland, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, Greece, Yugoslavia fell by the wayside, one by one. Hitler's war upon a free world began not on August 31, 1939, when he invaded Poland, but on January 30, 1933, when he was by appointment enabled to renew his pre-electoral threat to exterminate the Jewish people.

To act effectively is to act in unison. Action in unison does not mean identity of thinking. Effective action is born of the capacity for adjustment in situations which call for agreement without compromise. Never did a people come under deeper or more compelling motivation. We stand under the shadow of a great and oceanic sorrow, sorrow over the extinction of uncounted numbers of our people, a sorrow too deep for tears. And yet not without hope we suffer and we mourn. We have suffered. We have mourned. We hope. However desolating our grief, we cannot live without hope. "Our hope is not destroyed."

That American Jewry be united through this Conference is not enough. It must be united with Jews the world over, rejoining the old bonds with the reinforced and unlost Jewish population of the Soviet Union and eager to act with, not merely for, the reviving Jews of the Axis lands. For them that have survived and may survive, let the report of this Conference serve as tonic, stimulus, revival. Their hurt at the hand of Hitler does not unfit them for comradeship and counsel with us, their free and happier brothers, who, but for the Grace of God and our fathers' earlier migrations, would be they. Hitler's unpitied victims have not ceased to be our beloved and honored blood-brothers, to be heeded, to be revered, to be cherished.

## Spirits of the Slain

Within this chamber I behold the spirits of the millions slain. These plead with us not for revenge—for sufferance hath too long been the badge of all our tribe—but for other and nobler acts, that we, like them, may choose death rather than the shame of desertion of the God of Israel. If the United Nations and we could not save them, these shall now save their and our brothers who may yet be saved. The only redress and reparation the martyrs seek are freedom and justice and peace at last for all mankind, a world wherein the great nations and the great faiths, led by Christianity, shall nevermore endure such a Jewish holocaust as the Hitler horror. This assurance may be granted by stamping out the evil forces out of which grew the shame of history's most terrible Jewish slaughter.

I behold the tear-stained survivors, few in number, who have lost all but life and honor, and these place their trust in us. For these are confident that our sorrowful guardianship invites and will avail itself of their wisdom and tragic experience. These shall not be set aside as merely pitiable victims, to be fed and clothed and sheltered as our wards, but, however terrible and exigent their needs, to be counselled with as brothers, for the metal of their Jewish loyalty has been tempered by passing through the fires of almost unpitied torture and wholly unredressed wrongs.

Within this chamber are gathered, too, not only some hundreds of chosen representatives of American Jewry but millions by whom these have been directly or indirectly chosen. Out of a heart of deepest sorrow, these, our fellow-Americans, invisible but not inaudible to our spirits, plead with us to deal wisely as American Jews, soberly, courageously and nobly with the problems of the Jew in a new and free world. One of the wisest,

noblest of American Jews has phrased it: "It is only by our own efforts and endeavor, by our confidence in the rightness of our purposes and in our own power, if fully organized, that we have the means of accomplishing our aims!"

Unless we are resolved to face the task with such sustained wisdom as may God give us, with such a noble vision and purpose as the hour demands, let us relinquish the task to other hands. To that task, to that burden, we solemnly resolve that we shall not be unequal. Israel Zangwill once said, "We are a people of lost opportunities." This Conference is to proclaim that we are a people of unlost opportunities. Such be the meaning of this Conference.

## The Glory of Palestine

I have not chosen to anticipate the program which only this Conference can adopt after the fullest consideration and fairest discussion. But viewing the record of the speaker, he will not be expected to refrain from adverting upon that which may be arguable from some points of view, withal has come to constitute a glory to the whole Jewish people,—not merely an unparalleled achievement of the Jewish population of Palestine.

Two years ago and less, Palestine stood under the shadow and terror of Nazi invasion. Whatever the virtually neutral Arab population might or might not have done, our brother Jews, men and women alike, were ready to do and dare all in defense of freedom and the cause of the United Nations, including Palestine. The brilliant feat of the Alexander - Montgomery armies, not without Jewish participation, averted that Rommel peril. In all the vast Arab complex of populations and territories and amid its kingdoms, great and small, that of Palestine, which is Jewish stood out alone in passionate and unreserved support of freedom's cause as safeguarded by the United Nations.

In the meantime a policy has been continued in respect to Palestine by the Mandatory Government upon which Britain and the free world set their stamp of disapproval when appeasement was finally rejected in September 1939. The White Paper of the Spring of that year is the last vestige of that unhappy and unworthy policy. Despite the repudiation of appeasement its spirit and its letter, alas, still obtain in Palestine and this, too, although the greatest of disasters has befallen the Jewish people, resulting first in exile and later in horror throughout Hitler Europe.

The humane and generous thing for the Mandatory Government would have been, in frank disregard of the appeasement-dictated White Paper survival of the pre-Churchillian regime, to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish exiles, even though parallel action might have become necessary on the part of England and America within the law. No act of relief on the part of the United Nations will seem sincere or be worthwhile as long as the gates of Palestine threaten to close. Whatever we may hope and plan is to be the future status of Palestine, and there may be room for discussion, its gates must not be closed. There must be Jewish migration under Mandatory and Jewish control, under the direction and supervision of that Jewish Agency which is instrument of and by covenant confederate to the Mandatory Power.

Herzl beheld only the glorious ideal of Zionism; but he truly forefelt the mournful necessity, to use his own term, which is become the lot of continental Jewry, truly the only hope of the surviving less than 2,000,000 Jews of the Europe that is. Much has been made of a word uttered by one of the responsible heads of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. "It would be wrong to consider the Jew in

Palestine incapable of deeds of despair, if driven to the extreme of exasperation by a decision to persevere in what is a cruelly unjust policy." Who would wish Jews to be incapable of deeds of despair? Such deeds, for example, as were performed by the glorious heroes and heroines of the last Jewish stand at Warsaw? Only cowardly, self-hating, self-obliterative Jews! Even deeds of despair are treasonable to such as will to die and not to live. Whatever the decision of this Conference in relation to Palestine, let us so bear ourselves within these walls that deeds of despair shall not be needed in Palestine. But if such deeds be done, they must be accepted by us as inexorable as is our century story. It must have been deeds of despair that called forth from the Psalmist his immortal word: "For the sake of Zion I will not be silent." Today, after the lapse of twenty-five centuries, "I will not be silent" means I will not be inert, I will not be passive, I will not be non-resistant.

## The Immediate Objective

The tragedy of tragedies that has been and, alas, still is, changes the character and content of this Conference. It was organized with a view to two major objectives; The rights and status of Jews in the post-war world; the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine; the choice of those who would pursue and prosecute these objectives to the end in connection with the after victory conference or conferences.

But a new and more, indeed most, immediate objective presses itself upon this body of American Jews,—solemnly to demand of the United Nations that not another hour be lost in rescuing from the lands in the hands of Hitler the remaining Jews, the less than 2,000,000 survivors of the 6,000,000 Jews who lived in pre-Hitler Europe. Further delay in rescue would doubtless mean that there would be no Jews to save in what was Hitler Europe. Never was it truer that a way, the way, the ways of rescue will be found, provided the United Nations, led by our own, have the will to rescue our harassed, despoiled, tortured brothers. Such rescue of the surviving may in part redeem the world's shame of the years, 1933-1939. Throughout these years every manner of nameless crime was committed against our brothers with none save a handful of Christians, such as Cardinals Faulhaber and Mundelein, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Dr. Cadman, to plead angel-tongued for the victims of the devils of extermination.

Bermuda may, at doubtful best, have been a beginning. The Intergovernmental Committee of Refugees, led by London and Washington, if summoned at once, may prove to be a second step. Is it necessary in the face of one of the nearly consummated crimes of history to insist that there be no further and fatal delay, that the United Nations avert Jewish destruction by every method of rescue? There are many such, as the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs has pointed out, by which the United Nations, with the help of the no longer undecided and hesitating Neutrals, can rescue the otherwise doomed civilian victims, including women, children, aged men. Let not the unjust reproach be inturred that more could and would have been done if the threatened and endangered had not been Jews! This were too terrible a reflection upon the professions and principles and practices of the United Nations, and above all upon the moral quality of our own nation and its leadership.

## Faith in President Roosevelt

As a mouthpiece of the Conference in its opening hour, I choose to register my unchanged faith (Continued on page eight)



## Address By Judge Joseph M. Proskauer

Delivered at the Sunday Evening Session

With deep pleasure and satisfaction I join with my colleagues in the presidium to bid each and every one of you a hearty welcome to this American Jewish Conference.

After the moving words which you have just heard, I am sure there arises in the mind of each of us the thought that there are few other places on earth where a group of Jews could assemble as we do tonight. Here in this blessed America where, under the Divine Providence, we have indeed won a new birth of freedom, we enjoy with all others the right of assemblage, and we meet here for the purpose of giving aid, succor and comfort to our suffering brethren in lands overseas. And we undertake this task heartened by the confidence that, with the freedom and security we enjoy as American citizens, we may really be able to accomplish the enormous task which this crisis demands of us.

We should understand the full import of the tragic picture that has been presented to us. Since our forefathers wept by the waters of Babylon, we Jews have endured the lash of the torturer and the sword of the executioner; but never before in history have we witnessed a cruelty so barbaric as that inflicted by the savagery of Hitler. We should remember, too, that, as has been aptly said, when Hitler began his attack on the Jews he declared war on civilization itself. His cruelty has fallen on priest and pastor and rabbi, until it has become abundantly clear that his attack is on religion itself and all that we have come to regard as the essence of our civilization. And so we can fairly urge that, while Jews to the number of millions have been the chief victims of the Nazi regime, we Jews have an added right to call upon the conscience of every faith to stamp out this recurrence to the barbarism of the darkest ages, and to redress the frightful wrongs which have been inflicted. Truly we have witnessed the spectacle of man's inhumanity to man that has made the countless millions mourn.

**Seek Unity of Conduct.**  
In the notice of the calling of this Conference, it was referred to as an historic meeting and indeed it is within its power to be of historic service to our brethren. It is my devout hope that it will be a success in the sense that it will develop a common program for this crisis to which the universal support of American Jewry will be accorded. Never before, I think, has there been so great a yearning in American Jewry for this unity of conduct. One basic reason for this is the horror of the foreign scene which has been portrayed to us. Another reason is that on the domestic scene we have in the last few years seen the continuance and the growth of organized anti-Semitic movements which have shocked the conscience not only of Jewry but of all right-thinking Americans. These organized movements have been clearly identified now as the first line of attack of Fascism on America. Just as the anti-Semitic cry was raised first by Hitler as an entering wedge, so these disciples of darkness in America have invoked bigotry and prejudice as the first step in the fight against the American way of life. And the impulse of self-preservation and of the preservation of our American ideals requires that we use here every effort to avoid schism and to achieve cooperation. For here, as always, the enemy would rejoice in a program of divide and conquer.

Now what is the nature of this unity which we all seek? Certainly no one can expect that we will all think alike and believe alike in our

ultimate faiths. We have stood out from time immemorial for the right of the individual to follow the dictates of his own conscience. By the same token none of us longer believes that we should communicate our Spinozas or our Uriel Acostas. We cannot all be orthodox; we cannot all be reform; we cannot all be conservative; we cannot all be Zionists or non-Zionists or Revisionists. But what we can do is to take counsel together and work out for this emergency which confronts us a program to which all right-thinking Jews can adhere.

### To Emphasize Agreements.

We are not legislating; we are not decreeing for all the future; we are trying to create a program to submit to those who shall frame the terms of peace, and surely they will heed us more readily if we speak and act together. We must ask no man to sacrifice a principle. We must ask no one to be false to an ultimate belief, but I suggest to you that the great effective compromises of history have been compromises on immediate conduct and not on ultimate ideologies. And I am sure that all of us will cooperate in a spirit of brotherhood, of friendliness, and I hope of statesmanship, to work out such a course of conduct as will enable us to close this Conference a band of brothers working for a common objective to submit to those who will make the terms of peace.

What is the method then, by which we should endeavor to reach this objective and to redress the frightful wrongs which we have heard so eloquently described?

I suggest, my brethren, that the method should be in the first instance that we emphasize not our differences but our agreements, and that we base our action not on the conflicts but on the great concords and the great achievements of American Jewry.

For there is an enormous area on which we are all agreed. We agree that the United Nations should give relief from the havoc and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on its millions of victims; that the processes of redress and rehabilitation be largely undertaken, as they must be, as governmental functions. We are as one in demanding the complete restoration and safeguarding of the equal civil and religious rights of Jews, as of all others. We stand together for the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land shall be guaranteed the right of equality, so that, in the language of our Secretary of State, we shall have a world in which Jews, like all others, are free to abide in peace and in honor. Just as we all stood together against the revocation of the Cremieux Decrees and have no patience with considerations of expediency such as led to temporizing with that intolerable action, so we must demand the fundamental rights of citizenship as the inalienable rights of every Jew in every country in the world. And if these fundamental rights are denied to us, there will follow, as the night the day, the same kind of deprivation of civil and political and religious freedom in every land of every group that chances to be a minority.

We are trying to write a new chapter in the long struggle for the rights of Jews. As one who has fought that fight for many a long year until I can say that I have grown gray in the service of my people, I dare to view the future with optimism and with confidence. I recall the superb contribution of my revered predecessor in the presidency of the American Jewish Committee, the late Louis Marshall, when, with his co-workers, he faced 25 years ago a task like

that which you and I face tonight. Then, too, there were differences of ideology; no man abandoned his principles, but all pulled together to achieve a great common good for Israel. Truly in the words of Isaiah: "They helped everyone his brother, and everyone said to his brother, be of good courage." And I draw inspiration and courage, as I am sure every one of you will draw them, from the great wisdom, sacrifice and foresight which enabled men like Marshall and Brandeis, Wise and Mack, Warburg and Weizmann and the many, many others to set aside differences and to achieve a program of joint action for Jewry. **Achievements of Jewry.**

We have a right to take courage, also, from the great achievements of Jewish organizations at home and abroad in the task of rehabilitation. We are united in recognizing the superb achievement made by our people in Palestine, in our admiration for the skill and devotion which has transformed the desert into the farm, the factory, the vineyard and the orange grove. We rejoice to know that there are today 600,000 Jewish people living under their own vine and fig tree. Jews throughout the world, and particularly in America, regardless of their ideologies, have been glad and proud to help in this epic achievement. And there are many in this room numbered among those to whom Jewry owes a deep debt of gratitude for this superb creation. We are as one in our concern for its preservation and upbuilding.

We look with pride on the great organizations that have functioned for the relief, the rescue and the rehabilitation of our brethren in so many quarters of the world. These organizations represent great achievement, and they are living demonstrations of the ability of Jews of all shades of belief to work together and to build together. One thinks of the far-flung activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, of the Hias, the Ort, the Hadassah in its *Aliyah* work, and of many other organizations.

Yes, we Jews have learned to work together, and there is abundant proof nearer home—in the Federations, the Welfare Funds of the various communities, in the theological institutions and the various cultural organizations that enrich our Jewish life. All this teaches us the lesson that we have done yeoman service for Jewry in all its needs in the past, and justifies the prophecy that we can do it in the future without compromise of one's deepest faith and convictions.

And there is another significance in the lesson of this collaboration. I have spoken of the necessary resettlements and rehabilitations that must follow this most destructive of wars. So vast has been this destruction, that these processes of re-creation assume proportions so great that they constitute a new and unprecedented problem for mankind. So titanic are the problems involved, so global are they in their nature, that we must enlist in their solution the active participation of the governments of the United Nations. These great agencies which I have mentioned, and of which we are so proud, will play their part, but basically the enterprise must be undertaken by the United Nations themselves.

Already under the leadership of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill a significant beginning has been made. And here, too, is another call for us to act unitedly in urging the development of this great step forward by which the United Nations will, through governmental action, rebuild a world of peace and humanity.

### Unity Without Uniformity.

My friends, we are in this Conference fellow-Jews and brethren. None of us is seeking to impose an intransigent will upon another. And while I have stressed the importance of unity of conduct, this

unity must be built in the area of our agreements. We cannot achieve this unity if any man is forced to act contrary to his principles. Under the terms of the organization of this Conference, we are all free agents, but that does not mean that we shall do less than our utmost to reach accord. Each of us has, according to his conscience, chosen the path along which he seeks to walk humbly with his God.

But, laying aside for the moment questions of ideology, all our paths lead to the same goal. The fundamental passion which animates us all is the preservation of Jewry and the preservation of the democratic way of life.

In the blood of each and every one of us is the law of Moses, the song of Miriam, the night of the Maccabees, the music of the psalmist and, as I pray, the wisdom of the Proverbs.

Ardently we believe that Judaism has been a most potent and determinative element in the development of civilization, and I hold the faith that Judaism and the Jewish tradition remain vitally a force in the development of that culture, that morality, that right-

ness which through the ages has raised and will hereafter for ages raise man from the beast nearer and nearer to the image of his Creator. That is why I so deeply hope that in this Conference we shall find the way to preserve this force of Judaism for the support and betterment of this great America of our love, for the advancement of the civilization of the world, and for the perpetuation of those great truths to which we all give devotion.

Finally, I voice the prayer that we may here devise a program to which every Jew may give adherence for the preservation of all that we hold dear in Jewish life and for the maintenance of the great traditions of Israel.

Fervently we pray and work for victory and a just peace; fervently we pray and work for unity in this Conference. If we can achieve that, we shall have done our part to realize the ancient prophecy of our people, the coming of the time when the sword shall be beaten into the plowshare and the spear into the pruning-hook, and when all the nations shall proclaim that the Eternal is one and His name is one.

The addresses by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Baruch Zuckerman, Gedalia Bublick and Jacob Weinberg will be printed in tomorrow's issue.

## Looking On

"In fact the Jews are dispersed over all countries and whoever hinders, that Israel is not collected, shall never see any good sign and shall not live with Israel and at the time which the Lord has appointed to be the limit of our woe and to exalt the horn of his anointed, every one shall come forth and shall say: I will lead the Jews and will assemble them."

From the Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela.

It is possible that on their long journeys to this Conference, some delegates crossing the Continent thought of the travels of the strange and adventurous merchant who, as early as the year 1160, set out to seek his brethren, to survey and confer with them in many parts of the world. Having in mind both geographical and ideological distances that are here to be encompassed, one's thoughts would not naturally turn to globe-trotters and explorers, if not to mind readers or their more scientific prototypes. And the geographical divisions are not inconsiderable, seeing that an event which is either ignored or treated skeptically or moderately in New York often becomes an ecstatic sensation in Cleveland, St. Louis, or Denver, and that the admirable and peace-loving Louis Lamed Foundation still ignores the acute problem of conciliating the Yiddish with the English Jewish press.

With the greetings and reunions between communal workers from different parts of the country assembled here will come prized recollections cherished by some of the older delegates of incidents and personalities of the first of the two great conclaves held by American Jewry within a memorable quarter of a century. The broken ranks within our leadership will cast their shadows athwart platform and auditorium; yet the closed eyes and stilled voices will render vision and utterance to Jewish loyalty and devotion and bear witness to that spirit of service and sacrifice that transcends all barriers, distances, and divisions. Shades and shadows out of the past invoking soul-stirring intellectual battles and conquests and new faces with only photographic recommendation, and as yet giving no inkling of latent powers within . . . Men and women still on trial . . . May they not be found wanting.

With surging memories of a people resisting oblivion and effacement, spectres again mingle with the spectators, famous visitors and onlookers, as those who haunt our yesterdays, today lending glamor to the scene. Once more artists, writers, interpreters and journalists stand in the wings and watch with a certain dismay the artistic blunders of reality and wonder why, with the abysmal depth of tragedy and all the dramatic elements abounding, the drama of Israel could not be so enacted as to break the callous heart of the world.

Vanishing figures of yesterday, beckoning, admonishing, blessing us amidst all these greetings, and here with complete unexpectedness comes the genial symbol incarnate of the Jewish salutation.

How did "Sholom Aleichem" himself come to the Conference? The answer is given by the delegate who travelled from a distant point in New England. He counted on a dining car, which, with present transit conditions, was never attached to the train on which he journeyed. Going without dinner he became unbearably hungry as the evening wore on. He sought relief in reading and turned again to the pages of Maurice Samuel's remarkable study *The World of Sholom Aleichem*. "But," said the delegate, "Tevye, the Dairy-man, like nearly all the denizens of Kasrievsky, was also hungry, always hungry and thirsty and famished. Well, that was too much for me. I laid the book aside and tried to get some comfort out of smoking and watching the scenery."

B. G. R.



# List of the Delegates Accredited to Conference

## Elected By Communities

- ALABAMA**  
Birmingham—  
Isaac Abelson  
Alabama Region—  
Simon T. Wampold
- ARKANSAS**  
Entire State—  
Rabbi Ira E. Sanders
- CALIFORNIA**  
Los Angeles—  
David Blumberg  
David Coleman  
David Familian  
Leib Glantz  
Rabbi Jacob Kohn  
Rabbi Max Nussbaum  
Mrs. Rebecca Rosenthal  
Dr. Nathan S. Saltzman  
Mrs. Adolph Sieroty  
Theodore Strimling  
Rabbi Osher Zilberstein  
Oakland—  
Harry J. Sapper  
So. Cal. Region—  
Judge Jacob Weinberger  
San Francisco—  
Mrs. Arthur A. Barnett  
Lloyd W. Dinkelspiel  
Jefferson E. Peyser  
Rabbi Saul E. White
- COLORADO**  
Colorado Region—  
Rabbi C. E. Hillel Kauvar  
Rabbi Manuel Laderman
- CONNECTICUT**  
Bridgeport—  
Judge Samuel Mellitz  
Hartford—  
Abraham Goldstein  
Rabbi I. Solomon Rosenberg  
Rabbi Morris Silverman  
Conn. Region—  
George L. Gans  
Samuel Umansky  
New Haven—  
Rabbi Louis Greenberg  
Max Livingston  
Louis Sachs  
Stamford—  
Rabbi David W. Pearlman  
Waterbury—  
Charles Rosengarten
- DELAWARE**  
Entire State—  
Milton Kutz
- DIST. OF COLUMBIA**  
Washington—  
Hyman Goldman  
E. I. Kaufmann  
Rabbi Joshua Klavan
- FLORIDA**  
Jacksonville—  
Abe Newman  
Miami—  
Rabbi Max Shapiro  
Harry Simonhoff  
Florida Region—  
D. J. Apte
- GEORGIA**  
Atlanta—  
Rabbi Harry H. Epstein  
Georgia Region—  
Judge Emanuel Lewis  
IDAHO (See State of Wash.)
- ILLINOIS**  
Chicago—  
Mrs. Robert L. Aronson  
Mrs. Harry Berkman  
Rabbi Benjamin Birnbaum  
Max Bressler  
Judge Oscar S. Caplan  
Sigmund W. David  
Albert K. Epstein  
Rabbi Ephraim Epstein  
Judge Harry M. Fisher  
Miss Pearl Franklin  
Harry N. Gottlieb  
Max A. Kopstein  
Milton J. Krensky  
Mrs. Felix A. Levy  
Sigmund Livingston  
Leo H. Lowitz  
Dr. Louis L. Mann  
Albert F. Mecklenburger  
Benjamin I. Morris  
Mrs. Aaron Osri  
Rabbi Gunther W. Plaut  
Dr. Herman Pomrenze  
Dr. David Rebelsky  
H. B. Ritman  
Dr. Bernard Rodin  
Joseph Rolnick  
Dr. David D. Sacks  
Benjamin Samuels  
Rabbi Saul Silber  
Samuel Wolberg
- Illinois Region—  
Dr. A. L. Sachar
- INDIANA**  
Indianapolis—  
Daniel Frisch  
Indiana Region—  
Maurice Tucker
- IOWA**  
Des Moines—  
Ellis I. Levitt  
Iowa Region—  
Rabbi H. R. Rabinowich  
Iowa-Illinois Region—  
Ad Estess
- KANSAS**  
Entire State—  
Joseph Cohen
- KENTUCKY**  
Louisville—  
Charles Strull  
Kentucky Region—  
Mrs. Hugo Bloomfield
- LOUISIANA**  
New Orleans—  
Isaac S. Heller  
Louisiana Region—  
S. L. Herold
- MAINE**  
Entire State—  
Phillip W. Lown
- MARYLAND**  
Entire State—  
Rabbi Nathan Drazin  
Dr. Louis L. Kaplan  
Rabbi Samuel Rosenblatt  
Dr. Herman Seidel  
Rabbi Abraham Shaw  
Simon E. Sobeloff  
Rabbi Israel Tabak
- MASSACHUSETTS**  
Boston—  
Judge Lewis Goldberg  
Isadore Kagan  
Samuel Kalesky  
Benjamin Geo. Leve  
Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman  
Judge Jennie Loitman  
Barron  
Rev. H. Leon Masovetsky  
Jacob Rabinovitz  
Judge David A. Rose  
Joseph I. Seifert  
Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow  
Elihu D. Stone  
David M. Watchmaker  
Chelsea—  
Rabbi Sidney S. Guthman  
Ruben H. Klainer  
Fall River-Brockton—  
New Bedford Region—  
David S. Schneierson  
Judge Samuel Barnett  
Dewey D. Stone  
Leominster Region—  
Harry Levine  
Lowell Region—  
Frank Goldman  
Lynn—  
Eli A. Cohen  
Malden—  
George D. Rossyn  
Springfield—  
Harry M. Ehrlich  
Worcester—  
Joseph Talamo
- MICHIGAN**  
Detroit—  
Rabbi Morris Adler  
Fred M. Butzel  
Aaron Droock  
Mrs. Joseph H. Ehrlich  
Rabbi Leon Fram  
Dr. B. Benedict Glazer  
Aaron Rosenberg  
Morris L. Schaver  
Daniel Temchin  
Rabbi Max J. Wohlgeleirnter  
Grand Rapids—  
Rabbi Jerome D. Folkman
- MINNESOTA**  
Minnesota Region—  
Aaron B. Horwitz  
Rabbi David Aronson  
Dr. Moses Barrno  
St. Paul—  
Mrs. Harry Rosenthal
- MISSISSIPPI**  
Entire State—  
Rabbi S. A. Rabinowitz
- MISSOURI**  
Kansas City—  
Jacob Brown  
Irvin Fane  
Mrs. Ernest Peiser  
St. Joseph Region—  
Louis Kranitz
- St. Louis (Incl. So. Ill.)—  
Israel R. Goodman  
Rabbi Julius Gordon  
Morris Jick  
Morris Shapiro  
Samuel I. Sievers  
M. J. Slonim
- NEBRASKA**  
Omaha and Council Bluffs—  
Rabbi David A. Goldstein  
Nebraska Region—  
Rabbi Harry Jolt
- NEVADA (See State of Wash.)**
- NEW HAMPSHIRE**  
Entire State—  
Abraham Machinist
- NEW JERSEY**  
Asbury Park Region—  
Charles Frankel  
Atlantic City—  
Joseph Halbert  
Bayonne—  
Edward Berman  
Bergen Region—  
Howard Mack  
Bridgeton Region—  
Max C. Schrank  
Camden—  
Rabbi Naftoly Riff  
Elizabeth—  
Rabbi Pinchas Teitz  
Jersey City—  
Dr. B. S. Pollak  
Dr. Benjamin Shwadran  
Newark—  
Nathan H. Brodsky  
Joel Gross  
Harry A. Pine  
Rabbi Joachim Prinz  
Mrs. Michael A. Stavitsky  
Judge William M. Untermann  
Ralph Wechsler  
Rabbi David H. Wice  
Oscar Chinich  
New Brunswick—  
Harry S. Fellar  
Passaic—  
Joseph A. Feder  
Paterson—  
Rabbi Bezael Cohen  
Abe J. Greene  
Perth Amboy—  
Judge Harry S. Medinets  
Plainfield Region—  
Edward Sachar  
Trenton—  
Israel Kramer  
West New York Region—  
Samuel Harber
- NEW MEXICO (See Utah)**
- NEW YORK**  
Albany—  
Samuel E. Aronowitz  
Buffalo and Niagara Falls—  
Hon. David Diamond  
Emil Rubenstein  
Mt. Vernon—  
Max Maccoby  
Newburgh Region—  
Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom  
New Rochelle—  
Robert Szo'd  
Poughkeepsie Region—  
Seymour Levine  
Nassau-Suffolk Region—  
Max Dof, Laurence  
Mrs. Samuel Golding  
Mrs. Mortimer Kroll  
Norman M. Beck  
Port Chester Region—  
Louis M. Shanok  
Rochester—  
Rabbi Philip Bernstein  
Joseph Goldstein  
Schenectady—  
Joseph Goodman  
Syracuse—  
J. Leo Feigenbaum  
Bernard G. Rudolph  
Utica Region—  
David Geffen  
White Plains—  
Herman Weisman  
Yonkers—  
Isidor Sack  
Brooklyn—  
Samuel Berson  
Samuel Bisgyer  
Gedaliah Bullick  
Aaron D. Burack  
Jesse Cohen  
Nathan Dinkes  
Jacob Dobzinsky  
H. Ehrenreich  
Dr. Miriam Freund  
Charles Getzler  
Philip Gingold  
Elias Ginsburg  
Mrs. Israel Goldstein  
Samuel Goldstein  
Abe Goodman
- Archie H. Greenberg  
Judge Emanuel Greenberg  
Louis J. Gribetz  
Rabbi Harry Halpern  
Moses H. Hoenig  
Mrs. Joseph Horowitz  
Abraham Krumbein  
Judge Edward Lazansky  
Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal  
Dr. C. Aaron Pinta  
Herman Neaderland  
Abraham A. Redelheim  
Jochanon I. Rudavsky  
Albert D. Schanzer  
Mrs. Abraham Shapiro  
William J. Siegel  
Edward S. Silver  
Kieve Skidell  
Abraham Spicehandler  
Mrs. Benjamin Spitzer  
Judge Meier Steinbrink  
Ruth Wartens  
Morris Zeldin  
Baruch Zuckerman
- Bronx—  
Benjamin Antin  
Meyer Brown  
Rabbi J. M. Charlop  
Samuel Duker  
Rabbi Simon Federbusch  
M. M. d'win Fertig  
Rabbi Joseph Gabriel  
Herman S. Gelbin  
Dr. Abraham Grossman  
Rabbi Meyer I. Herman  
Halpern Leivik  
Dr. Harris J. Levine  
Rabbi Israel Miller  
Mrs. Blanche Mogil  
Rabbi S. Morduchowitz  
Henry J. Perahia  
David Pinski  
Rabbi Solomon Reichman  
Dr. Louis Rosenblum  
Charles Rubinstein  
Max J. Schneider  
Miss Bertha Schwartz  
Mrs. Herman Shulman  
Rabbi Henry A. Schorr  
Isidor Teitelbaum
- Manhattan—  
Rabbi Bernard Bergman  
Teddy Cohen  
Mrs. Moses P. Epstein  
Louis Fabricant  
Jacob Fishman  
Dr. Israel Goldstein  
Hayim Greenberg  
Isaac Hamlin  
Mrs. Joseph Hamerman  
Herman Hoffman  
Rabbi Jacob Hoffman  
Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan  
Louis Lipsky  
Dr. Samuel Margoshes  
Rabbi Harold H. Mashioff  
Judge Nathan D. Perlman  
Herman Z. Quittman  
Hon. Morris Rothenberg  
Louis Segal  
Hon. Carl Sherman  
Herman Stern  
Herbert Sussman  
Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum  
David Wertheim  
Harry N. Wessel  
Benjamin Winter  
Dr. Stephen S. Wise  
Mrs. Stephen S. Wise
- Staten Island—  
Max Levy
- Queens—  
Mrs. Jules B'ankfein  
Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser  
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan  
Dr. Robert Gordis  
Mordecai Konowitz  
Jacob Marrus  
Rabbi Irving Miller  
Rabbi Mordecai A. Stern
- NORTH CAROLINA**  
Entire State—  
E. J. Evans
- NORTH & SOUTH DAKOTA**  
Entire Region—  
Hon. Harry Lashkowitz
- OHIO**  
Akron—  
Samuel Friedman  
Canton—  
Reuben R. Jacobson  
Cincinnati—  
Herbert R. Bloch  
Rabbi Samuel Wohl  
Cleveland—  
Rabbi B. R. Brickner  
Mrs. Julius Fryer  
Philmore Haber  
Mrs. Louis Kaufman  
Rabbi Israel Porath
- Rabbi Rudolph Rosenthal  
Ezra Shapiro  
Rabbi A. H. Silver  
Rabbi S. M. Zambrowsky
- Columbus—  
Albert Schiff
- Dayton—  
Leonard S. Becker
- Ohio Region—  
Samuel Deutsch
- Toledo—  
J. Eugene Farber
- Youngstown—  
Oscar H. Altschuler
- OKLAHOMA**  
Entire State—  
Julius Livingston
- OREGON**  
Portland—  
Zachary Swett
- PENNSYLVANIA**  
Eastern & Central Region—  
Michael Hanin  
Harrisburg—  
Gus Kaplan  
McKeesport—  
William Moldovan  
Philadelphia—  
Mrs. Oscar G. Bender  
Rabbi Solomon Bersel  
Frank Brown  
Sol Ferleger  
Dr. Hayim Fineman  
Benjamin Freedman  
Hon. William Gerber  
Abraham Gerbovoy  
Arnold Ginsburg  
Jacob Goldblum  
Rabbi Simon Greenberg  
Abraham Hofferan  
Jacob B. Hoffman  
Samuel Kratzok  
David Landes  
Mrs. Louis Levinthal  
Mrs. M. J. Lewis  
Joseph Ominsky  
Abraham Silver  
Mrs. N. E. Staller  
Alex F. Stanton  
Dr. Louis Wolsey  
S. Coatesville Region—  
Mark Sugarman  
Easton Region—  
Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg  
Pittsburgh—  
Rabbi A. M. Ashinsky  
Walter Burke  
Edgar J. Kaufmann  
Rabbi B. A. Lichter  
Charles J. Rosenbloom  
Eugene B. Strassburger  
Scranton—  
A. B. Cohen  
Butler Region—  
Emanuel Teitelbaum  
Rabbi Judah Washer  
Wilkes Barre, Pa.  
Aaron Weiss
- RHODE ISLAND**  
Rhode Island Region—  
Alter Boyman  
Entire State—  
Rabbi Morris Silk  
Mrs. Archibald Silverman
- SOUTH CAROLINA**  
Entire State—  
Hyman Rubin
- SOUTH DAKOTA (See N. Dakota)**
- TENNESSEE**  
Tennessee Region—  
George Berke  
Memphis—  
Hon. William Gerber  
Nashville—  
Mortimer May
- TEXAS**  
Austin Region—  
Prof. H. J. Ettlinger  
Dallas—  
E. M. Solow  
Ft. Worth Region—  
Abraham J. Brachman  
Houston—  
Joe Weingarten  
San Antonio—  
Ed Goldberg
- UTAH**  
Utah Region—  
James L. White
- VERMONT**  
Entire State—  
Arthur Gladstone
- VIRGINIA**  
Norfolk—  
Morton Cushner  
Richmond—  
Israel November  
Virginia Region—  
Julius Fisher  
(Continued on page eight)



## List of Conference Delegates

(Continued from page seven)

### WASHINGTON Seattle—

Morris A. Robbins  
Rabbi S. P. Wohlgelegen

### Washington Region— Rabbi Adolph Fink

### WEST VIRGINIA Entire State—

Rabbi Samuel Cooper

### WISCONSIN

Wisconsin Region—  
Rabbi David Shapiro

### Milwaukee—

H. M. Seidelman  
Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow  
Morris Weingrod

## National Organizations

### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF JEWS FROM CENTRAL EUROPE—

Rudolf Callman, New York

### AMERICAN FEDERATION FOR POLISH JEWS—

Dr. Simon Segal, New York

### AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Jacob Blaustein, Baltimore, Md.  
Judge Joseph M. Proskauer,  
New York  
Fred Lazarus, Jr., Columbus,  
Ohio

### AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Balti-  
more, Md.  
Jacob Leichtman, New York

### AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS —WOMEN'S DIVISION—

Miss Milly Brandt, New York  
Mrs. Lee Rosenthal, New York  
Mrs. Anna Center Schneider-  
man, New York

### B'NAI BRITH—

Sidney G. Kusworm,  
Dayton, Ohio

Henry Monsky, Omaha, Nebras-  
ka

Edwin J. Schanfarber, Colum-  
bus, Ohio

### B'NAI BRITH—WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL—

Mrs. Ida Cook Farber, Brooklyn  
Mrs. Maurice Turner, Chicago,  
Ill.

Mrs. Albert Woldman, Cleve-  
land, Ohio

### CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS—

Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof,  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincin-  
nati, Ohio

### COUNCIL OF JEWISH FRA- TERNAL FEDERATIONS—

David L. Meckler, New York

### FREE SONS OF ISRAEL—

Irving Fellerman, New York

Nathaniel Greenbaum, Brook-  
lyn, N. Y.

Max Ogust, New York

### HADASSAH—

Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, New  
York

Mrs. Edward Jacobs, New York

Mrs. David deSola Pool, New  
York

### HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA—

Herzl Rosenson, Chicago, Ill.

Isidor Margolis, Bronx, N. Y.

### HASHOMER HATZAIR—

Moshe Furmansky, New York

### HISTRADRUTH IVRITH, Inc.—

Samuel J. Borowsky, New York

### INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH ABRAHAM—

Isadore Apfel, New York

Max Silverstein, New York

Adolph Stern, New York

### INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH SHOLOM OF BALTIMORE—

Alexander Goodman, Baltimore,  
Md.

### INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH SHOLOM OF PHILADELPHIA—

Frank E. Bernstein, Brooklyn,  
N. Y.

Louis I. Gilgor, Philadelphia  
Pa.

Maxwell E. Verlin, Philadel-  
phia, Pa.

### JEWISH EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS—

(Nat'l Council for Jewish Edu-  
cation, Nat'l Federation of He-  
brew Teachers, American Ass'n  
for Jewish Education.)

Mark Eisner, New York

### JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE AND AFFILIATES—

(Jewish Labor Committee, Work-  
men's Circle, United Hebrew  
Trades, Forward Association,  
Jewish Socialist Verband, Left  
Poale Zion.)

Adolph Held, New York

N. Chanin, New York

Joseph Weinberg, New York  
I. Minkoff, New York  
Israel Feinberg, New York  
I. H. Goldberg  
Abraham Miller, New York  
B. Sherman, New York  
R. Guskin, New York  
H. Farber, Los Angeles  
Julius Weisberg, Cleveland, Ohio  
Jacob Siegel, Chicago, Ill.  
M. Bialis, Chicago, Ill.  
Harry Berger, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Joseph Bernstein, Detroit, Mich.  
Leon Arkin, Boston, Mass.

### JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS ALLIANCE—

Sol Burstein, New York

Abraham Margulis, Brooklyn,  
N. Y.

Meyer Weisgal, New York

### JEWISH WAR VETERANS—

J. George Fredman, Jersey City,  
N. J.

Benjamin Kaufman, New York

Harry H. Schaffer, Pittsburgh,  
Pa.

### JEWISH WAR VETERANS— NATIONAL LADIES AUXILIARY—

Mrs. Henrietta L. Kraditor,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mrs. Rae K. Schoenberg, Bridge-  
port, Conn.

### JEWISH WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS—

(Yiddish Writers Union; Yid-  
dish P.E.N. Club)

Moishe Rivlin, Brooklyn, N. Y.

### LEAGUE FOR LABOR PALESTINE—

Joseph Schlossberg, New York

### MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA—

Leon Gellman, New York

Rabbi Wolf Gold, New York

Rabbi Max Kirshblum, New  
York

### MIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANI- ZATION OF AMERICA—

Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Brook-  
lyn, N. Y.

Mrs. S. Rabinowitz, Bronx,  
N. Y.

Mrs. Max S. Rosenfeld, New  
York

### NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN—

Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman, San  
Francisco, Cal.

Mrs. Karl J. Kaufman, Pitts-  
burgh, Pa.

Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, Detroit,  
Mich.

### NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL—

Irving M. Bunim, New York

J. David Delman, New York

Harry G. Fromberg, New York

### NATIONAL FEDERATION OF JEWISH MEN'S CLUBS OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA—

Rabbi Max D. Klein, Philadel-  
phia, Pa.

### NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS—

Samuel B. Finkel, New York

Charles P. Kramer, New York

Roger W. Straus, New York

### NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS—

Jane Evans, New York

Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Winnet-  
ka, Ill.

Mrs. Louis Rosett, New Roch-  
elle, N. Y.

### NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF UNITED SYNAGOGUE—

Mrs. Morris Klein, New York

Mrs. Barnet Kopelman, New  
York

Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, New York

### ORDER SONS OF ZION—

Hymen J. Fliegel, Brooklyn,  
N. Y.

Louis Rinsky, New York

Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt,  
New York

### PIONEER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION—

Miriam Gingold, Union Pier,  
Michigan

Sara Feder, Columbia, Mo.

Dvorah Rothbard, New York

### POALE-ZION—

Samuel Bonchek, New York

Max J. Silverberg, New York

Abraham Revutsky, Yonkers,  
N. Y.

### PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST—

Carl M. Dubinsky, St. Louis,  
Mo.

Sol Goldman, St. Louis, Mo.

### RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA—

Dr. Louis M. Levitsky, Newark,  
N. J.

Dr. Louis Epstein, Brookline,  
Mass.

### RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA—

Rabbi William Drazin, Savan-  
nah, Ga.

Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein,  
New York

### UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS—

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath,  
Cincinnati, Ohio

Robert P. Goldman, Cincinnati,  
Ohio

Adolph Rosenberg, Cincinnati,  
Ohio

### UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS—

Benjamin Koenigsberg, New  
York

Dr. Samuel Nirenstein, New  
York

M. Morton Rubenstein, New  
York

### UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS —WOMEN'S BRANCH—

Mrs. Isidor Freedman, New  
York

Mrs. Elizabeth Isaacs, Yonkers,  
N. Y.

### UNION OF SEPHARDIC CONGREGATIONS, Inc. —

Dr. David deSola Pool, New  
York

### UNITED GALICIAN JEWS OF AMERICA—

Louis Flashenberg, New York

### UNITED ROUMANIAN JEWS OF AMERICA—

Charles Sonnenreich, New York

### UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA—

Herman P. Koppmann, Hart-  
ford, Conn.

Louis J. Moss, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Samuel Rothstein, New York

### YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS—

(A.Z.A. of B'nai Brith, Young  
People's League of United Syna-  
gogue of America, National  
Federation of Temple Youth,  
National Council of Jewish  
Juniors, Junior Hadassah, Junior  
Mizrachi, Massada, Avukah, Ha-  
shomer Hadati, Hillel Founda-  
tion.)

Naomi Chertoff, New York

Samuel Melnick, Philadelphia,  
Pa.

William V. Suckle, Cambridge,  
Mass.

Gertrude Summer, Brooklyn,  
N. Y.

### ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA—

Dr. Solomon Goldman, Chicago,  
Ill.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Phil-  
adelphia, Pa.

Herman Shulman, New York

### ELECTION REPORT

(Continued from page two)

that all elections were to be con-  
cluded not later than July 1. The  
last community election was held  
in Worcester, Mass., on July 25,  
where a direct popular vote was  
conducted. The last election in  
Greater New York was held in  
Manhattan on June 30, but most  
of the elections were disposed of  
by July 1. The Board was called  
upon to adjust differences of opin-  
ion that arose in various districts,  
including Newark, Nassau-Suffolk,  
Long Island, and in Sacramento.  
The last contest was disposed of  
on Friday, August 27, when the  
Board recessed to await the plea-  
sure of this Conference.

Appreciations are due to the  
members of the Board, especially  
to Mr. Charles P. Kramer and to  
Miss Lillie Shultz, its Secretary;  
to the members of the Secretariat,  
Mr. Maurice Bisgyer, Miss Jane  
Evans, Miss Lillie Shultz, and  
Mr. M. Weisgal and to Mr. Jesse  
B. Calmenson, Administrative Sec-  
retary, as well as to the entire  
staff of the National office who  
gave their full cooperation under  
difficult circumstances.

The success of the enterprise,  
in greater measure, was due, how-  
ever, to the local and regional  
Election Committees without  
whose intelligent support we  
would not now be facing after 25  
years, the most representative  
gathering of the Jews of America  
prepared to grapple with problems  
vital to the future of the Jewish  
people.

For the record, I submit the  
names of the members of the  
Board: Juliet Benjamin, Miss Jane  
Evans, Robert P. Goldman, George  
Hexter, Charles P. Kramer, Rabbi  
Max Kirshblum, David Sher, Lillie  
Shultz, Secretary, Simon Shetzer,  
Alexander Stanton, Morris Wald-  
man (represented at various times  
by the late David Rosenblum),  
David Wertheim, and the under-  
signed.

LOUIS LIPSKY  
Chairman

## Address by Dr. Wise

(Continued from page five)

in the Lincoln-like humanity of  
the foremost leader of free men  
in the world today, Franklin De-  
lano Roosevelt. This body of de-  
legated and widely representative  
American Jews, dedicated to the  
triumph of our nation's cause, de-  
clares its deep and unchangeable  
confidence in the integrity and  
good-will of its Commander-in-  
Chief. This Conference trusts that,  
in response to the deepest prompt-  
ings of humanity and in com-  
pliance with the will of the Ame-  
rican people, our President, to-  
gether with Prime Minister  
Churchill, will insist upon the ac-  
celeration of the tempo of rescue  
and take the lead in performing  
the supremely imperative task of  
Jewish rescue with that unwith-  
standable resolve which is become  
the habit of their great souls.

It may even be that this Con-  
ference will see fit to deputize a  
small group of its members to  
confer with the President during  
the period of the Conference so  
that it may be in direct touch  
with our country's President and  
Commander-in-Chief and receive  
from him such healing assurance  
as will satisfy the heart of the  
American Jewish community and  
our broken brothers across the  
seas that nothing will be left un-  
done to save in one or another  
way the limited number of the  
surviving whom prompt rescue  
alone can keep from joining the  
armies of the Jewish dead.

Yesterday, in the Synagogue,  
the words were read: "Behold, I  
set before you this day a blessing  
and a curse." The evil and the  
curse have been throughout this  
bitter and awful year. The good  
and the blessing may be if we  
here resolve that what our dead,  
the innumerable army of our dead,  
ask of us is only what a self-  
reverencing people may be and  
do and achieve, the reparation of  
security for the living in a world  
of freedom. Such blessing may it  
be ours to help to gain for all our  
people!

This is the soul of goodness in  
things evil, would we but know-  
ingly distill it out. The soul of  
goodness to be distilled out of  
the evil of the past year is not  
merely the physical rescue of the  
surviving, but the unity of Jew-  
ish life in our country, striving  
earnestly and devoutly for the de-  
liverance and the unchallenged  
freedom of the Jewish people  
wherever they may dwell. "Be-  
hold, I set before you this day  
a blessing and a curse." We  
choose the blessing for our coun-  
try and for Israel.

### CONFERENCE DIRECTORY Hotel Waldorf-Astoria

1. Registration—Astor Gallery  
(third floor).
2. Information and Delegate Ser-  
vice—Main lobby of the Grand  
Ballroom.
3. Synagogue—Room 4-Y (fourth  
floor).
4. Press Department—East Rooms  
A and B.
5. Kosher Restaurants—A list of  
kosher restaurants in New York  
City will be at the disposal of  
the delegates at the Informa-  
tion and Delegate Service Desk.

### RELIGIOUS SERVICES

The Conference synagogue will  
be open for services beginning  
Monday morning, in Room 4-Y  
(fourth floor). The schedule of  
services is as follows:

- Daily morning services (shach-  
rith), 8:30 A. M.
- Daily evening services (min-  
cha and maariv), 7:30 P. M.
- Special services and Mincha will  
be held today (Monday, August  
30). Erev Rosh Hodesh Elul  
YOM KIPUR KATAN, under  
the auspices of the Rabbinical  
Council of America.

## Some Statistics About the Delegates

A compilation of biographical data concerning the composi-  
tion of the 500 delegates to the American Jewish Conference  
reveals the legal profession has contributed by far the largest  
quota of representatives to the historic convocation. Its members  
constitute 27% of the delegates, while rabbis come second with  
20%. Delegates engaged in business and trade constitute 16%. A  
comparatively small number of delegates come from the ranks  
of professional workers in Jewish organizations of various types,  
including labor unions. This last group is numerically equalled by  
delegates who are engaged in the newspaper and writing profes-  
sion. The list of professions represented in the delegation in-  
cludes educators, physicians, judges and miscellaneous fields such  
as chemists, engineers, etc. Thirteen percent of the delegates  
are women.

The legal profession is represented by 136 delegates, including  
11 judges at present occupying places on the bench in various  
parts of the country. The total number of rabbis among the  
delegates is 98. Professional workers in organizations and labor  
unions are represented by 22 delegates; writers, editors and  
journalists by 20. There are 8 physicians and dentists, and 6 de-  
legates engaged in the teaching profession.

Approximately 81 delegates are engaged in a wide variety  
of business activities. This classification includes banking, account-  
ing, manufacturing, retailing, wage earners, etc. The largest pro-  
portion of the women delegates—of whom there are 66—are  
married and not engaged in any business or professional activity.

Several of the delegates are civil service workers in the  
Federal, State and Municipal branches. Former office holders in  
the various branches of government are included among the  
delegates.

The ages of the delegates range from the youngest, William  
V. Suckle, 21 years old, representing youth organizations, to the  
"oldest American Zionist," Dr. Harry Friedenwald, of Baltimore,  
Md., who is 78 years old, and the venerable rabbi A. M. Ashinsky  
of Pittsburgh, who is 76.

The average age of the delegates is approximately 49 years.



# CONFERENCE RECORD

The Daily Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference

NUMBER 5

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## CONFERENCE ENDS 5-DAY SESSION

### Action Taken on Rescue And Postwar Status of Jews

At its concluding sessions on Thursday afternoon and evening, September 2, the American Jewish Conference adopted a series of resolutions setting forth proposals for immediate aid to the Jews of Europe as well as a program to establish the fundamental rights of Jews in the postwar world.

During its five day assembly at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria, New York, which began on Sunday afternoon, August 29, the Conference, composed of 502 elected representatives of the Jews of America, considered and recommended action "on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world" as well as "upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine." The latter took the form of a resolution demanding the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate for Palestine "whose intent and underlying purpose was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth."

An Interim Committee was elected to implement the decisions of the Conference, with authority to reconvene the Conference when it is deemed necessary and expedient. The next session, however, must be called within a year.

#### THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The eighth plenary session of the Conference convened at 2:45 on the afternoon of Thursday, September 2. Judge Louis E. Levinthal, who presided, presented a summary of the procedure adopted by the General Committee with regard to the introduction of resolutions and pointed out that the resolutions adopted by the various committees were to be considered by the General Committee as to their relevancy in connection with the original call for the Conference. In answer to criticism as to the absence of opportunity of discussion from the floor of the matters in the agenda, Judge Levinthal, emphasized the efforts that were being made to provide the opportunity for such discussion at this and the final session in the evening.

The first speaker of the session was Rabbi Wolf Gold, speaking for the Mizrahi Organization, who referred to the inspiring demonstration which had followed the adoption of the Palestine resolution at the previous session. Rabbi Gold dwelt on the deep religious feeling which had been the inspiration for many vital achievements in the history of America and stated his conviction that religious America would understand the appeal of the Jews for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine more than any other section of the population.

"I therefore urge," he said, "that the religious element, that the Tenach, that the Torah should be presented together with our demands because we base our demands upon the Torah."

"Our program is not the program of a party, of the Mizrahi. It is the greatest political program when we say the Land of Israel for the People of Israel, according to the Torah of Israel, and only according to the Torah of Israel."

"We have a righteous claim; we have a real, just demand. The world will understand it. Fearlessly, courageously, we can come to the religious world and say—and especially to religious America—'Give us that which God gave to us; make right a wrong of thousands of years.'"

Following Rabbi Gold's address, Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman,

president of the National Council of Jewish Women, presented the viewpoint of her organization on the question of Jewish life in the post-war world. Mrs. Goldman said:

"The interest of the National Council of Jewish Women is not only an academic one, we have a grave responsibility toward the whole problem of the Jew today, tomorrow and always. We speak primarily in the field of rehabilitation because that is the field in which we have worked for a period of fifty years. At the time of the Russian pogroms and atrocities, which was almost fifty years ago, our organization set up machinery in order to take care of those unfortunate souls who might find their way to the shores of America. Unfortunately, that machinery has had to keep oiled and has been in use from that day until now. After the first World War, our eyes were turned toward Europe, for there, too, we found the migrants floundering and needing assistance to reach a future home. Today it is impossible to talk of rehabilitation in terms of one country alone. We must see to it that the doors of every country in the world remain open to the migrants who wish to enter. We must see to it that no machinery is put in motion such as, may I say, the atrocities of the White Paper, which will close the doors of Palestine to immigration."

"We must go further and just see that doors are left open. We must provide for that one group which in the National Council of Jewish Women is the focal point of all of our thinking, the union, the completion, and the continued unity of a family group."

"We must today enlarge our pattern so that after this horrible war is over we will see that families again are united just as the National Council of Jewish Women helped to unite tens of thousands of families after the Russian pogroms. We realize that this is not only important but part of the province of our organization. Rehabilitation is practical in addition to being idealistic. In our office today we are keeping a master file so that it will be possible to find a relative, a husband, a child, or a mother or another

member of the family, so that together they can make arrangements to rejoin and start again on a new life.

"We believe sincerely that this post-war period must be one in which we will once and for all time establish the rights of the Jews in the world at large, which, naturally, will include the rights of the Jew in Palestine."

#### Postwar Problems

The next business before the delegates was the report of the Committee on Post-war Problems. The Chairman of that committee Rabbi Irving Miller, told the delegates that due to the vastness of the problems being discussed by the committee, only a partial report was ready at the time, the other sections to be brought to the floor as completed. He expressed the thanks of the committee to the experts who had been assigned to it; Dr. Jacob Robinson, Director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs; Dr. Arie Tartakower and Rabbi Maurice L. Perlsweig of the World Jewish Congress; Mr. Carl Sherman of the American Jewish Congress, and Dr. Simon Segal of the American Jewish Committee. The resolutions so far completed were then read to the delegates by Professor Hayim Fineman, vice-chairman of the committee. Following the reading of the first three resolutions on the Political Status of the Jews in the Post-war World, objection was raised from the floor to the effect that since an amendment to the resolutions was pending, their consideration should be postponed until the General Com-

mittee had passed on the amendment. Following a protracted discussion the chairman ruled that the interests of the Conference would be best served by a later consideration of the resolutions.

Professor Fineman then proceeded to the reading of the fourth resolution on "Transition from War to Peace," which called for immediate abrogation of all discriminatory measures; recognition of the right of refugees to return to their homes; recognition of the right of indemnification, and detention of all Axis criminals.

In the discussion on the resolution, Mr. A. Spicehandler, a Brooklyn delegate, raised the point that the resolution should contain a provision providing that payments of indemnification should be made to Jewish representations in the various countries. To this Rabbi Miller replied that the function of the resolution was solely to establish a principle on the basis of which a claim can be made before the competent agencies. Following the discussion the resolution was unanimously adopted.

#### Budget and Finance

Judge Emanuel Lewis of Savannah put before the delegates the resolution of the Budget Committee which recommended that the funds required for the Conference activities be contributed by the communities of the country on a proportional basis. In the debate that followed Mr. M. J. Slonim of St. Louis, Mo., in support of the resolution, made the point that in some communities organizations and groups had refused to continue financial support and had

refused to pay the expenses of delegates. He urged that all delegates, on their return to their communities, do everything possible to insure financial support, and expressed the hope that a permanent organization would be born out of the Conference. Albert D. Schanzer of Brooklyn asked that the resolution take into consideration the agency that would be charged with the responsibility for raising the necessary funds. In reply Mr. Abraham Machinist of Manchester, N. H., a member of the committee, stated that it was the feeling of the committee that the money should come from the communal or regional sections. Rabbi Louis Swichkow of Milwaukee asserted his view that the resolution as presented was too vague and that a concrete and practical proposal should be made. In reply, Judge Lewis pointed out that in different communities different methods of fund-raising might be required and asserted that the resolution as it stood set forth the principle that each community should participate.

The spirited debate continued with remarks by Mr. Spicehandler of Brooklyn who urged that the treasury of the United Jewish Appeal be asked to cover the costs. The Chair ruled the motion out of order and then recognized Mr. Israel Kramer of Trenton, N. J., who raised a question as to the sources of the current expenses of the Conference. Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal of New York, a member of the Secretariat, explained that the expenses had been covered by contributions from organizations

(Continued on page two)

### Closing Moments of the Conference



Chairman Monsky declares the Conference stands recessed following the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and Hatikvah.



# Program for Postwar Rights of Jews Adopted

(Continued from page one)

participating in the Conference and by registration fees of delegates. Arguing in support of the resolution Mr. Weisgal expressed his belief that the resolution covered all the necessary points and that the method of implementation would be carried out by any incoming body charged with carrying out the work.

Following the protracted discussion the resolution was voted on and carried almost unanimously.

## Statement of Hashomer Hatzair

The floor was taken by Moshe Furmansky of New York, representing the Hashomer Hatzair who made a statement defining his organization's position in relation to the Palestine resolution of the Conference. Greeting with satisfaction the growth of the "overwhelming Zionist sentiment of the American Jewish community," the speaker also noted the "growing democratization of the American Jewish community as embodied by this Conference." The speaker, however, asked to go on record as having abstained from voting on the Palestine resolution and declared that the resolution "runs counter to our conception of Zionist policies." Mr. Furmansky then quoted the text of the statement of policy submitted by the Hashomer Hatzair to the delegates, recommending the political independence of Palestine along bi-national lines, based on "political parity" for Jews and Arabs. "It is the conception of the Jewish Commonwealth which we as Zionists do not accept," he said.

There was animated and at times angry protest from the floor against the speaker's statements, voiced particularly by Rabbis Aaron D. Burack of Brooklyn and Bernard Bergman of New York. Rabbi Jacob Kohn of Los Angeles and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver pleaded for tolerance and for the right of the speaker to continue in the democratic atmosphere of the Conference.

Pointing out that if the Hashomer Hatzair wished to dissent it had the right to do so as had any other organization within the framework of the Conference, the Chairman, Judge Levinthal, then announced that the Committee on Post-war Problems was ready to present the first three resolutions which had been awaiting action on a proposed minority amendment.

## International Bill of Rights

Professor Fineman for the committee then presented the first three resolutions calling for full protection for all inhabitants of all countries without discrimination; unequivocal equality of rights; religious, ethnic and cultural rights; the outlawing of anti-Semitism; and the establishment of machinery to effect and safeguard these objectives. The amendment which was proposed was then read by the speaker, providing that Jews, provided they live in large and compact settlements, should enjoy the legal status of other religious, ethnic and cultural groups; should be permitted to organize into communities recognized by public law and vested with authority to maintain and supervise their own cultural and religious activities, and should be permitted to levy taxes on their members for their legally recognized needs.

The amendment was vigorously debated from the floor. Mr. Charles B. Sherman of New York, representing the Jewish Labor Committee, urged the adoption of the amendment as the only way to safeguard the rights of European Jews as minority groups, as had been recognized by the American Jewish Congress in 1918 and as had been the position carried to the Peace Conference by the

Jewish delegation at Versailles. Mr. Sherman quoted the memorandum submitted by the Jewish delegation at the Peace Conference which stated that without minority rights the Jews in Poland, Rumania and other states "would incur the danger of annihilation of their ancient civilization" and would be "compelled to submit to complete absorption."

Opposing the amendment, Mr. Louis J. Gribetz of Brooklyn argued that the amendment granted no additional rights but tended to limit the rights already embraced in the resolution as submitted by the committee. He attacked the amendment further on the ground that from the legal point of view it is better to have a right without limitation, such as is contained in the resolution.

Dr. Simon Segal of New York, as an expert for the committee, attacked the amendment on the ground that "such specific clauses inserted at this time . . . would do more harm than good." Dr. Segal maintained that in the absence of knowledge of the situation of the world after the war it would be wise policy to be as general as possible in regard to Jewish demands, since specific demands may have no relevancy after the war. Opposition to the amendment was also expressed by Mr. Jacob Hoffman of Philadelphia.

Mr. Abraham Revusky of Yonkers, N. Y. attacked the amendment on the ground that it was not thoroughly thought out and, while it was in place twenty-five years, was now out of date. Citing possible changes in population figures, he urged that the amendment be sent back to the Committee for clarification. This suggestion being ruled out of order, the amendment was put to a vote and was defeated. The original resolution was then voted on and adopted almost unanimously.

Professor Fineman then presented the resolutions on the questions of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction which were adopted without discussion.

(The text of the resolutions on postwar problems is printed elsewhere in this issue.)

## Committee on Rescue Action

The Chairman introduced Mr. Louis Fabricant, Chairman of the Committee on Rescue, who before reading the text of the resolution submitted by the committee expressed gratitude to the experts attached to the committee, among them Dr. Perlzweig and Dr. Leon Kubowitzki of the World Jewish Congress and Dr. Max Gottschalk of the American Jewish Committee. The resolution contained a moving recital of the plight of the "four million Jews who survive in Axis Europe" and "who live daily in the shadow of an inexorable doom," and expressed its deep concern over the failure of the democracies to "institute sustained and vigorous action to rescue those who may yet be saved." A demonstration from the delegates followed the reading of the clause in the resolution demanding that Jewish refugees reaching Palestine be permitted to establish permanent homes in that country. The resolution asked for the help of neutral nations and for the creation of a special inter-governmental agency to deal with the problem.

Rabbi Max Nussbaum of Los Angeles spoke in support of the motion which was then unanimously adopted.

Following the adoption of the resolution Rabbi Wohlgelernter of Seattle, Wash., attempted to introduce a minority resolution but was ruled out of order by the Chair. Pending a determination of the propriety of the consideration of the minority report, Mr. Fabricant proceeded to the reading of the third resolution of the

committee. That resolution, calling on the governments of the United Nations to assist in the rescue of children, was unanimously adopted without debate.

## Committee on Organization

Judge Meier Steinbrink of Brooklyn, chairman of the Committee on Organization, presented a resolution calling for the establishment of an Interim Committee to continue the work of the Conference until its next sessions which was to be held within twelve months. Judge Morris Rothenberg proposed an amendment to the resolution providing that the reconvening of the Conference may be extended beyond a year. In the debate on the amendment the question was raised by Mr. Louis Jurin of California as to whether the resolution was permissible under the terms of the original Call for the Conference. The Chairman ruled that the resolution for the establishment of an Interim Committee was in order and its adoption was a matter for the delegates to decide. On a motion by Mr. Jacob Fishman of New York, Judge Rothenberg's amendment was tabled and the debate on the original resolution continued.

In opposition to the resolution, Mr. Samuel E. Aronowitz of Albany argued that many of the communities would have refused to take part in the Conference if they thought that an attempt would be made to create a permanent organization, which, he thought, the resolution was endeavoring to accomplish "by indirection." Amid considerable interruption and outcries from the floor Mr. Aronowitz continued his appeal to defeat the resolution, asserting that its passage would shatter the unity which the Conference had achieved.

Mr. Herman L. Weisman of White Plains, N. Y. offered an amendment to the resolution requiring that the Interim Committee cooperate with other organizations and agencies in the implementation of the decisions reached by the Conference.

Following the adoption of the amendment, the debate on the resolution was continued by Mr. Jefferson Peyser of San Francisco who opposed adoption on the ground that the delegates had

been sent to the Conference to perform a specific function and that the continuation of the Conference was beyond the authority of the delegates. In support of the resolution Miss Jane Evans of New York presented her opinion that the full duty of the delegates would be achieved only by the appointment of an Interim Committee which would report back to the delegates constituting the Conference.

Mr. Aaron Droock of Detroit also spoke in support of the resolution, following which a vote was taken and the resolution was adopted.

The session was then adjourned.

## THURSDAY EVENING SESSION.

The ninth plenary session of the Conference was convened at 8:30 p. m. Mr. Henry Monsky was in the chair. The delegates adopted a motion by Judge Steinbrink on behalf of the Organization Committee memorializing the Interim Committee with the request that the youth organizations be given consideration in the selection of eight delegates who are to be members-at-large.

Mr. Fabricant for the Rescue Committee then presented the balance of his report, consisting of Part 2 of the resolution on Rescue. That section of the resolution provided that the Interim Committee be authorized to cooperate with all existing relief organizations and with the representatives of European Jewries and make representations to governmental authorities. The motion was seconded by Mr. Droock and a supporting speech was made by Rabbi Wohlgelernter who expressed the hope that the Interim Committee would view the implementation of rescue work as one of its major duties. The resolution was unanimously adopted, as was the entire report of the Rescue Committee. (All the resolutions are printed elsewhere in this issue.)

## Postwar Committee's Report

Professor Fineman for the Committee on Post-war Problems presented the balance of the committee's resolution asking the recognition of the United Nations' agen-

cies for Jewish representation. The resolution was adopted without discussion or dissent.

On a point of order raised by Rabbi Pinchas Teitz of Elizabeth, N. J., as to whether the rights demanded were to be asked for after the war or presented immediately to the governments in exile, Rabbi Irving Miller emphasized that the committee sought to establish a principle in accordance with instructions contained in the call to the Conference, and that the implementation of the demands made would be left in the hands of the Interim Committee.

## Greetings to Dr. Weizmann

Judge Levinthal was recognized by the chair to read the message of the Conference to Dr. Chaim Weizmann pledging its support in the task of the redemption of the Jewish people. The message was adopted by the delegates with enthusiastic applause.

## Labor Zionist Statement

Speaking in Yiddish, Mr. David Wertheim presented the following declaration on behalf of the Labor Zionist group:

"It has been our fervent hope that, true to the urgent desire of American Jewry to attain unity of action in all its fields of endeavor, the American Jewish Conference would achieve the unification of American Jewry for all the great tasks facing it at home and abroad.

"American Jewry has witnessed several attempts to introduce coordination and unity into its organized life, the most recent of which was the establishment of the General Jewish Council. These attempts failed largely because they lacked the democratic character which is the outstanding feature of this Conference.

"We note with regret that the General Committee of the Conference is not yet ready to respond in a practical and concrete manner to the craving of American Jews for unity of action and to the grave needs of the present hour. We therefore deemed it advisable, in the spirit of compromise, to bring before the General Committee a moderate resolution stating that the Conference must at least establish a committee which shall study the problem of broadening the scope of the American Jewish Conference to include all general aspects of Jewish life in America and abroad, as well as of extending its life-span. This resolution was not favored by the majority of the General Committee, but we were granted the right—since there were at least ten members of the committee who supported our proposal—to bring it as a minority resolution to the plenary session of the Conference.

"The Labor Zionist group has decided not to force a discussion of this issue at this late hour. But we feel duty-bound to state our conviction that the highest interest of the Jewish community in America demand that an end be put to the waste of energy and duplication which result from the existence of several agencies engaged in duplicating activity.

"It is our desire, and we are convinced that it is also the desire of the bulk of American Jewry, that the American Jewish Conference, which is the all-inclusive representative of all American Jews, should become the agency which shall regulate, coordinate and seek to unify the separate activities in the fields which are of vital import to the Jews in America and the world over. It is our hope that the view of our group will prevail at the forthcoming session, following a period of cooperation within the framework of the resolutions adopted at this Conference.

"This first session of the American Jewish Conference has al-

(Continued on page three)

## INTERIM COMMITTEE

(Elected by American Jewish Conference)

### GENERAL ZIONIST GROUP

Judge Louis E. Levinthal  
Dr. Israel Goldstein  
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Dr. James G. Heller  
Robert Szold  
Dr. Solomon Goldman

Daniel Frisch  
Judge Morris Rothenberg  
Herman Shulman  
Harry A. Pine  
Judith Epstein  
Rose Halperin

### AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Dr. Stephen S. Wise  
Louis Lipsky  
Carl Sherman  
Rabbi Irving Miller  
Mrs. Stephen S. Wise  
Prof. Hyman Ettlinger

Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow  
Sigmund W. David  
Herman Hoffman  
Herman Stern  
Simon Segal

### B'NAI BRITH

Henry Monsky  
David Blumberg  
Frank Goldman  
Sidney Kusworm

Mrs. Maurice Turner  
Julius Livingston  
Maurice Bisgyer

### RELIGIOUS NATIONAL ORTHODOX BLOC

Gedalia Bublick  
Rabbi S. Federbush  
Mrs. B. J. Goldstein

Rabbi William B. Drazin  
J. David Delman  
Dr. Samuel Nirenstein

### LABOR ZIONIST BLOC

Prof. Hayim Fineman  
Devorah Rothbard  
Louis Segal

David Wertheim  
Baruch Zuckerman

### NON-PARTISAN GROUP

Edgar J. Kaufmann  
George Fredman

Isidor Sack  
Mrs. M. L. Goldman

### REFORM RELIGIOUS GROUP

Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath

Charles P. Kramer

### CONSERVATIVE RELIGIOUS GROUP

Louis J. Moss

Dr. Louis M. Levitsky

The Conference voted to authorize the Interim Committee to name eight additional members-at-large with the recommendation that one of the places be allotted to the youth organizations.



# CLOSING PROCEEDINGS

(Continued from page two)

ready demonstrated that what was unattainable by means of protracted negotiations of various bodies on one vital problem was made possible at the Conference, thanks to its democratic character. We are determined to continue our efforts for the idea of transferring the American Jewish Conference into the supreme agency of American Jewish life, unrestricted in its scope and unlimited in its duration."

Mr. Rudolph Callman, representing the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe addressed the delegates and urged them to aid in having the stigma of "enemy alien" removed from Central European Jews now in the United States.

## General Resolutions

Mr. Mortimer May of Nashville, Tenn., on behalf of the Resolutions Committee, presented a series of resolutions expressing the thanks of the Conference to the English, Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press for the complete coverage they had given to the Conference; to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel for its hospitality and cooperation; to the volunteer and professional staff of the Conference for its loyal work, and to the organizations which had contributed their personnel to the work of the Conference.

The delegates and audience rose and applauded Mr. May's resolu-

and faith which are embodied in our Holy Bible.

"From the platform of this historic American Jewish Conference where is being forged the beginning of a unified Israel, we issue a call to all Jews to return once more to the ancient Jewish sources so as to strengthen the foundations of Jewish faith which are also the foundations of all humanity, and to disseminate the study of the Torah wherever Jews live—for without Torah and faith the Jew cannot survive.

"As at the time of Neila when all Israel cries out 'The Lord our God is One' and 'Next Year in Jerusalem,' so at this moment the call of the National Religious Bloc is: Faith in the God of Israel, sacrifice for all Israel and for the Land of Israel."

The Chairman introduced Judge Harry M. Fisher of Chicago to the assembly. Judge Fisher in a moving address expressed the deep loyalty of American Jewry to the United States and voiced his hope of the Jews for a speedy and complete triumph over the Axis.

## Appreciation to Leaders

Mr. Charles Kramer for the General Committee offered the thanks of the Conference to Mr. Louis Lipsky for his indefatigable labors as Chairman of the National Board of Elections. Gratitude, too, was expressed to the following for their loyal endeavors: The members of the Secretariat—Maurice Bisgyer, Jane Evans, Lillie Schultz and Meyer W. Weisgal; Jesse B. Calmenson, Administrative Secretary; the Committee on Preliminary Studies under the chairmanship of Rabbi Milton Steinberg and Samuel Caplan, Executive Editor of the Conference Record.

Mr. Kramer then presented a resolution acknowledging the invaluable part played by Mr. Henry Monsky in the summoning of the Conference and for his fairminded leadership of the Executive Committee. The delegates rose and acclaimed the resolution and Mr. Monsky, deeply moved, responded to the thanks of the delegates.

Mr. Lipsky, after responding to the resolution of thanks tendered by the Conference and acknowledging the services of Mr. Herman Shulman, vice-chairman of the General Committee and Mr. Bisgyer, secretary, presented the last report of the General Committee with reference to the formation of the Interim Committee, which was selected on the same proportional basis as prevailed among the groupings in the Conference. Mr. Lipsky then read the names of the members of the Interim Committee which was approved without dissent. (The names are printed elsewhere in this issue.)

A motion proposed by Mr. Monsky was adopted providing that the Interim Committee should be authorized to elect the nominees of other organizations which may submit their candidates later.

Following the adoption of the resolutions, the Chair made several introductions of notable personalities present at the Conference, among them Professor Chaim Tchernowitz, Chief Rabbi Alkalay of Yugoslavia and Mr. David Pinski, veteran Jewish poet and playwright and Rabbi A. M. Ashinsky of Pittsburgh.

Dr. Wise took the floor to recall to the Conference the names of the veteran Jewish leaders, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal of Philadelphia and Judge Julian M. Mack. (Judge Mack died on Sunday, September 5, three days after the close of the Conference.) Dr. Wise stated that, together with himself, these were the surviving members of the Peace Delegation which had attended the Peace Conference in Versailles at the close of World War I. On motion of Dr. Wise, Rabbi Levinthal and Judge Mack were elected honorary delegates to the Conference. On Dr. Wise's motion Mr. Bernard G. Richards,

one of the founders of the American Jewish Congress and secretary of the Peace Delegation elected by the Congress in 1918, was elected honorary secretary of the Conference.

Continuing its introduction of noted personalities the Chair presented to the delegates Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, veteran leader of Jewish trade unions, and the Palestinian poet, Leib Yaffe.

He also presented Mr. Nathan Chanin who, speaking for the Jewish Labor Committee, pointed out that while his organization refrained from taking a stand on certain issues, it nevertheless expresses its solidarity with the aims of the Conference and will strive to achieve unity of action among all American Jews.

## Closing Addresses

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver then addressed the delegates and eloquently summarized the mood of deep solemnity and responsibility which had characterized the Conference. Following Rabbi Silver, Mr. Chaim Greenberg addressed the Conference which, he said, marked the day when "the Jewish people is embarking on a road to renewed nationhood."

The concluding address of the Conference was delivered by Rabbi Milton Steinberg who asked the delegates and visitors to join in prayer in remembrance of the Jewish martyrs. Rabbi Steinberg's closing prayer was as follows:

"Onr God and God of our Fathers, in this solemn hour when we complete our deliberations and



RABBI IRVING MILLER

prepare to disperse, each to his own home, his own fireside and his own community, we raise our heart and prayer unto Thee, beseeching that there may be fulfilled in us the word of the Psalmist: May the serenity of the Lord our God rest upon us. Mayest Thou establish the work of our hand for us, the work of our hand mayest Thou establish it. May Thy serenity rest upon us.

"Grant that every divergence of sentiment among us, every issue in which we have been divided, may be stripped for us of all bitterness, of controversy. May we be mindful that each of us has been motivated always by a good intent and that each debate has been in spirit and in purpose a controversy in the cause of Heaven.

"May we then leave this place of convocation with a heightened sense of fellowship in Israel and in its tradition, and of our common destiny as Jews.

"With greater assurance as to our ability to labor together, despite deep and significant differences among us, toward that end, with the renewed and invigorated loyalty to the Jewish people and to the Torah, and with fuller courage to live as Jews, loyal to the faith, the moral doctrine, the cultural treasures created by our Fathers in generations gone by, dedicated as befits members of the House of Israel, to Thy glory, to the advancement of the Torah."

With the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and Hatikvah, the closing session of the American Jewish Conference was recessed at 11:30 p. m., Thursday, September 2, 1943.

# Greetings to Conference

## From Jewish Agency

Please accept our heartfelt good wishes for success your deliberations. You are meeting at most critical juncture Jewish history. In Europe all Jewish life being ruthlessly exterminated even in other countries antisemitism in evidence. Present unprecedented catastrophe calls for supreme and united effort all American Jewry bring about such solution Jewish problem as will for all time end Jewish insecurity prevent recurrence present disaster and ensure to Jewish people chance of full and creative life free from fear and want. Past experience proves conclusively this achievable only by establishment Jewish Commonwealth in ancient homeland our people for which foundations laid by pioneer effort past sixty years. May your conference effectively help rally American Jewry towards support that great and constructive ideal.

EXECUTIVE  
JEWISH AGENCY

## From Palestine Rabbinate

Jerusalem, August 27, 1943.

May the blessings of the Rock of Israel and the Redeemer of His Holy Law rest upon your historic assembly deliberating upon post-war Jewish reconstruction. In these grave, critical days, when the future of Israel and his old prophetic cradleland is hanging in the balance all eyes turn to you, American Jewry, to throw into the scales your full weight, moral, political and economic, in demanding from the nations of the world that together with the reconstruction of shattered Jewry in the Diaspora, they shall give complete effective recognition to Israel's divine historic right to Palestine. Also appeal once more to the United and neutral nations to make immediate supreme effort to save the remnant doomed to cruel torment and death in Nazi countries now that Providence has appointed you like Joseph of old, the saving agency for your distressed brothers. Be strong and of good courage and may the guardian of Israel guide you with his counsel and may we speedily behold the final triumph of right and liberty over barbarity and tyranny as well as the fulfillment of the promises of the Prophets of truth, righteousness and peace to mankind in general and to Israel in particular.

ISAAC BEN-ZION UZIEL,  
HERZOG, CHIEF RABBI  
OF PALESTINE.

## From Soviet Delegation

San Francisco, Cal.,

Aug. 30, 1943.

We have the honor and are happy to send our heartfelt greetings to the Conference and wish it greatest success in its very important goal of uniting the American Jews in the struggle against the fearful enemy of our people, and of all humanity. We are certain that the Conference will do all to help bring closer the day of victory which will forever erase even the memory of Fascism and Nazism.

SOLOMON MICHOELS.  
ITZIK FEFER.

## From British Board of Deputies

The Board of Deputies of British Jews, representing all sections of British Jewry, sends its best wishes for the success of the American Jewish Conference, and for the fruitful solution of the vital problems confronting it. This conference of all great American Jewish organizations, meeting at this most critical period in Jewish history, will serve as a lead for all free Jews and as a hope for millions of Jews under Nazi tyranny and destruction.

Its deliberations will be anxiously awaited by Jews everywhere, and notably by the Anglo-

Jewish community and other Jews who will share in the vast responsibility of rebuilding the stricken Jewry of Europe and Jewish life in Palestine. May the Conference go forward in a spirit of confidence with a sense of deep responsibility and realization of the services which it will be rendering the Jewish people by helping them bring the oppressed from slavery to freedom and from darkness to light in a new world which the ever-growing promise of a speedy United Nations victory is bringing nearer every day.

## South African Deputies

Johannesburg, S. A.

Deputies meeting unanimously resolved "instructs executive council actively fully collaborate conference and other approximate bodies overseas. Records full concurrence view expressed conveners Conference. Only unified representation Jewry, unified presentation legitimate demands afford chance of success of general settlement."

## From Argentine Jews

Buenos Aires.

Much success in your important work of speedy reconstruction of destroyed European homes generally and especially those of Polish Jews.

FEDERATION POLISH JEWS

IN ARGENTINA,

LEON STOKHAMMER,

Chairman,

DAVID AIZENBERG, Secretary.

Buenos Aires, Aug. 29, 1943.

Remember Psalms Chapter 137.

ZIONIST FEDERATION OF

ARGENTINE,

Gesang, Dr. Rinsky.

## From Brazil

Saopaulo, Aug. 30, 1943.

Cordially we salute Conference with best wishes successful deliberations firmly decide cooperate with organs to be established. We consider World Jewish Congress, acting since 1936 in forming one sole universal Jewish representation that shall assemble all forces of our Jewish world being only corporation qualified to handle all post-war problems except Palestine which cooperate Jewish Agency.

CENTRO HEBREU BRASIL-  
EIRO SAO PAULO.

## From Bolivia

Lapaz, Bolivia, Aug. 28, 1943.

Please remit our best wishes Conference Jewry United States greatest success possible. Consider our honour collaborating name Bolivian Jews with organs your Conference will form. We members of Jewish Congress hope Conference will form only one representation basis principles national Jewry proposed by World Jewish Congress since 1936.

CIRCULO ISRAELITA.

## From Geneva

Geneva, Aug. 30, 1943.

To our so desperately abandoned people Europe the event of your assembly restores their faith in the future. Convinced you understand their sorrows. They are sure they can rely on you and be confident of the practical results of your Conference. Refugee myself, sharing for years the fate of our tortured brothers, and also delegate relief organizations I am committed to express their thoughts and aspirations. We are convinced that the whole world is now unanimous that the only really possible salvation is our settlement in Palestine as our independent Jewish country. History has assigned you American Jews to be our leaders for the fulfillment of this mission. Please do not fail and bring to its end our fight for national liberation.

ISAAC WEISSMAN.



CARL SHERMAN

tion expressing deep gratitude to Dr. Stephen S. Wise for his part in initiating the Conference and for his fifty years of notable service to the Jewish cause.

An eloquent resolution addressed to the Yishuv of Palestine was greeted with applause.

A moving message of sympathy addressed to the martyred Jews of Europe deeply stirred the delegates. The message was read by Miss Ruth Warters of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress.

Mrs. Hugo Hartman of Winnetka, Ill., read a resolution entitled "A Call to Faith," which urged a strengthening of the American Jewish community in their commitments to the synagogue and the agencies of Jewish culture. By unanimous vote the resolution was made part of the record of the Conference.

## Statement by Religious Bloc

Rabbi Wohlgelehter of Seattle, Wash., was recognized to read a declaration of the Religious National Bloc. The declaration, which emphasized the principles of the Torah as the fountain of all humanitarian ideals, stated:

"At this decisive moment in the history of mankind, when the United Nations, in their struggle against the enemy of God and humanity, are gravely deliberating the rebuilding of a better world on the basis of justice and righteousness, it is proper that we give thought to the causes that have led to the present world catastrophe. It is our profound conviction that that catastrophe was caused by the fact that humanity turned away from the divine principles of righteousness



# Text of Conference Resolutions

## Palestine Declaration

We Jews, citizens of the United States dwelling in security in this our beloved land, which, because of its democratic institutions and just laws "gives to bigotry no sanction and to persecution no assistance," and dedicated in undivided loyalty to the noble spirit of our country, are gathered here as an American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body representative of American Jewry to cope with the tragic problems of our fellow Jews all over the world. We make the following declaration of principles as to the relation between the Jewish people, the Homeland in Palestine and the world need for post-war reconstruction.

The Jewish problem has been made one of the central elements in the present assault on civilization. In a world wide Nazi-Fascist conspiracy its exploitation has constituted the initial phase of the assault. Its solution is an integral part of the conditions needed for an enduring peace.

In the first world war, the civilized nations pointed to a solution of the Jewish problem through the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine with which the Jewish people has been bound up historically and religiously throughout the centuries. This was expressed in the Balfour Declaration issued by the British Government, after consultation between the Allied and Associated Powers, on November 2, 1917, and in the Mandate for Palestine accorded to Great Britain in 1922, with the consent of the fifty-one member nations of the League of Nations and with the unanimous approval of the Congress of the United States.

On the basis of this international covenant the Jewish people set itself to the task of recreating its historic Homeland in Palestine. In the course of twenty-five years, it has demonstrated a constructive capacity which has already had a profound effect both on the hopes and outlook of the Jewish people, and on a country which had for centuries been regarded as one of the derelict areas of the world. The progress of all sections of Palestine, Arab as well as Jewish, under the stimulus of the developing Jewish Homeland is one of the most notable phenomena of our time; the contribution of democratic Jewish Palestine to the victories of the armies of the United Nations in the Near East has been a significant vindication of the policy initiated by world opinion and carried out in the labors and sacrifices of the Jewish people.

This period of reconstruction, however, has coincided with a general deterioration of world order and international morality. Chief among the victims of this deterioration have been the millions of Jews in Europe. Yet despite the fact that the conditions which made imperative the re-establishment of the Jewish Homeland a quarter of a century ago have been intensified beyond the darkest forebodings, the rights internationally guaranteed to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine have been progressively whittled down on grounds of administrative and political expediency until, with the promulgation of the White Paper of May, 1939, the solemn promise made to the Jewish people was virtually nullified and the last hope of millions of homeless Jews threatened with extinction.

The American Jewish Conference, meeting at a time when the policies of the peace are in the making, and conscious of its historic responsibility and of its position as representative of Ameri-

can Jewry and spokesman for the silenced Jewish communities of Europe, calls for the loyal and faithful fulfillment of the covenant entered into between the nations of the world and the Jewish people.

We call for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, and of the Mandate for Palestine whose intent and underlying purpose, based on the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine," was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth.

We demand the immediate withdrawal in its entirety of the Palestine White Paper of May, 1939 with its unwarranted restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement. The White Paper is a violation of the rights accorded to the Jewish people under the Mandate for Palestine. It was characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons as a "breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration." The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations refused to recognize its legality or its moral validity.

The Conference demands that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration, and that the Jewish Agency, recognized under the Mandate as the authorized representative of the Jewish people be vested with authority to direct and regulate immigration into Palestine, to develop to the maximum the agricultural and industrial possibilities and the natural resources of the country, and to utilize its uncultivated and unoccupied lands for Jewish colonization and for the benefit of the country as a whole.

The measures here urged constitute the essential prerequisites for the attainment of a Jewish majority and for the re-creation of the Jewish Commonwealth.

In the pursuit of its objective of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish people has steadfastly held before it the ideals which shall integrate Jewish Palestine within the new democratic world structure. The Jewish people pledges itself to scrupulous regard for and preservation of the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of

the Arab population of Palestine, and to the civil and religious equality of all its inhabitants before the law. The inviolability of the Holy Places of the various religions shall be guaranteed.

The Jewish people reaffirms its readiness and desire for full co-operation with its Arab neighbors in Palestine, and, in the work of its own national redemption, welcomes the economic and political developments of the Arab peoples of the Near East.

On the basis both of the part it has played in the history of civilization, and of its present achievement in Palestine, the Jewish people believes that the Jewish Commonwealth to be established will represent another fundamental contribution to the social and political ideals of the world. It will finally answer the agonized cry of the most martyred of peoples, and enable it to take its rightful place in that progressive order of mankind which, we pray, may issue from the present struggle.

## Postwar Problems

### I. INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS:

The catastrophe which has overwhelmed the Jews of Europe has its roots in the international anarchy which contributed to the assault of the Axis powers on civilization. No people anywhere can hope to establish its life on permanent foundations of security and justice unless the same fundamental rights are accorded equally to all.

We earnestly hope that a world order based on the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, will also find its expression in an International Bill of Rights embodying:

1. Full and complete protection of life and liberty for all inhabitants of all countries without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

2. Unequivocal equality of rights in law and in fact for all the citizens of every country.

3. The inalienable right of all religious, ethnic and cultural groups to maintain and foster

their respective group identities on the basis of equality.

### II. OUTLAWING ANTI-SEMITISM:

Anti-Semitism was a major instrument used by the Nazis in the establishment of a totalitarian regime in Germany and as a spearhead in the warfare against the democracies of the world. Anti-Semitism is incompatible with the democratic way of life and threatens the freedom and the very existence of liberty-loving peoples throughout the world and consequently undermines the foundations of civilized order.

Anti-Semitism as an instrument of internal and international policy, should be outlawed. In order to be made effective, this outlawing should be implemented by international conventions and national legislation.

### III. MACHINERY:

We urge that proper and adequate machinery be established to effect and safeguard these objectives.

### IV. TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE:

A survey of conditions created in Axis controlled or occupied countries, among which are countries of age-long Jewish settlements, reveals the undeniable fact that in addition to sharing all the disabilities suffered by their non-Jewish fellow citizens, Jews have been singled out for ruthless extermination. We therefore urge that special attention be given by the United Nations to the distinctive Jewish problems created by this policy in their application by the United Nations of the following measures to repair the ravages caused by the war.

1. Immediate abrogation with retroactive effect of all measures discriminating on racial, religious, or political grounds against any section of the population, including all acts of denaturalization.

2. Recognition of the right of all refugees, deportees, and other victims of Axis persecution, if they desire to do so, to return to their places of de facto residence and to the opportunities of which they have been deprived, and provision of financial and other

measures enabling them to do so.

3. Recognition of the right to indemnification for all those who have suffered the loss of property and/or livelihood, as a result of discriminatory measures, including the loss of communal property by Jewish organizations, such indemnification to be a charge on public funds.

4. Detention of persons charged with crimes against international law and humanity, such crimes to be understood to include all acts committed by the Nazis and their followers, designed to despoil, degrade and destroy civilian populations under their control, and the completion of arrangements for the trial of such persons immediately following the cessation of hostilities in accordance with procedures agreed upon by the Governments of the United Nations.

### V. RELIEF AND REHABILITATION:

1. The Conference calls the attention of the United Nations to the distinctive needs for relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Jewish population in the war-stricken areas. These needs result from systematic starvation, forced labor, continuous deportation, forced segregations, appalling housing conditions, withholding of medical care and closing of Jewish hospitals, with the consequent spread of disease and epidemics.

2. We urge the United Nations relief and rehabilitation agencies to give earnest attention to these special needs. We are confident that in the feeding, clothing and sheltering of the stricken populations, the checking and preventing the further spread of epidemic and disease, the caring for children, orphans who are separated from their parents, the reuniting of scattered families and the aiding of deportees in their repatriation and emigration, these agencies will deal with the Jewish populations in a spirit of equity and urgency. We are further confident that provision will be made for such specific Jewish needs as the liberation of Jews from ghettos, reservations and concentration areas, as well as for the observance of their ritual requirements.

3. Moreover, it is clear that in connection with these measures which will be taken with a view to the speedy restoration of normal conditions in every liberated country, the problem of the Jewish population must be treated in a spirit of equity. Accordingly we urge:

(a) Such Jews as may be able to return to their former occupations should be given ample opportunity to do so.

(b) In the case of those who cannot resume their former occupations, measures should be provided for their economic restraining and reorientation, consideration being given to their special experience and skill.

(c) Facilities should be provided for the reestablishment of Jewish religious, educational and welfare organizations.

(d) There must be recognition of the right of every Jew who desires to settle in Palestine to emigrate and take his possessions with him.

### VI. JEWISH REPRESENTATION:

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

## Committee On Palestine In Session





## Resolutions On Rescue

More than three million Jews have been done to death by the blood-stained Nazi tyranny and the four million Jews who survive in Axis Europe live daily in the shadow of an inexorable doom. The American Jewish Conference solemnly declares that if the Nazis and their accomplices are permitted to achieve their avowed purpose, which is the total destruction of Jewish life in the territories under their control, civilization will have suffered an overwhelming disaster beyond the power of victory to repair. Military victory cannot recall a murdered people from their mass graves.

The Conference records its deep concern that, four months after the Bermuda Conference, and eight months after the Collective Declaration of the United Nations condemning the mass murder of the Jewish people in Europe, the democracies have as yet failed to institute sustained and vigorous action to rescue those who may yet be saved. The position remains unchanged, save that in the meantime many additional tens of thousands of Jews have been hurried to unnatural death.

The Conference asks in the name of the common faith in the Fatherhood of God and of the ideals for which the United Nations are fighting that the governments shall recognize that a distinctive Jewish problem has been created in Europe which imposes an inescapable moral obligation on the democracies, and that such moral obligation must find expression in special practical measures which must be commensurate with the gravity and urgency of the situation. The Conference accordingly urges that the following measures be taken immediately:

1. A solemn warning addressed by the leaders of the democracies to the Axis governments and their satellites must make it clear that the instigators of crimes against the Jews, as well as the accomplices and agents of the criminals, will be brought to justice; that all who prevent the release of Jews from Axis captivity and their departure to havens of refuge will be punished for their complicity in the policy of extermination; and that resistance to the policy of extermination and aid given to victims of Nazi policy will be taken into consideration on the day of reckoning.

2. This warning should be given force and substance by the immediate constitution of the Allied Commission on War Crimes in London which, though its formation was announced nearly a year ago, has not yet met. And it should be a primary task of the commission to bring home to the people of Germany the enormity of the crimes committed in their name and the certainty of retribution.

3. 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.

4. There should be public acknowledgement of the right of every Jewish refugee who can reach Palestine not only to find a haven but to establish his permanent home in that country.

5. The neutral nations bordering on Axis occupied territories should be encouraged by financial help, by additional supplies and by appropriate guarantees on the ultimate disposal of the refugees brought into their territories, to secure there-

lease of Jews, especially children, and give them hospitality in their own lands or the right of transit to havens of refuge.

6. A special intergovernmental agency should be created which, working in consultation with Jewish organizations, should be provided with the resources and armed with the authority to seize every opportunity to send supplies through appropriate channels, provide the means for Jewish self-defense and coordinate and expand the work of rescue through the underground.

The Conference recognizes that all the victims of Nazi oppression, irrespective of race or faith, are entitled to aid and succor from the United Nations. But the situation of the Jews in Europe is unique in its tragedy. They have not only been more deeply wounded than any other people, but alone among all the subject communities they have been doomed to total destruction by an act of state. For every one of them—men, women and children—the alternative to rescue is deportation and death.

In the name of the Jews of America, the Conference respectfully addresses a most earnest appeal to the President of the United States not to suffer democracy to go down in defeat on the first front opened by Hitler in his war on civilization. The Conference affirms its faith that democracy has it in its power to deny victory on this front to Hitler and take the fate of the Jewish people in Europe out of his hands.

It is not yet too late. But time presses.

### Cooperation With Other Agencies

II. Be it resolved, that in view of the urgent necessity for the rescue of our brethren in Europe, the committee which shall be appointed to conduct the affairs of this Conference in the interim between adjournment and the next session of the Conference be authorized to implement and execute the rescue plans of the Conference, and that it should be authorized, in its discretion, to cooperate with or to seek the cooperation of all existing relief agencies and the representatives of European Jewries, and to make representations to governmental authorities.

### Rescue of Children

III. Whereas, among the threatened millions of Jews in Axis dominated Europe it is now possible to transfer to Palestine thousands of children and their escorts, for whom certificates have been made available by the British Government and,

Whereas, over a period of many years the movement of children to Palestine, including that specifically known as Youth Aliyah has developed a system of child rehabilitation and education which has saved many thousands of children and integrated them in the productive economic agricultural and industrial life of Palestine and has furnished young fighters among the bravest in the armed forces of the United Nations,

Now therefore be it Resolved, that this American Jewish Conference solemnly call upon our Government, the Government of Great Britain, and the other United Nations, upon the office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, and upon the national and international bodies dealing with major refugee movements to assist them in every way humanly possible in the evacuation, transfer, and care of those children whose lives are in great jeopardy and the delay of whose rescue, now that they have been invited of their threatened extermination, upon the free peoples the burden of their threatened extermination.

## Committee On General Resolutions



## General Resolutions

### Gratitude to U. S.

There are no bounds to our gratitude to the United States for the many decades of its open-hearted hospitality to the oppressed and persecuted, for the friendliness with which we and our brethren have been received, and for the institutions of liberty and justice upon which these United States were founded and upon which they rest unshakably.

Because we are Jews, the ideals of America have always been and must always be near and dear to us. The passionate cry for justice and brotherhood that issued from the lips of the Hebrew prophets, the search after a government in which these principles should be forever incorporated, the age-long, passionate devotion to righteousness, for the individual and in the context of society; all these are ours, and all these are at the very heart of the American tradition. Especially in these days, when so many endure martyrdom for the lack of these things, and when so many offer their lives to save and secure them, our devotion is doubly alert and conscious.

We pray to God that the United States, together with all the United Nations, may soon achieve all-comprehending victory everywhere upon earth. We pray that out of the thunders and the ruins of this war, a new world may arise, in the spirit of America, and that hatred and fierce cruelty may be succeeded by a long era of brotherhood, of international cooperation and security, and of that peace which is the work of righteousness. Even today our brothers and sons, our husbands and fathers, are giving themselves all over the world upon the field of battle on the side of the Allies. Once more we pledge our loyalty to America, and we proclaim to our fellow citizens that the very purpose of this Conference is to strive to apply and carry into effect those lofty tenets of our religious and ethical heritage, which are the common possession of America and of the Jew.

### Message to Jews in Europe

To our martyred brothers in the torture chambers of Nazi-dominated Europe, the American Jewish Conference sends a message of sympathy and greeting.

Brothers of the ghettos, death chambers and concentration camps, we Jews of America stand humble before you.

We have not been the sharers of your suffering, nor were we able to be the bearers of aid. We seek, however, to express our un-

shatterable sense of identity with your fate.

Your heroic resistance in the ghettos in the face of certain death has been a sanctification of the name of God and the name of Israel. May we also prove ourselves worthy of the example of fortitude and dignity which you have given to the world.

On the death fields of the Treblinkas and Belzec, the enemies of mankind sought to destroy you. But the spirit of the heroes of the ghettos is the symbol of the unconquerable will of a people which shall survive Hitler and his accomplices in evil.

We solemnly pledge to do all possible to save those who can still be saved. We shall not cease from our labors until the Jewish people has obtained full restoration of its rights and in the victorious future will again take its place in a world of justice and peace. *Netzach Yisroel Lo Yeshaker.*

### A Call to Faith

The catastrophe which has befallen the Jewish communities of Europe is not merely an expression of Nazi brutality but a violent and tragic manifestation of the collapse of moral and spiritual standards in many parts of the world. The suppression of the religious freedom of all faiths in Nazi-held countries, the arrest and imprisonment of clergy of all denominations, the burning of synagogues and religious books, the extirpation of every last vestige of Jewish cultural and spiritual life, reveal in part the moral crisis of our age.

It is therefore the sense of the American Jewish Conference that the physical redemption of the stricken peoples of the earth and the assurance of their future rights and liberties depends in a large measure upon the rehabilitation of the conscience of mankind. We believe that this conscience is rooted in a large measure in the moral and spiritual traditions and challenges of Christianity and Judaism. We call upon the members of the American Jewish Community to strengthen their commitments to the synagogue and the agencies of Jewish culture in an effort to revive the broken spirits of our stricken brethren in Europe, to compensate for the destruction of their organized religious life, as well as to remain true to our historical heritage as a people. We call upon the members of the Christian communions in the United States to employ the immeasurable power of their faith

to restore the presence of God in a world that has almost been destroyed by the agencies of evil. As Jews we believe "that except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."

### Greetings to Dr. Weizmann

In response to your message, the American Jewish Conference greets you in the consciousness that the decisions taken by this body reflect the responsibility which the tragic events of our time have placed upon American Jewry.

The Conference expresses its resolve to marshal all the strength of American Jewry, and of all right thinking men, to press before the tribunal of the Allied Nations the justice and necessity of the cause whose champion you have been for more than a generation. The American Jewish Conference pledges to you as President of the Jewish Agency, its support of the great tasks before you for the redemption of our people and the healing of its suffering members everywhere.

### Greetings to Yishuv

To the Yishuv of Palestine, symbol of the renaissance of the Jewish people, builders of the Jewish National Home, the American Jewish Conference sends the brotherly greetings of the Jews of America whom it represents.

We have watched with admiration the magnificent courage displayed by the Jewish community of Palestine in peace and in war. We take pride in its notable contribution to the war effort of the United Nations, in the sacrifices of tens of thousands of its youth—soldiers of the Jewish people—whose deeds of valor on the battlefields have been a source of constant inspiration to Jews the world over. By their undying efforts, Palestine has been converted into a bastion of democracy serving the cause of freedom in the period of war and holding the promise for even greater service in the peace to come.

We salute our brother Jews in the Land of Israel and we pledge to them our continued moral and material support.

### Appreciation to Dr. Wise

This Conference extends its deepest gratitude to Dr. Stephen S. Wise for his part in initiating the action which culminated in this historic Conference. It greets him as one who for 50 years has served notably in every Jewish cause and records to him the homage which is due to him as the veteran leader of American Jewry, and expresses the hope that he may continue to be at the service of the Jewish people for many, many years to come.

(Continued on page six)



## General Resolutions

(Continued from page five)

## Appreciation to Mr. Lipsky

Probably for the first time in the history of popular assembly, there are present at this American Jewish Conference all of the duly elected and accredited delegates, 502 in number. This was made possible only through the indefatigable efforts of the National Board of Elections and its local and regional election committee, and the chairman of the National Board of Elections, Mr. Louis Lipsky. Mr. Lipsky gave of himself unstintingly and unselfishly in the promulgation of the national rules of election, in setting up the election machinery and in administering the rules of election.

In this service he was impartial, just and fair-minded. Because of his vision and desire for a full democratic election, all problems which arose were successfully and fairly resolved to the end that no contests were brought to the floor of the Conference and the reports of the National Election Board and the Credentials Committee, which recommended the adoption of the report, were unanimously adopted.

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that a vote of thanks and appreciation of the entire Conference be extended to Mr. Lipsky and that a record of this resolution be made a part of the official records of this conference.

## Appreciation to Mr. Monsky

On the 23rd day and 24th day of January, 1943, 32 national organizations met in a Conference at Pittsburgh, Pa., to arrive at a common program of action on the problems of the Jew in the post-war world and in relation to Palestine. This preliminary conference was made possible by and called upon the initiative of Henry Monsky, President of the B'nai B'rith, who conceived the idea of bringing together all shades of Jewish opinion in the United States on the crucial issues confronting our people at this time.

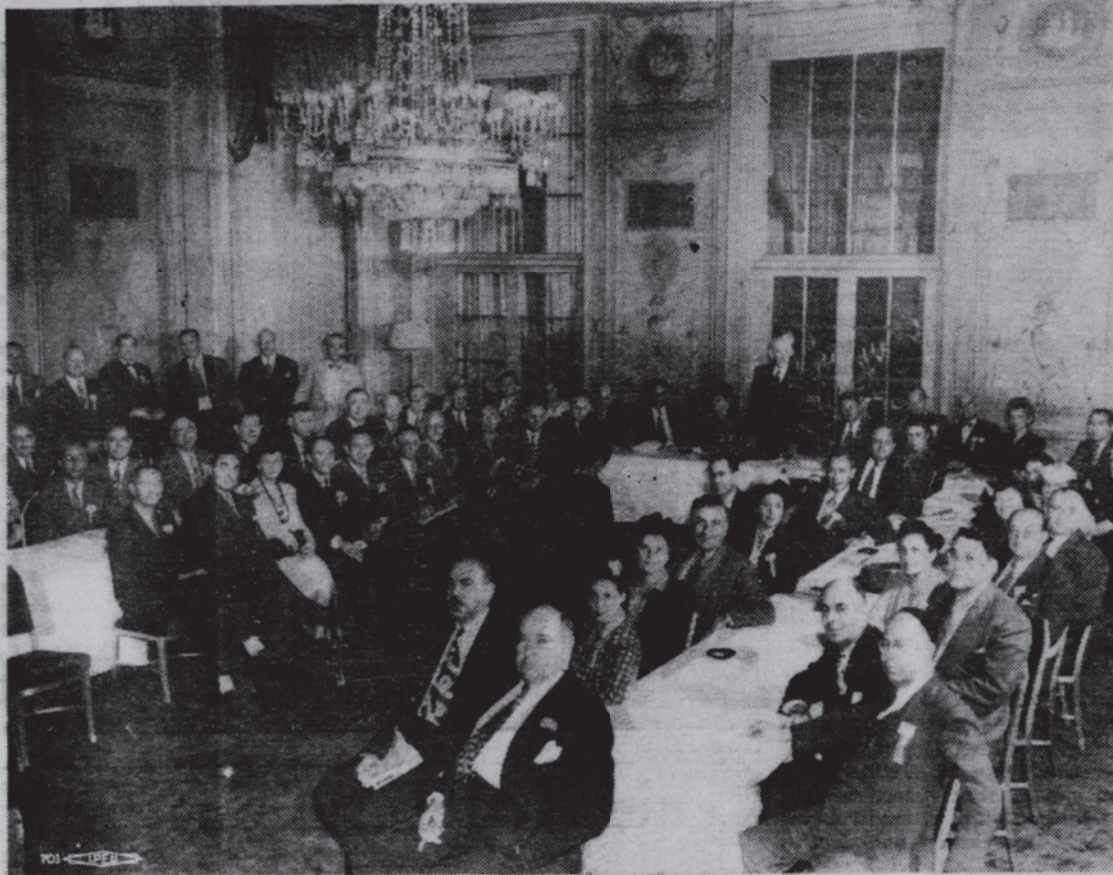
Out of this Pittsburgh conference, which adopted a proposed agenda, there grew the American Jewish Conference.

Following the Pittsburgh meeting and for seven months thereafter, through Mr. Monsky's untiring efforts as chairman of the Executive Committee for the organization of the American Jewish Conference and his co-workers on the Executive Committee, there came into being this historic conclave now being held in the city of New York, attended by the full body of delegates elected and designated through the machinery set up by such Executive Committee. Thirty-two organizations responded to the Pittsburgh call. However, at the time of the Conference, this number had grown to sixty-five, representing every shade of Jewish opinion in the United States.

Mr. Monsky's fair-minded leadership of the Executive Committee was in large measure responsible for the successful efforts of the Executive Committee in mobilizing and obtaining the support of all segments of the American Jewish community of the American Jewish Conference.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that, in recognition of the major contribution made by Mr. Henry Monsky to the cause of Jewish unity in American Israel, this American Jewish Conference, on behalf of the sixty-five national Jewish organizations represented in this Conference, and in behalf of the 502 delegates gathered here and representing the Jews of the United States, extends to him its profound gratitude and its heartfelt thanks for his leadership.

## The General Committee



## Appreciation to Secretariat

BE IT RESOLVED, that this Conference expresses its especial gratitude to the members of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee for the organization of the American Jewish Conference: Maurice Bisgyer, Jane Evans, Lillie Shultz and Meyer W. Weisgal, for their work extending over seven full months.

The American Jewish Conference likewise extends its appreciation to Jesse B. Calmenson, Administrative Secretary. Also to the Committee on Preliminary Studies, and particularly its Chairman, Rabbi Milton Steinberg; to Samuel Caplan, Executive Editor of the daily *Conference Record*, and to all other officers and staff, volunteers or professional, whose tireless work has made possible the achievements of this session of the American Jewish Conference.

## Appreciation to the Press

The American Jewish Conference expresses its appreciation to the Press for the generous and impartial manner in which it has covered the Conference.

The Conference is especially cognizant of and grateful to the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press for their efforts in enlightening the public on all phases of the Conference and for their aid in making possible an intelligent reception of and active participation in the Conference.

## Appreciation to the Staff

WHEREAS, it is the unanimous judgment of the American Jewish Conference that the arrangements, mechanics, and various services have been carried out on a standard of highest excellence in every detail;

BE IT RESOLVED, that the Conference expresses gratitude and appreciation to the professional and volunteer staff of the American Jewish Conference, including the secretaries, clerks, ushers and assistants, whose cooperation has measurably contributed to the success of this Conference;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Conference expresses its thanks to the organizations which have contributed their personnel and to the individuals who have contributed their time and energy to the exacting work of this Conference.

## Organization

Be it Resolved, that before the adjournment of this session of the American Jewish Conference there shall be established an Interim Committee to continue the work of said Conference until its next session.

## I. Be it further Resolved:

(a) That the Interim Committee shall be selected on the same proportional basis as now prevails among the groupings in the Conference on the "key of ten" or major fraction thereof, and in addition not in excess of eight members at large to be selected by the Interim Committee.

(b) That the designations of candidates to be selected for the Interim Committee shall be submitted by the respective groups to the General Committee which in turn will submit said designations to the Conference for election.

tee shall elect not less than three co-chairman and such officers and set up such committees and appoint such agents as it may deem necessary for the transaction of its functions.

## II. Be it further Resolved:

1. That the Interim Committee shall be vested with the following duties and functions:

(a) To implement the resolutions and decisions adopted by the American Jewish Conference at its session of August 29th to September 2, 1943, and in so doing shall cooperate with other organizations and agencies, so far as such cooperation may be deemed desirable.

(b) To reconvene the Conference at such time as it may deem necessary and expedient, but, in any event, not later than twelve months following the adjournment of the present session thereof.

## Budget and Finance

BE IT RESOLVED by the Budget and Finance Committee of the American Jewish Conference that the funds which will be required for any program of activity, administrative or other expense, by the American Jewish Conference or any agency set up to implement the decisions of the Conference shall be contributed by the communities, local or regional, of the country, proportionate to their Jewish populations, through the medium of existing instrumentality or community organization or other method to be determined by the communities, in order that the support of the Conference shall come from the entire American Jewish community, in consonance with the representative, democratic character of the Conference.

## CORRECTIONS

Through error the name of Mrs. Samuel Goldstein was omitted from the list of members of the General Committee. The name of Mrs. Israel Goldstein was included by mistake.

Gertrude Summers is a member of the General Committee and not of the Credentials Committee as erroneously listed.

Rabbi Samuel Cooper is a member of the General Committee and not of the Resolutions Committee as reported.

William V. Suckle, delegate representing youth organizations, has been absent from the sessions. His place was filled by the alternate delegate Stanley Rabinowitz, of Des Moines, Iowa, member of the A.Z.A.

The names of I. M. Bunim, New York, and Rabbi Solomon Reichman, Bronx, N. Y. were omitted from the list of members of the Credentials Committee.

The vital statistics department of this newspaper desires to report the presence of two pairs of brothers, delegates to the Conference, in addition to the names listed in the August 31st issue of the *Conference Record*. They are: Rabbi Nathan Drazin of Baltimore, Ohio, and Rabbi William Drazin of Savannah, Ga.; Rabbi Solomon P. Wohlgerlinter of Seattle, Wash., and Rabbi Max J. Wohlgerlinter of Detroit, Mich. A father-in-law and son-in-law combination is represented by Rabbi Saul Silber and Max Kopstein, both delegates from Chicago.

## Committee On Organization





# LIST OF REGISTERED DELEGATES

- Abelson, Ike—Birmingham, Ala.  
Adler, Rabbi Morris—Detroit, Mich.  
Altshuler, Oscar—Youngstown, O.  
Antin, Benjamin—Bronx, N. Y.  
Apfel, Isadore—New York.  
Apte, D. J.—Tampa, Fla.  
Arkin, Leon—Boston, Mass.  
Aronowitz, Samuel E.—Albany, N. Y.  
Aronson, Rabbi David—Minneapolis, Minn.  
Aronson, Mrs. Robert L.—Chicago, Ill.  
Ashinsky, Rabbi Aaron M.—Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Barnett, Mrs. Arthur—San Francisco, Cal.  
Barnett, Judge Samuel—New Bedford, Mass.  
Barron, Judge Jennie L.—Brighton, Mass.  
Barron, Dr. Moses—Minneapolis, Minn.  
Barsel, Rabbi Solomon—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Beck, Norman M.—Bay Shore, L. I.  
Becker, Leonard S.—Dayton, O.  
Bender, Mrs. Oscar G.—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Berger, Harry—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Bergman, Rabbi Bernard—New York.  
Berke, George—Chattanooga, Tenn.  
Berkman, Mrs. Harry—Chicago, Ill.  
Berman, Edward—Bayonne, N. J.  
Bernstein, Frank E.—Brooklyn.  
Bernstein, Joseph—Detroit, Mich.  
Bernstein, Rabbi Philip S.—Rochester, N. Y.  
Berson, Samuel—Brooklyn.  
Bialis, M.—Chicago, Ill.  
Birnbaum, Rabbi Benj. H.—Chicago, Ill.  
Bisgyer, Maurice (alternate)—Washington.  
Bisgyer, Samuel—Brooklyn.  
Blankfein, Mrs. Jules—Flushing, L. I.  
Blaustein, Jacob—Baltimore, Md.  
Boch, Herbert R.—Cincinnati, O.  
Bloom, Rabbi Herbert I.—Kingston, N. Y.  
Bloomfield, Mrs. Hugo—Lexington, Ky.  
Blumberg, David—Los Angeles, Cal.  
Bokser, Rabbi Ben Zion—Forest Hills, L. I.  
Bonchek, Samuel—New York.  
Borowsky, Samuel J.—New York.  
Boyman, Alter—Providence, R. I.  
Brachman, Abraham J.—Ft. Worth, Tex.  
Brandt, Miss Milly—New York.  
Bressler, Max—Chicago, Ill.  
Brickner, Rabbi B. R.—Cleveland, O.  
Brodsky, Nathan H.—Newark, N. J.  
Brown, Frank—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Brown, Jacob—Kansas City, Mo.  
Brown, Meyer—Bronx, N. Y.  
Bublik, Gedaliah—Brooklyn.  
Bunim, Irving M.—New York.  
Buraek, Rabbi Aaron D.—Brooklyn.  
Burke, Walter—Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Burstein, Sol—New York.  
Butzel, Fred M.—Detroit, Mich.  
Callman, Rudolf—New York.  
Carlan, Rabbi Jonah E.—Long Island City.  
Caplan, Judge Oscar S.—Chicago, Ill.  
Chanin, Nathan—New York.  
Charlop, Rabbi J. M.—Bronx, N. Y.  
Chertoff, Naomi—New York.  
Chinich, Oscar—Newark, N. J.  
Cohen, A. B.—Scranton, Pa.  
Cohen, Rabbi Bezalel—Paterson, N. J.  
Cohen, Eli A.—Swampscott, Mass.  
Cohen, Jesse—Brooklyn.  
Cohen, Joseph—Kansas City, Kan.  
Cohen, Teddy—New York.  
Coleman, David—Los Angeles, Cal.  
Cooper, Rabbi Samuel—Charleston, W. Va.  
Cramer, Morton—Norfolk, Va.  
David, Sigmund W.—Chicago, Ill.  
Deiman, J. David—New York.  
Deutsch, Samuel—Elyria, Ohio.  
Diamond, Judge David—Buffalo, N. Y.  
Dinkes, Nathan—Brooklyn.  
Dobzinsky, Jacob—Brooklyn.  
Doft, Max—Cedarhurst, L. I.  
Drazin, Rabbi Nathan—Baltimore, Md.  
Drazin, Rabbi William—Savannah, Ga.  
Drocek, Aaron—Detroit, Mich.  
Dubinsky, Carl M.—St. Louis, Mo.  
Duker, Samuel—Bronx, N. Y.  
Ehrenreich, H.—New York.  
Ehrlich, Harry M.—Springfield, Mass.  
Ehrlich, Mrs. Joseph H.—Detroit, Mich.  
Eisendrath, Rabbi Maurice N.—Cincinnati, O.  
Eisner, Hon. Mark—New York.  
Epstein, Albert K.—Chicago, Ill.  
Epstein, Rabbi Ephraim—Chicago, Ill.  
Epstein, Rabbi Harry H.—Atlanta, Ga.  
Epstein, Dr. Louis—Brookline, Mass.  
Epstein, Mrs. Moses P.—New York.  
Estess, Ad.—Rock Island, Ill.  
Ettlinger, Prof. H. J.—Austin, Tex.  
Evans, F. J.—Durham, N. C.  
Evans, Miss Jane—New York.  
Fabricant, Louis—New York.  
Familian, David—Los Angeles, Cal.  
Fane, Irvin—Kansas City, Mo.  
Farber, H.—Los Angeles, Cal.  
Farber, Mrs. Ida Cook—Brooklyn.  
Farber, J. Eugene—Toledo, O.  
Feder, Joseph A.—Passaic, N. J.  
Feder, Sara—Columbia, Mo.  
Federbusch, Rabbi Simon—Bronx.  
Feigenbaum, Leo J.—Syracuse, N. Y.  
Feinberg, Israel—New York.  
Feller, Harry S.—New Brunswick, N. J.  
Fellerman, Irving—New York.  
Ferber, Sol—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Fertig, M. Malldwin—Bronx.  
Fineman, Dr. Hayim—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Fink, Rabbi Adolph—Spokane, Wash.  
Finkel, Hon. Samuel B.—New York.  
Fisher, Judge Harry M.—Chicago, Ill.  
Fisher, Julius—Roanoke, Va.  
Fishman, Jacob—New York.  
Flashenberg, Louis—New York.  
Fliegel, Hyman J.—Brooklyn.  
Folkman, Rabbi Jerome D.—Grand Rapids, Mich.  
Fram, Rabbi Leon—Detroit, Mich.  
Frankel, Charles—Asbury Park, N. J.  
Franklin, Pearl—Chicago, Ill.  
Fredman, J. George—Jersey City, N. J.  
Freedman, Mrs. Isidor—New York.  
Freehof, Rabbi Solomon B.—Pittsburgh, Pa.  
Freund, Dr. Miriam—Brooklyn.  
Friedenwald, Dr. Harry—Baltimore, Md.  
Friedman, Benjamin—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Friedman, Samuel—Akron, O.  
Frisch, Daniel—Indianapolis, Ind.  
Fromberg, Harry G.—New York.  
Fryer, Mrs. Julius—Cleveland, O.  
Furmansky, Moshe—New York.  
Gabriel, Rabbi Joseph—Bronx.  
Gans, George L.—New Britain, Conn.  
Geffen, David—Utica, N. Y.  
Gelbin, Herman S.—New York.  
Gelman, Leon—New York.  
Gerber, Hon. William—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Gerber, Hon. William—Memphis, Tenn.  
Gerbovoy, Abraham N.—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Getzler, Charles—Brooklyn.  
Gilgor, Louis I.—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Gingold, Miriam—Chicago, Ill.  
Ginzold, Philip—Brooklyn.  
Ginsburg, Arnold R.—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Ginsburg, Elias—Brooklyn.  
Gladstone, Dr. Arthur—Burlington, Va.  
Glantz, Leib—Los Angeles, Cal.  
Glazer, Dr. B. Benedict—Detroit, Mich.  
Gold, Rabbi Wolf—New York.  
Goldberg, I. H.—New York.  
Goldberg, Judge Lewis—Brookline, Mass.  
Goldblum, Jacob G.—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Goldburg, Edward—San Antonio, Tex.  
Golding, Mrs. Samuel—W. Hempstead, L. I.  
Goldman, Frank—Lowell, Mass.  
Goldman, Hyman—Washington, D. C.  
Goldman, Mrs. Maurice L.—San Francisco, Cal.  
Goldman, Robert P.—Cincinnati, O.  
Goldman, Sol—St. Louis, Mo.  
Goldman, Dr. Solomon—Chicago, Ill.  
Goldstein, Abraham—Hartford, Conn.  
Goldstein, Rabbi A. David—Omaha, Neb.  
Goldstein, Dr. Israel—New York.  
Goldstein, Mrs. Israel—New York.  
Goldstein, Joseph—Rochester, N. Y.  
Goldstein, Samuel—Brooklyn.  
Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel—Brooklyn.  
Goodman, Abraham—Brooklyn.  
Goodman, Alexander—Baltimore, Md.  
Goodman, Israel B.—St. Louis, Mo.  
Goodman, Joseph—Troy, N. Y.  
Gordis, Dr. Robert—Rockaway Park, L. I.  
Gordon, Rabbi Julius—St. Louis, Mo.  
Gottlieb, Harry N.—Chicago, Ill.  
Greentaum, Nathan—New York.  
Greenberg, Archie H.—Brooklyn.  
Greenberg, Judge Emanuel—Brooklyn.  
Greenberg, Hayim—New York.  
Greenberg, Rabbi Louis—New Haven, Conn.  
Greenberg, Rabbi Simon—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Gribetz, Louis J.—Brooklyn.  
Gross, Joel—Newark, N. J.  
Grossman, Dr. Abraham—Bronx.  
Guckin, R.—New York.  
Guthman, Rabbi Sidney S.—Chelsea, Mass.  
Haber, Philmore—Cleveland, O.  
Halbert, Joseph—Atlantic City, N. J.  
Halpern, Rabbi Harry—Brooklyn.  
Halprin, Mrs. S. W.—New York.  
Hamerman, Mrs. Joseph—New York.  
Hamlin, Isaac—New York.  
Hanin, Michael—Pottsville, Pa.  
Harbar, Samuel—Union City, N. J.  
Hartman, Mrs. Hugo—Winnetka, Ill.  
Held, Adolph—New York.  
Heller, Isaac S.—New Orleans, La.  
Heller, Rabbi James G.—Cincinnati, O.  
Herman, Rabbi Meyer I.—Bronx.  
Herold, S. L.—Shreveport, La.  
Hoenig, Moses H.—Brooklyn.  
Hofferman, Abraham—Philadelphia, Pa.  
Hoffman, Herman—New York.  
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Livingston, Max—New Haven, Conn.  
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