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American Jewish Conference, 1943-1944, undated.

N E W S

A M E R I C A

RABBI LAZARON RETRACTS STATEMENT ON MAGNES

Baltimore (JPS) -- Declaring that he had published a personal letter from Dr. Judah L. Magnes without the latter's authorization, Rabbi Morris Lazaron, leader in the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, in a statement to the Independent Jewish Press Service, exculpated Dr. Magnes from having charged that Zionism was "likely to provoke civil war in Palestine," as had been indicated in a letter originally sent to the Baltimore Times and broadcast nationally by the J.P.S. Rabbi Lazaron stated that in that letter he had quoted only chosen excerpts from the Magnes communication. The full text of the letter of Dr. Magnes as now made public by Rabbi Lazaron showed, nevertheless, that the Hebrew University head had definitely asserted his belief that the Zionist program is "likely to provoke civil war in Palestine."

"I am extremely troubled that any act of mine might have brought misunderstanding of Dr. Magnes' position, portions of whose letter to me I published without his authorization," Rabbi Lazaron declared. . . . If my letter, written under extreme pressure, has placed Dr. Magnes in a compromising position, I most profoundly regret to have been the unwitting occasion for such a situation and I trust that this complete statement of his views will clarify the attitude of one whom I have regarded for years as a real statesman."

Rabbi Lazaron said that he had sent to Dr. Magnes in Palestine a copy of the Statement of Principles of "the group of rabbis and laymen with whom I am associated." In that Statement, reference was made to "our universalistic interpretation of Jewish history," and to the fact that "we are unable to subscribe to or support the political emphasis now paramount in the Zionist program. We cannot but believe that Jewish nationalism tends to confuse our fellowmen about our place and function in society. . . ."

Rabbi Lazaron said Dr. Magnes' reply was as follows:

"(a) I also have a universalistic interpretation of Jewish history. But this for me is not in opposition to the national elements and hopes of the Jewish people.

"(b) You are unable to 'support the political emphasis now paramount in the Zionist program.'
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What does the word emphasis signify here? I am opposed to the political content of that program, not because it is political but because I think the content under present conditions likely to provoke civil war in Palestine and confusion abroad. Politics is one of the great spiritual concerns of mankind, as the Prophets of Israel showed. They were not cut off from life and they therefore did not oppose politics as such. But they were concerned with the kind of political principles the State was based upon, and upon the quality of the political action of statesmen and peoples.

"(c) It is true that Jewish nationalism tends to confuse people, not because it is secular and not religious, but because this nationalism is unhappily chauvinistic and narrow and terroristic in the best style of Eastern European nationalisms. The factor of nationalism is also of great spiritual moment, and it cannot be answered by denying its existence. It depends upon what we make of it, and it is here where legitimate criticism is, unhappily, called for.

"It is well that you and your associates have spoken, and I hope that you will keep on clarifying all aspects of your principles. 'Research' is in style these days. Could you not set up a Research Committee for further delving into the bases and implications of your principles?"

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PREACHER SEES ANTI-SEMITISM ON RISE

New York (JPS) -- Americans may like to think that anti-Semitism is restricted to the banks of the Rhine but actually it "is becoming greater with each day on the banks of the Potomac and the Hudson," it was declared here by Rev. Jesse W. Stitt, Presbyterian clergyman, in a Sunday sermon on racial hatred in America.

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SIKORSKI DENIES JEWS BARRED FROM POLISH ARMY

Chicago (JPS) -- At a press conference held here during a tour of the principal cities in the United States, General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish armed forces vehemently denied as "rubbish" the charge that Jews are not allowed to join the Polish Army and declared that the accusations of anti-Semitism leveled against the Polish Government are the results of "Goebbels propaganda." Sikorski evaded any direct comment on the question of the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, suggesting that any statement be postponed until "after the war," and claimed that the Polish Government took the initiative and prepared the draft for the United Nations' Declaration condemning the Nazi plan for the extermination of the Jews.

Answering a series of questions put to him by press representatives, the Prime Minister entered into a far-ranging discussion of Poland's territorial aims, the Polish attitude towards minorities, postwar collaboration with Czechoslovakia and other countries, and territorial agreements with the Soviet Union. He declared that postwar Poland will have a democratic government patterned along the lines of the United States and the British Commonwealth. All Polish citizens, Sikorski said, will be equal, and all, regardless of origin, race or creed, will have the four freedoms, equal rights and equal obligations.

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(NOTE TO EDITOR: Because we regard this story as one of the most important events in American Jewish life in many years, we have given unusual space to this account.)

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO FIX JEWISH ATTITUDE ON WAR AND PEACE

Parley To Be Held in Five Months for Adoption of Representative Democratic Procedure in Relation to Postwar Problems

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Executive Committee of Fifty To Plan Unique Assembly

Pittsburgh (JPS) -- An American Jewish Assembly, the first such nationwide and representative gathering since the last war, to consist of 500 delegates chosen by democratic procedures, will be called within five months to determine authoritatively the views of American Jewry on the grim problems of war and the equally complex problems of peace, it was decided here at a preliminary conference called by the B'nai B'rith and attended by some eighty Jewish leaders, representing organizations with over a million members. An Executive Committee of fifty was entrusted with the preparation of the Assembly, with Henry Monsky, president of B'nai B'rith, as temporary chairman of a committee of three, including Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Robert P. Goldman, to set up preliminary activities.

Held in an atmosphere of singular harmony and unity, the preliminary session at the William Penn Hotel here was remarkable for the agreement prevailing among the representatives of 32 organizations as to the need of democratic action to determine what American Jews actually want for the protection of their own rights and the safeguarding of the rights of Jews elsewhere.

A call for the American Jewish Assembly contains a statement of program as follows:

(a) to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world.

(b) to consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

(c) to elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Assembly in co-operation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

The sessions were formally opened on Saturday night, January 23rd, with an address by Mr. Monsky, followed by discussion that lasted until 11:30 that night. Mr. Monsky's general presentation of the problems involved for Jews in this critical period was the basis of statements made by the various organizational delegates. It was noted that out of 34 organizations invited, 32 had accepted. The only two missing were the American Jewish Committee and Jewish Labor Committee. Throughout, however, there was emphasis on the constructive aspects of the Assembly, with the hope being expressed that all Jewry would unite behind it in compliance with American and Jewish democratic traditions. It was pointed out that one of the grave problems facing American Jews is to acquire a unified representation in relation to the American State Department, for example, which will necessarily have to convey American views to the United Nations.

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At the present time, a variety of organizations deals with this essential aspect of postwar preparation.

On Sunday morning, two committees, one on Proposals, headed by Robert P. Goldman and Louis Lipsky as co-chairmen, and another on Guidance, headed by Judge Louis Levinthal as chairman, went into session to prepare a draft of program and method. The general session was resumed by the other delegates, who continued the discussion in the morning and afternoon, Mr. Eugene B. Strassburger, Pittsburgh, representing the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, presiding in the morning, and Mr. Monsky in the afternoon.

Methods of Election

It was agreed that the American Jewish Assembly will be made up as follows: 25% selected by national membership organizations and 74% elected by democratically convened conferences comprising delegates of organizations in communities or regions. The not more than 500 delegates to the Assembly will be distributed on the basis of Jewish population. There will not be individual voting for delegates.

In his opening address, Mr. Monsky said that the response to the invitation of B'nai B'rith for such a conference "is indicative of an awareness of the tragic situation which confronts our people and of the imperative necessity for an accord upon the problems generally described in the letter of invitation, as 'the postwar status of Jews and the upbuilding of a Jewish Palestine.'"

In the course of his address, which was echoed and amplified in the series of brilliant addresses made by scores of other delegates, Mr. Monsky said:

"We have come together, not to adopt or propagandize for one or another postwar plan; not to issue or publish manifestoes 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 postwar 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.

"While our first and primary responsibility to be discharged, at whatever price and sacrifice, in co-operation with all groups that make up the United Nations, is to win the war, we have a grave and inescapable responsibility no less vital, no less imperative, to give voice and support to those ideals and those principles, which will insure a lasting peace -- a peace that shall have regard for the rights, the freedoms and the moral concepts, implicit in the Atlantic Charter and the many similar declarations of public men, which aim to chart the course of a postwar world. The fate and the future of all Jews in every part of the world must depend upon our capacity for objective and farsighted statesmanship, free from preconceived prejudices and the corrosive influences of a limited perspective.

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"In the discharge of the grave responsibility, which is the subject matter of this conference, there should be no attempt to regiment. It must be conceded that loyalty to particular interpretations is important, but, just as important is it, not to forget the whole for the part. This does not mean watering down one's convictions but in times like these it is especially dangerous when devotion to a particular program degenerates into extreme partisanship, when adherence to a specific philosophy of Jewish life may congeal into fanaticism. Our enemies batten on our internecine wars. Surely we can disagree in our interpretations without sacrificing our fundamental unity as a people. We have never had a common intellectual outlook. But, in this crisis, we must discipline ourselves to produce a common program of action.

"May I express the hope that our decisions shall be responsive to and consonant with, not only the practical needs, but with the spirit, the hopes and the aspirations of the Jewish people. Let our deliberations be characterized by tolerance and a proper perspective of the whole of Jewish life. Let us think in terms of the preservation of the vital spirit of Judaism, the great contemporary Jewish movements, the lessons of Jewish history, a courageous self-respecting Jewish community, and, above all else, the indomitable will to live as Jews."

Organizations Represented

The organizations represented at the Pittsburgh meeting included Agudas Israel, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Brith Sholom, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Free Sons of Israel, Hadassah, Jewish National Workers' Alliance, Jewish War Veterans, Mizrachi, National Council of Jewish Women, Rabbinical Assembly of America, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, Union of Orthodox Rabbis, United Synagogue, Poale Zion, Zionist Organization of America.

Statement of Purpose

A statement of the purposes of the preliminary conference and a guide to the procedures to be followed in summoning the American Jewish Assembly read, in part, as follows:

"This conference of delegates of 32 national Jewish organizations, representing the largest segment of organized American Jews, meeting in a time of war and of danger to our country, pledges all its resources without reserve to the support of the war effort and the victory for the United Nations.

"We are living through the most tragic days in all of Jewish history. The world is engulfed in a global war which has threatened the destruction of our civilization. The annals of history contain no record as black as that inscribed on its pages by the barbarians of the Axis Powers. Many peoples have suffered the profanation of their sacred altars, the destruction of their hopes, the devastation of the way of life, the loss of liberty, but, it was against the Jewish people that the Hitler war of extermination was first declared. It was pursued with relentless inhumanity, in every land the aggressor was able to occupy. Whole Jewish communities were devastated; men, women and children were driven like cattle into alien fields and there humiliated, tortured and done to death.

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"Elaborate plans were developed for the complete extermination of the Jews. Perhaps one-third of the Jews in Nazi-occupied territory have found their peace in a welcome death. Those who survive, even though stripped of their rights, denuded of all they possess, await the coming of the day when it will once again be possible to speak of freedom, justice and reparation. We reaffirm our purpose to do everything humanly possible to alleviate their sufferings and to restore their rights. The free democratic nations have been roused to resist the aggressors and would-be destroyers of our civilization. They are locked in a four continent struggle, determined to defeat and to destroy the enemy and all the evil for which he stands.

"As Americans and as Jews, the cause of the United Nations is doubly ours. All that we possess must be dedicated without reserve to that cause. Every sacrifice which the needs of the war effort may demand of us must be made. When victory comes -- the day is not now far off -- it will, we hope, also see the dawn of a new day for the Jewish people.

"We have a vital stake in the peace that is to come. Not only have we suffered appalling destruction of Jewish life, but much of that which was achieved after the first World War, in respect to the position of the Jew in the afflicted lands, has been lost. There has been a progressive deterioration of that position and of our rights as free men; there has been in many lands, complete extinction of those rights, as a consequence of the Nazi Germany stimulated world-wide anti-Semitic propaganda and the evil consequences that have resulted therefrom. There is crucial need for the restoration of that lost position and for its fortification upon enduring foundations of equality and justice.

"There is imperative need also to unite on a program relating to the recognized rights of the Jewish people respecting Palestine.

"Since the primary purpose of this conference is to provide a method of procedure for unified expression of the point of view of the American Jewish community, we submit the following proposals:

Proposals for Action

"In view of the desirability of creating a basis of agreement on a program of common action to deal with postwar Jewish problems:

"This conference resolves to take the initiative in the summoning of an American Jewish Assembly, organized on democratic lines, to establish a common program of action in connection with postwar problems and to elect a delegation to carry out said program, in co-operation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

"The American Jewish Assembly shall be convened within five months from the date of this conference.

"This conference shall establish an executive committee of 38 of whom 32 members shall be elected at this conference. Six places shall be reserved for other national Jewish membership organizations not now represented. The executive committee shall have the power to co-opt additional members, not exceeding 12, making a total of 50.

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"The executive committee shall act under the following directions: 1. It shall formulate a call for the convening of an American Jewish Assembly. This call shall be submitted to all organizations invited to this conference and such others as may be designated by the executive committee. When approved by a majority of the organizations present at this conference, the executive committee shall issue such call. A time limit of 30 days from the time when notice is sent to the organizations is fixed for securing such approval. The executive committee may, however, within its discretion extend this time limit.

"2. A. The American Jewish Assembly shall consist of not more than 500 delegates. The co-operating national organizations shall name 125 delegates. The Jewish communities, through local or regional conferences called for such purpose, shall elect 375 delegates. The distribution of delegates shall be on the basis of Jewish population. The national organizations shall elect their delegates in accordance with their own rules. Representation in the local or regional conferences shall be based on organization membership.

"B. It is recommended to the executive committee that representation of the national organizations in the American Jewish Assembly shall be on the basis of parity, insofar as possible.

"C. The principle of proportional representation shall be observed in the local or regional conferences in order to assure minority representation.

"3. The executive committee shall have the authority

"A. To fix the date of the election of delegates.

"B. To appoint a national board of elections.

"C. To fix the date and place of the American Jewish Assembly.

"D. To raise such funds as may be required for the organization and holding of the American Jewish Assembly.

"It shall render its final report to the American Jewish Assembly when it is convened.

"4. The call for the American Jewish Assembly shall contain a statement of program as follows:

"A. To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world.

"B. To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

"C. To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Assembly in co-operation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

"Full freedom of discussion and action by the Assembly shall not be impaired.

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"5. The Executive Committee shall have full power and authority to do any and all things necessary and proper to carry out the purpose and intent of the above program prior to the convening of the Assembly.

"It shall have power to organize itself and to provide for representation by alternates under such conditions as the executive committee may deem proper."

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McNUTT ASKS CRITICS TO RESERVE JUDGMENT

Washington (JPS) — Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, who battled the Ku Klux Klan in his own state of Indiana when it was not politically advisable to do so, issued a statement here calling upon the nation's liberals to reserve judgment while the problem of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee was ironed out.

Inferentially admitting that certain Congressional reactionaries are not happy at the prying of the Committee into discriminatory practices on account of race, religion and color, Mr. McNutt pleaded that minority groups which have been flooding his office with telegrams of denunciation "ought to recognize me as their friend and not crack me on the head every time my neck is out."

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SAYS IRAQ AIMS AT PRO-ARAB SETTLEMENT OF PALESTINE ISSUE

New York (JPS) — Iraq, which has joined the United Nations three and a half years after war was declared and as United Nations victories mount in North Africa, Russia and elsewhere, stayed out of the conflict up to this time because of her antagonism to British purposes in Palestine and has joined now in order to win a seat at the peace table and secure a pro-Arab settlement of the Palestine problem, it is alleged in an article in the Herald-Tribune by Edmond J. Nouri, news commentator and writer who broadcasts in the Arabic language for station WRUL.

Ignoring the British White Paper which was promulgated in 1939 to freeze Jewish settlement in Palestine, the pro-Iraq spokesman asserts that the indifference of Iraq Arabs "to the fate of the United Nations is born of dogged Arab opposition to the British enforced settlement of the Jews in Palestine. . . . The Jewish issue of the Palestine homeland still rankles in the heart of all Arabs regardless of the political and military commitments of their governments. And as long as this question remains unsolved, the Axis broadcasters of Berlin, Bari and Rome, together with Axis undercover agents throughout the Near East and North Africa will have a powerful emotional weapon against the democracies."

Praising Nuri Pasha es Said, Iraq Prime Minister, for "his courage" and his "deep understanding of international events" in joining the United Nations now, Nouri declares that the action "has one primary motive behind it — that of securing a seat in the United Nations' peace conferences when the war is won. By occupying a round-table seat, the Iraq government will have an opportunity to present its problems and grievances and demand a hearing of their side of the question. Naturally, the Palestine problem will be one of the main issues of the peace settlement."

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING HELD ON MAY 3, 1943.

The special meeting was called to order in Conference Room 3 of the Hotel Pennsylvania in New York City, on Monday, May 3, 1943, at 8 P.M. by the Temporary Chairman, Mr. Henry Monsky.

Mr. Maurice Bisgyer of the Secretariat called the roll, and the following organizations were present and represented by the following members and/or their alternates.

<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>MEMBER</u>	<u>ALTERNATE</u>
American Jewish Committee	Judge Joseph Proskauer	
American Jewish Congress	Louis Lipsky	
American Jewish Cong. Women's Div.	*Mrs. Stephen S. Wise	Mrs. A.H. Vixman
B'nai B'rith	Henry Monsky	
Ind. Order Brith Abraham	*Herman Hoffman	
Ind. Order Brith Sholom	*Alex F. Stanton	
Ind. Order Brith Sholom, Baltimore	*Bernard Danzansky	
Central Conf. American Rabbis	*Rabbi James G. Heller	
Free Sons of Israel	Hermann Stern	
Hadassah	*Mrs. David deSola Pool	Mrs. Halprin
Jewish National Workers Alliance	*Louis Segal	
Jewish War Veterans	Harry Shoffer	
Natl. Ladies Aux. Jewish War Veterans	Mrs. Rae K. Schoenberg	
League for Labor Palestine		Ralph Wechsler
Mizrachi Org. of America	*Gedaliah Bublick	
Mizrachi Men's Org. of America		Mrs. Lionel Golub
National Council Young Israel	J. David Delman	
National Council Jewish Women		Mrs. Carl Kaufman Miss Flora Rothenberg
National Fed. Temple Brotherhoods	Chas. P. Kramer	
National Fed. Temple Sisterhoods		Miss Jane Evans
Order Sons of Zion		Herman Z. Quittman
Pioneer Women's Organization	*Miss Dvorch Rothbard	
Union of American Hebrew Cong's.	Adolph Rosenberg	
Union of Orthodox Rabbis	Rabbi Jacob Hoffman	
United Roumanian Jews of America	*Chas. Sonnenreich	
United Zionist Soc. Labor Party	David Wertheim	
Women's League United Syn. of America	Mrs. Samuel Spiegel	
Women's Supreme Council B'nai B'rith		*Mrs. Ida Ferber
Zionist Org. of America	Judge Louis E. Levinthal	
		Herman Shulman
	Robert P. Goldman	
	Dr. Stephen S. Wise	
Secretariat: Jane Evans, Maurice Bisgyer, Lillie Shultz, Meyer Weisgal and Administrative Secretary, Jesse Calmenson.		

Mr. Segal moved, Mr. Stern seconded, and the motion carried to dispense with the reading of the minutes, since they had been distributed.

The next order of business was that for which the special meeting was called, viz; to consider the question of participation in the elections conferences by local Federations and Welfare Funds. The Chairman read a series of telegrams passing between the representative on the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee and the Chairman. After some discussion Mr. Kramer moved that Jewish Federations and the Jewish Welfare Funds which have members paying annual dues entitled to vote at regular or special meetings of such organizations, shall be deemed a local Jewish membership group, such as referred to in Paragraph 18 of the Rules of Election, however, only such regular members and not contributors shall be entitled to vote for delegates as provided in Paragraph 19. Miss Rothenberg seconded the motion.

Mr. Lipsky moved to amend Mr. Kramer's motion to say that in Paragraph 18 of the Rules of Election, the term "Jewish Membership organization" is not intended to include any local fund-raising or fund distributing organization at the local election conferences but that the local election committee shall have the right to accord to any such fund-raising or fund-distributing organization a token representation of from 1 to 3. Mr. Quittman seconded the motion.

*arrived late

After further considerable discussion the suggestion of Miss Evans was accepted that the Federations be informed as to why they were not originally included, and upon the suggestion of the Chairman, it was determined that the committee recess for fifteen minutes while a Committee appointed by the Chairman should meet to discuss some equitable basis upon which suitable representation might be arrived at if the body found it desirable to accord such representation.

(whereupon at ten-fifteen p.m. the meeting recessed)

The Chairman called the meeting to order again at ten-forty-five p.m. and called for a report of the Committee on Co-Option, by its Chairman, Judge Louis E. Levinthal.

The following names were presented by the Chairman of the Committee: George Backer of New York City; Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York City, Mr. Chaim Greenberg, of New York City, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mr. Edgar J. Kaufmann of Pittsburgh, Pa., Mr. Fred Lazarus of Columbus, Judge Morris Rothenberg and Mr. Carl Sherman of New York City, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and Mr. Frank Weil of New York City.

Motion was made by Dr. Wise, seconded by Mr. Stern, to adopt the report; motion was made by Dr. Heller, seconded by Mr. Rosenberg to table the motion to adopt the report; the motion to table was defeated, whereupon the motion to adopt the report was put to a vote and carried.

The Chairman then reported as follows for the Committee he appointed prior to the recess, consisting of Judge Proskauer, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Bisgyer and the Chairman, to consider the matter of participation by Federations or Welfare Funds in the local election conferences: The committee offered the following recommendation:

That the Election Board shall be instructed to inform the conveners that Federations, or Welfare Funds, (one and not both) shall be accorded representation in the local election conferences, if they desire to participate in those conferences, upon the following basis: in all communities (Election District) where the number of delegates to be elected to the Conference (Assembly) shall not exceed 5, the local Federation or Welfare Board participating shall be entitled to one representative at the local election conference for each delegate to be sent to the Conference (Assembly); in all communities (Election District) where the number of delegates to be elected to the Conference (Assembly) exceeds 5, the local Federation or Welfare Fund participating shall be entitled to one representative at the local election Conference for each two delegates to be sent to the Conference (Assembly) but in no case where more than five delegates are to be elected shall the Federation and/or Welfare Fund representation at the local election conference be under five. The Board of Elections is authorized to interpret and apply the foregoing principle with respect to regions.

Dr. Wise moved, and the motion was seconded that the report be adopted, as a substitute for all pending motions.

Mr. Wertheim asked a vote be taken on the question of the principle involved, whereupon Mr. Shaffer moved and Mrs. Kaufmann seconded the motion that representation on a basis to be prescribed in the local elections be accorded the Federations and Welfare Funds, and upon a vote by "ayes" and "nays" a division was called for; a show of hands disclosed a vote of 16 to 7 in favor of the motion.

The Chair then put the motion to adopt the report of the Committee as a substitute for all pending motions, and the motion carried.

The next order of business was the Report of the Election Board. The Chairman, Mr. Lipsky presented a number of points which had arisen in the Election Rules for Clarification, and made the following proposals:

(1) That the Executive Committee interpret Paragraph 12, Article VI to mean that the Provisional Committee named in any community shall be reported to the National Board of Elections, and shall be subject to approval and confirmation of said Board of Election.

There being no objection, the proposal was adopted.

(2) That the Executive Committee interpret Paragraph 19, Article VII, that the National Board of Election may authorize representation of any local group consisting of less than 50 members by 1 delegate to the district or regional conference.

There being no objection, the proposal was adopted.

(3) That the following sentence be added to the rules in Paragraph 30: If the vacancy be due to the death of the elected delegate, the district or regional election committee shall have the right to designate a successor, selected however, from the group under whose designation the original delegate was a candidate.

There being no objection the proposal was adopted.

(4) That upon application by a convener to the National Board of Election to permit the local Community Council to cooperate in the Election of the American Jewish Conference, the National Board of Election may grant permission to the Executive Committee of the Community Council upon the following conditions:

(a) said Executive Committee of the Council shall be augmented so as to include representation of all organizations entitled to be represented in the Provisional Committee under the rules;

(b) that the body so formed shall be known as the Provisional Committee of the American Jewish Conference;

(c) it shall issue all calls and notices in the name of the American Jewish Conference Provisional Committee;

(d) it shall follow the procedure with regard to nominations and elections as provided for in the rules of election;

(e) in no case shall the Community Council be substituted for the district election committee or the election conference.

There being no objection, this proposal was adopted.

(5) The Committee on Elections recommends that the date for the reception of nominations by a district or regional election committee may be extended by the National Board of Elections to not later than June 1. Permission is granted to change the rules in any particular necessary to conform with this action.

There being no objection the recommendation was adopted.

Mr. Danzansky pointed out the error in the printed Election Rules, Article I paragraph 2, and he was advised that the rule would be corrected to read "shall have paid for him" a registration fee of \$50.

The next order of business was the report of the Committee on Budget and Finance. Chairman Rosenberg asked a member of his Committee, Mr. Bisgyer of the Secretariat to report. Mr. Bisgyer presented the report of the Budget Committee, recommending the classification of organizations into Classes 1, 2 and 3, to contribute \$2000, \$1000 and \$500 respectively.

Mr. Rosenberg moved the adoption of the recommendation of the Finance Committee, Mr. Shulman seconded the motion; Mr. Segal amended the motion that the maximum amount to be paid by an organization be \$1,000 and that the other payments be adjusted accordingly; Mr. Wertheim seconded the amendment, which upon vote was defeated.

Judge Proskauer offered the amendment to the original motion, seconded by Mr. Kramer, that the report be adopted and the Chairman of the Executive Committee be vested with the responsibility of making adjustments in cases where necessary; Dr. Wise offered the substitute motion that the Chairman appoint a Committee of Three who shall be vested with the responsibility of applying the formula to the organizations represented, which committee will take into consideration all matters pertaining to the ability and the capacity of the organizations. Judge Proskauer accepted the substitute as his amendment; Mrs. Pool seconded the motion which carried the injunction to the Finance Committee to report to the next meeting of the Executive Committee. Upon vote the amended motion was carried.

Mr. Lipsky moved the Chair be authorized to appoint a special committee with authority to consider the distribution of the seats. Upon the suggestion of the Chairman, the matter was referred to the National Board of Elections to make a recommendation to the next meeting of the Executive Committee

as to the distribution of the 125 delegates to which the Executive Committee member organizations are entitled in the Conference (Assembly), according to categories a, b, c.

Mr. Kramer's motion with reference to a Praesidium of three to be elected to organize the Conference (Assembly), one of the three to be Chairman of the Executive Committee and additional members of the Praesidium to be added later at Executive Committee meeting if deemed advisable and necessary, was taken from the table, and Dr. Wise moved that consideration of it be postponed to the next meeting. Mr. Kramer consented to the postponement.

Rabbi Heller moved the Administrative Committee add one member to the Committee from the American Jewish Committee; Miss Evans seconded the motion, and the motion carried. Judge Proskauer asked for the right to name his substitute, Mr. Allan Stroock, to act on behalf of the American Jewish Committee on the Administrative Committee. The request was granted.

The matter of selecting a place for the holding of the national Conference was assigned to the Secretariat, for recommendation to the Executive Committee at the next meeting.

The Chairman reported on the matter of the Jewish Labor Committee having written to them on behalf of the Executive Committee to reconsider their position and advising them that a Committee had been appointed in the event they desired to meet with such committee to discuss their problems, and the Chairman was advised by them by telegram that they would meet in the middle of this month and at that meeting would consider the matter.

Dr. Wise moved adjournment, and the meeting adjourned at 11:40 P.M.



AMERICAN JEWISH ~~ASSEMBLY~~ CONFERENCE

521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

May 6, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

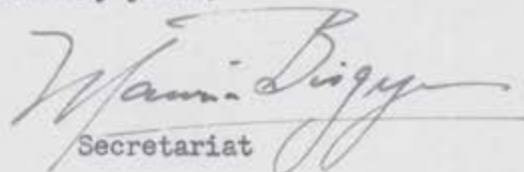
On behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference I take pleasure in informing you of your election by cooption as a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

Forty-three national Jewish membership organizations have already affiliated with the Conference which has the important task of establishing a common program of action on post-war Jewish problems, and will elect a delegation to further said program in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

We shall look forward to your counsel in the deliberations of the Executive Committee. Will you let us know whether you accept. In that event, you will be notified in due course of all future meetings of the Committee.

By instruction of Henry Monsky, Acting Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Sincerely yours,


Secretariat

May 9, 1948

Mr. Maurice Bisgyer, Secretariat
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Bisgyer:

Permit me to acknowledge your letter of May 6 informing me that I have been elected by cooption as a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference. Please convey my thanks to the members of the Committee for having invited me to join their counsels, and I shall be very happy to serve.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:B

5649 Northumberland St.
Pittsburgh, Pa.
May 8, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

May I extend my heartiest congratulations on your election to the National Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference?

In the interview granted me on March 13 you made a profound and historic statement when you declared that the Jewish left-wing movement is a positive force in Jewish life today and should be an integral part of the united Jewish community everywhere. This statement was greeted by many leaders of Jewry in America, including Rabbi Samuel Woll of Cincinnati, Rabbi Eliezer Silver of Cincinnati, Rabbi Aaron Aleivi Ashinsky of Pittsburgh, and Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof of Pittsburgh.

To my great astonishment, however, I find that the National Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference has not invited a number of Jewish organizations to participate in the elections to the Conference. Nor was any action taken on the requests of the Icor and the Jewish Section of the International Workers Order for inclusion in the plans for the Conference. Furthermore, the local committees appointed by Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the National Election Committee, have not invited the participation of many Jewish organizations that are anxious to be a part of the assembly.

Is it possible that it is the intention of some people to exclude certain Jewish groups from the Conference, because of political considerations? Was that the intention of the originators of the Conference? Certainly this does not express the sentiment of American Jewry today, who, above all else, desire to strengthen the unity of the Jewish people in this hour of struggle for our very survival. Surely, Rabbi Silver, such a discriminatory policy is alien to the democratic objectives of the conference.

Time is short. In this moment of extreme peril to our people, we should be united as one to meet the challenge to our national existence.

I am confident that, as an outstanding leader of world Jewry, loved and respected by all sections of our people, you will exert your influence as a member of the National Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference in making it possible for all Jewish organizations that accept the platform

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver - 2

of the Pittsburgh conference to take part, both nationally and locally, in the elections to the American Jewish Conference.

Should it be your desire to discuss this problem with some of the leaders of the Jewish left-wing movement, such as Mr. Reuben Salzman, General Secretary of the Jewish Section of the International Workers Order, and Mr. Ben Gold, International President of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, I should be glad to arrange a meeting, to be held in the near future at your convenience.

An early reply will be appreciated.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Abraham Strauss

Abraham Strauss



May 13, 1943

Mr. Abraham Strauss
5649 Northumberland St.
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Mr. Strauss:

Please pardon the delay in answering your kind letter of May 8. I have been away from the city most of the time and my correspondence has lagged.

I have only recently been chosen to the National Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference. I have, as yet, attended no meetings and I am not acquainted with the discussions of the Committee with reference to the elections. I shall keep your letter in mind when I attend the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

MINUTES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING - AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Hotel Biltmore, New York City - May 15-16, 1943

The meeting was called to order in Room 128 of the Hotel Biltmore, New York City, on Saturday evening, May 15, 1943, at eight-forty by the Temporary Chairman, Mr. Henry Monsky of Omaha.

The following organizations were represented as follows:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
Agudas Israel		*Dr. I. Lewin
American Jewish Committee		Allan Stroock
American Jewish Congress	Louis Lipsky	
Amer. Jewish Congress, Wom. Div.		Mrs. A. H. Vixman
B'nai B'rith	Henry Monsky	
Ind. Order Brith Abraham		Abraham H. Hollander
Ind. Order Brith Sholom	Alex F. Stanton	
Free Sons of Israel	Hermann Stern	
Hadassah	Mrs. David deSola Pool	
Jewish National Wkrs. Alliance	Louis Segal	
Jewish War Veterans		George Fredman
Jewish War Vets. Ladies Aux.	Mrs. Rae K. Schoenberg	
League for Labor Palestine		Ralph Wechsler
Mizrachi Org. of America	*Gedaliah Bublick	
Miz. Women's Org. of Amer.		Mrs. Lionel Golub
Natl. C'l of Jewish Women		Flora Rothenberg
Natl. Fed. Temple Brotherhoods	Chas. P. Kramer	
Natl. Fed. Temple Sisterhoods	Mrs. Hugo Hartmann	
Order Sons of Zion		Herman Zvi Quittman
Pioneer Women's Org.	Miss Dvorah Rothbard	
Progressive Order of the West		Abraham Levinthal
Union of Amer. Hebrew Congregations		Rabbi Jonah Wise
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations		M. Morton Rubenstein
United Roumanian Jews of Amer.		Sol Rosman
Union of Orthodox Rabbis	Rabbi Jacob Hoffman	
United Synagog of America	Louis Moss	
Women's League, United Syn. of America	Mrs. Samuel Spiegel	
Poale Zion	David Werthoim	
Zionist Org. of America	Judge Louis E. Leventhal	Herman Shulman
Coopted Members:	Chaim Greenberg, Robert Goldman	
	Rose Halprin	Dr. Stephen S. Wise
	Edg. J. Kaufmann	Carl Sherman
	Dr. Isabel Goldstein	Frank Weil
Secretariat:	Miss Jane Evans, Maurice Bisgyer, Lillie Shultz, Meyer W. Weisgal	
Guests:	Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Mr. Sidney Hollander, Mr. Lurie, Mr. Younkers	
Staff:	Mr. Louis Grossman, Mr. Bernard Postal, Mr. Jesse Calmenson, Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Berta Willig	
Note:	*Sunday only	

Following the roll call by Secretariat Member Bisgyer, the Chairman presented Mr. Sidney Hollander, President of Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, who together with Mr. Harry Lurie, the Executive Director of the Council, and Mr. Ira Younker, member of the Board of the Council, presented their reasons for requesting that a basis be found for representation of the local Welfare Funds and Federations in the local conferences for election of delegates to the National Conference, other than the one adopted at the May 3rd meeting. After the presentation the gentlemen were invited to remain, but asked to be excused.

Before discussing the subject-matter presented by the delegation the Chair asked if there were any objections to the minutes of the meeting of May 3rd in the form distributed, and by common consent the said minutes were approved without objection, and the reading thereof dispensed with.

The Chairman then presented the new members of the Executive Committee coopted at the May 3rd meeting, who were present:

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Edgar J. Kaufmann

Chaim Greenberg

Carl Shorman

Rose Halprin

Frank Weil

Mrs. David deSola Pool presented a report of the meeting of the Administrative Committee held on May 11th, in which the said Committee authorized the sending of a letter to local Federations and Welfare Funds, and also reported a recommendation that the Administrative Committee meet weekly on Tuesday afternoons. Mr. Segal moved the report, including the recommendation, be approved; motion seconded by Mrs. Vixman and carried. The motion was interpreted by the Chair in the statement that the said motion was not to be considered as mandatory, but merely as authority to the Administrative Committee.

Mr. Stroock moved, and Mr. Goldman seconded his motion, that the action taken at the May 3rd meeting with reference to representation of local Federations and Welfare Funds be reconsidered; motion carried.

Mr. Robert Goldman moved, Miss Flora Rothenberg seconded the motion that Section 18 of the Rules of Election be changed to read:

"Any local Jewish membership group, organized and functioning prior to December 7, 1941, having an annual dues-paying membership, excluding those organizations whose sole local function is money raising, and engaged in "recognized Jewish activities, etc....."

After considerable discussion Mr. Goldman requested permission of his second and received it, to change his motion to read, "...whose primary local function is money-raising, and engaged in recognized Jewish activities...etcetera." The motion was defeated.

Mr. Kramer moved, and Mrs. Vixman seconded his motion, that the motion of May 3rd be re-adopted with respect to the matter of Welfare Funds and Federations representation.

Mr. Kaufmann moved, and Mr. Stroock seconded the motion; that the following be substituted for Mr. Kramer's Motion, that the

Executive Committee shall not recognize a Welfare Fund, a Federation or a Community Council or any combination of them in any city, but will permit the affiliate organizations of either Welfare Funds, Federations or Council or any combination thereof and that the formula for the delegates of these affiliates should be arrived at as follows, that paid-up memberships in a Federation, Council or Welfare Fund, or any combination, of \$5 or more for the year 1942, shall be used to arrive at the total membership and arriving at that total membership you will use the formula as prescribed by the Election Committee of 50 and 75 to arrive at the number of delegates that might be seated by the affiliate organizations. The distribution of that number of delegates to the affiliate organizations should be decided on a local level; in no case shall this formula work to the hardship of any community, to seat less delegates than the resolution that was adopted at the last meeting; and, if any affiliate organization has a membership of its own which has already been recognized, they should be eliminated.

Upon a vote this substitute motion was defeated.

Mr. Weil then moved as a substitute for all pending previous motions that where the number of delegates to be elected does not exceed five, the Federation shall have one for each delegate; where it exceeds five, the Federation shall have one for each delegate; where it exceeds five, the Federation shall have one for each two delegates, but not less than five in the aggregate, that the motion be that where the delegates do not exceed five the Federation shall have 3 for each 1 of the first five, and that they shall have three for each two thereafter. The motion was defeated.

The question upon the motion to readopt the motion adopted at the May 3rd meeting in regard to Federation and Welfare Fund representation was then called for, and upon an apparent prevailing vote by "aye" and "nay" a roll call was asked for, and upon a roll call the motion to re-adopt the Motion of May 3rd was carried by a vote of 22 to 6.

Judge Levinthal moved and Miss Evans seconded the motion to adjourn, whereupon the session adjourned at eleven-fifty p.m. to re-convene at ten-thirty a.m. on Sunday May 16.

Following adjournment the Chair appointed the following Committee to meet with the representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee and report their conclusions to the morning session: Messrs. Bisgyer, Kramer, Goldman, Segal, Lipsky, Stroock and Wertheim, and the name of Mr. Kaufmann was added later.

SUNDAY May 16, 1943

The Sunday morning session was called to order by Chairman Monsky in room 119 of the Biltmore Hotel at eleven o'clock.

Mr. Meier Grossman, handling public relations for the conference reported for his department and there being no specific recommendations the report was received as read.

Upon motion of Dr. Wise, seconded by Mrs. Pool and carried, all remarks following the roll call vote in the matter of Federation representation were ordered expunged from the record.

Mr. Robert Goldman then reported for the Special Committee on Admission. Dr. Wise moved, Mrs. Pool seconded the motion that the request of the Jewish Labor Committee, asking for a representation to the Conference of 100 delegates without participating in the local elections be regrettably denied. Dr. Wise withdrew his motion with the consent of the second, upon the condition that the motion to evolve from the discussion make it clear to the Jewish Labor Committee that its conditions as reported by the Committee for adhering to the American Jewish Conference are unacceptable.

After a full discussion Dr. Wise moved that the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference finds it impossible to accept the proposals of the Jewish Labor Committee, which in its judgment would impair and undermine the organic structure of the American Jewish Conference, and that if there is to be any further discussion with the representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee it shall be with the understanding that the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference refuses to consider any proposal that shall be violative of the spirit and the structure of the American Jewish Conference. Mr. Kramer seconded the motion. Mr. Segal proposed the following amendment seconded by Mr. Wertheim, that it be clearly understood that the Jewish Labor Committee participate in the local elections just as any other organization, in accordance with the rules laid down, and that the committee be instructed to report this recommendation. Mr. Stroock moved as a substitute motion that a new Committee meet again with the representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee and report back before the adjournment of the afternoon meeting. The motion was seconded.

Mr. Robert Goldman moved, Mrs. Pool seconded the motion that as a substitute for all previous motions, amendments and substitutes, the following motion be adopted: that the whole matter be referred back to a special committee to be appointed by the Chair which may or may not be the same personnel which has thus far served to discuss further with the Jewish Labor Committee the possibility of their coming into the Conference with the understanding that the fundamental and basic principles upon which the American Jewish Conference has been set up cannot be violated, and that the special Committee report back before the adjournment of the afternoon session. The motion carried.

Mr. Gilgor was then asked to report as Chairman of the Committee on Admissions, and stated that the Youth Groups had asked permission that a committee from their group be permitted to attend during the presentation of the report of the Committee on Admissions. Judge Levinthal so moved and there being no objection the committee from the Youth Groups was invited to the meeting.

Reporting for the Committee on Admissions Mr. Gilgor presented the request of the Youth Groups to present a counter-proposal to that offered by the Executive Committee to accord the Youth Groups four seats in the Conference, and two members of the Executive Committee without vote, that each youth group be considered on its

individual merits as a national group applying for membership in the American Jewish Conference, invitation to be extended on the same basis as other national membership organizations admitted into the Conference and that each group so admitted be granted one vote at the Conference, and second, that the Youth Groups are willing to accept two seats on the Executive Committee, not without vote or voice however but with full voice and voting rights with the understanding that this is not to be accepted as a precedent or any commitment to the setting up of a future Executive Committee or similar body at or after the American Jewish Conference, and further that the Executive Committee coopt the two Executive Committee members to represent the youth groups from youth leaders, to represent Jewish youth as a whole and not in regard to their affiliation or as representatives of any particular youth group.

The Chair called upon Mr. Joseph Engel of the Committee representing the Youth Group to make his presentation, following which the committee was excused, with the assurance that full consideration by the Executive Committee would be given their counter-proposals and the decision would be reported to them later.

... the session adjourned for luncheon and one-twenty to meet again at 2 p.m.

The afternoon session was called to order by Chairman Monsky at two-forty p.m.

The Chair called upon Mr. Gilger to complete the report of the Committee on Admissions. Mr. Goldman moved that one seat with voice and vote on the Executive Committee to be accorded the Youth Groups, and one seat be granted them with voice but without vote; the motion was seconded by Mr. Quittman. The Chair ruled this motion conditional upon the admission of one or more of the Youth Groups. The motion was unanimously carried.

Upon the counter-proposal of the Youth Groups with reference to allocation of seats to the Youth Groups in the Conference, Mr. Goldman moved reconsideration of the previous action taken be postponed until the next meeting at which time a report be called for as to eligibility of all youth groups, and there being no objection the Chair ruled that would be the order.

The Committee on Admissions having nothing further to report was requested to continue to function.

The Chair called for a report from the Secretariat with respect to the place of meeting of the Conference, and in the absence of Mr. Bisgyer advised that for various reasons summarized by the Chair the public relations department favored holding the Conference in New York City.


Mr. Segal moved the Conference be held in New York City; seconded by Mr. Wertheim, amended by Mr. Stern to read, "in or near New York City", seconded by Dr. Wise. As a substitute Rabbi Jonah Wise moved the entire matter of place be referred to the Administrative Committee with power to act; substitute seconded by Mrs. Pool. The substitute carried.

At this point announcement was made that the representatives of the Labor Committee had arrived whereupon the sub-committee appointed to consult with them previously, were excused to meet with them at this time.

Mr. Lipsky, Chairman of the Board of Elections then reported the progress of the Election plans in the communities, and requested authority to advance the date of elections from June 14 to "prior to July 1" wherever necessary without making public announcement of the extension of time. There being no objection the Chair ordered that the Election Board shall have authority to make such change.

Mr. Kramer was next called upon to make a report of the allocation of the 125 seats of the national membership organizations in the Assembly; 20 of the 125 were to be allocated to organizations admitted, not invited to the Pittsburgh Conference, but joining later; the remaining seats were allocated as follows: four, to each of the following 19 organizations purely on the basis of parity, without consideration to numerical strength, total (76);

American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
B'nai B'rith
Ind. Order Brith Abraham
Ind. Order Brith Sholem
Hadassah
Free Sons of Israel
Jewish War Veterans
Jewish National Workers Alliance
Mizrachi
Natl. C'l of Young Israel
Natl. C'l of Jewish Women
Natl. Fed. Temple Sisterhoods
Pioneer Women's Organization
Poale Zion
Union of Amer. Hebrew Congregations
United Orthodox Jewish Congregations
United Synagogs of America
Zionist Organization of America



In the second group, organizations deemed affiliates, or only sectionally national, 9 organizations allocated 2 seats each as follows: (total 18 seats).

American Jewish Congress, Women's Division
Women's Supreme Council, B'nai B'rith
Jewish War Veterans Ladies Auxiliary
Natl. Fed. Temple Brotherhoods
Order Sons of Zion
Women's League, United Synagogue
League for Labor Palestine
Women's Branch Synagogue Council
Progressive Order of the West

In the third category with an allocation of 1 delegate each, primarily because of being organizations of Rabbis serving groups

of which they are in a sense affiliates, or having no local branches:

Central Conference of American Rabbis
Rabbinical Assembly of America
Rabbinical Council of America
Union of Orthodox Rabbis
Agudas Israel of America
United Roumanian Jews of America
Ind. Order Brith Sholom of Baltimore

, accounting for seven seats, and

it was further recommended that 1 delegate be allocated to each of the following organizations now members of the Conference not invited to Pittsburgh:

American Federation of Polish Jews
Council of Jewish Fraternal Organizations
Hapoel Hamizrachi of America
Histadruth Ivrit, Inc.
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the
United Synagogue of America
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations Women's Div.
United Sephardic Congregations, Inc.
United Galician Jews.

thus accounting for a total of 108 seats and leaving 17 unallocated. It was further recommended that the 17 unallocated seats be distributed by the Allocations Committee of the Board of Elections in determining appeals which may be submitted to the Board, and that if any of the 17 seats then remain they be held for organizations coming into the Conference.

The following organizations registered objection to the category in which they were placed:

Agudas Israel of America
Mizrachi Women's Organization
Order Sons of Zion
Women's Div. Amer. Jewish Congress
United Roumanian Jews of America

Mr. Kramer moved the acceptance of the report, the motion was seconded and upon vote the motion carried, with the understanding that the Committee on Allocations would hear appeals for adjustment.
(recess at 4:15; meeting resumed at 5:30)

The next order of business was the report by Mr. S trook of the Special Committee appointed to meet with the Jewish Labor Committee, which included the following recommendations: (1) All other considerations being satisfactory to a sub-committee which may be appointed, that the Labor Committee and its affiliates be allocated an aggregate number of delegates totaling 16, no one of those affiliated organizations being accorded a larger delegation than the Class A organizations in the Conference. The motion was seconded and put as a tentative motion and carried. (2) With respect to their participation or non-participation in the elections, it was

moved by Mr. Kaufmann, and seconded that it was agreeable to the Executive Committee that the Labor Committee may or may not participate in the elections according to what their own internal decision may be provided that no publicity be issued by the Labor Committee assigning any reason for non participation which in any way inveighs against or undermines the integrity or the structure of the election procedure and thereby calls into question the representative character of the Conference.

Mr. Segal offered the following substitute which was seconded by Mr. Wertheim, and upon a vote carried, that in admitting the Jewish Labor Committee to the American Jewish Conference it be clearly understood that the Jewish Labor Committee will make no public statement as to its non-participation in the local conferences which statement shall not first have been approved by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference.

Dr. Wise moved a Committee of five be named with power, which committee shall be empowered to meet with an official representative of the Jewish Labor Committee, if the Jewish Labor Committee desires to meet with our representatives, and that after such meeting they are authorized by us to make a statement which shall represent the mood and spirit of the decision just made. The motion was seconded, Dr. Wise agreeing to the Committee remaining the same in personnel as that which has been conferring with the Jewish Labor Committee, with such additions as the Chairman sees fit to make because of absentees. The motion carried.

Mr. Kramer asked that his pending motion with reference to a Praesidium be acted upon but agreed upon the suggestion of the Chairman to postpone it for action at the next meeting.

... there being no further business to come before the meeting, the meeting adjourned at 6 p.m. with the understanding that its members hold themselves in readiness for a special meeting if it be found necessary, to be called on Tuesday, May 18th ...

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
for the organization of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

May 21, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

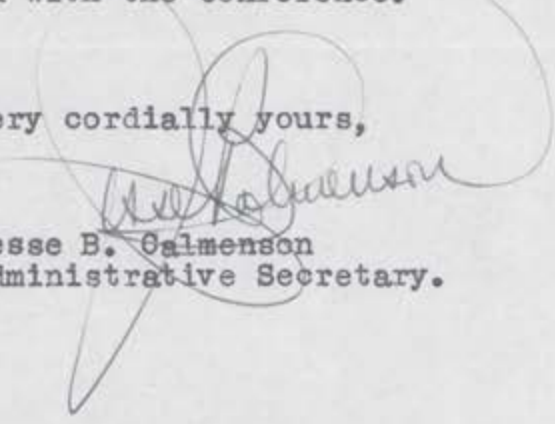
Your letter addressed to Maurice Bisgyer inquiring as to whether, having been cooperative as a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference, you should stand for election, at the request of those who have approached you, has been received.

There is no provision in the rules of election which gives any right to members of the Executive Committee, to attendance as delegates at the Conference. Delegates to the Conference will be seated only if they are elected by the communities or the national organizations which are members of the Conference.

It would therefore be highly proper and desirable that you do stand for election, unless you have some assurance that you will be selected as one of the 125 delegates that will be assigned to the 43 or more National Organizations which will be affiliated with the Conference.

With best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,


Jesse B. Galmenson
Administrative Secretary.

JBC:MJB

Zionist Organization of America
1720 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

May 26th, 1943

TO: ALL DISTRICT AND REGIONAL CHAIRMEN, SECRETARIES AND
CHAIRMEN OF Z.O.A. COMMITTEES FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

FROM: SIMON SHETZER

SUBJECT: AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Several communications have already reached you on the subject of the American Jewish Conference. The time is growing short and much remains still to be done. Please refer to our two earlier memoranda of May 6th and May 13th and check your own progress to date against the necessary steps outlined.

STEERING COMMITTEE

If you have not already done so you should immediately, in cooperation with Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion, and such other local groups who are prepared to join with you under the banner of a united General Zionist ticket, establish a compact Steering Committee. The task of this Steering Committee is to direct all of the activities required to assure the nomination of our Zionist slate and the election of our candidates at the local or regional electoral conferences.

ALTERNATES

Alternates to local and regional electoral conferences are permitted under the Election Rules. Be sure to elect an alternate for every delegate (elector) whom you send to the electoral conference and send a list of the alternates to your election board.

Voting at these local and regional conferences will be preceded by a roll-call. (Section 26, Article VII, Rules of Election). Each elector is entitled to cast as many votes as the number of delegates your community or region is entitled to send to the national conference. (Section 26, Article IV).

If your delegate is absent from the electoral conference, your district will lose as many votes as he is entitled to cast. If his absence is unavoidable, see that his alternate is there to vote and is properly instructed. We cannot afford to lose a single vote.

CUMULATIVE VOTING

The rules established by the National Board of Elections provide for cumulative voting. (Section 26, Article VII). This provision is intended to protect minority groups. If, however, you do not utilize this provision intelligently, we may unnecessarily lose the election of one or more of our own candidates.

Cumulative voting will not present any special problems

- 1) where only one delegate is to be elected by your community or region, or
- 2) where two or more delegates are to be elected and you have nominated a complete Zionist slate equal to the number of the delegates to be elected.

Where, however, your district, together with Hadassah, the Order Sons of Zion and the other cooperating groups, may have determined to nominate a slate of less than the total number to be elected, the cumulative voting procedure must be utilized to protect our candidates against possible defeat.

ILLUSTRATION: If, for instance, your city is to elect 10 delegates to the American Jewish Conference, each of your electors has 10 votes to cast. However, your strategy committee may have decided that only eight Zionist candidates can be elected and they have accordingly nominated only 8. Each of your electors, therefore, after casting one vote for each of the 8 Zionist candidates, has 2 votes left over. How shall these votes be cast?

A plan must be worked out by the small committee on Zionist strategy. We recommend the following: Pool all your "left-over" votes and divide them equally among the Zionist candidates. If this is not done, one Zionist candidate may have more than he needs to be elected, and another may not be elected because he gets insufficient votes.

In addition, it is absolutely imperative that you call a meeting, immediately before the elections, of all Zionist electors and the electors of other groups such as synagogues, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, landmanschaften, fraternal orders, etc., whom you have previously committed to the Biltmore Program. At this meeting you should work out the distribution of the specific names of the candidates for whom each of these electors is to cast his specific "left-over" votes.

COMPLIMENTARY VOTING

Every vote which our electors are entitled to cast is important. Please caution your electors against giving away any of their votes as a compliment to some one outside of your own designated slate.

Leave nothing to chance. Eliminate every element of risk as far as possible. The fate of our Zionist cause rests in your hands. It is a sacred responsibility which Zionists are expected faithfully to discharge.

SS:bg
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MINUTES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING - AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Hotel Biltmore, New York City - June 7, 1943

The meeting was called to order in Room 119 of the Hotel Biltmore New York City, on Monday morning, June 7, 1943, at ten-forty o'clock by the Temporary Chairman, Mr. Henry Monsky, of Omaha.

The following organizations were present, and represented as follows:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Member</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
American Jewish Committee	Judge Joseph Proskauer	
American Jewish Congress	Louis Lipsky	
American Jewish Congress, Wom. Div.	Mrs. Stephen S. Wise*	Mrs. A. H. Vixman
B'nai B'rith	Henry Monsky	
Ind. Order Brith Sholom	Alex F. Stanton	
Ind. Order Brith Sholom of Balt.	Bernard Danzansky	
Central Conference American Rabbis	Rabbi James G. Heller	
Free Sons of Israel	Hermann Stern	
Hadassah	Mrs. David deSola Pool	
Jewish Nat'l Workers Alliance		H. Ehrenreich
Jewish War Veterans	Harry Shaffer	
Jewish War Vets. Ladies' Aux.	Mrs. Rae K. Schoenberg	
League for Labor Palestine		Ralph Wechsler
Mizrachi Organization of America	Gedaliah Bublick	
Mizrachi Women's Org. of America		Mrs. Golub*
Nat'l Council of Jewish Women		Flora Rothenberg
Nat'l Fed. Temple Brotherhoods	Chas. P. Kramer	
Nat'l Fed. Temple Sisterhoods		Miss Jane Evans
Order Sons of Zion		Herman Z. Quittman
Pioneer Women's Organization	Miss Dvora Rothbard	
Progressive Order of the West		Abraham Levinthal
Union of Orthodox Jewish Cong.'s		Wm. Weiss
Union of Orthodox Rabbis	Rabbi Jacob Hoffman	
United Roumanian Jews of America		Sol. Rosman
United Synagogue of America		Samuel Rothstein*
United Syn. of Amer. Women's League	Mrs. Samuel Spiegel	
Posle Zion	David Wertheim	
Women's Supreme Council B'nai B'rith		Mrs. Ida Farber
National Council of Young Israel	J. David Delman	Israel Upbin*
Zionist Organization of America	Judge Louis E. Levinthal	

Coopted Members:

George Backer	Carl Sherman
Robert P. Goldman	Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Rabbi Israel Goldstein*	Frank Weil*
Fred Lazarus*	Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Judge Rothenberg*	

Guests: Dr. Nahum Goldman

Secretariat: Miss Jane Evans, Maurice Bisgyer, Lillie Shultz, Meyer W. Weisgal

Administrative Secretary: Mr. Jesse Calmenson

* Note: Afternoon Session only.

Following the roll call the coopted members attending the meeting for the first time were presented.

There being no objection, the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting, which had previously been distributed, was dispensed with.

A report of the Election Board was made by its Chairman, Mr. Lipsky.

Mr. Lipsky moved that the policy adopted by the National Board of Elections with regard to the admission of electors in a community applying specifically to the groups of the International Workers' Order, be approved, which policy is to order the admission of such groups provided they are Jewish membership organizations engaged in recognized Jewish activities. Mrs. Pool seconded the motion.

The correspondence received from the I.W.O. was read by Mr. Calmenson.

Mr. Backer moved the action taken by the Executive Committee at a previous meeting with reference to the I.W.O. be reconsidered; Rabbi Heller seconded the motion, which motion was lost.

After a lengthy discussion the Chair ruled that the local election committees be advised of the non-admission of the I.W.O. on a national basis, but that this did not preclude participation by the local Jewish branches of the I.W.O. in the election conferences, if in the discretion of the local community or local election committee the I.W.O. in that community is engaged in recognized Jewish activity. Upon a vote the Chair's ruling was unanimously endorsed.

Secretary Bisgyer presented the report of the Finance Committee, attached to these minutes.

The section of the Election Board report dealing with a request for fractional voting in the Salt Lake area was discussed. Mrs. Pool moved that fractional representation at the Conference be permitted in the two areas affected. The motion was seconded, but the point of order as to the propriety of having more than 500 delegates was raised by Mr. Kremer and sustained by the Chair.

The report of the Sub-Committee on Jewish Labor Committee was read by Mr. Calmenson. Judge Proskauer moved to approve in principle of the action of the sub-committee and the Temporary Chairman, that the Temporary Chairman be authorized together with the sub-committee to have further conferences with the Jewish Labor Committee, to make such representations and arrangements with them as in their judgment is proper so that there be no further attacks upon the integrity of the Conference; and if in the judgment of the sub-committee and the Temporary Chairman, those conditions are fairly met, they then be authorized and directed to conclude arrangements for their admission to the Conference. Miss Evans seconded the motion, which, upon a vote was unanimously carried.

... the session recessed for luncheon at 1:15 P.M...

The afternoon session was called to order by Chairman Monsky at two-forty o'clock.

The first item of business was Decision on Time and Place of the Conference. Dr. Heller moved the first session of the American Jewish Conference be held at the end of July or early in August. The motion was seconded. Dr. Wise offered the amendment that the Conference be held in mid-fall, immediately following the last of the Holidays, in October or November. The amendment was seconded. Upon a vote, the amendment carried. Following further deliberation Mr. Wechsler moved to reconsider the action taken to hold the Conference in the fall; the motion was seconded and upon a vote carried, whereupon Judge Proskauer moved, and the motion was seconded, that the Conference be held either immediately before or immediately after Labor Day, as the Administrative Committee may determine. Upon a vote the amendment was lost. A motion that the Conference be held the latter part of August, was then put to a vote and carried. There being no objection, the Executive Committee authorized the Chairman together with the Secretariat to determine the actual date and place of the Conference.

Mr. Kramer reported for the Sub-Committee on Allocation of Delegates to National Organizations. The Sub-Committee was requested by the Chair to make a further and a complete report to the next meeting of the Executive Committee.

The motion of Mr. Kramer that a Praesidium of three be elected to organize the Conference, one of the three to be the Chairman of the Executive Committee, additional members of the Praesidium to be added at a later meeting of the Executive Committee if deemed advisable and necessary, was taken from the table for consideration. Mr. Weisgal suggested as a substitute to Mr. Kramer's motion that a committee of five be appointed to retire and bring in nominations for the Praesidium. Judge Levinthal made such motion, which was substituted, and upon a vote carried, whereupon the Chair appointed Judge Levinthal as Chairman of the Committee and Messrs. Wechsler, Stern, Kramer and Miss Rothenberg as members of the committee to retire and report before adjournment.

Mr. Louis I. Gilgor, Chairman of the Committee on Admissions submitted his report. The following thirteen organizations applying for admission were not recommended by the Committee:

- Women's League for Palestine
- Federation of Palestinian Jews
- League for Religious Labor in Palestine
- Jewish People's Committee
- Federation of Jews from Central Europe, Inc.
- Central Sephardic Jewish Community of America, Inc.
- Icor
- International Fur and Leather Workers' Union
- Pi Tau Pi Fraternity
- National Council for Jewish Education
- Jewish Artists Fraternity
- Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists.

Judge Proskauer moved the approval of the Committee's recommendation, which Mr. Stern seconded. Mr. Bublick moved a substitute that the Federation of Palestinian Jews be admitted to the Conference, seconded by Mrs. Pool. The substitute motion was lost. The motion on the approval of the Committee's recommendation was put to a vote and carried.

The Committee on Admissions recommended that invitations be extended to the following Youth Groups, which are considered and recommended as National Youth Organizations:

A.Z.A. of B'nai B'rith
The Young People's League of the United
Synagogue of America
The Young Judea
The National Federation of Temple Youth
The National Council of Jewish Juniors
Brith Trumpledor
Junior Hadassah
Junior Mizrahi

Before action was called for the Chairman requested the names of the youth organizations not recommended for admission:

Massada
Avukah
Hashomair Hadati
Hobonim
Hashomair Hatzair
Hillel Foundation

Mr. Rothstein moved all the youth groups be invited to the Conference;
Mrs. Pool seconded the motion.

The Chair ruled that pending action on the New Zionist Organization, Brith Trumpledor, its youth group, be not included in the action taken on Mr. Rothstein's motion, whereupon the motion was put to a vote and carried.

A telegram from the Jewish People's Committee was read, and a letter from that organization presented.

Mr. Lipsky moved that the application of the New Zionist Organization for membership in the Conference be agreed to on condition that in the elections that are to be held, should the New Zionist Organization put up any candidates locally these candidates should be designated in a manner that will not raise any confusion as between the Zionist Organization of America and the New Zionist Organization, that they undertake to follow the name of such nominee on the ballots and in any literature pertaining to the Conference with the word "Revisionist"; the motion was seconded. A telegram from the New Zionist Organization addressed to the Chairman was read. Dr. Wise offered a substitute motion, that the application of the New Zionist Organization be denied. Mr. Kramer seconded the motion. Mr. Rothstein moved an amendment, to defer action on the application until the New Zionist Organization present a bona fide list of membership to verify its right to admission as a national Jewish membership organization. Judge Levithal seconded that amendment; the Chair offered the suggestion to the mover and the seconder of the motion that the matter be referred back to the Committee on Admissions for such further data. The motion to refer was lost. The original motion of Mr. Lipsky, with the addition which he and his seconder accepted, that wherever in the literature or publicity the name of the New Zionist Organization appears, that they be instructed to use the word "Revisionist" in parenthesis immediately following the name, was put to a vote and carried.

In accordance with the motion that a Praesidium of three be elected to organize the Conference, one of the three to be the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Judge Levinthal presented the following unanimous recommendations of the Committee on Nominations of the Praesidium: Henry Monsky, Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, and moved adoption of the recommendations. Mrs. Pool seconded the motion. Mr. Kramer moved the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot for each of the nominees as the unanimous vote of the Executive Committee, which motion was seconded by Mr. Bublick and unanimously carried, and the Secretary so ordered.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned at
5:45 P.M.



EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
for the organization of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

June 16, 1943.

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
The Temple,
E. 105th & Ansel Rd.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

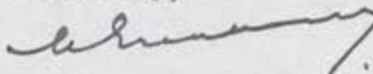
Dear Rabbi Silver:

My warmest congratulations on your election
as a delegate to the American Jewish Conference.

I would appreciate it very much if you would
fill in the enclosed questionnaire. The information
will be extremely helpful in publicizing the Conference.
Also, if possible, please send along with the completed
questionnaire a glossy print photograph of yourself.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,



M. Grossman,
Public Relations Department.

MG/lg
Enc.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
for the organization of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

June 18, 1943.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th St. at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The Jewish Day of New York will issue, next week, a special edition, entirely devoted to the forthcoming American Jewish Conference.

In addition to articles by their own contributors, we will supply the paper with a number of articles which this department secured. Also, the Day will publish statements from members of the Executive Committee for the organization of the Conference, which we received from members, in answer to the request we made.

It is imperative that your statement appears, together with other statements of members of the Executive Committee, and I should be grateful if we may have your statement not later than Monday morning, as it has to be translated and submitted to the editor not later than Monday afternoon.

Looking forward to hearing from you, and thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Very truly yours,

Meir Grossman

Meir Grossman, *e.g.*
Public Relations Department.

MG/lg

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
for the organization of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

June 23, 1943.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with the motion of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference, Henry Monsky as Chairman of the Executive Committee was empowered to appoint a Committee of Preliminary Studies for the Conference.

I take pleasure in informing you of your appointment to this Committee. The members of the Committee will be composed of (1) those who are actively engaged in peace studies, and (2) lay members. The first meeting for the purpose of organization and setting up the procedure for the functioning of the plenary Committee, will be held July 1st at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, beginning at eleven A.M.

The Committee will make a preliminary study of the status of our people in the various countries affected by the war and of the post-war problems resulting from that status, and such other conditions and related problems as fall within the scope of the agenda set forth in the Pittsburgh proposals, namely:

1. To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world,
2. To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

The Committee may avail itself of all data and information accumulated by the peace institutes maintained by organizations participating in the American Jewish Conference, and such information as may be available from other sources.

The function of the Committee, in particular, is to prepare for presentation to the Conference a documented summary of all said conditions and said post-war problems, relating them to the various countries affected. The Committee will not attempt to determine the attitude, position or judgment of the Conference, nor will it make specific recommendations with reference to the ultimate action which the Conference should take. Its report will be very helpful to the Conference if it points out the areas in which there is apparent agreement and those in which there are differences of opinion. Moreover, it would be also helpful if an analysis of the points of difference were prepared.

I look forward to your acceptance of this appointment
and the invitation to attend the meeting on July 1st.

Sincerely yours,

Maria Bigg
Secretary.

MB/R



MINUTES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING - AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel - July 14-15, 1943

The meeting was held in the Jade Room, and was called to order by the Chairman, Henry Monsky, on Wednesday, July 14, at 8:20 P.M.

The following Executive Committee members, guests, and staff were present:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
Gedaliah Bublick	Mizrachi Org. of America	
J. David Delman	National Council Young Israel	*Israel Upbin
	Progressive Order of the West	Abram Levinthal
	National Council Jewish Women	Flora Rothenberg
Robert P. Goldman	Union American Hebrew Cong's	
Mrs. Sam Goldstein	Mizrachi Women's Organization	
Alexander Goodman	Ind. Order Brith Sholem of Balt.	
	Nat'l Fed. Temple Sisterhoods	Jane Evans
Rabbi James G. Heller	Central Conf. American Rabbis	
Herman Hoffman	Ind. Order Brith Abraham	
	Union of Orthodox Rabbis	Rabbi Burack
Charles P. Kramer	Nat'l Fed. Temple Brotherhoods	
Judge Louis E. Levinthal	Zionist Organization of America	
	Rabbinical Assembly of America	Rabbi Abba Abrams
Louis Lipsky	American Jewish Congress	
Henry Monsky	B'nai B'rith	
Louis J. Moss	United Synagogue of America	*Sam Rothstein
*Samuel Nirenstein	Union of Orthodox Jewish Cong's	
Benjamin Gebiner	Jewish Labor Committee	
	Order Sons of Zion	Herman Quittman
Mrs. David deSola Pool	Hadassah	
	American Jewish Committee	Allan Stroeck
		*M. Waldman
Miss Dvora Rothbard	Pioneer Women's Organization	
Louis Segal	Jewish Nat'l Workers Alliance	
Mrs. Rae K. Schoenberg	Jewish War Veterans Ladies Aux.	
	League for Labor Palestine	Ralph Wechsler
Harry Shaffer	Jewish War Veterans	
Charles Sonnenreich	United Roumanian Jews of America	
Mrs. Samuel Spiegel	United Synagogue of Amer. Women's Div.	
Alex F. Stanton	Ind. Order Brith Sholem	
Hermann Stern	Free Sons of Israel	
Mrs. Maurice Turner	Women's Supreme C'cl B'nai B'rith	
	Poale Zion	Isaac Hamlin
Mrs. Stephen S. Wise	Amer. Jewish Cong. - Women's Div.	Mrs. A. H. Vixman
	Union Amer. Hebrew Cong.	*Rabbi Wm. Rosenblum
Wm. V. Suckle	Youth Groups	

* Thursday

CO-OPTED: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Chaim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Hon. Carl Sherman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Frank L. Weil, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mr. Robert P. Goldman.

<u>GUESTS</u> :	Dr. Nahum Goldman	World Zionist Org. Executive
	Bernard Postal	Public Relations, B'nai B'rith
	Dr. Milton Steinberg	Comm. on Preliminary Studies, A.J. Conference
	Herman Shulman	Budget & Finance Committee, A. J. Conference
	Louis I. Gilgor	Committee on Admissions, A. J. Conference

SECRETARIAT: Jane Evans, Maurice Bisgyer, Lillie Shultz, Meyer Weisgal.

STAFF: Mr. Jesse Calmenson, Administrative Secretary, Miss Willig, Personnel Manager, Mrs. Jarcho, Secretary to Mr. Calmenson, Meir Grossman, Public Relations Director.

Secretary Bisgyer called the roll.

The minutes of the June 7th meeting having been mimeographed and distributed, Mr. Stern moved their approval, and there being no objection the Chair so ruled.

Chairman Monsky, with the consent of the meeting, called for item XV on the Agenda, Report of the Committee on Admissions, which was presented by Mr. Louis I. Gilgor, its Chairman, who reported first on the Youth Groups, that had elected four delegates to the Conference, and two representatives to the Executive Committee, one with vote and with voice, and the other without vote with voice, Mr. Wm. V. Suckle of A.Z.A., and Mr. Bernard G. Sarg, National Federation of Temple Youth. The following organizations with applications for admission before the committee were considered and recommended to be not admitted to the Conference:

- Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, Inc.
- Hashomair Hatzair
- Jewish Friends Society
- The American Committee of OZE
- The National Association of Jewish Center Workers
- The Midwest Regional Comm. of Yiddish Culture Societies
- The Mohel Association of America
- The Representation of Polish Jewry
- Freiland League for Territorial Settlement
- American ORT Federation

Rabbi Heller moved and Mr. Stanton seconded the motion that the recommendation of the Committee be concurred in. Mr. Suckle moved that the report of the Committee be amended, to admit the Hashomair Hatzair; Dr. Wise seconded the amendment. Upon a vote by a show of hands the amendment was lost; the motion to concur was put to a vote and carried.

Continuing his report the Chairman of the Committee on Admissions reported the recommendation of his committee that one seat in the Conference be allocated for the following Jewish educational organizations: The American Association for Jewish Education; the National Federation of Hebrew Teachers, and the National Council for Jewish Education, with the further recommendation that they be requested to confer immediately together for the purpose of selecting their

delegate to the Conference; Mr. Gilgor moved the adoption of his committee's recommendation; the motion was seconded, but upon a vote was defeated.

The Committee on Admissions further recommended that one seat at the Conference be allocated for the Yiddish Writers Union, (the Peretz Schreiber's Verein) and the Yiddish Pen Club, and, on the same basis as the previous recommendation, recommended that these organizations be requested to confer immediately to select the delegate to represent these two organizations; the Chairman, Mr. Gilgor moved the adoption of the recommendation, seconded by Mr. Segal, but upon a vote the motion was defeated.

The Committee on Admissions recommended the rejection of pleas for reconsideration for admission by:

The American Federation of Jews of Central Europe
The Pi Tau Pi Fraternity
Icor
Jewish People's Committee
International Workers Order, Inc.

Rabbi Heller moved the recommendation of the Committee be concurred in; Hermann Stern seconded the motion. Following further discussion the motion was amended by Mr. Stroock to concur in the recommendation of the Committee on Admissions to reject the applications for reconsideration of all the organizations in the Committee's recommendation with the exception of the American Federation of Jews of Central Europe, and there being no objection, the Chair ruled the Committee's recommendation would be concurred in as amended.

Dr. Wise moved the American Federation of Jews of Central Europe be admitted to the Conference, and the motion was seconded. Mr. Shulman moved to amend the motion that they be admitted with voice but without vote pending the report of the Committee on Allocations; Miss Evans seconded the motion. Dr. Wise accepted the amendment, and upon vote the motion carried as amended.

The Committee on Admissions reported the application for reconsideration, and admission, of the Federation of Ukrainian Jews was rejected by the Committee, and moved the Committee be sustained; the motion was seconded and upon a vote carried.

Miss Shultz moved the Committee on Admissions be discharged with thanks and appreciation; the motion was seconded and carried, unanimously.

Rabbi Milton Steinberg, Chairman of the Committee on Preliminary Studies, was called upon and presented a brief report, giving a general outline of the procedure which the committee had determined to adopt and of the subjects which would constitute the basis for the documentation in process of preparation by the committee. The report was received with approval.

Mr. Charles P. Kramer, Chairman of the sub-Committee on allocation of seats to the Conference presented his report. Mr. Segal moved the report be referred back to the committee for further study and report at the next session; Mr. Stanton seconded the motion. Mr. Robert P. Goldman moved to amend Mr. Segal's motion to the effect that all organizations which the committee had assigned

four seats to, receive three seats; Mr. Segal accepted the amendment as did the seconder of the motion. Mr. Kramer moved as a substitute to these motions that he amend his report to eliminate therefrom all reference to particular organizations, and to take one seat from each of the six organizations which had been recommended for four seats, leaving them with three seats each, the six additional seats for further allocation as may be decided upon further consideration; Mr. Stern seconded the motion. The motion was unanimously carried, with the understanding that the amended report would be presented the following day for consideration and action.

At 11 P.M. a five minute recess was declared.

Thereupon the Chairman of the Board of Elections, Mr. Louis Lipsky, was called upon to make his report, which he did, reporting that 374 delegates had been elected at the national elections, with only one city, that of Worcester, Massachusetts still to hold its election on July 25. The Committee was congratulated, thanked, and asked to continue its work and report to the Conference, the special gratitude of the Executive Committee being expressed to the Chairman, Mr. Lipsky.

(the meeting recessed at 11:45 to reconvene at 9:30 A.M.)

Thursday Morning, July 15, 1943

Chairman Monsky called the meeting to order at ten-twenty o'clock.

The first item of business called for was the Resolution authorizing Bank Signatures, the purpose being to change the bank account of the American Jewish Conference with the Manufacturers Trust Company, which had remained in the name of the American Jewish Assembly; the resolution presented being identical with the one already adopted by the Executive Committee except for the authorized change in the name. Authority was granted, and the officers were authorized to furnish requisite certificates, upon motion of Mr. Levinthal, seconded by Mr. Goldman, and unanimously carried.

Communications were read by the Administrative Secretary, Mr. Calmenson, from New York Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, and the Brooklyn Committee, one of the organization's affiliates, in response to invitation to elect 50 delegates to the New York borough elections. The Federations advised that their board had considered the matter and had determined not to participate since they were engaged only in philanthropic work. The communications were ordered filed.

Mr. Calmenson was then asked to report on Admission of the Jewish Labor Committee, which report was duly presented including various correspondence and memoranda pertaining to the matter resulting in completion of the Committee's admission in accordance with action taken at the last Executive Committee meeting. Mr. Gebiner, the representative of the Jewish Labor Committee, who had been named as a member of the Executive Committee, was introduced to the Executive Committee. The report requiring no action was received and filed.

Mr. Calmenson then reported on the Admission of the New Zionist Organization, reading correspondence received from that organization with reference to its participation, in which it acknowledged its admission but informed the Conference it would require allocation of at least 3 delegates if it were to remain in the Conference, particularly since acceptance had come so late it was unable to participate in the local elections. The Chair suggested that the New Zionist Organization (Revisionists) be informed that the Executive Committee regretted its inability to allot more than the one seat already allotted to that organization; the suggestion was generally agreed to and upon a vote carried.

The Secretariat was called upon to report as Committee on Arrangements for the Conference, Mr. Bisgyer reporting. Following a lengthy discussion, motion was made by Mr. Shaffer, and seconded, that the Conference be not held at the Waldorf-Astoria, and upon a vote the motion carried. Mr. Stanton moved the Secretariat be instructed to check on the possibilities of holding the Conference in Atlantic City; Dr. Heller seconded the motion. The motion was defeated. The Secretariat was then instructed to take the matter of a place of meeting again under advisement and select a hotel or meeting place according to the original motion, in New York or its vicinity in the light of the discussion provoked by its report, the Secretariat to avail itself of the same power accorded it in the original motion under which it was reporting.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Shulman, Chairman of the Budget and Finance Committee, who presented the report of that committee.

Dr. Wise assumed the Chair during the rendering of the Budget and Finance Committee's report and recommended the Committee be authorized to say to any organization which fails to make any response to requests for its share in the budget, that unless it complies with such request its delegates will not be seated at the convention; the motion was seconded by several and upon a vote carried.

With reference to the Committee's recommendation that the Jewish Labor Committee and its affiliates be assessed in accordance with the adopted scale, Mr. Shulman stated that the Budget and Finance Committee would be unable to make such assessment until a more complete knowledge was had of the affiliates which would be sending delegates.

The next item on the agenda was a discussion on decision as to the status of alternates, (a) local communities; (b) national organizations, which was presented by a member of the Secretariat, Miss Shultz. Mr. Stanton moved each delegate be entitled to an alternate with a fee of \$25 for each alternate seated at the convention; Mr. Levinthal seconded the motion. Following a full discussion, Mr. Stanton with the consent of his second withdrew his motion. Mrs. Halprin then moved that the 125 appointed delegates be accompanied by alternates without vote or voice, but to be seated on the floor of the convention; the motion was seconded but upon a vote defeated, leaving the matter of alternates, as defined in the Rules of Election.

(Mr. Monsky resumed the Chair)

The next item on the agenda was a discussion of principles to govern Conference Organization, defined by Miss Shultz as necessary in order to define the relationship of the Executive Committee to the organization of the forthcoming Conference. Dr. Heller moved that it be the sense of the Executive Committee that the authority of the Executive Committee concludes with the convening of the American Jewish Conference, and that any future governing body shall be selected by and in accordance with principles to be determined by the American Jewish Conference; Mr. Segal seconded the motion. Upon vote the motion carried.

Various and sundry motions and amendments were then made for the appointment of a Steering Committee or Standing Committee to make recommendations with respect to the organization of and procedure at the Conference, and after considerable discussion Judge Rothenberg moved the following as a substitute for Rabbi Heller's motion (which was subsequently withdrawn), and for all previous and pending motions pertaining to the appointment of such Steering or Standing Committee: That the Praesidium appoint a committee to recommend to the American Jewish Conference the form of its organization and a procedure for the governance of the Conference, in the appointment of which committee the Praesidium shall take into consideration the component groups of the American Jewish Conference; this committee shall report back to a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee. The motion was seconded. Dr. Wise offered the amendment that instead of the Praesidium, there be a group of five or seven entrusted with the powers suggested for the Praesidium. The amendment was accepted by Rabbi Heller, who had made an intervening motion. Judge Rothenberg then asked permission to restate his substitute motion as amended: That the Praesidium appoint a committee to recommend to the American Jewish Conference the form of its organization and the procedure for the governance of the Conference. In the appointment of this committee, the Praesidium shall take into consideration the constituted groups as reflected in the election of the delegates to the American Jewish Conference; this committee shall report back to a subsequent meeting of the Executive Committee. Upon the suggestion of Dr. Wise, Judge Rothenberg agreed to change the wording of his motion, so that a committee of five shall be selected to appoint the committee in the place and stead of the Praesidium. The motion of Judge Rothenberg as amended and including the foregoing suggestion was put to a vote and carried.

Upon motion duly made and seconded the session recessed for luncheon at 1 o'clock, to reconvene again at 2 P.M.

The Chairman called the meeting to order at 2:20.

The next order of business was Item VIII on the Agenda, Decision with respect to the character of the Opening Session, and as to whether the Conference is to be open to the public. Judge Levinthal moved, and the motion was seconded, that that be left to the Program Committee previously authorized, to determine, as well as the rules under which guests may be present. There being no objection it was so ordered.

The next item under VIII on the agenda was discussed as to whether dignitaries of the United States Government and representatives of United Nations be invited to speak or send messages. Mr. Robert P. Goldman moved as to items (b), (c), (d), that it be the sense of this meeting that none of those be invited; Rabbi Heller seconded the motion. The motion was carried.

Item VIII (e) was then taken up as to whether there would be a charge for visitors and referred to the Program Committee, as was the following item, IX, with regard to holding special religious services on Friday, August 27.

Item X pertaining to a Hospitality Committee was also referred to the Program Committee with full power to act.

Mr. Weisgal then reported for the Public Relations Committee, reporting progress.

The Report of the Allocations Committee as amended was next called for, and Mr. Kramer made the following report of allocation of seats to national organization:

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Number of Delegates</u>
American Federation for Polish Jews, Inc.	1
American Federation of Jews from Central Europe	1
American Jewish Committee	3
American Jewish Congress	3
American Jewish Congress-Women's Division	3
B'nai B'rith	3
B'nai B'rith - Women's Supreme Council	3
Central Conference of American Rabbis	2
Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations	1
Free Sons of Israel	3
Hadassah	3
Hapoel Hamizרחי of America	2
Hashomir Hatzair	1
Histadruth Ivrit, Inc.	1
Independent Order Brith Abraham	3
Independent Order Brith Sholom	3
Independent Order Brith Sholom of Baltimore	1
Jewish Educational Organizations (3 groups)	1
Jewish Labor Committee and Affiliates	16
Jewish National Workers' Alliance	3
Jewish War Veterans	3
Jewish War Veterans-Ladies Auxiliary	2
Jewish Writers and Journalists (2 organizations)	1
League for Labor Palestine	1
Mizrachi Organization of America	3
Mizrachi Women's Organization of America	3
National Council of Jewish Women	3
National Council of Young Israel	3
Nat'l Fed. of Jewish Men's Clubs-United Synagogue of America	1
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods	3
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods	3
New Zionist Organization (Revisionist)	1
Order Sons of Zion	3
Pioneer Women's Organization	3
Pool-Zion - Zeire-Zion	3

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Number of Delegates</u>
Progressive Order of the West	2
Rabbinical Assembly of America	2
Rabbinical Council of America	2
Union of American Hebrew Congregations	3
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations	3
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations-Women's Branch	2
Union of Orthodox Rabbis	2
Union of Sephardic Congregations, Inc.	1
United Galician Jews of America	1
United Roumanian Jews of America	1
United Synagogue of America	3
United Synagogue of America-National Women's League	3
Youth Organizations (13)	4
Zionist Organization of America	3

After various and sundry motions were made with respect to the report of the Allocations Committee, Mr. Shulman moved as a substitute that the whole of Mr. Kramer's report be accepted with the exception of the allocation of four delegates, pending determination by the Executive Committee as to whether any other organizations are to be admitted. The substitute was seconded and upon vote carried, thus adopting Mr. Kramer's report for 121 seats as indicated in the said report.

Thereupon various and sundry motions were made with respect to individual organizations and for the reconsideration of motions previously acted upon, and the following action was taken:

The motion before the body was the consideration of the motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee on Admissions to admit the two writers' organizations and allocate them one delegate to the Conference. Rabbi Heller moved they be admitted and allocated one delegate; the motion was seconded and upon vote carried.

Rabbi Silver moved the three Jewish Educational groups be admitted and allocated one delegate in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee on Admissions and the motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Wise's motion to admit Hashomair Hatzair with an allocation of one delegate was put to a vote and carried.

Mr. Hamlin then moved the League for Labor Palestine be allocated an additional delegate, so as to have two instead of one, and the motion was seconded. Mr. Rothstein moved the one remaining seat to be allocated be kept open until the final meeting of the Executive Committee; Mrs. Pool seconded the motion. Mr. Shulman moved to defer action on the remaining single seat allocation until action had been taken on the status of the organization of the Jews of Central Europe; Rabbi Heller seconded the motion which upon a vote carried. Dr. Wise then moved that a place be allocated to the Federation of Jews of Central Europe; Dr. Silver seconded the motion, and upon a vote the motion carried.

Rabbi Heller moved no further places on the Executive Committee be allotted; Mr. Lipsky seconded the motion. The motion carried.

Item XIX was presented by Mr. Calmenson for purposes of information, calling attention to the Emergency Conference to Save the Jews of Europe to be held in July at the Commodore Hotel in New York, referring to letter written by Rabbi Jonah Wise to Senator Johnson, urging postponement until after the American Jewish Conference. No action was deemed necessary.

Mr. Gebiner read into the record a memorandum on behalf of the Jewish Labor Committee requesting that the first item on the agenda of the Conference shall be the matter of how to save the Jews who can still be saved through our unified effort and the cooperation of the United Nations.

Mr. Segal moved the suggestion made by Mr. Gebiner be referred to the committee to be appointed to convene a meeting of representatives of the different groupings to work out the organizational plan of the conference, and that the suggestion shall be placed on the Agenda at the first meeting of these groups. Rabbi Heller seconded the motion and upon a vote it carried.

The next item was to proceed with the election of the committee authorized at the morning session in Judge Rothenberg's motion. Rabbi Heller moved the Chair appoint a committee of 3 to retire and bring in nominations for such committee; Mr. Segal seconded the motion. For clarification the Chair stated that the purpose of the committee which the Committee of Three was being asked to nominate, was merely to organize a steering committee to recommend to the American Jewish Conference the form of its organization and a procedure for the governance of the Conference; the Chair was corroborated in the statement by general agreement. The motion of Rabbi Heller was put and carried. Rabbi Heller then moved that the Committee of Three consist of the Praesidium, the Chairman, Dr. Wise and Mr. Waldman to act as the alternate for Judge Proskauer; the motion was seconded by Mrs. Pool and carried.

A recess permitting the Committee to retire was called at three-forty-five.

Upon reconvening at three-fifty, Dr. Wise reported the following recommendation of the Committee of Three, that the Committee on formation of a Steering Committee consist of Mr. Louis Lipsky, Mr. Herman Shulman, Mr. Louis Segal, Mr. Monsky and Mr. Stroock, with the understanding that if the work of the Committee shall not have been completed before Mr. Monsky's departure from the City, Mr. Bisgyar is to act in his place, and if the work of the Committee shall not have been completed before Mr. Stroock's departure, Mr. Waldman be invited to act in his place.

Rabbi Silver moved its adoption; Rabbi Heller seconded the motion. The Chair called for further nominations, whereupon Mr. Nirenstein nominated Mr. Publick, seconded by Mr. Segal; Mr. Hermann Stern's name was placed in nomination; Rabbi Silver moved the nominations be closed; motion was seconded by Miss Evans. Motion carried. Dr. Heller moved that the vote be taken first upon the nominations submitted by the Committee, the motion was seconded and upon a vote carried, and the Committee's report was adopted.

Rabbi Heller moved that the Executive Committee adopt as a principle, that it submit to the delegates, both those elected at-large in communities and those selected by the organizations, the proposal that it coopt thirty additional delegates to the conference, at-large, through the country, to be selected by the Executive Committee with the consent of these parties. Mrs. Pool seconded the

motion. Dr. Wise offered the amendment that the proposal of Dr. Heller be referred to a Committee to be named by the Chairman, that Committee to report at the next meeting of the Executive Committee to be acted upon at that date; Mrs. Pool seconded the amendment. Mr. Segal raised a point of order on the motion; the Chair ruled the motion in order; Mr. Segal appealed from the ruling of the Chair. Upon a vote taken without debate or discussion by either Mr. Segal or the Chair, the appeal was sustained and the motion was ruled out of order. Mr. Lipsky moved that a committee be appointed to study the problem and make recommendations to the next meeting of the Executive Committee, with reference to important Jewish personalities who were neither elected nor appointed as delegates to the Conference, to be invited to attend the Conference. Rabbi Heller seconded the motion. The Chair then stated the motion which had been augmented by suggestions from the floor, to be: that the Chair appoint a Committee of Three to consider the possibility of integrating into the American Jewish Conference a limited number of outstanding personalities as honorary members, to consider the problem and to make their recommendations to the Executive Committee. Judge Rothenberg moved to table the motion; Mr. Bublick seconded the motion, and upon a vote the motion ~~to~~ lay on the table carried.

The Chair submitted a communication from the International Workers Order. It was filed.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the meeting adjourned sine die at four-twenty-five P.M.



MINUTES

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE - AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

August 12, 1943 - Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York

The meeting was held in the Wedgewood Room, and was called to order by the Chairman, Henry Monsky, on Thursday, August 12, at 11 A.M.

The following members, guests and staff were present:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
Gedaliah Bublick	Mizrachi Organization of Amer.	
J. David Delman	Nat'l Council Young Israel	
	Nat'l Council of Jewish Women	Mrs. Carl Kauffman
	Union of Amer. Hebrew Cong.	Flora Rothenberg
	Mizrachi Women's Org.	Rabbi M. Eisendrath
Alexander Goodman	Ind. Ord. Brith Sholom of Balt.	Mrs. Rosenfeld
	Nat'l Fed. Temple Sisterhoods	Dr. Chas. Highstein
Rabbi James G. Heller	Central Conf. American Rabbis	Miss Jane Evans
Rabbi Jacob Hoffman	Union of Orthodox Rabbis	
Charles P. Kramer	Nat'l Fed. Temple Brotherhoods	
	Zionist Org. of America	Herman Shulman
	Rabbinical Assembly of America	Rabbi Abba Abrams
Louis Lipsky	American Jewish Congress	
Henry Monsky	B'nai B'rith	
	United Synagogue of America	Samuel Rothstein
Samuel Nirenstein	Union of Orth. Jewish Cong.	
Benjamin Gebiner	Jewish Labor Committee	
Mrs. David deSola Pool	Hadassah	
	American Jewish Committee	Morris Waldman
	Pioneer Women's Organization	Allan Stroock
Louis Segal	Nat'l Jewish Workers Alliance	Blance Mogil
Mrs. Rae K. Schoenberg	Jewish War Vets. Ladies Auxiliary	
	League for Labor Palestine	Ralph Wechsler
Harry Shaffer	Jewish War Veterans	
Charles Sonnenreich	United Roumanian Jews of Amer.	
Alex F. Stanton	Ind. Order Brith Sholom	
Hermann Stern	Free Sons of Israel	
	Women's Supreme Lodge B'nai B'rith	Mrs. Ida Farber
David Wertheim	Poale Zion	
Mrs. Stephen S. Wise	Amer. Jewish Cong. Women's Div.	Mrs. A. H. Vixman
COOPTED: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Edgar J. Kaufmann, Hon. Morris Rothenberg, Bernard G. Sang, Wm. V. Suckle, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Mr. Frank L. Weil, Dr. Stephen S. Wise.		
EXCUSES: Hon. Joseph M. Proskauer, of American Jewish Committee		
GUESTS: Dr. Nahum Goldman World Zionist Executive		
Bernard Postal Public Relations, B'nai B'rith		
Edmund I. Kauffman Zionist Org. of America, Past Pres.		

SECRETARIAT: Miss Jane Evans, Maurice Bisgyer, Lillie Shultz, Meyer W. Weisgal.

STAFF: Mr. Jesse B. Calmenson, Adm. Sec'y, Miss Berta Willig, Personnel Mgr., Mrs. Ann Jarcho, Sec'y to Mr. Calmenson, Meir Grossman, Public Relations Director.

There being no objection, the minutes of the meeting held July 14-15 were approved as distributed.

Secretary Bisgyer called the roll.

Mr. Calmenson reporting on item IV on the Agenda, Communications, stated that Judge Proskauer, due to an injury would be unable to attend the meeting, but sent his regrets. A letter from the New Zionist Organization (Revisionists) was read stating their withdrawal from the Conference because they were allotted less than three delegates; no action was taken. Mr. Calmenson reported that in response to a phone call with reference to payment toward the contribution of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, he had been verbally advised that the Union of Orthodox Rabbis had withdrawn from the Conference because they were granted only 2 delegates, but that he had received no official or other notice of such withdrawal.

The matter of disposal of the seat vacated by the New Zionist Organization (Revisionists) was thoroughly discussed; Mr. Sonnenreich moved that if there be an additional seat it be allocated to the United Roumanian Jews; Mr. Stanton seconded the motion. Mr. Rothstein moved the matter be tabled and that the seat be left open; Rabbi Abrams seconded the motion; upon a vote by show of hands the motion to table carried. Mr. Delman moved the seat be allocated to the Union of Orthodox Rabbis; Mr. Lipsky raised the point of order that there was no such seat because of the previous action. Mr. Publick seconded the motion of Mr. Delman. In view of the discussion, upon the suggestion of the Chairman, and there being no objection, the matter was referred back to the Committee on Allocation of Seats for report back to the Executive Committee later. Whereupon Mr. Rothstein moved to table Mr. Delman's motion; Mrs. Pool seconded and the motion carried. Mr. Rothstein then moved, and Mrs. Halprin seconded the motion that the seat vacated by the new Zionist Organization (Revisionists) be left open. This motion was withdrawn. Mr. Kramer moved that the matter of filling the vacancy created by the withdrawal of the New Zionist Organization be referred back to the Committee on Allocations; Mr. Lipsky seconded the motion; the motion carried.

Mr. Bernard Sang, representing the Youth Groups was presented to the members. Mr. Edmund Kauffman of Washington was introduced as a delegate to the Conference, and invited to remain through the meeting.

Mr. Calmenson read a communication from Mizrachi, pertaining to committee appointments and Conference program; no action was taken although Mr. Kramer reported that the matter had been considered by the Program Committee.

Dr. Wise moved that consideration of further communications be postponed until after some of the real business had been transacted; there being no objection the Chairman declared that the order, and called for the report on Conference Arrangements, by the Secretariat, which was rendered by Mr. Bisgyer. He advised that the Waldorf Astoria had been booked for the dates of August 29 through September 2 for the holding of the Conference in the City of New York, this action having been taken following a referendum vote, authorizing it.

The Chair then called for the Report of the Program Committee, which was rendered by Mr. Charles P. Kramer who moved its adoption; Mrs. Pool seconded the motion. A lengthy discussion followed the presentation of the manuscript report. Rabbi Silver renewed Mr. Kramer's motion to adopt the report as presented; Mr. Wechsler seconded the motion. Mrs. Pool suggested the report be amended to the effect that all members of the Praesidium be invited to address the Conference at its opening session; following discussion Mr. Segal moved the suggestion be referred to the Committee for its consideration; Mrs. Pool seconded the motion and the motion was carried, the suggestion being referred to the Program Committee with authority to act.

The discussion reverted to the motion to adopt the report of the Program Committee. Mr. Shulman moved that the entire matter together with the suggestions offered be referred back to the Program Committee, in conjunction with the Committee of Five, so that the two groups can coordinate their activities, having in mind the suggestions made at this meeting, which included devoting part of the program to an expression of the Jewish War Effort, and a Memorial Service, and either at the opening or at the evening session, dealing with the problem of the emergency situation and rescue. Mr. Lipsky seconded the motion. The substitute motion of Mr. Shulman was defeated. The motion of Mr. Kramer was put and adopted, subject to the amendment as stated by Mrs. Pool which had previously carried, and the committee was instructed to consider in some way dramatizing the first session of the Conference by considering the additional suggestions that were made.

Rabbi Heller moved and the motion was seconded to recess for luncheon and the meeting recessed at 1 P.M.

The afternoon session was called to order at three-ten o'clock.

The Chairman called for the report of the Preliminary Studies Committee; in the absence of Rabbi Milton Steinberg, Secretary Bisgyer reported progress. No action was taken.

The next item was the Report of Public Relations Committee; Mr. Weisgal reported progress. Mr. Segal suggested that the material being prepared in pamphlet form for the delegates be printed also in Yiddish. The recommendation of the Public Relations Committee to publish a daily report of the proceedings of the Conference was approved and ordered done. There being no objection, the recommendation of Mr. Segal that the report of the Preliminary Studies Committee be printed also in Yiddish was approved and so ordered.

The proceedings were temporarily deferred to permit the taking of the photograph of the Executive Committee.

The next item for consideration was invitations to representatives of adjacent countries. Rabbi Heller moved that the Executive Committee through its officers be authorized to communicate immediately with representatives of the Jews of Canada and of Mexico and to invite them to send committees to observe and to be the guests of the Conference. Rabbi Eisendrath seconded the motion, upon the advice that there were representatives of Jewish communities from some of the South American countries, Rabbi Heller included in his motion any other American countries which could be represented and the motion as revised was approved by the seconder. Mr. Shulman moved that the Program Committee be permitted to make some variation in its report with respect to guest tickets (following suggestion that representatives of foreign lands abroad were in this country and might be given guest tickets and invited to attend the Conference); there being no objection it was so ordered. Rabbi Heller's motion was put to a vote and carried.

Mr. Shulman, Chairman of the Committee on Budget and Finance was called upon and made a brief statement with respect to receipts and disbursements of the funds received to date. No action was taken.

Mr. Louis Lipsky then was called upon to report for the Committee on Selection of Committee to Recommend Procedure and Governance of Conference, and made a detailed report which he read before the Executive Board, covering proposed and recommended procedures as to the governance of the Conference, including the number and types of committees deemed necessary, and the number of members and method of their selection to these committees, the Praesidium and the method of its constitution, and number of its constituents, and so forth.

Upon discussion it was suggested that the rule requiring a two-thirds majority vote of the Conference in order to present a resolution rejected by the Resolutions Committee, should be changed to a majority instead, which suggestion was accepted by the Chairman for the Committee.

Upon discussion the consensus appeared to be for a separate Committee on the Rescue of Jews in Europe, and there being no objection on the part of the Chairman of the Committee on Procedure, it was so ordered.

Mr. Segal moved that the Executive Committee give authority to the Committee of Five to proceed in accordance with the general principles presented by Mr. Lipsky in his report; the motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The Chair stated it was his understanding that pursuant to this action a letter will go out to the delegates, formulated by the Committee of Five advising them to register as in one group or another for the purpose of facilitating the work of the General Committee in placing them upon convention committees, and explaining further the means by which delegates who did not desire to join any of the already designated groups might join some group in prospect, of a different designation. All organizations desiring to make themselves known as one of the groups, were requested to report to the Committee of Five promptly, and they would then be privileged to send letters to the delegates if they desired to do so. This registration would constitute the official record for preliminary organization of the Committee without regard to any pledges that were heretofore made.

In the formation of groups in which the delegates might register it was expressly requested that the designation "Independent" be not used; also that the words "Designation Reserved" be inserted for those who did not wish to affiliate with any of the known formed groups, in the questionnaire to be sent by the Conference Committee.

There being no objection it was so ordered.

Mr. Kramer was called upon to report for the Committee on Allocations and reported the allocation of the seat vacated by the Revisionists to the United Roumanian Jews of America; the motion was made by Mr. Stern and seconded by Miss Evans to adopt the report. Mr. Segal moved to postpone action. Rabbi Hoffman seconded the motion and upon vote the motion to postpone prevailed.

Mr. Kramer raised the point of order that this being the last session of the Executive Committee action could not be postponed, the Chair ruled the point of order not well taken as the Committee would be in existence up to the calling to order of the Conference, and there was the possibility of further meetings before that time.

Judge Rothenberg moved to adjourn and upon a second the meeting adjourned sine die at five forty p.m. o'clock.

FINAL DRAFT

APPROVED BY COMMITTEE
SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1943

The American Jewish Conference, the democratically elected representative body of organized American Jewry, issues the following declaration of principles on the relation between the Jewish people, the Jewish Homeland in Palestine and the world need for post-war reconstruction:

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

In the first world war, the consensus of 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 consensus 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 constituent 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 sectors 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 United Nations Armies of 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 co-incided with a general deterioration of world order and international morality. Chief among the victims of this deterioration have been the millions of Jews living in Europe. Yet despite the fact that the conditions which made the re-establishment of the Jewish Homeland imperative 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 annulled and the last hope of millions of homeless Jews threatened with extinction.

Meeting at a time when the policies of the peace are in the making, the American Jewish Conference, conscious of its historic responsibility and of its position as 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.

It calls 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.

It demands the immediate withdrawal in its entirety of the Palestine White Paper of May, 1939, with its arbitrary restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement. The White Paper constitutes a violation of the rights accorded to the Jewish people under the Mandate of Palestine. It has been characterized as a "breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration" by Mr. Winston Churchill. Its moral and legal validity have been denied by the Permanent Mandate's Commission of the League of Nations.

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 full authority to regulate and direct immigration into Palestine, to develop to the maximum the agricultural and industrial possibilities 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 recreation 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 the scrupulous observance of the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of the Arab population of

Palestine, and to the equality of all its inhabitants before the law. It reaffirms its readiness and desire for full cooperation with its Arab neighbors in Palestine, and, in the work of its own national redemption, it welcomes the economic and political development of the Arab peoples of the Near East.

On the basis both of the part it has played in the history of civilization, and 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. Such a Jewish Commonwealth will finally answer the agonized need of the most martyred of peoples, and take its rightful place in the progressive order of mankind which it is prayerfully hoped will issue from the present struggle.

The American Jewish Conference
Its Organization
and the
Proceedings of the First Session
August 29 to September 2, 1943
New York, N.Y.

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CONFERENCE RECORD

The Daily Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference

NUMBER 1

NEW YORK, 29 Ab. 5703; AUG. 30, 1943

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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 henchmen 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 Monksy 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 Miss 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 Drasin of Savannah, Ga., President of the Rabbinical Council of America; Rabbi Solomon Freedman 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 Jacob 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 Ben Zion Kapov-Kagan of New York.

Following the memorial service, Rabbi R. 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. Monksy, who was one of the President of three which directed the organization of the Conference before its convocation.

In his address, Mr. Monksy 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. Monksy 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. Monksy'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 14 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. Monksy, 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 quickly 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 the 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 select 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 to the Jewish People.

(Continued on page two)

The American Jewish Conference In Session



Alvin A. Aron, 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 unclassified 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 Presidium 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 Presidium 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 plenary 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 Presidium

The Conference shall elect a presidium 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. Lipsey'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 Presidium be increased from 14 to 15."

Upon being put to a vote, Mr. Moss' amendment was lost and Mr. Lipsey'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 Hadasah; Gedaliah Bablik, Honorary President of the Mirisch 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 9,000,000 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. Cudman to plead angel-tongued for the victims of the devil 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 befalling 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 union 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 concerns 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 rescue 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 children 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."

"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. Bablik 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 ghettoes 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.

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 assigned 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

correct an error in the distribution of delegates to the communities, so that the records should show 375 elected by the communities and regions, and 125 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 Convener 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.

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 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 elections came from 5,437 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 1,711,600 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

(Continued on page eight)

Address By Henry Monsky

At the opening session Sunday afternoon, August 29

Heish Mah Tov unsh N'lim Sheet Ahim G'm Yehud! "How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity." Nathan Strauss, of sainted memory, opened his address before the American Jewish Congress, held in Philadelphia in December 1918 with this quotation. It was appropriate at 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 22 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 rebuilding of the Jewish world. It is for this purpose 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 promulgate for use 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 proceed, are calculated to accomplish the single objective, devotedly 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 surely 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 25, 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 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 Congress 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 of representation by *Stadionia*. 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 the 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 advised by the agencies "to consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the postwar world."

What is the problem? 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 phrasing 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, unleashed 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 marching gained in Poland. Hardly a town or village in the whole of Poland has escaped the seizure of its Jewish population. More than 50,000 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 remnants 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, plied 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 Zygielbojm, 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 responses 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 imperative.

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 Nazism 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, these principles, and spiritually. We must consider and devise ways and means of bringing assurance, after the present devastating reign of terror, of civil, 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, United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslav governments and also of the French National Committee (Fighting France) 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 slaughterhouse, 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 have ever heard of again. The abandoned 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)

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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 of any practical value.

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 (regrettably 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 dissatisfaction 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 Moffet 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 guerrilla warfare. We find the Jews fighting in the ranks of the Chechens, in the legions of the Greek guerrillas, 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 still not only the Jew but every nation ravished by Axis last, 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 guerrillas in the Red Army, the Jewish partisans in the armies of the Greek and Yugoslav guerrillas, 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 unshakable 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 indelible 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 fully 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 Treblinka, 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 Treblinka: "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 millennia. 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 Laaski 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 irrevocable obligation thus 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, and together we may plan their and our future and think ourselves together with respect to the fate of that world Jewry, including Russian-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 freedom lies in freedom 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 past 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, — goodly 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 relentless determination of the United Nations that nevermore shall leader or gangster, Chancellor or President, be permitted even to threaten unrebuked and unguished the extermination of a people of 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 union. Action in union 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 unspilt victims have not ceased to be our beloved and honored blood-brothers, to be boded, to be revered, to be cherished.

Spirits of the Slain

Within this chamber I behold the spirits of the millions slain, those dead with us not for revenge—for suffering hath too long been the badge of all our tribes—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 unspilt 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 righteousness 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 Agime, 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 crucially 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 Jewish Eternals of despair are treacherous 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 centuries 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 hands 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 elsewhere doomed civilian victims, including women, children, aged men. Let not the unjust reproach be incurred 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 as we can fairly say 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 see 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 Zionists or neo-Zionists or Revisionists. But what we can do is to take counsel together and work out in 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 our differences but our agreements, and that we have our action not on the conflicts but on the great concord 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 aided his brother, he 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 Weissmann 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-daring activities of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, of the HIAS, the Orit, 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 far again 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 war 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 astir 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 us 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 Samuels' remarkable study *The World of Sholom Aleichem*. "But," said the delegate, "Tevye, the Dairy-man, like nearly all the denizens of Kaselevsky, 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."

R. 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 Fannin
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. Rillei Kauer
Rabbi Samuel Laderman
CONNECTICUT
Bridgeport—
Judge Samuel Mellitz
Hartford—
Abraham Goldstein
Rabbi I. Solomon Rosenberg
Rabbi Morris Silverman
Conn. Region—
George L. Gans
Samuel Umanovsky
New Haven—
Rabbi Louis Greenberg
Max Livingston
Louis Sachs

DELAWARE

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 Bresler
Judge Oscar S. Caplan
Eugene W. David
Albert K. Epstein
Rabbi Ephraim Epstein
Judge Harry M. Fisher
Miss Pearl Franklin
Harry N. Gottlieb
Max A. Kopstein
Milton J. Kuzsky
Mrs. Felix A. Levy
Sigmund Livingston
Lee H. Lewis
Dr. Louis L. Mann
Albert F. Neckenburger
Benjamin I. Morria
Mrs. Aaron Oeri
Rabbi Gunther W. Flaust
Dr. Herman Pomrenze
Dr. David Rebecky
H. B. Ritman
Dr. Bernard Rodin
Joseph Roelink
Dr. David D. Sachs
Benjamin Samuels
Rabbi Saul Silber
Samuel Weilberg

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. Rabinowitch
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—
Philip W. Lowen
MARYLAND
Entire State—

Rabbi Nathan Drizin

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. Levy

Rabbi Joshua Loth Lishman

Judge Jennie Lottman

Barran

Rev. H. Eben. Manowetky

Jacob Rabinowitz

Judge David A. Rose

Joseph I. Seifert

Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow

Elihu D. Stone

David M. Watchmaker

Chester—

Rabbi Sidney S. Guthman

Robert H. Klainer

Fall River-Brockton—

New Bedford Region—

David S. Schneerson

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 Drosch

Mrs. Joseph H. Ehrlich

Rabbi Leon Fram

Dr. B. Benedict Glazer

Aaron Rosenberg

Morris L. Schaver

Daniel Temchin

Rabbi Max J. Wohlgeleuter

Grand Rapids—

Rabbi Jerome D. Folkman

MINNESOTA

Minnesota Region—

Aaron E. Horwitz

Rabbi David Aronson

Dr. Moses Barne

St. Paul—

Mrs. Harry Rosenthal

MISSISSIPPI

Entire State—

Rabbi S. A. Rabinowitz

MISSOURI

Kansas City—

Jacob Brown

Irvin Fane

Mrs. Ernest Polzer

St. Joseph Region—

Louis Kranitz

St. Louis (Incl. So. Ill.)—
Israel E. 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 B. Wise

Oscar Chislik

New Brunswick—

Harry S. Fellar

Passaic—

Joseph A. Feder

Paterson—

Rabbi Bezalel Cohen

Abe J. Greene

Perth Amboy—

Judge Harry S. Medinist

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 Maccohy

Newburgh Region—

Rabbi Herbert L. Bloom

New Rochelle—

Robert Soof

Poughkeepsie Region—

Seymour Levine

Nassau-Suffolk Region—

Max Dorf, Laurence

Mrs. Samuel Golding

Mrs. Mortimer Kroll

Norman M. Beck

Port Chester Region—

Louis M. Shanck

Rochester—

Rabbi Philip Bernstein

Joseph Goldstein

Schenectady—

Joseph Goodman

Syracuse—

J. Leo Feigenbaum

Bernard G. Rudolph

Utica Region—

David Geffen

Herman Weisman

Yonkers—

Isidor Sack

Brooklyn—

Samuel Berson

Samuel Binyer

Gedaliah Boblick

Arnon D. Borack

Isaac Cohen

Nathan Dinkes

Jacob Dokulsky

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. Hoernig
Mrs. Joseph Horowitz
Abraham Krumbein
Judge Edward Laranaky
Rabbi Israel H. Levinthal
Dr. C. Aaron Pinta
Herman Neaderland
Abraham A. Redelheim
Jochanan I. Rudavsky
Albert D. Schanser
Mrs. Abraham Shapiro
William J. Siegel
Edward S. Silver
Kieve Skidell
Abraham Spicandler
Mrs. Benjamin Spitzer
Judge Meier Steinbrink
Ruth Wartner
Morris Zeldin
Baruch Zuckerman

Bronx—

Benjamin Antin

Meyer Brown

Rabbi J. M. Charlop

Samuel Duker

Rabbi Simon Federbusch

M. Ma'dwin 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

Max Moses P. Epstein

Louis Fabricant

Jacob Fishman

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Hayim Greenberg

Isaac Hamlin

Mrs. Joseph Haperman

Herman Hoffman

Rabbi Jacob Hoffman

Rabbi Mordecai M. Kaplan

Louis Lipaky

Dr. Samuel Margoshes

Rabbi Harold H. Mashoff

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. Weissel

Benjamin Winter

Dr. Stephen S. Wise

List of Conference Delegates

(Continued from page seven)

WASHINGTON

Seattle—
Morris A. Robbins
Rabbi S. P. Wohlgerer
Washington Region—
Rabbi Adolph Fink
Entire State—

Rabbi Samuel Cooper
WISCONSIN
Wisconsin Region—
Rabbi David Shapiro
Milwaukee—
L. M. Seidelman
Rabbi Louis J. Swickow
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 Laksar, Jr., Columbus, Ohio

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore, Md.
Jacob Leichtenman, New York

LOUIS STURTZ, NEW YORK

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS—WOMEN'S DIVISION—

Miss Lily Brandt, New York
Mrs. Lee Rosenthal, New York
Mrs. Anna Center Schneiderman, New York

ENAI BRITH—

Sidney G. Kasworm, Dayton, Ohio
Henry Monsky, Omaha, Nebraska

EDWIN J. SCHANFARBER, COLUMBUS, OHIO

ENAI BRITH—WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL—

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

MRS. ALBERT WOLDMAN, CLEVELAND, OHIO

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS—

Rabbi Solomon R. Frenkel, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Rabbi James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Ohio

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FRATERNAL FEDERATIONS—

David L. Meckler, New York
FREE SONS OF ISRAEL—

Irving Feldman, New York
Nathaniel Greenbaum, Brooklyn, N. Y.

HADASSAH—

Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin, New York
Mrs. Edward Jacobs, New York
Mrs. David deSola Pool, New York

HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA—

Herrl Rosenberg, Chicago, Ill.
Isidor Margolis, Bronx, N. Y.

HABOMER HATZAIH—

Moshe Furman, New York
HISTADRUTH 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 SIBOLM OF BALTIMORE—

Alexander Goodman, Baltimore, Md.
INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH SIBOLM OF PHILADELPHIA—

Frank E. Bernstein, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Louis I. Güler, Philadelphia, Pa.

JEWISH EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS—

(Nat'l Council for Jewish Education, Nat'l Federation of Hebrew Teachers, American Ass'n for Jewish Education.)

MARK EISNER, NEW YORK

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE AND AFFILIATES—

Jewish Labor Committee, Workers 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 Singel, Chicago, Ill.
H. Bialis, Chicago, Ill.
Harry Berger, Philadelphia, Pa.

Joseph Bernstein, Detroit, Mich.
Leon Arkin, Boston, Mass.

JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS ALLIANCE—

Sol Bernstein, New York
Abraham Margulis, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Meyer Weisgal, New York
JEWISH WAR VETERANS—

J. George Friedman, 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, Bridgeport, Conn.

JEWISH WRITERS AND JOURNALISTS—

(Yiddish Writers Union; Yiddish P.E.N. Club)

Moshe 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 ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA—

Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Brooklyn, 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, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Mrs. Joseph M. Weit, Detroit, Mich.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL—

Irving M. Bunin, 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, Philadelphia, 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, Winnetka, Ill.

Mrs. Louis Rosett, New Rochelle, N. Y.

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF UNITED SYNAGOGUE—

Mrs. Morris Klein, New York
Mrs. Barnett Kopelman, New York

Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, New York
ORDER SONS OF ZION—

Hyman J. Fliegel, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Louis Rimsky, New York
Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, New York

PIONEER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION—

Miriam Gindoff, Union Pier, Michigan

Sara Feder, Columbia, Mo.
Dorrah 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. Dybinsky, St. Louis, Mo.

Sol Goldman, St. Louis, Mo.
RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA—

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

Dr. Louis Epstein, Brooklyn, Mass.

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA—

Rabbi William Drazin, Savannah, Ga.

Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, New York

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS—

Rabbi Maurice N. Elensdrath, 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 Flatsberg, New York

UNITED ROMANIAN JEWS OF AMERICA—

Charles Sonnenreich, New York

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA—

Herman F. Koppmann, Hartford, Conn.

Louis J. Moss, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Samuel Rothstein, New York

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS—

(A.Z.A. of Bnai Brith, Young People's League of United Synagogue of America, National Federation of Temple Youth, National Council of Jewish Juniors, Junior Hadassah, Junior Mizrahi, Massada, Avukah, Hashomer Hadati, Hillel Foundation.)

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, Philadelphia, Pa.

Herman Shulman, New York

ELECTION REPORT

(Continued from page two)

that all elections were to be concluded 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 opinion 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 pleasure 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 Biggier, Miss Jane Evans, Miss Lillie Shultz, and Mr. M. Weisgal and to Mr. Jesse B. Calhoun, Administrative Secretary, 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, however, 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 Waldman (represented at various times by the late David Rosenberg), David Wertheim, and the undersigned.

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 D. Roosevelt. This body of delegates and widely representative American Jews, dedicated to the triumph of our nation's cause, declares "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 promptings of humanity and in compliance with the will of the American people, our President, together with Prime Minister Churchill, will insist upon the acceleration of the tempo of rescue and take the lead in performing the supremely imperative task of Jewish rescue with that unwavering resolve which is the habit of their great souls."

It may even be that this Conference 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 undone 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 we shall, the innumerable army of our dead, ask of us is only what we, self-reverencing people may have and do achieve, the reparation of security for the living in a world of freedom. Such blessing may it be to help to gain for all our people!

This is the soul of goodness in things evil, would we but knowingly 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 Jewish life in our country, striving earnestly and devoutly for the deliverance and the unchallenged freedom of the Jewish people wherever they may dwell. "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse." We choose the blessing for our country and for Israel.

CONFERENCE DIRECTORY

Hotel Waldorf-Astoria

1. Registration—Astor Gallery (third floor).
2. Information and Delegate Service—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 Information 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 (shachrit), 8:30 A. M.

Daily evening services (mincha and maariv), 7:30 P. M.

Special services and Mincha will be held today (Monday, August 30), Erev Rosh Hodesh Elul, YOM KIPPER KATAN, under the auspices of the Rabbinical Council of America.

Some Statistics About the Delegates

A compilation of biographical data concerning the composition 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 profession. The list of professions represented in the delegation includes 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 delegates engaged in the teaching profession.

Approximately 81 delegates are engaged in a wide variety of business activities. This classification includes banking, accounting, manufacturing, retailing, wage earners, etc. The largest proportion of the women delegates—of whom there are 69—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 2

NEW YORK, 30 Ab. 5703; AUG. 31, 1943

10c PER COPY

SPEAKERS DISCUSS RESCUE ACTION

General Discussion On Palestine Issue Begun

The third session of the American Jewish Conference which was held on Monday afternoon, August 30, continued the symposium on the question of immediate rescue of European Jewry which began at the Sunday evening session, with addresses by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Rabbi Israel Goldstein and Gedalia Bublick.

(The texts of the addresses of Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Bublick are printed elsewhere in this issue.)

Mr. Munkin who presided, introduced the first speaker of the session, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, President of Hadassah. (The full text of Mrs. Pool's speech is printed in this issue.)

Following Mrs. Pool's address, the chairman presented Baruch Zuckerman to speak on behalf of the Labor Zionist group. Mr. Zuckerman introduced his prepared speech with some references to the address made by Judge Proskauer on Sunday evening. "I might say to Judge Proskauer," he declared, "that we cannot accept a form of unity which will permit the Conference to act only on whatever everyone agrees to. This does not represent unity at all. It represents the right of the minority to veto the decisions of the majority. For this reason alone this procedure is un-Jewish and un-American."

"The struggle for existence which the Jewish people is waging at this time is carried on in three areas which are inseparable. (1) The struggle for the equal rights of every Jewish individual, wherever he may live; (2) The struggle for the right of the Jewish minorities in the lands of dispersion to continue fostering their ethnic, cultural and religious identity on a par with other ethnic, cultural and religious minorities; (3) Our struggle as a people for the equalization of our status with that of every other people, by being granted the opportunity to rebuild Eretz Israel, as the Jewish Commonwealth."

Emphasizing that the Jewish demand for Palestine is a demand for the return of what is rightfully theirs, the speaker said: "I will say that we want nothing better from Judge Proskauer than that he deal with us in the way Louis Marshall dealt in the first meeting of the American Jewish Congress. He had his own views on Palestine, on national minority rights. He fought for his views as only Louis Marshall knew how to fight, but he finally bowed to the will of the people. But his subordination to the popular will raised him to new moral heights. And Mr. Marshall presented to the entire world the demands of the entire Jewish people, in the name of the entire Jewish people, including the clear demand that Palestine shall once again become the Jewish National Home."

That was the form of unity which Louis Marshall chose,

Despite the many conflicts which our movement and I personally had with him in those days, I tremble whenever I pronounce his name of blessed memory. I say to you and to the American Jewish Committee which you represent, from this highest tribunal of American Jewry: "Follow in the footsteps of Louis Marshall."

(The text of the prepared speech by Mr. Zuckerman appears elsewhere in this issue.)

Taking over the chair from Mr. Munkin, Dr. Israel Goldstein introduced Rabbi Meir Berlin, head of the World Mizrachi Organization and representative of the Vaad Leumi (National Council of Palestine) to speak on behalf of the Yishuv. Rabbi Berlin told of the anxiety with which the Yishuv awaited the outcome of the deliberations of the Conference and how eagerly they awaited a message of strength and encouragement from American Jewry. Denying that the Yishuv in Palestine is concerned only with itself and that the fate of the Jews in the Galuth is subordinated to their own interests, Rabbi Berlin said: "In no corner of the earth has there been so much compassion, has so much blood and tears and sweat been expended, nowhere have so many prayers gone up to God for the unfortunate Jews in the Galuth as there have been in Palestine." The speaker urged that efforts be made to assure a "free and totally Jewish Palestine within the next twenty-five years."

Underlining the "valiant courage of the Jewish community there, which has sent tens of thousands of its sons to fight in Africa and on every other front of the Allies," Rabbi Berlin scored those who "send Palestine praise and withhold following it up with action in our behalf." He reminded the Conference that "no one believed it possible at the end of the last World War that Palestine could ever become a land of immigration and succor for a devastated Jewish people. Let those who are amazed at that progress remember that when we ask today for a free Jewish Palestine whose doors shall be open to all our people who wish and need to enter, we make our request as at a beginning, and not as an end of the Zionist program of upbuilding."

Following the conclusion of Rabbi Berlin's speech and the singing of the Hatikvah, the chairman introduced Mr. Lipsky who announced the organization of the General Committee and reported that all committees were to be formed before today's session of the Conference. He announced the details regarding organization of the committees which were to meet this morning.

Mr. Lipsky, who is chairman of the Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress, is chairman of the General Committee in charge of the Conference program. Herman Shulman, mem-

Delegates Join In Memorial Service



ber of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, is vice-chairman of the committee and Maurice Hagyer, secretary of the B'nai B'rith is secretary.

FOURTH SESSION

The session last night was devoted to a discussion of Palestine which was introduced by an address by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Weizmann's Cabled Message from London

Your Conference is the first great gathering of free Jewry during the war from which the voice of the Jewish people with regard to its future will be heard. American Jewry is the greatest free Jewish community in the world and must regard itself as the spokesman for the whole Jewish people. That is a great opportunity and also a very grave responsibility. My short time here following prolonged stay in the States has confirmed my views as to the urgent tasks which now confront us. The Nazi policy of extermination is being relentlessly pursued and unhappily the world at large is doing little to meet the dire need. Our feelings of grief and horror are mitigated by pride in the stand taken by Jews in the occupied countries. The tragic chapter now being written will stand beside the great pages of our history—Maccabees, Masada, Betar and other great deeds of "Kidush Hashem."

In the aid given by world Jewry to persecuted Jews, contribution of Palestine is outstanding both in means supplied and rescue activities. Reports received from Palestine show that Jewish people has preserved its dignity and will to live. Every sign of help we give raises new hopes. Tortured Jewry expects victorious democracies not only to restore all their rights everywhere but also effectively to implement the principle of the restoration of Jews to their full status as free people and the right to return to Palestine and take their fate into their own hands, thereby establishing the Jewish Commonwealth, foreshadowed by the Balfour Declaration. This time solemn declarations are not enough. Definite arrangements must be made for giving speedy effect to international decisions regarding future of the Jewish people and securing international aid for people which has suffered as perhaps no other in lives and in material resources.

We are aware that our enemies are actively trying to thwart our efforts but we shall not be deterred. I am sure your Conference in pursuance of the aims of the conveners to unite Jewish people in voicing their just aspirations, will issue a clear call bringing courage and hope to those still under the shadow of death and strength and inspiration to free Jewry to press on with renewed energy with work for securing the future of our people in dignity, freedom and peace.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

Dr. Goldmann's statement followed the receipt of cabled messages from Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency, and of the World Zionist Organization, from David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Agency Executive in Palestine, and from the Jewish Agency Executive.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal of Philadelphia, president of the Zionist Organization of America, was chairman of the session.

Those participating in the discussion included Dr. Solomon Goldmann, I. H. Goldberg, Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

In opening the session, Judge Levinthal asserted that he stood unequivocally on "the formulated program of the Zionist Organization of America," and he urged that "the discussions reflect a genuine desire to reach truth and justice."

Praising the speech of Judge Proskauer, at the Sunday evening session for its emphasis on "the opportunities which exist for joint action," Judge Levinthal recalled the reversal of opinion by the late Louis Marshall in 1918 when the latter occupied the post that Judge Proskauer now holds. He expressed the hope that discussions might lead again to the result that "those who thought they were poles apart" would discover "that the only thing dividing them is words and phrases."

"If however, differ we must at this Conference, we must demonstrate to our own satisfaction and the chagrin of our enemies that even when we disagree we can do so as gentlemen and as friends."

Dr. Goldmann declared: "In the light of the tragic necessity for a speedy solution to the Jewish problem, as a result of the decade of Jewish extermination, and, because of our own achievements in Palestine, we demand the right to be the masters of our fate in Palestine, to direct this enterprise ourselves, to control our own immigration and colonization and, once the foundations are

(Continued on page two)

Palestine Discussed by Group Spokesmen

Address by Dr. Nahum Goldmann

May I convey, first of all, the greetings of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and its President, Dr. Weizmann, to this Conference. The Jewish Agency for Palestine looks with great hopes and high expectations to the results of the deliberations of this Conference, which, we hope, will unite American Jewry in the assumption of its grave responsibilities as the great free Jewish community today and will bring about united action for laying the foundations of the Jewish future. The Jewish Agency, the only internationally recognized Agency for the Jewish people throughout the world, has always tried to increase the number of those ready to cooperate in the historic task of this generation of Jews—to rebuild Palestine.

More than ever, Palestine has become a matter above and beyond party lines. The role which it plays in Jewish life and Jewish policies of today is based on two considerations: One is the emotional, ideological and historical place which Palestine has always held in the soul and life of the Jewish people and on the many hopes which various sections of the Jewish people have attached to a recreated Jewish life in Palestine. But tonight I will not dwell on this aspect. I am sure that the various groups represented here will give full expression to their ideological hopes and conceptions of what Jewish Palestine ought to be in the life of Jewry today and tomorrow.

There is another—basic—the practical aspect, a result of the realities of Jewish life today. It is to this aspect of the problem to which I want primarily to address myself. Those who regarded Palestine as the main solution of the Jewish problem as a practical project, always based it on two needs: the need of a place of refuge and a homeland for large numbers of homeless and uprooted Jews and, secondly, the need of the Jewish people as a collective body for a country of its own. From the beginning of the Palestine movement in modern Jewish history, Palestine was to serve as a country which would solve the problem of homelessness for hundreds of thousands and even millions of individual Jews. It was also meant to serve as the country of a fully developed Jewish life, with the opportunity of safeguarding the unique character of the Jewish people, its cultural achievements and its future as a people among the other peoples of the world. If these two realistic bases for the importance of Palestine within the totality of Jewish life were valid sixty, fifty and twenty years ago, they are incomparably more valid today.

Jewry 25 Years Ago

Twenty-five years ago when the Balfour Declaration was issued, only a part of European Jewry was persecuted and in need of a country of immigration. Today, or tomorrow, after the war, nearly the whole of European Jewry, with the exception of the Soviet Russians, the British and a few small neutral Jewish communities, finds itself in a situation of absolute desolation—uprooted and expelled from their countries—naked beggars for whom something will have to be done without delay to give them an opportunity for a new start and a new future. If, from this point of view, the urgent necessity for Palestine as a place of refuge for European Jewry has become stronger within the last decade, on the other

hand, the numerical aspect of this problem has been tragically reduced. It is no longer a problem of 8 or 10 million European Jews. If we omit for this moment the problem of Russian Jewry, which is a separate question, the number involved may be three or two million Jews or even less. Both the situation of European Jewry necessitating an immediate solution of the problem of the millions we hope will survive on the one hand, and the reduction of the number of Jews brought about by the Hitler policy of extermination on the other, are of the utmost importance in considering Palestine as a solution of this aspect of the Jewish problem—both of these make the immediate utilization of Palestine as a solution necessary and, at the same time, possible.

Jewish immigration into Palestine before this was a slow, evolutionary process. After this war, it will have to become an immediate enterprise of mass transfer. We will have to insure that all opportunities and facilities for going to Palestine immediately will be given to those Jews in Europe who will survive the war, and, who, after the victory will be found roaming about somewhere in Eastern Europe completely destitute. The Jewish Agency has never been in favor of enforced Jewish immigration into Palestine. We have always opposed the Revisionist theory of Jewish evacuation from Europe—but just as we oppose this, we have to raise our voices against any attempt on the part of the United Nations to enforce repatriation on those Jews, many of whom, if not the majority, will refuse to go back to the countries of their persecution to relieve the nightmare and risk similar experiences for their children or grandchildren. Nothing, it seems to me, is more realistic than to demand the right for every European Jew to choose either repatriation or immigration into Palestine. And let me utter a word of warning against a policy which would disperse Jewish post-war immigration, either by directing it in small sections to many different countries, or by looking for new places for Jewish mass immigration. And, in saying this, I am not arguing ideologically, but realistically. As far as dispersing Jewish migration into many countries is concerned, experience, if not logic, should have taught us that such dispersion not only does not solve our problem, but aggravates it. Within the last ten years there have been many examples of places where no Jewish problem existed, but where the migration of relatively small numbers of Jews has created sharp Jewish problems. What European Jewry has undergone through the Nazi policy of deportation should at least be used for a radical solution of the Jewish problem and not for creating new ones in various parts of the world. And as for the search for new territories by Jews and non-Jews, let it be said, also from a practical point of view, that it takes decades to develop primitive territories for mass migration, especially for highly civilized people, such as European Jewry, whereas 60 years of work in Palestine has prepared it for the absorption of large numbers of Jewish immigrants. Therefore, speaking again from a purely practical point of view, nothing is more logical, or more realistic than to allow all those uprooted Jews in Europe, immediately after the cessation of hos-

ilities, who want to go to Palestine, to do so, and not to enforce upon them either repatriation or migration into various parts of the world.

The Peril to Jews Today

Again, if the Jewish future was endangered 25 or 30 years ago, by the inevitable process of assimilation, once Jewish ghetto life was over, it is a hundred times more imperiled today. I submit that none of us has realized what the destruction of the European Jewish community within the last decade means for our future as a people. It is not only that millions of our people have been exterminated by the Nazis—these millions were not just individuals, who happened to be Jews, but they were the Jews who formed the main centers of Jewish culture, religion and Jewish collective activities and achievements. Even if Jews from Warsaw and Cracow, from Vilna and Woloshin were to survive and return to these places, they would never be able to rebuild, and certainly not in our life-time, the great spiritual and cultural centers represented by these names. All these great centers of Jewish life, where the heritage of centuries of Jewish cultural achievements found expression and continuity have definitely been wiped out—and permit me to say in all frankness that there is no chance of rebuilding them in other parts of the Jewish Diaspora.

It is good to try to build Yeshivas in America, and though not an orthodox Jew, I am deeply appreciative of the efforts of those who try to do it, but those of you who know something of Yeshivas, will agree with me that you cannot rebuild Tel Aviv or Woloshin by renting a beautiful building in New York and getting scholarships and funds for teachers and pupils. Such Yeshivas were more than a building with teachers and students. They were the outgrowth of centuries of civilization—their spirit dominated the whole community—which centered around the Yeshivas. All this is impossible here and therefore with the best will in the world no Yeshiva of Tel Aviv can be rebuilt in this country—and this is only an example.

It is necessary to realize that the destruction of the old historical and classic centers of Jewish life and the impossibility of rebuilding them, endangers our future as a people, more than anything else. Therefore, the necessity of a Jewish center where a full Jewish life will be possible, where the Jewish people will be able to concentrate on its own cultural, religious and social activities, is immeasurably greater today than in the times of Pinchas and Ahad Ha'am, of Herzl and Nordau.

The Changed Palestine

Let me pass from these fundamental aspects which refer to the diaspora aspect of the Palestine problem, to the Palestinian aspect itself. Here too the situation has changed fundamentally, because of our experiences in the

25 years since the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. It was a time of great and exciting experiences as far as Palestine is concerned—of glorious achievements and political disappointments. We have learned two things in this quarter of a century: one, that the Jewish people can perform the miracle of rebuilding Palestine within our lifetime and the other that no other people can do it for us. When the Balfour Declaration was issued, the whole undertaking was still in the experimental stage. There were a few colonies and the number of Jews in Palestine was about 40 to 50 thousand. There was no guarantee that the Jewish people would be able to rebuild the country, because being intelligent, able to produce good writers, brilliant speakers and successful businessmen, does not guarantee the ability of a people to rebuild a country, after centuries of ghetto life.

We had to prove to ourselves and to the world that we could do it: that not only could we rebuild a devastated country, but that we could regenerate the people called upon to do it—that we could develop the kind of Jew who not only speaks about things, but does them—who is ready to devote himself to the simple and unspectacular tasks necessary to lay the foundations for a new national life. We have shown that we are able to do it. We made mistakes, as was inevitable. We paid high prices for our mistakes. But, as a whole, and I could quote numerous non-Jewish experts and observers, I think that Palestinian Jews, the army of Chalmers and the hundreds of thousands who went to Palestine and dedicated their lives to rebuild it, have performed their tasks well and accomplished one of the greatest achievements in the history of human colonization. This experience should give us more self-confidence and daring in formulating our demands for the future of Jewish Palestine.

The Palestine Administration

We have had another experience—no other people or administration can do for us what we alone can do. And, in saying this, I am not criticizing Great Britain, I do not belong to those whose hearts are filled with bitterness and criticism towards Great Britain. Many injustices have been done us by the British Administration in Palestine and by the government in London and some of the greatest spokesmen of the British people have been the first to acknowledge it. But I do not believe that any other people would have performed its task as a mandatory power in a more satisfactory way than the British. And let us, a people of a long past and a long memory, not forget, in all the heat and the resentment against British policies and colonial administration in Palestine, that the British were the first to recognize the need of the Jewish people for a land of its own and to issue the Balfour Declaration.

The failure was not that it was

Britain, but that it was a Mandatory power. I am not competent to judge whether British Colonial administration generally is good or bad. It is certainly not worse than the Colonial administration of other powers. But, even if it were good, the task of rebuilding Palestine within the lifetime of one or two generations requires vision, imagination, daring, and, above all, fanaticism of a kind which only the people for whom the question is one of life or death, is capable. Just as we cannot rebuild a country for any other people, no other people can direct the process of reconstruction for us. There are things in life which each must do for himself and which can be done only by the person or people concerned.

Based on these two great lessons of the past 25 years, we have today the right to come to the democratic world, which endures the great enterprise of rebuilding the Jewish homeland in Palestine and tell them amicably, but firmly—here is our record—we proved we could do it and the others have proved that they cannot do it for us. Therefore in the light of the tragic necessity for a speedy solution to the Jewish problem, as a result of the decade of Jewish extermination, and because of our own achievements in Palestine, we demand the right to be the masters of our fate in Palestine, to direct this enterprise ourselves, to control our own immigration and colonization and, once the foundations are laid, to constitute there our own Jewish Commonwealth.

End of a Process

This demand is not startling; it is not revolutionary. It is the inevitable, logical and realistic fulfillment of a process of which the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was the beginning. The authors of the Declaration have confirmed this: Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and the great American president who had his share in it, Woodrow Wilson, also confirmed it. And only a few years ago when the Royal Commission, headed by Sir Robert Peel, went to Palestine after the disturbances, they clearly stated that the original intent of the Balfour Declaration was to enable the Jews to rebuild their own homeland in Palestine.

There are two arguments usually used by those who doubt the wisdom and the necessity of this demand. The one concerns the position of the Jews in the various countries of the Diaspora, once a Jewish Commonwealth is established in Palestine; the other concerns the Arab population in Palestine. Let me deal briefly with both of these arguments.

The first argument is the result of a typical psychology of fear and inferiority. Zionists have

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GENERAL DISCUSSION ON PALESTINE ISSUE, BEGUN

(Continued from page one)

laid, to constitute there again our own Jewish Commonwealth.

He said that this demand was "not startling, not revolutionary," but "the inevitable, logical and realistic fulfillment of a process of which the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was the beginning."

Discussing the Arab problem, Goldmann said that "an understanding would be reached, once the Arabs realize that in the light of Jewish tragedy and the necessity for solving the Jewish problem, the world has a right to ask them to make the concession of not claiming Palestine as an exclusively Arab country."

This edition went to press before the evening session was concluded. A full report of the Palestine discussion will be printed in tomorrow's issue.



DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, delivering his address. At left, Baruch Zuckerman, Dr. Israel Goldstein; right, Judge Proskauer.

Address by Joseph Weinberg

We are now on the eve of victory. The defeat of our enemy is certain. But the Nazi chieftains have promised that when the German armies will be forced to leave the occupied lands, they will not leave a single Jew alive in their retreat.

The delegates to the coming peace conference may meet on the graves of the entire Jewish people in Europe. I shall not speak here of the millions of murdered Jews. The civilized world knows well that the Jewish people against whom Hitler commenced his offensive, suffered the greatest sacrifices in this war. However, today I shall limit myself to those Jews of Europe who as yet remain alive.

"Farsighted" statesmen advise us not to make too much fuss about the murder of Jews; not to try; not to appeal for help lest the impression be created that we are fighting a war to save Jews, and this might harm the war effort. But "statesmen" who believe that the world should remain silent, while a historic people is being mercilessly exterminated, while millions of innocent beings, men and women, old and young, are being ruthlessly murdered, cannot win the war, and certainly must lose the peace.

The hour is late. One cannot bring to life the three million murdered Jews, but the Jewish remnants in Europe can and must be rescued.

We must make it as clear as possible to every German soldier and officer that he will be held accountable with his life for Jewish blood shed in vain. At the same time, we must bend every effort to inform the people inside Germany about the whole truth of the mass-murder of Jews—the truth about the cold-blooded and brutal extermination of innocent men, women and children.

Let there not be a single German who will be able to say that he did not know the whole truth. We also demand that the United Nations declare clearly and unequivocally: "In this hour of grave danger, we have opened wide the doors of our countries to those who may succeed in escaping from the Nazi concentration camps and death chambers."

We cannot speak of justice and freedom when we count an injustice against those who plead for their lives. Banned doors at this time will, without doubt, give the Nazis the impression that the United Nations are not interested in the fate of the Jews.

Our third demand is food for the ghettos. The ghettos in the Nazi-occupied countries are jails within jails. Months ago the Jewish Labor Committee requested that food be sent to the starving people in the ghettos. The Jews in the ghettos can no longer be regarded as civilians. They are prisoners of war; they are prisoners of death. But our appeal for food has thus far been left unheeded. Yet, food has and can be sent to the starving populations in Nazi-occupied Europe.

On August 7, 1942, three ships with food left from Canada for Greece. During the entire year of 1942, twenty-six such ships came to Axis-occupied Greece from the Allied countries to feed the starving Greek population. At the same time the Red Cross gave to the people of Greece 100,000 food packages. Had this food been sent—and this has been confirmed by the authorities here—90 per cent of the Greek population would have starved to death.

It is indeed proper, and in accordance with the humanitarian ideals of democracy, that this food was sent to Greece. We rejoice that hundreds of thousands of human beings have been pre-

vented from starving. The Jews of the ghettos in Europe are also pleading for food. Three million hungry men, women and children have asked us for bread. Not a single loaf has thus far been sent by the United Nations.

Mr. Bublick's Address

(Continued from page five)

day and immediately upon leaving Church they make a program against Jews."

An end must be put to this! You cannot bring a New Order to the world as long as there continue old prejudices which poison the soul of humanity. In order to arrive at a New Order, we must follow the injunction of the Prophet to "create a new heart and a new spirit." Such an order can be assured only when mankind will have cleansed itself of the stain of anti-Semitism.

The third and by far the greatest crime which the world has committed against the Jewish people consists in the fact that it was robbed of its country by force, thus becoming the only homeless people on the face of the earth.

The United Nations are fighting for equality of rights. The Jewish people too, demands equality together with all the peoples on God's earth. It wants the return of the homeland, which was forcibly taken away from them. It wants the re-establishment of its State upon the mountains of Judea, whence was proclaimed justice for mankind. The Prophets foresaw the Return of the Israelites to their land. The Jewish prayers are from beginning to end the heartfelt expression of their yearning for such a return. This is the cornerstone of the Jewish religion, the propelling force of Jewish history.

Now, when a new distribution of the world is to take place, the Jewish people demands the right to reconstitute its Homeland and State, which will endure as long as the sun shines and the sea beats against the shores.

FROM WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

European Division and British Section of World Jewish Congress greets Conference of American Jewry as historic event of utmost significance and importance for Jewish people, now beset by unparalleled tragedy in Europe and facing problems of exceptional magnitude and difficulty in years following victory United Nations. As Jews have given maximum sacrifice of countless dead in Nazi slaughter-houses of Europe and contributed maximum to war effort of United Nations on fields of battle and in arsenals of democracy, they are entitled to proper place with other peoples in counsels of democratic nations which will shape peace. Jewish people entitled to ask that solution of their problems and security of their future be resolved as integral part general settlement post-war world, giving Jews as all other peoples fully protected equality of political, civil rights and economic opportunity. Foremost in Jewry's post-war claims is international recognition of Jewish Commonwealth Palestine. Unity American Jewry as expressed your Conference is welcomed as vital step in securing Jewish post-war position and as essential factor in providing unified Jewish representation to lay claims of world Jewry before the nations. We wish all success to your deliberations.

Marchioness of Reading, Pres.
Silverman, Chairman.
Baron and Eastman, Secys.

Alphabetical List of Delegates

Abelson Isaac, Birmingham, Ala.
Adler, Rabbi Morris, Detroit, Mich.
Altshuler, Oscar H., Youngstown, O.
Antin, Hon. Benj., Bronx, N. Y.
Apfel, Isadore, New York
Apte, D. J., Tampa, Fla.
Arkin, Leon, Boston, Mass.
Aronowitz, Samuel E., Albany, N. Y.
Arnsman, Rabbi David, Minneapolis, Minn.
Aronson, Mrs. Robt. L., Chicago, Ill.
Ashinsky, Rabbi A. M., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Barnet, Judge Samuel, New Bedford, Mass.
Barnett, Mrs. Arthur A., San Francisco, Cal.
Barron, Judge Jennie Lifman, Brighton, Mass.
Barron, Dr. Moses, Minneapolis, Minn.
Bock, Norman, Bay Shore, I. I.
Fecher, Leonard S., Dayton, O.
Bender, Mrs. Oscar G., Philadelphia, Pa.
Berger, Harry, New York
Bergman, Rabbi Bernard, New York
Berke, George, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Berkman, Mrs. Harry, Chicago, Ill.
Berman, Edward, Bayonne, N. J.
Bernstein, Frank E., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bernstein, Joseph, Detroit, Mich.
Bernstein, Rabbi Philip S., Rochester, N. Y.
Bersel, Rabbi Solomon, Philadelphia, Pa.
Berson, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bialis, M., Chicago, Ill.
Birnsman, Rabbi Benj. H., Chicago, Ill.
Bigger, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Blanklin, Mrs. Jules, Flushing, L. I.
Blaustein, Jacob, Baltimore, Md.
Bloch, Herbert R., Cincinnati, O.
Blum, Rabbi Herbert I., Kingston, N. Y.
Blumfield, 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
Boymann, Alter, Providence, R. I.
Brachman Abraham J., Ft. Worth, Tex.
Brandt, Miss Milly, New York
Brenner, Max, Chicago, Ill.
Briekner, Rabbi B. R., Cleveland, Ohio.
Brodsky, Nathan H., Newark, N. J.
Brown, Frank, Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, Jacob, Kansas City, Mo.
Brown, Meyer L., Bronx, N. Y.
Bublick, Gedaliah, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Busim, Irving M., New York
Burack, Aaron D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Burke, Walter, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Bursteln, Sol M., Bronx, N. Y.
Butzel, Fred M., Detroit, Mich.
Callman, Rudolf, New York
Caplan, Rabbi Jonah E., Astoria, N. Y.
Caplan, Judge Oscar S., Chicago, Ill.
Chamin, N., 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, N. Y.
Cohen, Joseph, Kansas City, Kan.
Cohen, Teddy, Bronx, N. Y.
Coleman, David, Los Angeles, Cal.
Cooper, Rabbi Samuel, Charleston, W. Va.
Cushman, Morton, Norfolk, Va.
David, Sigmund W., Chicago, Ill.
Deiman, J. David, New York
Deustch, Samuel H., Elyria, O.
Diamond, Hon. David, Buffalo, N. Y.
Dinkelspiel, Lloyd W., San Francisco, Cal.
Dinkes, Nathan, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dobnitsky, Jacob, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Doff, Max, Lawrence, L. I.
Drazin, Rabbi Nathan, Baltimore, Md.
Drazin, Rabbi William, Savannah, Ga.
Droock, Aaron, Detroit, Mich.
Dubinsky, Carl M., St. Louis, Mo.
Duker, Samuel, Bronx, N. Y.
Ehrenreich, Hersh, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ehrlich, Harry M., Springfield, Mass.
Ehrlich, Mrs. Joseph E., 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
Estes, Ad. Rock Island, Ill.
Ettlinger, Prof. H. J., Austin, Tex.
Evans, E. J., Durham, N. C.
Evans, Miss Jane, New York
Fabricant, Louis, New York
Familiant, David, Los Angeles, Cal.
Fane, Irvin, Kansas City, Mo.
Farber, H., Los Angeles, Cal.
Farber, Mrs. Ida Cook, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Farber, J. Eugene, Toledo, O.
Feder, Joseph A., Passaic, N. J.
Feder, Sara, Columbia, Mo.
Federbusch, Rabbi Simon, Bronx, N. Y.
Feigenbaum, Leo J., Syracuse, N. Y.
Feinberg, Israel, New York
Feller, Harry S., New Brunswick, N. J.
Fellerman, Irving, New York
Feriager, Sol, Philadelphia, Pa.
Fertig, Malvyn M., Bronx, N. Y.
Fineman, Dr. Hayim, Philadelphia, Pa.
Fink, Rabbi Adolph, Spokane, Wash.
Finkel, Hon. Samuel R., New York
Fisher, Judge Harry M., Chicago, Ill.
Fisher, Julius, Ronoke, Va.
Fishman, Jacob, New York
Fishman, Louis, New York
Fliegel, J. Hyman, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Folkman, Rabbi Jerome D., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Fram, Rabbi Leon, Detroit, Mich.
Frankel, Charles, Asbury Park, N. J.
Franklin, Miss Pearl, Chicago, Ill.
Frodman, J. George, Jersey City, N. J.
Freedman, Benjamin, Philadelphia, Pa.
Freedman, Mrs. Isidor, New York
Freehof, Rabbi Solomon B., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Friedman, Benjamin, Philadelphia, Pa.
Freund, Dr. Miriam, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Friedenwald, Dr. Harry, Baltimore, Md.
Friedman, Samuel, Akron, Ohio
Frisch, Daniel, Indianapolis, Ind.
Fromberg, Harry G., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fryer, Mrs. Julius, Cleveland, O.
Furmanaky, Moshe, New York
Gabriel, Rabbi Joseph, Bronx, N. Y.
Gans, George L., New Britain, Conn.
Geffen, David, Utica, N. Y.
Gelbin, Herman S., New York
Gellman, Leon, New York
Gerber, Hon. William, Memphis, Tenn.
Gerber, William, Philadelphia, Pa.
Gerbovy, Abraham, Philadelphia, Pa.
Getzler, Charles, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gilgor, I. Louis, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gingold, Miriam, Chicago, Ill.
Gingold, Philip, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ginsburg, Elias, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ginsburg, Arnold R., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gladstone, Dr. Arthur Burlington, Vt.
Glantz, Leih, 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.
Goldberg, Ed. San Antonio, Tex.
Goldring, Mrs. Samuel, W. Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.
Goldman, Frank, Lowell, Mass.
Goldman, Hymen, Washington, D. C.
Goldman, Mrs. Maurice L., San Francisco, Cal.
Goldman, Robert P., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Goldman, Sol, St. Louis, Mo.
Goldman, Dr. Solomon, Chicago, Ill.
Goldstein, Abraham W., Hartford, Conn.
Goldstein, Rabbi David A., Omaha, Neb.
Goldstein, Dr. Israel, New York
Goldstein, Mrs. Israel, New York
Goldstein, Joseph, Rochester, N. Y.
Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goldstein, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goodman, Abraham, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goodman, Alexander, Baltimore, Md.
Goodman, Joseph, Troy, N. Y.
Goodman, Israel, St. Louis, Mo.
Gordis, Dr. Robert, Belle Harbor, L. I., N. Y.
Gordon, Rabbi Julius, St. Louis, Mo.
Gottlieb, Harry N., Chicago, Ill.
Greenbaum, Nathaniel, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Greene, Abe J., Patterson, N. J.
Greenberg, Archie H., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Greenberg, Judge Shmuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Greenberg, Hayim, New York
Greenberg, Rabbi Louis, New Haven, Conn.
Greenberg, Rabbi Simon, New York
Grietsch, Louis J., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gross, Joel, Newark, N. J.
Grossman, Dr. Abraham, Bronx, N. Y.
Guskin, R., New York
Guthman, Rabbi Sidney, Chelsea, Pa.
Haber, Philmore, Cleveland, Ohio.
Halbert, Joseph, Atlantic City, N. J.
Halpern, Rabbi Harry, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Halprin, Mrs. Samuel, New York
Hamlin, Isaac, New York
Hamerman, Mrs. Joseph, New York
Hanan, Michael, Puttville, Pa.
Harber, Samuel, Union City, N. J.
Hartmann, Mrs. Hugo, Winnetka, Ill.
Heid, Adolph, New York
Heller, Isaac S., New Orleans, La.
Heller, Rabbi James G., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Herman, Rabbi Meyer L., Bronx, N. Y.
Herold, S. L., Shreveport, La.
Hoenig, Moses H., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hofferman, Abraham, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hoffman, Herman, New York
Hoffman, Jacob B., Philadelphia, Pa.
Hoffman, Rabbi Jacob, New York
Horowitz, Aaron R., Duluth, Minn.
Horowitz, Mrs. Joseph, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Isaacs, Mrs. Elizabeth, Yonkers, N. Y.
Ish Kishor, Jacob, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jacobs, Mrs. Edward, New York
Jacobson, Reuben R., Canton, O.
Jick, Morris, St. Louis, Mo.
Jolt, Rabbi Harry, Lincoln, Neb.
Kagan, Isadore, Boston, Mass.
Kalecky, Samuel, Boston, Mass.
Kaplan, Gus, Harrisburg, Pa.
Kaplan, Dr. Louis L., Baltimore, Md.
Kaplan, Prof. Mordecai, New York
Kaufman, Benjamin, New York

CORRECTION

In the list of delegates designated by the various national organizations as printed in Monday's CONFERENCE RECORD, only one representative of the United Humanian Jews of America was given. That organization is represented by two delegates the name omitted being that of Leo Wolfson.

(Continued on page seven)

CONFERENCE RECORD

The Daily Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference

NUMBER 2

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SPEAKERS DISCUSS RESCUE ACTION

General Discussion On Palestine Issue Begun

The third session of the American Jewish Conference which was held on Monday afternoon, August 30, continued the symposium on the question of immediate rescue of European Jewry which began at the Sunday evening session, with addresses by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Rabbi Israel Goldstein and Gedalia Bublik.

(The texts of the addresses of Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Bublik are printed elsewhere in this issue.)

Mr. Minsky who presided, introduced the first speaker of the session, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, President of Hadassah. (The full text of Mrs. Pool's speech is printed in this issue.)

Following Mrs. Pool's address, the chairman presented Baruch Zuckerman to speak on behalf of the Labor Zionist group. Mr. Zuckerman introduced his prepared speech with some references to the address made by Judge Proskauer. "I might say to Judge Proskauer," he declared, "that we cannot accept a form of unity which will permit the Conference to act only on whatever everyone agrees to. This does not represent unity at all. It represents the right of the minority to veto the decisions of the majority. For this reason alone this procedure is un-Jewish and un-American."

"The struggle for existence which the Jewish people is waging at this time is carried on in three areas which are inseparable. (1) The struggle for the equal rights of every Jewish individual, wherever he may live; (2) The struggle for the right of the Jewish minorities in the lands of dispersion to continue fostering their ethnic, cultural and religious identity on a par with other ethnic, cultural and religious minorities; (3) Our struggle as a People for the equalization of our status with that of every other People, by being granted the opportunity to rebuild Eretz Israel, as the Jewish Commonwealth."

Emphasizing that the Jewish demand for Palestine is a demand for the return of what is rightfully theirs, the speaker said: "I will say that we want nothing better from Judge Proskauer than that he deal with us in the way Louis Marshall dealt in the first meeting of the American Jewish Congress. He had his own views on Palestine, on national minority rights. He fought for his views as only Louis Marshall knew how to fight, but he finally bowed to the will of the people. But his submission to the popular will raised him to new moral heights. And Mr. Marshall presented to the entire Jewish people, in the name of the entire Jewish people, including the clear demand that Palestine shall once again become the Jewish National Home."

"That was the form of unity which Louis Marshall chose."

Despite the many conflicts which our movement and I personally had with him in those days, I tremble whenever I pronounce his name of blessed memory. I say to you and to the American Jewish Committee which you represent, from this highest tribunal of American Jewry: "Follow in the footsteps of Louis Marshall."

(The text of the prepared speech by Mr. Zuckerman appears elsewhere in this issue.)

Taking over the chair from Mr. Minsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein introduced Rabbi Meir Berlin, head of the World Marachi Organization and representative of the Vaad Leumi (National Council of Palestine) to speak on behalf of the Yishuv. Rabbi Berlin told of the anxiety with which the Yishuv awaited the outcome of the deliberations of the Conference and how eagerly they awaited a message of strength and encouragement from American Jewry. "Denying that the Yishuv in Palestine is concerned only with itself and that the fate of the Jews in the Galuth is subordinated to their own interests, Rabbi Berlin said: "In no corner of the earth has there been so much compassion, has so much blood and tears and sweat been expended, nowhere have so many prayers gone up to God for the unfortunate Jews in the Galuth as there have been in Palestine." The speaker urged that efforts be made to assure a "free and totally Jewish Palestine within the next twenty-five years."

Underlining the "valiant courage of the Jewish community there, which has sent tens of thousands of its sons to fight in Africa and on every other front of the Allies," Rabbi Berlin scored those who "send Palestine praise and withhold following it up with action in our behalf." He reminded the Conference that "no one believed it possible at the end of the last World War that Palestine could ever become a land of immigration and succor for a devastated Jewish people. Let those who are amazed at that progress remember that when we ask today for a free Jewish Palestine whose doors shall be open to all our people who wish and need to enter, we make our request as a beginning, and not as an end of the Zionist program of rebuilding."

Following the conclusion of Rabbi Berlin's speech and the singing of the Hatikvah, the chairman introduced Mr. Lipaky who announced the organization of the General Committee and reported that all committees were to be formed before today's session of the Conference. He announced the details regarding organization of the committees which were to meet this morning.

Mr. Lipaky, who is chairman of the Governing Council of the American Jewish Congress, is chairman of the General Committee in charge of the Conference program. Herman Shulman, mem-

Delegates Join In Memorial Service



ber of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, is vice-chairman of the committee and Maurice Bagyer, secretary of the B'nai B'rith is secretary.

FOURTH SESSION

The session last night was devoted to a discussion of Palestine which was introduced by an address by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Weizmann's Cabled Message from London

Your Conference is the first great gathering of free Jewry during the war from which the voice of the Jewish people with regard to its future will be heard. American Jewry is the greatest free Jewish community in the world and must regard itself as the spokesman for the whole Jewish people. That is a great opportunity and also a very grave responsibility. My short time here following prolonged stay in the States has confirmed my views as to the urgent tasks which now confront us. The Nazi policy of extermination is being relentlessly pursued and unhappily the world at large is doing little to meet the dire need. Our feelings of grief and horror are mitigated by pride in the stand taken by Jews in the occupied countries. The tragic chapter now being written will stand beside the great pages of our history—Maccabees, Masada, Betar and other great deeds of "Kiddush Hashem."

In the aid given by world Jewry to persecuted Jews, contribution of Palestine is outstanding both in means supplied and rescue activities. Reports received from Palestine show that Jewish people has preserved its dignity and will to live. Every sign of help we give raises new hopes. Tortured Jewry expects victorious democracies not only to restore all their rights everywhere but also effectively to implement the principle of the restoration of Jews to their full status as free people and the right to return to Palestine and take their fate into their own hands, thereby establishing the Jewish Commonwealth, foreshadowed by the Balfour Declaration. This time solemn declarations are not enough. Immediate arrangements must be made for giving speedy effect to international decisions regarding future of the Jewish people and securing international aid for people which has suffered as perhaps no other in lives and in material resources.

We are aware that our enemies are actively trying to thwart our efforts but we shall not be deterred. I am sure your Conference in pursuance of the aims of the conveners to unite Jewish people in voicing their just aspirations, will issue a clear call bringing courage and hope to those still under the shadow of death and strength and inspiration to free Jewry to press on with renewed energy with work for securing the future of our people in dignity, freedom and peace.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

Dr. Goldmann's statement followed the receipt of cabled messages from Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency and of the World Zionist Organization, from David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Agency Executive in Palestine, and from the Jewish Agency Executive.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal of Philadelphia, president of the Zionist Organization of America, was chairman of the session.

Those participating in the discussion included Dr. Solomon Goldmann, L. H. Goldberg, Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

In opening the session, Judge Levinthal asserted that he stood unequivocally on "the formulated program of the Zionist Organization of America," and he urged that "the discussions reflect a genuine desire to reach truth and justice."

Praising the speech of Judge Proskauer, at the Sunday evening session for its emphasis on "the opportunities which exist for joint action," Judge Levinthal recalled the reversal of opinion by the late Louis Marshall in 1918 when the latter occupied the post that Judge Proskauer now holds. He expressed the hope that discussions might lead again to the result that "those who thought they were poles apart" would discover "that the only thing dividing them is words and phrases."

"If however, differ we must at this Conference, we must demonstrate in our own satisfaction and the chagrin of our enemies that even when we disagree we can do so as gentlemen and as friends," Dr. Goldmann declared.

"In the light of the tragic necessity for a speedy solution to the Jewish problem, as a result of the decade of Jewish extermination, and because of our own achievements in Palestine, we demand the right to be the masters of our fate in Palestine, to direct this enterprise ourselves, to control our own immigration and colonization and, once the foundations are (Continued on page two)

Palestine Discussed by Group Spokesmen

Address by Dr. Nahum Goldmann

May I convey, first of all, the greetings of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and its President, Dr. Weizmann, to this Conference. The Jewish Agency for Palestine looks with great hopes and high expectations to the results of the deliberations of this Conference, which, we hope, will unite American Jewry in the assumption of its grave responsibilities as the greatest free Jewish community today and will bring about united action for laying the foundations of the Jewish future. The Jewish Agency, the only internationally recognized Agency for the Jewish people throughout the world, has always tried to increase the number of those ready to cooperate in the historic task of this generation of Jews—to rebuild Palestine.

More than ever, Palestine has become a matter above and beyond party lines. The rule which it plays in Jewish life and Jewish policies of today is based on two considerations: One is the emotional, ideological and historical place which Palestine has always held in the soul and life of the Jewish people and on the many hopes which various sections of the Jewish people have attached to a recreated Jewish life in Palestine. But tonight I will not dwell on this aspect. I am sure that the various groups represented here will give full expression to their ideological hopes and conceptions of what Jewish Palestine ought to be in the life of Jewry today and tomorrow.

There is another basic—the practical aspect, a result of the realities of Jewish life today. It is to this aspect of the problem to which I want primarily to address myself. Those who regarded Palestine as the main solution of the Jewish problem as a practical project, always based it on two needs: the need of a place of refuge and a homeland for large numbers of homeless and uprooted Jews and, secondly, the need of the Jewish people as a collective body for a country of its own. From the beginning of the Palestine movement in modern Jewish history, Palestine was to serve as a country which would solve the problem of homelessness for hundreds of thousands and even millions of individual Jews. It was also meant to serve as the country of a fully developed Jewish life, with the opportunity of safeguarding the unique character of the Jewish people, its cultural achievements and its future as a people among the other peoples of the world. If these two realistic bases for the importance of Palestine within the totality of Jewish life were valid sixty, fifty and twenty years ago, they are incomparably more valid today.

Jewry 25 Years Ago.

Twenty-five years ago when the Balfour Declaration was issued, only a part of European Jewry was persecuted and in need of a country of immigration. Today, or tomorrow, after the war, nearly the whole of European Jewry, with the exception of the Soviet Russians, the British and a few small neutral Jewish communities, finds itself in a situation of absolute desolation—uprooted and expelled from their countries—naked beggars for whom something will have to be done without delay to give them an opportunity for a new start and a new future. If, from this point of view, the urgent necessity for Palestine as a place of refuge for European Jewry has become stronger with the last decade, on the other

hand, the numerical aspect of this problem has been tragically reduced. It is no longer a problem of 8 or 10 million European Jews. If we omit for this moment the problem of Russian Jewry, which is a separate question, the number involved may be three or two million Jews or even less. Both the situation of European Jewry necessitating an immediate solution of the problem of the millions we hope will survive on the one hand, and the reduction of the number of Jews brought about by the Hitler policy of extermination on the other, are of the utmost importance in considering Palestine as a solution of this aspect of the Jewish problem—both of these make the immediate utilization of Palestine as a solution necessary and, at the same time, possible.

Jewish immigration into Palestine before this was a slow, evolutionary process. After this war, it will have to become an immediate enterprise of mass transfer. We will have to insure that all opportunities and facilities for going to Palestine immediately will be given to those Jews in Europe who will survive the war, and, who, after the victory will be found roaming about somewhere in Eastern Europe completely destitute. The Jewish Agency has never been in favor of enforced Jewish immigration into Palestine. We have always opposed the Revisionist theory of Jewish evacuation from Europe—but just as we oppose this, we have to raise our voices against any attempt on the part of the United Nations to enforce repatriation on those Jews, many of whom, if not the majority, will refuse to go back to the countries of their persecution to revive the nightmares and risk similar experiences for their children or grandchildren. Nothing, it seems to me, is more realistic than to demand the right for every European Jew to choose either repatriation or immigration into Palestine. And let me utter a word of warning against a policy which would disperse Jewish post-war immigration, either by directing it in small sections to many different countries, or by looking for new places for Jewish mass immigration. And, in saying this, I am not arguing ideologically, but realistically. As far as dispersing Jewish migration into many countries is concerned, experience, if not logic, should have taught us that such dispersion not only does not solve our problem, but aggravates it. Within the last ten years there have been many examples of places where no Jewish problem existed, but where the migration of relatively small numbers of Jews has created sharp Jewish problems. What European Jewry has undergone through the Nazi policy of deportation should at least be used for a radical solution of the Jewish problem and not for creating new ones in various parts of the world. And as for the search for new territories by Jews and non-Jews, let it be said, also from a practical point of view, that it takes decades to develop primitive territories for mass migration, especially for highly civilized people, such as European Jewry, whereas 60 years of work in Palestine has prepared it for the absorption of large numbers of Jewish immigrants. Therefore, speaking again from a purely practical point of view, nothing is more logical, or more realistic than to allow all those uprooted Jews in Europe, immediately after the cessation of hos-

ilities, who want to go to Palestine, to do so, and not to enforce upon them either repatriation or migration into various parts of the world.

The Peril to Jews Today.

Again, if the Jewish future was endangered 25 or 50 years ago, by the inevitable process of assimilation, once Jewish ghetto life was over, it is a hundred times more imperiled today. I submit that none of us has realized what the destruction of the European Jewish community within the last decade means for our future as a people. It is not only that millions of our people have been exterminated by the Nazis—these millions were not just individuals, who happened to be Jews, but they were the Jews who formed the main centers of Jewish culture, religion and Jewish collective activities and achievements. Even if Jews from Warsaw and Cracow, from Vilna and Woloshin were to survive and return to these places, they would never be able to rebuild, and certainly not in our life-time, the great spiritual and cultural centers represented by these names. All these great centers of Jewish life, where the heritage of centuries of Jewish cultural achievements found expression and continuity have definitely been wiped out—and permit me to say in all frankness that there is no chance of rebuilding them in other parts of the Jewish Diaspora.

It is good to try to build Yeshivas in America, and though not an orthodox Jew, I am deeply appreciative of the efforts of those who try to do it, but those of you who know something of Yeshiva, will agree with me that you cannot rebuild Telz or Wilezyn by renting a beautiful building in New York and getting scholarships and funds for teachers and pupils. Such Yeshivas were more than a building with teachers and students. They were the outgrowth of centuries of civilization—their spirit dominated the whole community which centered around the Yeshiva. All this is impossible here and therefore with the best will in the world no Yeshiva of Telz can be rebuilt in this country—and this is only an example.

It is necessary to realize that the destruction of the old historical and classic centers of Jewish life and the impossibility of rebuilding them, endangers our future as a people, more than anything else. Therefore, the necessity of a Jewish center where the Jewish people will be able to concentrate on its own cultural, religious and social activities, is immeasurably greater today than in the times of Pinsker and Ahad Ha'Am, of Herzl and Nordau.

The Changed Palestine.

Let me pass from these fundamental aspects which refer to the diaspora aspect of the Palestine problem, to the Palestinian aspect itself. Here too the situation has changed fundamentally, because of our experiences in the

25 years since the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. It was a time of great and exciting experiences as far as Palestine is concerned—of glorious achievements and political disappointments. We have learned two things in this quarter of a century: one, that the Jewish people can perform the miracle of rebuilding Palestine within our lifetime and the other that no other people can do it for us. When the Balfour Declaration was issued, the whole undertaking was still in the experimental stage. There were a few colonies and the number of Jews in Palestine was about 40 to 50 thousand. There was no guarantee that the Jewish people would be able to rebuild the country, because being intelligent, able to produce good writers, brilliant speakers and successful businessmen, does not guarantee the ability of a people to rebuild a country, after centuries of ghetto life.

We had to prove to ourselves and to the world that we could do it: that not only could we rebuild a devastated country, but that we could regenerate the people called upon to do it—that we could develop the kind of Jew who not only speaks about things, but does them—who is ready to devote himself to the simple and unspectacular tasks necessary to lay the foundations for a new national life. We have shown that we are able to do it. We made mistakes, as was inevitable. We paid high prices for our mistakes. But, as a whole, and I would quote numerous non-Jewish experts and observers, I think that Palestinian Jews, the army of Chalmers, and the hundreds of thousands who went to Palestine and dedicated their lives to rebuild it, have performed their task well and accomplished one of the greatest achievements in the history of human colonization.

This experience should give us more self-confidence and daring in formulating our demands for the future of Jewish Palestine. The Palestine Administration.

We have had another experience—no other people or administration can do for us what we alone can do. And, in saying this, I am not criticizing Great Britain, I do not belong to those whose hearts are filled with bitterness and criticism towards Great Britain. Many injustices have been done us by the British Administration in Palestine and by the government in London and some of the greatest spokesmen of the British people have been the first to acknowledge it. But I do not believe that any other people would have performed its task as a mandatory power in a more satisfactory way than the British. And let us, a people of a long past, and a long memory, not forget, in all the heat and the resentment against British policies and colonial administration in Palestine, that the British were the first to recognize the need of the Jewish people for a land of its own and to issue the Balfour Declaration.

The failure was not that it was

Britain, but that it was a Mandatory power, I am not competent to judge whether British Colonial administration generally is good or bad. It is certainly not worse than the Colonial administration of other powers. But, even if it were good, the task of rebuilding Palestine within the lifetime of one or two generations requires vision, imagination, daring, and, above all, fanaticism of a kind which only the people for whom the question is one of life or death, is capable. Just as we cannot rebuild a country for any other people, no other people can direct the process of reconstruction for us. These are things in life which each must do for himself and which can be done only by the person or people concerned.

Based on these two great lessons of the past 25 years, we have today the right to come to "the democratic world, which endorsed the great enterprise of rebuilding the Jewish homeland in Palestine and tell them amicably, but firmly—here is our record—we proved we could do it and the others have proved that they cannot do it for us. Therefore in the light of the tragic necessity for a speedy solution to the Jewish problem, as a result of the decade of Jewish extermination, and because of our own achievements in Palestine, we demand the right to be the masters of our fate in Palestine, to direct this enterprise ourselves, to control our own immigration and colonization and, once the foundations are laid, to constitute there our own Jewish Commonwealth.

End of a Process.

This demand is not startling; it is not revolutionary. It is the inevitable, logical and realistic fulfillment of a process of which the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was the beginning. The authors of the Declaration have confirmed this: Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and the great American president who had his share in it, Woodrow Wilson, also confirmed it. And only a few years ago when the Royal Commission, headed by Sir Robert Peel, went to Palestine after the disturbances, they clearly stated that the original intent of the Balfour Declaration was to enable the Jews to rebuild their own homeland in Palestine.

There are two arguments usually used by those who doubt the wisdom and the necessity of this demand. The one concerns the position of the Jews in the various countries of the Diaspora, once a Jewish Commonwealth is established in Palestine; the other concerns the Arab population in Palestine. Let me deal briefly with both of these arguments.

The first argument is the result of a typical psychology of fear and inferiority. Zionists have

GENERAL DISCUSSION ON PALESTINE ISSUE BEGUN

(Continued from page one)

laid, to constitute there again our own Jewish Commonwealth.

"He said that this demand was 'not startling, not revolutionary,' but 'the inevitable, logical and realistic fulfillment of a process of which the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was the beginning.'"

Discussing the Arab problem, Goldmann said that "an understanding would be reached, once the Arabs realize that in the light of Jewish tragedy and the necessity for solving the Jewish problem, the world has a right to ask them to make the concession, of not claiming Palestine as an exclusively Arab country."

(This edition went to press before the evening session was concluded. A full report of the Palestine discussion will be printed in tomorrow's issue.)



DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, delivering his address. At left, Baruch Zuckerman, Dr. Israel Goldstein; right, Judge Proskauer.

Address by Dr. Goldmann

(Continued from page two)

again and again proclaimed that the Commonwealth we want to build in Palestine will be based on the Jews and Arabs who will live there and who will be citizens of the country. We never intended to set up a kind of international state with Jews all over the world citizens of it. The chief aspect of Zionism is territorial. It wants to concentrate a part of the Jewish people, as many as possible, in a country of their own, where they would live their own normal, national life. The Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, legally and politically, will be the Commonwealth of those who are there—then there will remain the great Jewish Diaspora with Jews living as equal citizens in their countries, with their primary loyalty to those countries, but with a moral and spiritual interest in the Palestinian Jewish Commonwealth. This will not be anything extraordinary. Dozens of peoples are in the same position and were one to doubt the loyalty of every American citizen who belongs to a group which has a country or state of its own somewhere in the world, I do not know how many loyal Americans would remain. Czechs and Poles, Irish and Italians, Germans and Frenchmen, and all sorts of people coming from various parts of Europe living as loyal American citizens, whose loyalty no one would dare to doubt, have shown interest and sympathy for their countries of origin, and have expressed it by words and deeds. The position of the Jewish citizens of various countries would be in no way different from those of other groups and all misinterpretations and misunderstandings by anti-Zionist groups to the effect that the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will claim the primary loyalty of the Jews all over the world, are either conscious or unconscious misrepresentations of the basic aims of Zionism.

Arab-Jewish Understanding.

As for the Arab argument, we have again and again not only said but proved in Palestine that nothing is further from our minds than the denial of the full rights of the Arab population in Palestine now and in the future. We realize fully that the welfare and the future of the Jewish people in Palestine depend on an understanding, not only with their Arab neighbors in Palestine, but with the neighboring Arab countries around Palestine. We are convinced that such an understanding will be reached, once the Arabs realize that in the light of Jewish tragedy and the necessity for solving the Jewish problem, the world has a right to ask them to make the concession of not claiming Palestine as an exclusively Arab country. Many peoples will have to make concessions towards social and political readjustments. Legally, Palestine for centuries has not been an Arab country, but a Turkish province. Militarily and historically the Arabs did not conquer Palestine from the Turks. The Allies did it in the last war and without a United Nations victory in this war not a shred of Arab independence would remain. The Arabs do not need Palestine in order to safeguard the future and the survival of the Arab world. Vast territories are at their disposal, which will take decades and centuries to develop. Practically, they would gain much more by cooperation with the Jewish people in the process than by a continued quarrel which will never make Palestine an Arab country again and which will only prolong unrest and strife in that part of the world.

We have always hoped and hope today that an understanding between us and the Arabs will be possible. We tried it in Versailles and we achieved it when Feisal

signed his agreement with Dr. Weizmann. We are ready to try it again and again, but if the Arab leaders remain adamant and refuse to come to an understanding, then it will be up to the United Nations to do what they will have to do in many similar cases in all parts of the world—to pass judgment, to define policies and to lay down the rules for a just settlement of conflicting claims.

If there is such a thing as social justice in the relations between peoples and countries, and not only between individuals and classes within a country, then certainly a people like ourselves, whose urgent necessity for a home has again been demonstrated by the slaughtering of 4 million of its sons and daughters in the last ten years, has precedence over the claims of the Arabs to have another small country as their exclusive property.

Jewish Nationalism Justified.

Another argument which is sometimes levelled against Zionism by so-called Jewish liberals is that Jewish nationalism is a reactionary movement, because the tendency is towards international cooperation, and larger groupings. I want only to say that we do not want anything more than other peoples, but we do not want less. We do not want to be different from the rest of the world. If nationalism is really to disappear, then let the great nations start it. But there is no indication that nationalism, as one of the great emotional ties which bind men together and create civilizations, has been weakened, and there are many indications that it will be even stronger after this war. What has weakened, and rightly so, is state nationalism—the conception of the state as an absolute, sovereign entity, not bound to respect international demands and laws. Nobody will sympathize more deeply with this tendency than the Jewish people, who have suffered more than any other from so-called state sovereignty and ruthless state egoism. If the rights of all states are to be limited, we will be glad to have the rights and sovereignty of the Jewish Commonwealth limited in the same way. But to fight for the freedom of India and for Arab independence and to deny the right of an independent national life to the Jewish people is neither logical nor liberal; it is merely the result of Jewish diaspora psychology.

I think that our demand for the fulfillment of the pledge given to us 25 years ago is more justified today than it ever was, and if there is one people which has a just claim, ours. For ten years our people have suffered agonies unparalleled even in this brutal decade. We have lost perhaps a third of our men. And the civilized world has watched this process of extermination. They could have stopped it long ago, but



HENRY MONSKY, presiding, LOUIS LIPSKY, chairman of General Committee at left.

whenever we asked them to intervene, the reply was that they could not interfere in the internal matters of sovereign Nazi Germany. And whenever we asked them to open the gates of other countries to the Jews, the reply was again that they could not interfere with the internal immigration policies of other countries. They may have been right, legally. But something is fundamentally wrong in a world which can watch for ten years the extermination of millions of Jews without being in a position to end it. The world owes us reparation for this wrong. There cannot be individual reparation for the millions who have been massacred. I doubt whether property reparation can be made to those deprived of everything they possessed. Only one reparation is possible and necessary—to create conditions of life which will make impossible the repetition of such a disaster—to let those Jews who want to live their lives as Jews among

their own people in a land of their own. If the world will not have realized the moral and practical necessity of this only reparation it owes us, all the talk about a better world order will remain so many words. A great historian told that the treatment of the Jews is a test everywhere of the degree of the social consciousness of a country, not because we deserve better treatment than others, but because we are the weakest of the peoples. If this is right internationally, it is still more valid internationally. A new world order, which, after the experiences of the last decade, will not solve the Jewish problem, will have lost sight of one of the most embarrassing problems of our time.

Demand for Normal Life.
Whatever else we demand of the world of tomorrow—equality of rights, protection of minorities, punishment of the criminals—is not specifically Jewish. It is the application of the elementary principles of democracy to the Jewish people. There is one specific demand we have to make today, because Hitler has simplified the Jewish problem, as he has simplified many other European problems, and this is the demand to end the anomalous position of the Jewish people and to allow us to live our lives as a normal people. This demand, which is today much more than a Zionist demand, we will have to repeat again and again and we will not keep silent about it. Despite the tragic experiences of the past ten years, despite the inactivity of the democracies even now in trying to save the remnants of European Jewry, with all that is left in us of optimism and faith in humanity, we hope and believe that when the day will come for building the world of tomorrow, we will not remain the one people forgotten and abandoned, but that we will be given what every other people in the world asks for and most of them have—the opportunity to live among the nations of the world as a free and equal people.

Appeal To Save European Jewry.

Address By Dr. Israel Goldstein

Our greatest Hebrew poet of modern times, in honor of the first convocation of the Jewish people since the destruction of Judea, penned a poem which might well serve as the theme song on this first day of this historic convocation. The author was Chaim Nachman Bialik; the occasion—the Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897; the circumstances, pogroms in Eastern Europe and vilification in Western Europe. A few poignant lines will convey the theme:

Woes of your people summon you from far
'Tis good our tears in union should fall
Redemption fails but our Redeemer liveth.

The woes of our people which summon us here are as incomparably deeper and vaster than those of half a century ago, as the ocean is deeper and vaster than a brook. Yet we come here not only in the mood of mourning and lamentation, but also in the mood of indomitable faith. The Rabbinate of Palestine, Great Britain and the United States have designated tonight and tomorrow a time both for mourning and for prayer.

'Tis good our tears in union should fall
Redemption fails but our Redeemer liveth.

We do not have to wait for the month of Tishrei to bring us the *Yom Ha-Nasiv*, the awesome days. These days of our Conference are

"*Yom Ha-Nasiv*." The awe and the humility of the devout Jew standing before the sacred ark on the holiest of days should be, and doubtless is the feeling and the attitude with which we have come from near and far to unite our tears, our counsel and our faith. We are here for a *hesheben ha-nefesh*, to take stock of the status of our people, and to take stock of ourselves and of our worthiness to be the providentially favored member of the household of Israel.

The mood tonight is *Kol Nidre* when we recall the martyrology of our people. To the tune of *Kol Nidre* the Nazi executioners with Satanic glee lead our brothers and sisters to their slaughter.

Alas that the roll-call of European Jewry is now for the most part a martyrology. Three-fourths of Polish, Rumanian, German, Dutch and Belgian Jewry have been decimated. This is the *hesheben ha-nefesh*.

There is no use reciting again the horrible gruesome tale. If the world does not yet know it, or knowing it does not yet believe it, or believing it, does not emotionally comprehend it, we at least know it, believe it and comprehend it.

Yet the *Kol Nidre* mood calls also for a *hesheben ha-nefesh* in the sense of self-examination. Let us admit that we American Jews, as a community of five millions, have not been stirred deeply enough, have not exercised our

seives passionately enough, have not risked enough our convenience and our social and civic relations, have not been ready enough to shake the bonds of so-called amiability in order to lay our troubles upon the conscience of our Christian neighbors and fellow citizens. A relatively small segment of our people have taken part in our demonstrations of sorrow and in protest. The American Jewish community as a whole has not been convulsed by the unprecedented tragedy which has fallen upon the Jews of Europe. One pogrom in Kishinev in 1903 shook American Jewry more profoundly than the mass-murder of a million Jews in 1943.

Of course there are explanations,—the continuous shocks since 1933 which have numbed our sensibilities and the world war on a global stage which seemingly reduces the proportions of our particular tragedy. Yet the inescapable fact remains that among too many American Jews the sense of vital organic relationship with the Jewish people is so thin and so pusillanimous that the agony of their people instead of agonizing them into seething, restless, even reckless activity, merely saddens them.

Test of Civilized Conscience.

We have lamented, we have protested but we have not sufficiently exercised ourselves.

Having avowed our own shortcomings we are entitled the more freely to criticize those in whose hands has been the major power to rescue and to save. The moral tragedy of our times is this, that whereas the Nazi murderers have

perpetrated upon the Jewish people the worst bloodbath in all history for the reason openly stated that Jews are congenital, incorrigible enemies of the Nazi way of life, the Christian nations, proclaiming as their principal war aim the annihilation of the Nazi way of life, lack the forthrightness and the moral courage to embrace the Jewish people as their ally in the same measure as Hitler hounds the Jewish people as his foe. Because of this lack of moral consistency the United Nations, more specifically Great Britain and the United States, on the eve of their military victory are threatened with a moral defeat. Once again the treatment of the Jew today may prove to be the barometer of the world's moral climate tomorrow.

If the Western Democracies were to act with forthrightness and moral courage, they would stop the pretense that the Jewish plight in Nazi Europe is no different from the plights of other peoples in Hitler's clutches and that the only help for the Jews is to defeat Hitler as soon as possible. Two years ago such statements might have been regarded by a generous stretch of the imagination as being naively mistaken. Today, however, after all that has happened, the calculated murder of nearly three million Jews and the calculated Nazi plan to exterminate before the end of the war the remaining two million Jews at their disposal, today reluctance on the part of the leaders of the democracies to employ special measures to save the remnants of a people uniquely marked for exter-

(Continued on page four)

Address by Dr. Goldstein

(Continued from page three)

mination, cannot be permitted to pass unchallenged even if it means that we must criticize friends in high places.

Citizens of a free democracy do not hesitate in the midst of a war to offer constructive criticism to their leaders. It is their right and their duty. Democratic leaders in wartime expect and respect the reactions of public opinion. Because we happen to be Jewish citizens we shall not forfeit our right and our duty to speak forth out of our pain and disappointment. It would be a sad day indeed for American democracy when Jews, merely because they are Jews, would have to refrain from a reasoned, dignified, forthright statement of their just cause.

Why then do our friends in high places in government shy away from the stark truths of the situation?

It is a stark fact that the plight of the Jews in Nazi Europe is unlike that of any other group of Hitler's victims, tragic as the latter may be, for Jews alone have been singled out for total destruction. No other people has lost already two-thirds of its civilian population.

It is a stark fact that unless special and drastic measures of rescue are undertaken immediately, the victory of the United Nations will come too late to do the Jews in Nazi hands any good. They will all be dead.

Why are these stark facts blandly overlooked? Let us assume the best motivation, namely, that the leaders of the democracies do not wish to give a pretext to those emboldening elements within the democracies to say that the war is being fought to save the Jews.

Can it be that democratic leaders place so little faith in their own people? Is it fair to the British and the American people to think that they are so gullible, so lacking in discernment or so susceptible to reactionism as to take at face value the mouthings of the poison mongers? If it be so, then the prospects of the postwar world are black indeed, then the Atlantic Charter will have had its grave in the very ocean on which it was proclaimed.

A Program of Rescue.

Is there a feasible program of large scale rescue for the Jews of Europe? There is. It has been called to the attention of our Government and the British more than once:

1. To curb further massacres by sternly warning the gangster nation now when it feels the might of the attacking force, that there will be retribution and by setting up without delay a tribunal of investigation in which Jews as the chief victims should have representatives.

2. To save Jews in Ghettos from starving to death by getting in food either by negotiations similar to those which resulted in the feeding program for the Greeks, or else through underground channels.

3. To secure the release of considerable numbers of Jews from the lands of Germany's satellites who, quivering in the face of their impending defeat, may be not unwilling to stave up at least one merit to their accounts.

4. To encourage neighboring neutral countries to provide temporary asylums to such as can be rescued by undertaking the financial obligation for their support and the guarantee of their personal settlement elsewhere after the war.

5. To offer immigration opportunities in United Nations lands wherever these are accessible.

6. To provide for the settlement in Palestine of large numbers of such Jews as can be rescued, for Palestine is not only accessible over land routes, thus avoiding the

problems of shipping space, but it is, of all places, best prepared, physically, economically, socially, culturally, and spiritually, to accommodate large numbers of Jews, thanks to the foundations which have been laid by the Zionist movement. All that is necessary is to annul the White Paper which has shut the gates of Palestine. Illegal because it was repudiated by the League of Nations, and immoral because it broke a pledge given by the strongest of empires to the weakest of peoples, this White Paper is in effect a death warrant for hundreds of thousands of Jews. If there is still a conscience left in humanity, the White Paper must be annulled and the gates of Palestine opened wide before the end of the war, even as Palestine must become a Jewish Commonwealth after the end of the war.

A sufficient portion of this program is feasible to make possible the rescue of hundreds of thousands, if there were the will to do it. But, alas, the will for a great salvation is weak. Hence the piddling ineffectiveness at Bermuda and since Bermuda, hence the self-exonerating references by our State Department to the numbers of refugees who have been accommodated on our shores since 1933, all of them within the existing immigration quotas, as if a single additional Jewish life can be saved thereby.

Of course, we are grateful for all the aid that has been given. Jewish tradition teaches that even the saving of one life is of cosmic significance. Of course we are soled by the expressions of sympathy from religious and secular quarters. But the will to undertake a bold, great program of rescue is lacking. It is of the scale and tempo of a resolution of sympathy every now and then, a thread of assistance every now and then, a little help here and there, a haggling, temporizing, compromising program, instead of a great, passionate, moral urge to say to the doomed Jews of Europe, "To you, whom we welcome as our natural allies, who have been the first of Hitler's victims and have borne such lacerations as no other people has borne, to you we say with all our hearts, 'Wherever there is a room and most of all in your motherland of Eretz Israel, let the hounded of your people find rest, respite and salvation.'"

Plea to Our Government.

We who have the good fortune to be American Jews should be the last to make unreasonable requests of our Government. Yet is it unreasonable to say to our Government, "If millions of American citizens were trapped in the Nazi charnel-houses, you would find a way to rescue large numbers and without delay?"

We American Jews feel that we have the right to address ourselves to our Government to take the lead in a large program of rescue of Jews now and in a large program of Jewish rehabilitation after the war. Just because the largest Jewish community in the world are domiciled here, are loyal citizens here, are pouring out their substance and their blood to bring victory to the Stars and Stripes.

Through us there speak the silenced voices of the helpless, languishing remnant of our people still alive in Europe. Through us there speak the millions of our martyred dead. Through us there speak the valiant heroes of Warsaw's Ghetto who defied the armored might of Nazi troops and went down fighting and dying "al kiddish ha-shem," in sanctification of God's name.

I have wondered how this American Jewish Conference will be remembered generations hence. Will it be remembered only because it took place in one of the tragically memorable periods of

Conference At A Glance

Yesterday's sessions continued the discussion on Rescue action to save the remnants of European Jewry. Speakers included Mrs. David De Sola Pool, Baruch Zuckerman and Rabbi Meir Berlin.

The evening session launched a general discussion on Palestine, which was introduced by Dr. Nahum Goldmann. He was followed by Dr. Solomon Goldman, I. H. Goldberg, Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. The discussion will be continued today with addresses by Dr. Maurice Eisendrath, Dr. Robert Gordis, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein and speakers for other groups in the Conference.

The General Committee was formed yesterday under the chairmanship of Louis Lipsky, and was engaged in organizing the various Conference Committees.

history? Or will it be remembered also for the newsworthiness, the dignity, the fearlessness and the statecraft of its utterances and its actions? What we say and do in the program of Jewish rescue today and of Jewish rehabilitation tomorrow will be an earnest of our caliber. Palestine holds the major solution for both.

Our Indestructible Faith. A moving tale has come out of Palestine, of a group of children, who, shortly after the first news of Nazi-mass-murders of Jews, organized a hike to Marada, in southern Palestine, the site of the last stand against Rome. After resting near a spring for the evening, they began at dawn to climb. Finally, they reached the top of the hill. There in the ruins of the ancient fortress, they wrote on a stone, "If I forget thee, O Diaspora!" That word written as well upon the tablets of their hearts was the companion vow to "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem!" Let that be our twin affirmation to night and through all the days of this convention.

For whatever struggle may lie ahead, we pray that we may be found to possess strength commensurate with the task and wisdom commensurate with the opportunity. Above all, may God grant that we be fortified by our age-old secret weapon, our indestructible Faith.

We are grieved in spirit but not without hope, disappointed in our friends but not despondent, for we know that our Redeemer liveth. This Tisha b'Av, Harbush period of our history, will be followed by a period of "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people." For is it not written in the Prophet's message of this week, "Behold, I take the cup of fury out of thy hand and shall place it into the hand of thine oppressor. Awake, awake, Put on thy strength, O Zion!"

For all our rivers of tears and oceans of blood, for all our broken lives and devastated homes, for all our gutted Synagogues and desecrated shrines, for all our slain youths and spoiled maidens, for all the agony and all the martyrdom of these black years, we shall be consoled when in Eretz Israel, reestablished as a Jewish Commonwealth, land of our sunrise, and in every land where the dispersed of Israel dwell, the sun of freedom will rise with healing in its wings, and shine forth upon the world, the message, *Am Yisrael Chai, Israel Lives!*

Address by Mrs. David De Sola Pool

Standing here before this great assembly I find myself wishing that my one small voice could express the heart of American Jewish womanhood going out to the stricken men and women and children of our people. The number of women in this Conference betoken the enlargement of woman's horizon and the transfer to larger spheres of the traditional interests of Jewish womanhood.

Numerous national women's bodies are here represented. Each has been unwaveringly dedicated to service of the Jewish people—through religion and religious instruction, through immigrant rehabilitation and Americanization, through social service, through medical and health work, through child and youth rescue. What we have done in the past as American Jewish women can be only a token of the duties and the tasks that devolve upon us today and tomorrow.

What answer do we give to those who turn to us out of the immense agony chamber of Hitler's Europe?

Do we plan to go on as in the past, as some of them despairingly think, as some of us unthinkingly may seem to do? No, we shall not waste human energy and precious vital forces in trivial disputes. None of us will yield our principles and the fundamentals of the ideals for which we stand, but we shall not lose our way in important detail on that road which leads to the salvation of our Brothers and our sisters whose voices must ring in our ears by day and by night; when we lie down and when we rise up, at home and abroad. If we could rend asunder the walls that enshrine this solemn assembly and pierce continents and oceans, we would hear millions of voices address this gathering. On the one hand crushed hearts seeking to gain hope again, would spur us to gigantic effort, and on the other, the hundreds of thousands of our fellow Americans who have chosen us to represent them and who are eagerly awaiting the word by which they may go forward into action, will expect us to show them the way.

Infinitely cruel is the suffering inflicted on our people, immense and overwhelming is the problem with which we must deal with finite means limited by a world at war. Before this assembly adjourns we shall speak of the tasks which we must assume in the post-war world. We shall indicate how as part of the world settlement, Jewish rights can be assured. The fruit of victory in this war of liberation must not be allowed to remain tainted and poisoned by the victory of hatreds that have so devastated all the earth. Yes, we expect much of the peace and victory of the United Nations— for which we pray and work and fight and eagerly make supreme sacrifices.

But those in the charnel house of Europe, can they wait? Need they wait? Who will dare to say that agony so terrible as to pass the wildest imagination be prolonged for one fragment of a second, if it can be stopped sooner than the end of the war. If the Governments of the Allied Nations will it, much can be done now. And this we must ask of them—to help now those whom we can help at once.

We ask the world why are the children not moving in numbers for which certificates are available in Palestine and places which we have prepared for them. Over 1500 children have come into Palestine in recent months. This is proof that the roads, hard and perilous as they are, are nevertheless open and thousands more can follow these heroic young people who march with head up

lifted across the terrible wastes. We can rescue these children torn from family and friends wandering over the scarred no-man's lands. Wherever in Europe they can be gathered and snatched from the encircling grip of our relentless foe, there they must be taken into the shelter and security open to them, yes, awaiting them in the Land of Israel. There is no limit to the generosity and welcome that await these children in their homeland. The 10,000 Youth Aliyah children whom Henrietta Sola has nurtured, educated and saved, stand not only as a test, but as a measure of what can be done now in child rescue work and of what the future holds out. Here are no relics of disaster trailing their woes and their wounds. Here in Palestine in the Jewish National Home to which these children have come and where they have found joy and song and work, freedom and warm hearts, life rises from the ashes and bleeding sores of mind and body find swift healing.

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.

Our government's plans for relief and rehabilitation, the plans of the United Nations must put the rescue of these innocent victims high on their agenda. Rescue now is infinitely important and precious, for it is rescue of those who might otherwise perish, it is proof and earnest determination to act in the post-war world—it is a test of the sincerity of the nations. It would be the balm of Gilead to the waiting millions whose turn might not come till the end of the war. For rescue which can be effected now is no temporary makeshift overnight asylum. It is rehabilitation—sound and strong and permanent. It is a living structure erected upon the foundations of fifty years of Zionist vision, effort and achievement. And just as the first 10,000 who have reason to bless the name of Henrietta Sola are the vanguard of the tens of thousands for whom now certificates are available, these, in their turn, will blaze the way for hundreds of thousands more whose lives will be rebuilt in freedom and who in rebuilding their lives will rebuild the Jewish People.

Hadassah, the organization I have the honor to represent at this great Conference, which for one third of a century has taken its place in the upbuilding of Palestine and the national regeneration of the Jewish people, feels confident that we shall unite in achieving our common goal: The liberation of the Jewish people as part of the liberation of all the peoples on earth, equal rights for every Jew as for every individual in the world wide family of God's children, a universal Bill of Rights for peoples and individuals.

Towards such a comprehensive program of action we can all unite in the almost humanly possible. In that unity we shall find strength. We need have no fear because we are small, nor despair because we are weak. If we determine to demand together justice for our people, redemption for our captives, healing for our grieved and wounded, glory for our martyrs, the urge in mankind for better living will give response to our call. The world cannot and will not then remain silent. With high hope, with courage, determination and undiminished purpose, we enter upon our tasks. Haska Veimita, fellow delegates of this great conference!

Address by Baruch Zuckerman

We are gathered together, although, alas, much belatedly. We have finally established a common address for American Jewry. We assume today the material and moral responsibility for all that American Jewry must do if it is to save the Jews who are still alive, and in order to prepare the entire Jewish people for the solution of postwar problems.

Those who arranged the Conference did well in devoting the first session, after the official opening, to the problem of rescue. By the results of this session, we ourselves shall be tested: will we be content to hold another meeting to voice our anguish to the world and express our sorrow amongst ourselves—and let it go at that, or will we actually respond to the duty which cries out to us from the millions of our slaughtered brethren and even more tragically from the desperate millions who remain alive and plead with their last strength: Save us!

A double responsibility rests upon us: one toward the outer world, and an even greater responsibility toward ourselves. We must understand this responsibility clearly, and discharge it out in candor and honesty.

Our responsibility toward the outer world is to speak plainly. To retreat is of no avail. Protests are also in vain. We must therefore formulate our claims against the world in simple, clear terms. Accuse World of Indifference.

We accuse the governments of the free world, the world which is carrying on the struggle for freedom and democracy—including our own Government—of minimizing our tragedy. We refuse to believe that they are sincere when they comfort us by assurance that the Jews will be saved when the war shall have been won. No one needs to explain to us what it means to win the war against Hitler. For six long years, we carried on the struggle against Hitler unaided and alone. The struggle against Hitlerism as a movement was borne by us alone for many years, even before Hitler came to power. We certainly do not underestimate the contribution which all peoples have made in the present war against Nazism and Fascism. We will never forget the days of Dunkirk, when the British people stood alone, like a dam against the flood of Hitlerism under whose axe all the European peoples began to fall. We fully appreciate the tremendous role of Russia, of our own America, and of the Chinese people against the Japanese. We recognize the contributions of all the peoples in the occupied lands in their struggle against the invaders. We are not at all in the position of people who remain neutral in all these struggles and merely grant recognition to others. All these fronts are our fronts as well. Everywhere the blood of our Jewish children is mingled with the blood of the children of all these peoples. But what people has been confronted with the danger of complete annihilation to the same degree as have our people? What peoples are being tortured as are our people? We know very well what victory over Hitlerism means for the entire world in general, and for the Jewish people in particular. But we refuse to believe that the government leaders who tell us to wait for victory are unaware that if they do not immediately rescue the Jews of occupied Europe, not one Jew will remain alive there to see that joyous day of victory. We must therefore view all such excuses as a mockery of our fate. And even if we have no power to compel practical help, we still have enough strength

to cry out: Cease this mocking of our people!

Do you not see, you representatives of the free governments, the millions of our dead? Do you not see the axe which has been raised above the heads of those who are still alive? Do not rub salt into our countless bleeding wounds!

Attacks Barring of Jews.

Shall we recount all the instances in which you could have helped and did not? Shall we repeat all the proposals which were formulated at our protest meetings, at our memorial meetings? To what avail? Hundreds of memoranda which were sent to you gathered dust in your desk-drawers. Do you need memoranda from us? Do you yourselves not know what to do? The whole game of memoranda, of Bernuda Conferences, of committees and commissions—how it debases us! How bitter are we when we seek to attend at your conferences, to find a place on your committees and commissions, and you slam the door in our faces! We have lost hope in these commissions. If you are in earnest, then there is only one honorable way. You, representatives of the United Nations, must openly demand from Hitler the release of the Jews who are still alive. But show us that you are sincere. Declare at the same time that you are prepared to make temporary place for Jews in your countries; bring influence to bear on the neutral countries. Remove all obstacles which stand in the way of the rescue of Jews. Let our country, our United States, temporarily open its doors. Let England temporarily open the doors of her great Empire; let her open the doors of Palestine immediately. Do we need to tell you what to do at a time of national danger. At such a time, do you maintain your established peace-time methods? Do you not change your entire life? Yet where it concerns us, you protect yourself by regulations; many of them were cruel even in peace-time. If you are in earnest about helping us, then demonstrate that you are prepared to break down all the barriers which stand in the way of rescue.

And do not take refuge in the excuse that Hitler will not grant the Jews exit. We do not know whether or not he will release them. But before such an attempt has been made, no one among you can disclaim responsibility for our innocent blood. No one. Not England, not Russia, not our own America, and none of the other United Nations which have any influence and do not employ it in a great rescue effort.

We declare that we view your refusal as an attempt to evade difficulties. We do not deny that the matter is difficult. After all, what is it that we demand of you? We demand that you save lives, lives as dear as the lives of the children of your own people, lives whose extermination and especially the method of extinction, will remain an eternal blot not only upon the murderers—but does a blot more or less matter to them—but upon you, you leaders of the governments of the free peoples.

I stand before you with the deepest sense of guilt, both as an individual and as a representative of the Labor Zionist party. To no less an extent than the United Nations we American Jews must carry upon our conscience the deaths of thousands of our exterminated brethren. True, the United Nations could have rescued and still can now save millions. We could have only saved tens of thousands. However, we did not do this. I cannot enumerate here individual examples of such possibilities. Our members will undoubtedly do this in the committee.

tees. But no one wants now to engage in self-castigation. I tell you what I know. We could have sent them more food. We could have sent them more medical supplies. We could have rescued tens of thousands at the proper time. We could have helped them get arms with which to attempt to resist. We could have made use of channels for which peoples with a healthy instinct do not seek complete approval. Every government-in-exile takes certain liberties in such cases in order to help its enslaved population. It is trusted to do only that which will not harm the war effort. We American Jews, however, did not even have this faith in ourselves. Our American Jewish organizations, which possess national budgets, are overcautious in considering every newly-opened channel to our brethren who were left to die a shameful death. They make a careful study as that on no account should any financial risk be incurred, so that there should be no stepping upon the toes of any group or leader. There have been exceptions. One of the more important exceptions—and this is stated by the representative of a party which is not affiliated with it—is the Jewish Labor Committee.

A second exception is seen in the efforts which were made by our own Zionist Labor movement. Both exceptions, however, were a drop in the bucket in the light of what American Jewry could have done and failed to do.

Jewish Heroism and Martyrdom.

But things have happened in the entire Jewish world outside of America; a time will come when a chapter of Jewish heroism will be disclosed, a new sacred chapter of Jewish martyrdom, which will stand comparison with the heroism shown by all the peoples through their Commands and their guerrillas.

We all view with deep reverence the chapter of martyrdom which will go down in our history for all eternity under the name of "Warsaw Ghetto." How many Masadas taken together were there here incorporated! But, in this heroic chapter, there is one instance which exceeds even the usual brand of heroism. The Jews

who found themselves in the ghetto certainly saved the honor of the entire Jewish people by their martyrdom. But there was among them a group which had lived in free countries, like you and me. They could have remained alive but the call to their sense of national responsibility was stronger than their will to live. Jewish young men and women, reared in the same schools which gave us two generations of pioneer builders in Palestine, were the ones who left a free country—do not ask how, a day will come when this also will be told—and made possible the heroic chapter of the Warsaw Ghetto.

When it will become possible to ascertain the names of all those who have taken part in the sacred struggle, our Jewish annals will certainly record them. Their memory will endure always and they will become an example for future Jewish generations. I have described the special role of those who came from free countries in order to emphasize our own insufficiency. And how much greater is our negligence when we recall that in some very important instances lack of funds prevented the sending of initial aid.

But let us not now look for any culprits. None of us is innocent. There is none that can say: "my hands did not spill this blood." It is our duty here, in the name of the entire American Jewish community, to confess our guilt. But this alone is not enough. With true heartfelt repentance, we must now decide to follow a new path. Our Conference must not remain satisfied with crying out our pain to the world and our sorrow to ourselves, and to allow the situation remain as before. Until now there was no single Jewish address. It has been created today. Today we can declare: we accept all responsibility for rescue work, and all the resources which American Jewry possesses must be mobilized for this rescue work. A special instrument for this rescue

work must be created. All organizations which carry on relief work must take into account the decisions of such a rescue body. Urges Change in Rescue Work.

Every people undergoes change in wartime. We cannot permit the present monopoly of any group whatsoever over Jewish funds for rescue work. It was like this until today; but today something was born. Today communal responsibility was established in Jewish life. It will be a pity if we should lack the courage to leave here prepared for many changes in our own American Jewish life. But it would be nothing short of criminal if we failed to prepare for important changes in the sphere of rescue work.

We can deal with details in our committees. But in this sacred hour of reckoning, which is devoted especially to the task of rescue, we must all be prepared for personal and organizational sacrifices if only they can increase the extent of the rescue work.

One closing word; merely a wish for all of us. Let us not despair of our great and important mission. What is needed is faith in the future of Israel. We ourselves, the American Jewish community, are proof of this. How much hope for the future lies in the fact that we are here and not there. Hope in the future if Israel brings with it responsibility. The time has now come to fulfill this responsibility. A great share of the task of assuring the future of Israel and of safeguarding the remnant of Israel has been placed upon us by history. Let us prepare ourselves for this mission. Let both our "Hear O Israel," which we must cry out to ourselves, and our "Hear O World," which we cry out to the world, come from our hearts with the same sacred emotion with which the cry of "Hear O Israel" has been uttered throughout all the generations of our oppressed people.

Address by Gedaliah Bublick

The Conference has come to remind the world about the crimes against the Jews which must be corrected.

The world does not pay attention to the slaughter of our people and does nothing to save those who can be saved. It is written in our Torah, "Thou shalt not stand against the blood of your neighbor," and the world, the best part of humanity, stands with folded hands. The claim that nothing can be done is no excuse. As long as no effort is made, the extent of the aid that can be rendered is unknown. Our noble leaders speak of the Ten Commandments, of the Bible and of religion; and the people of the Ten Commandments, of the Bible and of religion are being exterminated. The Conference calls upon the two leaders of the struggle for justice and righteousness, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, whose names will go down in history forever: Save the remnants of European Jewry!

The world saw how Hitler attacked the Jews ten years ago and remained silent. The civilized countries maintained friendly relations with gangster leaders. Even the Ambassadors of France, England and America dined at their banquets. Apparently they thought, "After all, he is a gentleman. He means only the Jews; there is nothing to fear!" But after persecuting the Jews, the Nazis began to launch their offensive against all of humanity. If the world had put an end to Hitlerism before his attack upon the Jews, it would have been easier to avoid a world conflict. The world has paid with

scans of blood for its indifference to the crimes which were directed against the Jews. It still accepts anti-Semitism as a legal political movement.

But anti-Semitism is the source of all that is evil. It is the poison which poisons humanity. Anti-Semitism is the father of Nazism. The anti-Semites Fichte, Wagner and their disciples are the forerunners of Nazism.

And the struggle against Nazism, Hitlerism and all that is connected with them, will not be finished as long as anti-Semitism has not been uprooted. The unity of the United Nations will not be complete and firmly established as long as anti-Semitism is allowed to continue on its course.

As long as anti-Jewish hatred will be freely promulgated and anti-Semitism will be tolerated by human society, and they will not be viewed as criminals and dangerous individuals—there can be no justice, no democracy, no equality, no freedom, no realization of any of the ideals for which humanity is now struggling.

We, therefore, demand that the fight against Anti-Semitism be placed on the same level as a postwar program. The fight against this enemy of mankind must begin immediately, even before the war has been terminated.

Mankind has sinned heavily against the Jewish people. It took from the Jews a God, a Day of Rest, a civilization and it repays them with murder, robbery, torture and calumny. Lloyd George stated it well when he said, "There are some people who recite Psalms in Church on Sun-

(Continued on page six)

Conference Speakers



JUDGE JOSEPH PROSKAUER



RABBI R. L. LEVINTHAL
Delivering the Invocation

Address by Joseph Weinberg

We are now on the eve of victory. The defeat of our enemy is certain. But the Nazi chieftains have promised that when the German armies will be forced to leave the occupied lands, they will not leave a single Jew alive in their retreat.

The delegates to the coming peace conference may meet on the graves of the entire Jewish people in Europe. I shall not speak here of the millions of murdered Jews. The civilized world knows well that the Jewish people against whom Hitler commenced his offensive, suffered the greatest sacrifice in this war. However, today I shall limit myself to those Jews of Europe who as yet remain alive.

"Farsighted" statesmen advise us not to make too much fuss about the murder of Jews; not to cry out; not to appeal for help lest the impression be created that we are fighting a war to save Jews, and this might harm the war effort. But "statesmen" who believe that the world should remain silent, while a historic people is being mercilessly exterminated, while millions of innocent beings, men and women, old and young, are being ruthlessly murdered, cannot win the war, and certainly must lose the peace.

The hour is late. One cannot bring to life the three million murdered Jews, but the Jewish remnants in Europe can and must be rescued.

We must make it as clear as possible to every German soldier and officer that he will be held accountable with his life for Jewish blood shed in vain. At the same time, we must bend every effort to inform the people inside Germany about the whole truth of the mass-murder of Jews—the truth about the cold-blooded and brutal extermination of innocent men, women and children.

Let there not be a single German who will be able to say that he did not know the whole truth.

We also demand that the United Nations declare clearly and unequivocally: "In this hour of grave danger, we have opened wide the doors of our countries to those who may succeed in escaping from the Nazi concentration camps and death chambers."

We cannot speak of justice and freedom when we commit an injustice against those who plead for their lives. Barred doors at this time will, without doubt, give the Nazis the impression that the United Nations are not interested in the fate of the Jews.

Our third demand is food for the ghettos. The ghettos in the Nazi-occupied countries are jails within jails. Months ago the Jewish Labor Committee requested that food be sent to the starving people in the ghettos. The Jews in the ghettos can no longer be regarded as civilians. They are prisoners of war; they are prisoners of death. But our appeal for food has thus far been left unheeded. Yet, food has and can be sent to the starving populations in Nazi-occupied Europe.

On August 7, 1942, three ships with food left from Canada for Greece. During the entire year of 1942, twenty-six such ships came to Axis-occupied Greece from the Allied countries to feed the starving Greek population. At the same time the Red Cross gave to the people of Greece 100,000 food packages. Had this food not been sent—and this has been confirmed by the authorities here—90 per cent of the Greek population would have starved to death.

It is indeed proper, and in accordance with the humanitarian ideals of democracy, that this food was sent to Greece. We rejoice that hundreds of thousands of human beings have been pre-

vented from starving.

The Jews of the ghettos in Europe are also pleading for food. Three million hungry men, women and children have asked us for bread. Not a single loaf has thus far been sent by the United Nations.

Mr. Bublick's Address

(Continued from page five)

day and immediately upon leaving Church they make a program against Jews."

An end must be put to this! You cannot bring a New Order to the world as long as there continue old prejudices which poison the soul of humanity. In order to arrive at a New Order, we must follow the injunction of the Prophet to: "create a new heart and a new spirit." Such an order can be assured only when mankind will have cleansed itself of the stain of anti-Semitism.

The third and by far the greatest crime which the world has committed against the Jewish people consists in the fact that it was robbed of its country by force, thus becoming the only homeless people on the face of the earth.

The United Nations are fighting for equality of rights. The Jewish people too, demands equality together with all the peoples on God's earth. It wants the return of the homeland, which was forcibly taken away from them. It wants the re-establishment of its State upon the mountains of Judea, whence was proclaimed justice for mankind. The Prophets foresaw the Return of the Israelites to their land. The Jewish prayers are from beginning to end the heartfelt expression of their yearning for such a return. This is the cornerstone of the Jewish religion, the propelling force of Jewish history.

Now, when a new distribution of the world is to take place, the Jewish people demands the right to reconstitute its Homeland and State, which will endure as long as the sun shines and the sea beats against the shores.

FROM WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

European Division and British Section of World Jewish Congress greets Conference of American Jewry as historic event of utmost significance and importance for Jewish people; now beset by unparalleled tragedy in Europe and facing problems of exceptional magnitude and difficulty in years following victory United Nations. As Jews have given maximum sacrifice of countless dead in Nazi slaughter-houses of Europe and contributed maximum to war effort of United Nations on fields of battle and in arsenals of democracy, they are entitled to proper place with other peoples in councils of democratic nations which will shape peace. Jewish people entitled to ask that solution of their problems and security of their future be resolved as integral part general settlement post-war world, giving Jews as all other peoples fully protected equality of political, civil rights and economic opportunity. Foremost in Jewry's post-war claims is international recognition of Jewish Commonwealth Palestine. Unity American Jewry as expressed your Conference is welcomed as vital step in securing Jewish post-war position and as essential factor in providing unified Jewish representation to lay claims of world Jewry before the nations. We wish all success to your deliberations.

Marchioness of Reading, Pres.
Silverman, Chairman.
Baron and Easterman, Secys.

Alphabetical List of Delegates

Abelson Isaac, Birmingham, Ala.
Adler, Rabbi Morrie, Detroit, Mich.
Altshuler, Oscar H., Youngstown, O.
Antie, Hon. Benj., Bronx, N. Y.
Apfel, Isadore, New York
Apte, D. J., Tampa, Fla.
Arkin, Leon, Boston, Mass.
Arcowitz, Samuel E., Albany, N. Y.
Arumson, Rabbi David, Minneapolis, Minn.
Arumson, Mrs. Robt. L., Chicago, Ill.
Aashinsky, Rabbi A. M., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Barnet, Judge Samuel, New Bedford, Mass.
Barrett, Mrs. Arthur A., San Francisco, Cal.
Barron, Judge Jennie Laitman, Brighton, Mass.
Barron, Dr. Moses, Minneapolis, Minn.
Berk, Norman, Bay Shore I. I.
Ecker, Leonard S., Dayton, O.
Bender, Mrs. Oscar G., Philadelphia, Pa.
Berger, Harry, New York.
Bergman, Rabbi Bernard, New York.
Berke, George, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Berkin, Mrs. Harry, Chicago, Ill.
Berman, Edward, Bayonne, N. J.
Bernstein, Frank E., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bernstein, Joseph, Detroit, Mich.
Bernstein, Rabbi Philip S., Rochester, N. Y.
Bersel, Rabbi Solomon, Philadelphia, Pa.
Berson, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Blalis, M., Chicago, Ill.
Birnbaum, Rabbi Benj. H., Chicago, Ill.
Bisgayer, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Blankfin, Mrs. Jules, Flushing, L. I.
Blaustein, Jacob, Baltimore, Md.
Bloch, 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.
Bresler, Max, Chicago, Ill.
Brickner, Rabbi, B. R., Cleveland, Ohio.
Brodsky, Nathan H., Newark, N. J.
Brown, Frank, Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, Jacob, Kansas City, Mo.
Brown, Meyer L., Bronx, N. Y.
Bublick, Gedaliah, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Bustin, Irving M., New York.
Burack, Aaron D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Burke, Walter, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Burstein, Sol M., Bronx, N. Y.
Butzel, Fred M., Detroit, Mich.
Callman, Rudolf, New York.
Caplan, Rabbi Jonah E., Astoria, N. Y.
Caplan, Judge Oscar S., Chicago, Ill.
Chanin, N., New York.
Charlop, Rabbi J. M., Bronx, N. Y.
Chertoff, Naomi, New York.
Chickin, Oscar, Newark, N. J.
Cohen, A. B., Scranton, Pa.
Cohen, Rabbi Bezael, Paterson, N. J.
Cohen, Eli, A., Swampscott, Mass.
Cohen, Jesse, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Cohen, Joseph, Kansas City, Kan.
Cohen, Teddy, Bronx, N. Y.
Coleman, David, Los Angeles, Cal.
Cooper, Rabbi Samuel, Charleston, W. Va.
Cushman, Morton, Norfolk, Va.
Dolan, Sigmund W., Chicago, Ill.
Delman, J. David, New York.
Deutsch, Samuel H., Elyria, O.
Diamond, Hon. David, Buffalo, N. Y.
Dinkelpiel, Lloyd W., San Francisco, Cal.
Dinkus, Nathan, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dubinsky, Jacob, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Duff, Max, Lawrence, L. I.
Drazin, Rabbi Nathan, Baltimore, Md.

Drazin, Rabbi William, Savannah, Ga.
Droock, Aaron, Detroit, Mich.
Dubinsky, Carl M., St. Louis, Mo.
Duker, Samuel, Bronx, N. Y.
Ehrenreich, Hilaria, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ehrlich, Harry M., Springfield, Mass.
Ehrlich, Mrs. Joseph E., 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, Brooklyn, Mass.
Epstein, Mrs. Moses P., New York.
Estes, Ad., Rock Island, Ill.
Etlinger, Prof. H. J., Austin, Tex.
Evans, E. 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, N. Y.
Farber, J. Eugene, Toledo, O.
Feder, Joseph A., Passaic, N. J.
Feder, Sara, Columbia, Mo.
Federbusch, Rabbi Simon, Bronx, N. Y.
Feigenbaum, Leo J., Syracuse, N. Y.
Feinberg, Israel, New York.
Feiler, Harry S., New Brunswick, N. J.
Fellerman, Irving, New York.
Feligier, Sol, Philadelphia, Pa.
Fertig, Malwin M., Bronx, N. Y.
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.
Flashtenberg, Louis, New York.
Flegel, J. Hyman, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Folkman, Rabbi Jerome D., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Fram, Rabbi Leon, Detroit, Mich.
Frankel, Charles, Ashbury Park, N. J.
Franklin, Miss Pearl, Chicago, Ill.
Friedman, J. George, Jersey City, N. J.
Freedman, Benjamin, Philadelphia, Pa.
Freedman, Mrs. Isidor, New York.
Freehof, Rabbi Solomon R., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Friedman, Benjamin, Philadelphia, Pa.
Freund, Dr. Miriam, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Friedenwald, Dr. Harry, Baltimore, Md.
Friedman, Samuel, Akron, Ohio.
Frisch, Daniel, Indianapolis, Ind.
Fromberg, Harry G., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Fryer, Mrs. Julius, Cleveland, O.
Furmanaky, Moshe, New York.
Gabriel, Rabbi Joseph, Bronx, N. Y.
Gans, George L., New Britain, Conn.
Geffen, David, Utica, N. Y.
Gelbin, Herman S., New York.
Gelman, Leon, New York.
Gerber, Hon. William, Memphis, Tenn.
Gerber, William, Philadelphia, Pa.
Gerbovy, Abraham, Philadelphia, Pa.
Getzler, Charles, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gigler, I. Louis, Esq., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gingold, Miriam, Chicago, Ill.
Gingold, Philip, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ginsburg, Elias, Brooklyn, N. Y.

CORRECTION

In the list of delegates designated by the various national organizations as printed in Monday's CONFERENCE RECORD, only one representative of the United Rumanian Jews of America was given. That organization is represented by two delegates the name omitted being that of Leo Wolfson.

Ginsberg, Arnold R., Philadelphia, Pa.
Gladstone, Dr. Arthur Burlington, Vt.
Glantz, Leib, Los Angeles, Cal.
Glazer, Dr. B. Benedict, Detroit, Mich.
Gold, Rabbi Wolf, New York.
Goldberg, I. H., New York.
Goldberg, Judge Lewis, Brooklyn, Mass.
Goldblum, Jacob G., Philadelphia, Pa.
Goldburg, Ed., San Antonio, Tex.
Goldring, Mrs. Samuel, W. Hempstead, L. I., N. Y.
Goldman, Frank, Lowell, Mass.
Goldman, Hymen, Washington, D. C.
Goldman, Mrs. Maurice L., San Francisco, Cal.
Goldman, Robert P., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Goldman, Sol, St. Louis, Mo.
Goldman, Dr. Solomon, Chicago, Ill.
Goldstein, Abraham W., Hartford, Conn.
Goldstein, Rabbi David A., Omaha, Neb.
Goldstein, Dr. Israel, New York.
Goldstein, Mrs. Israel, New York.
Goldstein, Joseph, Rochester, N. Y.
Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goldstein, Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goodman, Abraham, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Goodman, Alexander, Baltimore, Md.
Goodman, Joseph, Troy, N. Y.
Goodman, Israel, St. Louis, Mo.
Gordis, Dr. Robert, Belle Harbor, L. I., N. Y.
Gordon, Rabbi Julius, St. Louis, Mo.
Gottlieb, Harry N., Chicago, Ill.
Greenbaum, Nathaniel, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Greene, Abe J., Patterson, N. J.
Greenberg, Archie H., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Greenberg, Judge Samuel, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Greenberg, Hayim, New York.
Greenberg, Rabbi Louis, New Haven, Conn.
Greenberg, Rabbi Simon, New York.
Gribetz, Louis J., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gross, Joel, Newark, N. J.
Grossman, Dr. Abraham, Bronx, N. Y.
Guskin, R., New York.
Guthman, Rabbi Sidney, Chelsea, Pa.
Haber, Philmore, Cleveland, Ohio.
Halbert, Joseph, Atlantic City, N. J.
Halpern, Rabbi Harry, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Halprin, Mrs. Samuel, New York.
Hamlin, Isaac, New York.
Hamerman, Mrs. Joseph, New York.
Harrin, Michael, Pettville, Pa.
Harber, Samuel, Union City, N. J.
Hartmann, Mrs. Hugo, Winnetka, Ill.
Held, Adolph, New York.
Heller, Isaac S., New Orleans, La.
Heller, Rabbi James G., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Herman, Rabbi Meyer I., Bronx, N. Y.
Herold, S. L., Sharpsport, La.
Hoenig, Moses H., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hofferman, Abraham, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hoffman, Herman, New York.
Hoffman, Jacob R., Philadelphia, Pa.
Hoffman, Rabbi Jacob, New York.
Horwitz, Aaron B., Duluth, Minn.
Horowitz, Mrs. Joseph, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Isaacs, Mrs. Elizabeth, Yonkers, N. Y.
Ish Kishor, Jacob, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Jacobson, Mrs. Edward, New York.
Jacobson, Reuben R., Canton, O.
Jick, Morris, St. Louis, Mo.
Joh, Rabbi Harry, Lincoln, Neb.
Kagan, Isadore, Boston, Mass.
Kalecky, Samuel, Boston, Mass.
Kaplan, Gus, Harrisburg, Pa.
Kaplan, Dr. Louis L., Baltimore, Md.
Kaplan, Prof. Mordecai, New York.
Kaufman, Benjamin, New York.

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CONFERENCE RECORD

The Daily Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference

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ANTI-ZIONIST BODY REPUDIATED

Postwar Jewish Problems Posed In Discussion

A large part of the session Monday afternoon, under the chairmanship of Adolf Rosenberg, was devoted to addresses on the Jewish problems of postwar Europe.

Rabbi Max Nussbaum, a delegate from Los Angeles, who was rabbi in Berlin until 1940, was the first speaker. In the course of his address Rabbi Nussbaum said:

"I stand here with deep humility to talk in the name of European Jewry. It is a very difficult task because the voice of European Jewry is one of silence."

"For ten consecutive years, we Jews of Europe have been waiting to see such a Conference. For as Americans and as Jews can hardly imagine what the words 'America and Palestine' meant to us over there. Looking back on those horrible years through which we have passed, ask myself very often how we managed to go on living. The answer is that we lived on two words that were as our daily bread: 'Palestine' and 'America.'"

"Those who died perished under the shadow of the Gestapo in order to have other Jews live under the light of freedom. This is the meaning of their death. There is, of course, a meaning to the survival of a few of us, too. The only meaning that history wants to convey is the duty of those who have survived to go to the Jewries of free countries and hammer home to them 'the history of the Exodus from Egypt.'"

"It is a unique privilege given to certain parts of our people on condition that they will not rest until all the Jews of the world enjoy the same four freedoms that prevail in this country."

Rabbi Hoffman's Address.

The speaker was followed by Rabbi Jacob Hoffman who spoke on behalf of The National Religious Bloc. Rabbi Hoffman outlined the position of his group with regard to postwar Jewish problems as follows:

"We demand the re-settlement of those Jews who wish to go back to their respective native lands. We demand their full political and economic rehabilitation. We demand equal individual rights for all Jewish people the world over. We do not ask for mercy. We demand justice. We do not ask for privileges. We demand equal human and civic rights for all Jews the world to be re-established in this unprecedented catastrophe. And we demand the right of Jewish populations to be safeguarded in their specific way of life, including observance of the Sabbath, religious education, recognition of the dietary laws. The religious organizations and institutions of the Jewish population should be given the same privileges enjoyed by the rest of the population. In countries where

group rights or minority rights will be established, we demand that the same rights be given the Jews."

"In speaking of the postwar status of the Jews in the Diaspora I cannot help but point out that the source of our humiliation and suffering is our national homelessness. We need a land of our own; we need Eretz Israel, where we can establish our own religious, cultural and national life. Palestine must become a Jewish Commonwealth."

Louis Segal's Address.

Speaking for the Labor Zionist Bloc, Louis Segal declared that it was not a question of postwar problems but rather "a question of the future life of the Jewish people in European countries. We are not to demand from the democratic nations," he continued, "rights for the individual Jew but rights for the Jewish people as such, religious rights, national rights, in addition to economic and political rights."

Mr. Segal continued: "The United Nations, I hope, will recognize the fact that to save the world for democracy does not only mean raising hundreds and billions of dollars for the war, but also spending large amounts to rehabilitate the Jews who were driven from one country to another. If Jewish refugees choose to go back to their homes, they should be enabled by the United Nations to go to Palestine and to enjoy there, freedom and security."

Conference At A Glance

There was no plenary session of the Conference last night in order to give the committees additional time for their work.

Tuesday afternoon's session was devoted to addresses on postwar Jewish problems and statements by leaders of rabbinical bodies in refutation of the anti-Zionist statement by the American Council for Judaism.

Committees continued their meetings this morning, and the plenary session of the Conference is scheduled for 3 P.M.

time and to enjoy there, freedom and security."

"This Conference which represents all of American Jewry, must in its proposals to the democratic world for the salvation of the Jewish people, learn from experience that Hitlerism and Fascism did not only seek to destroy the Jewish individual, but also the Jewish people as a people. Therefore, the democratic nations must recognize the right of the Jewish people to participate in their councils immediately after the war and to have a voice in the solution of their problems."

The other speakers at this session who discussed postwar peace demands were: Adolph Held, president of the Jewish Labor Committee and Joseph Tenenbaum, vice-president of the American Federation for Polish Jews.

'Council for Judaism' Denounced by Rabbis

The fifth session of the Conference Tuesday afternoon was highlighted by a denunciation of the anti-Zionist statement issued by the American Council for Judaism as published in yesterday's New York Times. Four speakers representing all the rabbinical bodies in the United States made declarations on behalf of their respective organizations, condemning the Council for committing an act of treachery against the Jewish people. The published statement of the Council was regarded as an attempt to confuse the public mind and to undermine the authority of the Conference as the democratically constituted spokesman of American Jewry.

In explaining the procedure of the discussion, Mr. Monsky who was in the Chair, declared:

"I am about to make a statement to this Conference. It is entirely understandable to the Chair that what this group of 500 delegates, who came here to deal with very vital problems concerning our people, read in the paper this morning caused very considerable resentment among them and a desire to express themselves. The pressure on the part of the delegates to take the floor was enormous and irresistible, and finally the Chair decided, having denied all the requests to speak because we could have gone on forever allowing people to express their resentment, that he would recognize four speakers and then make a statement."

The speakers who took part in the discussion were: Rabbi James G. Heller for the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Rabbi Robert Gordis for the Conservative Rabbis; Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein for the Orthodox Rabbis; and Mr. Stephen S. Wise, a member of the Conference Presidium. Mr. Wise read and the assembly statement which, upon motion of Ezer Batzel of Detroit, was unanimously adopted as expressing the action of the Conference.

Rabbi Heller:

By a vote of more than three to one, the Central Conference of American Rabbis at its convention in New York this last June declared that the American Council for Judaism is a disruptive force, that at a tragic time in Jewish history it has chosen to attack and to attempt to destroy

the greatest hope of the Jewish people, that it has drawn an unreal and misleading distinction between faith and people. The Central Conference of American Rabbis expressed the hope that the American Council for Judaism would disband. Instead of hearkening to their colleagues, the rabbis constituting the American Council for Judaism have now organized in various communities, drawn in some laymen and attempted to launch a more intensive program of action. The most recent and outrageous action of this group is the publication, in the New York Times of this morning of a lengthy statement over the signatures of 20 Reform Rabbis and of 80 laymen, which comprises the traditional misrepresentation and the dangerous fallacies of this group. Without doubt its inception and its dissemination at this time are no accident, but are calculated as a counter-blast against the American Jewish Conference. For some time members of this group have striven to give the impression that they represent and speak for a considerable portion of the Jews of this country and that the Zionists were guilty of constant misrepresentation in regard to the convictions of the mass of American Jews. This Conference is now definite proof that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of this country are Zionists in their sympathy.

On the other hand, the American Council for Judaism represents a comparatively small minority of the Reform Rabbinate. It represents an infinitesimal minority of the Jewish laity of the United States. Any group in American Jewish life had the right to come to this meeting to state its point of view and to agitate for it. The American Council for Judaism has a number of men on the floor of this Conference. To

Three Members of the Presidium



DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

JUDGE JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER

HENRY MONSKY

(Continued on page six)

Zionist Spokesmen Urge Jewish Commonwealth

Transcript of Palestine Discussion

In introducing the general discussion on Palestine, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, who presided at the Monday evening session, said:

I find myself in a rather difficult position this evening. As a Zionist, as the President of the Zionist Organization of America, I am naturally intensely interested in the place of Palestine on the agenda of this conference.

I, of course, stand squarely and unequivocally on the Palestine Resolutions which all Zionist groups will present jointly to this Conference. Yet the general debate on this subject which we are about to hear, finds its place in the neutral, objective past of the chairman of the evening. Even a chairman, however, cannot dissociate himself entirely from life-long beliefs and deep-seated convictions, but, my fellow delegates, I shall call upon all my judicial experience, limited as it may be, and all the self-restraint I can muster in order to maintain the required objectivity in presiding tonight.

I have no doubt that the participants in tonight's discussion are all of them animated by a genuine desire to reach truth and justice and that their presentations will be guided accordingly. Public discussion of Zionism in 1943 need not be characterized merely by appeals to passion and emotion.

The cold, hard realities of life during the past ten years have, in my opinion, vindicated all that the founders of Zionism wrote and uttered years ago. With startling clarity they probed to the very essence of the Jewish problem. They were not prophets; they could foresee the future, but they did recognize that given conditions would necessarily lead to certain results. They indicated that the anomalous position occupied by the Jews of Europe in the social, political and economic life of their respective countries, no matter what the degree of so-called emancipation, would inevitably lead to dire consequences.

The Zionists have been among the leading scientific sociologists of modern times, recognizing a vital human problem and advocating a planned solution whose feasibility has been already amply demonstrated by the miraculous achievements of the Yishuv in Eretz Israel.

Forty-six years ago they offered a simple, precise formula known as the Balfour program. Its intent and scope were obvious. With a minimum of verbiage it advocated the establishment in Palestine of a legally secured, publicly assured national home for the Jewish people. In the forty-

six years that have intervened there have been many attempts to improve upon that first definition, to clarify it, to extend it, to redefine the terms.

One cannot say that all these efforts have succeeded. Indeed, it is my opinion that much of the confusion that has beset us and many of the misunderstandings that have occurred have been caused by semantic difficulties—semantic, not Semitic, the inability to express in precise words what we mean.

When our Zionist objectives are defined in clear, unambiguous terms, I have found that prejudices frequently disappear and opponents become friends of the cause. The speakers tonight will no doubt speak in language which brooks of no misunderstanding, and those who thought they were poles apart may discover, after all, that the only thing dividing them is words and phrases. If in its discussion it will succeed in hacking away the accumulation of many years growth of definitions, theories, so-called elucidation, we shall have made a valuable contribution to the clarification of the essence of the Jewish problem. At this conference I hope we will all see light. One need not be optimistic to believe that we may as a result of our deliberations lower the walls of separation that have in the past divided the various groups and individuals constituting this conference. It should hardly be necessary to remind any of the delegates that open-mindedness and willingness to offer opinions in the shade of demonstrative logic is a mark of intellectual honesty and of moral courage.

Such honesty and courage were displayed in 1918 by that giant in American Israel, Louis Marshall. If, however, differ we must at this conference, we should, ladies and gentlemen, demonstrate to our own satisfaction and to the chagrin of our enemies that even when we disagree we can do so as gentlemen and as friends. It is in this mood that the general debate on Palestine opens.

Address by Dr. Goldman

CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAL: Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to explain how this program was formulated by the General Committee. Every group represented at this conference is given an opportunity to designate a spokesman to address the Conference. An opportunity will also be given later in subsequent sessions of this Conference for gen-



DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN, speaking in the Palestine Discussion. Others, left to right are, RABBI MEIR BERLIN, LEON GELLMAN, DR. STEPHEN S. WISE and DR. JAMES G. HELLER.

eral discussion by delegates not designated by their respective groups.

The next speaker is Dr. Solomon Goldman, the former President of the Zionist Organization of America.

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN: Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates! One of the delegates complimented the committee in charge of running the Conference on the remarkable order and efficiency with which it was conducted, but suggested that one more committee might have been appointed—a committee to rescue the delegates from the speeches. I had hoped that the committee would not be appointed and does not begin to function until after I have spoken.

I regret, friends, that I did not have the opportunity to come before you as one should at this Conference and on this momentous issue with a carefully prepared statement in which every word is weighed, but no such privilege was mine, and I shall therefore extemporize for the minutes at my disposal on a question that I believe is near and dear to every man and woman in this audience. I should like to begin by stating that I am grateful and happy to have learned in the past 48 hours that there is great agreement among the delegates to this conference and I should like to list four of the items upon which I understand all of us are agreed.

First, I have heard on all sides that the recognition and the peopling of the Jews are undeniable. The Jews constitute a people like all peoples the world over. (Applause).

Second, I have discovered and I was happy to learn that almost all of the delegates here assembled, stand ready to condemn in unequivocal terms the White Paper as an abrogation and a nullification of the Balfour Declaration.

Third, I was happy to learn that the achievement in Palestine in the past quarter of a century, 30 or 40 years, is no longer being questioned. I still remember hearing in the days of my childhood that that experiment was going to fail, that the Zionists were ideological, that the Zionists were but few and they could not possibly succeed in building a homeland. Thank God, I have heard on every side at this Conference Palestine

has achieved in a quarter of a century perhaps more than any people in the course of all history has ever done.

And, finally, friends, there is agreement here that we want unlimited immigration to Palestine. We want the doors of Palestine wide open to our people. I hope that I am not misrepresenting the points of agreement. I listened to the speeches that were made from the platform. I have talked to the delegates. What next? What then is the next step? What is the logical conclusion of such agreements? Will you allow me—since Dr. Nahum Goldmann has said that others will speak ideologically—will you allow me at least also to quote the Bible and to say that we might learn something from Father Abraham. That is going back a long way and that is being very impractical, I know, but there is a remarkable chapter in the Book of Genesis that even we Zionists have not always studied very carefully. We are told that the Holy One, Blessed be He, once said to Father Abraham, "Look into the Heavens and count the stars," and then he went on to say, "Your children, Abraham, will be plentiful . . . unlimited immigration. And Abraham, will be plentiful . . . that this general statement about unlimited immigration should be readily accepted. But then God said to Moses, "The land I will give you is a possession and is an inheritance." And immediately this great man, this symbol of Eretz Israel—not with the British Government, not with the peoples of the earth—turned to Heaven and said, "How will it come about?" What is the definite word? What is the guarantee?

It seems to me that the agreements that we have reached, the agreements that seem to permeate every man and woman here, make it necessary for us to consider: how can those agreements or those demands back of the agreements—how can they be implemented?

One, how can they be implemented and two—and I do not believe that I have heard our spokesmen say it—when will Zionism, Palestine and the Jewish status the world over cease to be a subject of debates and conferences? I should like to know.

Today we are still conferring on such questions, and it seems to me

that which was asked, the question that is uppermost in the minds of the Jews of Palestine, in the minds of the Jews of Europe and of Jews everywhere can be answered in this way: First, which follows from what has been said, the final affirmation, a debate as to what we are, the real affirmation of the peoplehood of Israel. This Conference can and should put a stop to this debate—a reaffirmation.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have had in history periods not as destructive, perhaps, as we have lived through in the past decade, but they were periods when the Jews were persecuted only a little less than today. Do you think that there was ever a time when someone, somewhere did not rise to speak in our behalf? Make no such mistake. There never was such a time in the history of Jewish persecution. There were always noble Christians who rose to speak in our behalf; there were Popes, there were Kings; there were literary figures who offered us sympathy and who pleaded for mercy.

To get sympathy and mercy today, at the end of all these 1,800 years, that is not progress for a people that has lived through what we have lived from 1933 to 1939 and into this day. Not only this, but Jews are congratulating themselves. We all began to congratulate ourselves in 1939, when we spread out our hands and we said: "Look at the allies we have on our side. We no longer stand alone. Here is Britain and here is France, and later came our own beloved United States."

Surely, I share this happiness with my people, but this is what I said unto myself: A house was on fire, a house was burning, and in 1933 they asked, Whose house is burning and they said it was only a Jewish house. Then they said, Let it burn. It burned in 1936, in 1938, and 1939, and they said, Let the Jewish house burn.

It is only when Poland began to burn, when other homes began to burn, that they began to say, "We must put this fire out."

We were burning and it made little difference. But this is not the only side of the picture. There is something else.

You and I have heard Mr. Churchill, we have heard our own

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DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN

Zionist Spokesmen Urge Jewish Commonwealth

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President, and other very friendly statesmen speak of the plight of Europe, of the plight of humanity, and we listened spellbound and attentive. We heard those great statesmen of the world speak of Dunes, and I was not envious of Dunes; and speak of the Norwegians, and I was not envious of the French, or of all the suffering people, but when the speech was over, I could not help but say, "Well, Winston Churchill, what of the Jews? Why weren't they mentioned? Why is the heroism of the Dutch and this one and that one portrayed, but not the heroism of the Jew? Why aren't they even mentioned in this list of names?" Do you know why? We do not exist in an independent autonomous way anywhere in the world.

I have talked to some of our important statesmen and put this important question to them and they replied, "Why, when we say the Dutch we mean the Jews, too; when we say the Poles, we mean the Jews, too." So I said, "When you say the Germans, do you also mean the Jews?"

Men and women, the time has come when this reaffirmation of Jewish peoplehood does not remain an ideological question, a phrase, simply to invoke sympathy and mercy. No, it must become a reality. The four points of agreement make that necessary.

I desire to say this with regard to Palestine—to my Zionist friends it will not be new; they have heard me before on this question—to me the Jewish right to Palestine and the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people is a fundamental, basic problem of justice. And it is not unusual that we the people of the Jewish people, and we the people of this peculiar history that we have had, that we should be on the face of this earth with a fundamental problem of justice to be solved. What is this fundamental problem of justice? It is simply this:

Mighty nations have ruled before, some of these had shattered mighty nations of yesterday. These Nazis and these Fascists have marched over the earth before and they have ruthlessly conquered and spoiled and taken as a possession that which was not

theirs. We did not lose Palestine because we wanted to; we fought at Masada to less heroically than the Russians did even at Stalingrad. We did not give it up. We were virtually exterminated, rooted out of the country. That is what happened to us. We did not leave it, and when we left, we left the way the Athenians, the way the Greeks left, but search Greek literature and you will never find a phrase corresponding to the phrase that is found in the 157th chapter of the Psalms. Search and search and it is not written: "If I forget thee, O Athens," or "If I forget thee O Greece." But it is written in the Bible of the Jew, "If I forget thee O Jerusalem—" What does this oath imply? It implies an argument with the world. It involves a question of justice. Here is the Roman empire, here were all those nations of the earth. Rome took Palestine. What did we say? "We do not give it up. It is ours."

A century went by, two, ten, I cannot go into this history and relate how many times the Jews began to build there, how many Jews sacrificed their lives to build it up, but it is important to say that from the year 70 to the year 1943, according to history, there were only seven years when there were no Jews in Palestine, and that happened probably in the year 1290 when the Jews were burned in a synagogue in Jerusalem. But, in 1297, three hundred rabbis came to resettle that country. What does it mean? We said throughout history, "You see that corner over there? It is ours. Those of you who go and settle there, remember, you are taking it from a despoiler, you are taking it from a conqueror. It is ours." The Arabs know it. They heard it. The world knows it. The British know it. We never gave up that claim. We emphasized this question of justice.

What are we fighting over today? What are we saying today? We say that Prague must be returned to the Czech-Slovaks, it is an injustice to take it away from them. Warsaw must be returned to the Poles, it is an injustice to take it away from them. Is it justice to take Jerusalem away from the Jew because for 1800 years he refused to recog-

nize injustice? I ask this of the nations of the earth.

Finally this Conference must make clear that the time has come when the Jew ought to be able to have some sort of documents, some sort of constitutions and by-laws that his court would decide as to their meaning and not others. Now, the British are far greater diplomats and far greater experts in the law than we are. When they had a document they were able to interpret it and re-interpret it and define it and re-define it for 26 years—the Balfour declaration. I don't know what they made of it. But, friends, couldn't there begin a new page and a new chapter of the Jewish people and a new chapter in Palestine? Let us have a court that will be very objective in its interpretation and very fair, certainly as fair as the nations have been to us. Therefore, what I ask of this Conference in a word is this:

Our brethren in the Yishuv have built that which we praise and that which we extol as the greatest achievement in our history in a long, long time. They are nearly 600,000. If you believe in tradition, and I know a great many people on the platform believe in tradition, you know that they are as large a number in Palestine today as the Jews who entered Palestine in the days of Joshua. They are a community, they have their inner life, they have the people's assembly, the people's parliament.

On the other hand, there is another people in Palestine, the Arabs. All that I ask of this Conference, all that I ask of the Jews of this country and the world over is: Let us Jews unequivocally do for our brethren at least what the Arabs are doing for the Arabs of Palestine. The Arabs are speaking without equivocation—that is, the Arabs of Egypt and the Arabs of Saudi Arabia, and Iraq and of Yemen—at least let us speak of those 600,000 without equivocation. Let us be the mighty voice of our brethren and say to them and make it known to them, that whatever differences there may have been in American Israel long ago, they are past, they do not exist. We have come to understand and to realize at the end of the mad decade of Hitlerism that Israel must be restored to nationhood. Pray God that it come!

Address by Rabbi Heller

CHAIRMAN LEVINTHAL: The next speaker, the former president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, has been designated as the spokesman for the non-partisan group. I have the honor to present Dr. James G. Heller.

DR. HELLER: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I think I owe a word of explanation concerning the introduction which I have just had at the hands of my good friend Judge Levintal. Not through my choice I came to this Conference, not as a representative of the Zionist organization, but of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, an organization which is not committed to a Zionist program. I was asked to become a member of the non-partisan group with the explicit statement that that group has no program and that every member of it is entitled to his own opinion and to the free expression of it upon the floor of this convention and in the various votes which may be taken in the future.

I should like also to add this by way of explanation. I did not know that I was to participate in this discussion until immediately before its launching tonight, and I do not chance to belong to those people who have such great powers of improvisation or extemporization that I believe I can do justice to my own point of



MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL

view under such circumstances. There was imputed in me very early in my childhood the belief that just as some of the great creators of music whose works I have loved for many years, one should write and re-write and criticize again and again, and therefore I must beg you to believe that what I shall say this evening springs from whatever thoughts come to me upon the spur of the moment, or have come to me during the course of the preparation of the very excellent speeches to which we have listened.

Over eleven years ago I spent some months in one of the most beautiful spots upon the surface of the earth, in a city through which the British army of General Montgomery went only a few days ago—perched upon the amphitheatre of hills upon the eastern coast of Sicily, across from the Calabrian mainland. While I was there I remember that I read a book by an English authoress, Sheila K. Smith with a title that at the time greatly intrigued me. It was called "Ethiopia's Hour." Its motto was derived, and its title was derived, from a poem of Rudyard Kipling, one of which I had never heard, and the purport of the book was in essence as follows: That in the life of every man there comes one moment when he reveals the innermost of his spirit, an hour that is like an acid test of the quality of his soul. And the story proceeds to detail a very long and fascinating story of an expedition to the Himalayas in which a man faced for his courage, when he himself is face to face with the issue of life and death, shows that at the very heart of his heart there is not courage but cowardice.

As I have set through the session of this Conference, as they have been held until this time, and as I have thought of those still to come, I have come to feel that this American Jewish Conference may be Ethiopia's Hour of the American Jewish community; that by the temper of this gathering, by the quality of its deliberations, by the standard of the resolutions which it will adopt and the actions which it will initiate, we will have before us in clear and unmistakable form the very essence of the character of this community which we have come here to represent.

And as a Rabbi, as one who all his life has loved his people and has studied its law, there are some things that I covet for Amer-

ican Jewry, that I covet for this American Jewish Conference, that it shall not permit itself to be broken upon the rock of an insensate partisanship, that it shall not permit itself to be driven upon the rocks of delusion in the minds of its delegates, whose beliefs in their original point of view take refuge in an illusion of Jewish life, and fail to recognize the Jewish quality of their day. That need not mean, my friends, that any member of this Conference shall relinquish one jot or little of his principles or convictions. It need not mean that there shall be the submergence of groups, but what it does mean is a certain temper and a certain realization upon the parts of those who are gathered here. Frankly, during the past few days many things which I have witnessed have disturbed me greatly as arising not from consecration of principle as much as of conservation to party in that narrow sense of the word which at this juncture of our history and of world history we ought not be guilty and I should like my words understood in this sense.

All of my life, so far as I know, I have been a Zionist. I inherited it from my father. I breathed it in with the first things that I heard in my life and I make public acknowledgment here as I have at other times in my life that many of the finest spiritual values which I have learned and many of the greatest moments which it has been my privilege to witness have come from my association with the Zionist movement.

We are face to face today not merely with the great emergency in the history of our people, but an emergency which appears to me to demand many things of us, to demand of us to put aside certain tendencies in ourselves. I think that the history has bred certain things in us, defenses which our own weaknesses frequently engender. The tendency to take refuge in tears, sometimes to flee from reality in the sense of our own hurt, sometimes to compensate for our impotence by the great words that we speak. We cannot indulge these luxuries today because in the history of our people we are face to face with one of those great continental divides in the year of man, which are crossed not by Divine Providence, not because God has ordained that men shall pursue a certain course without reference to their own will, when the very

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hardship of the way breeds in them the ability to rise supreme above its difficulties. Such a time confronts all men and confronts us beyond all men. For we are the quintessence of a tragedy of this era without our volition, just as I think Israel was chosen without its volition in many senses, as the children of Israel were taken out of Egypt more or less against their will by Moses and cajoled through the wilderness to the foot of Mount Sinai and taken away from their frequent visions of the flesh-pots of Egypt and brought through it to Mount Sinai and then to the Holy Land. In this sense, we the children of Israel today have been given a role among men, a role which history has bestowed upon us and which in these days we cannot escape.

Let us understand ourselves. To understand ourselves we must understand this day. We live in a time, my friends, when certain great issues will be decided. They will be decided in the lifetime perhaps of many of us who sit here tonight, not the issue of war and peace, of victory or defeat, though God knows infinite things hang upon this too, but deeper issues than this, the issue as to whether we shall live in a world that will dissolve into chaos, a world in which all the anarchistic tendencies of the last several decades will lead to the fragmentation of the human spirit, to the type of the breaching of the citadel of the human heart which took place not when the Roman hordes—not when the barbarian hordes broke down the walls of Rome, but when Rome grew feeble within. And our tragedy is a symptom of this crisis and of this disease. For may I say whenever I discuss or hear discussed any Jewish problem, I see it invariably and inevitably in the terms of this largest problem as one of its functions. I try to understand it as a revelation of other things than ourselves.

Why do we ask justice for the Jew today? Because we are people? Because it is our historic role? Yes, but only among other things, because as Jews we ought to understand that justice for the Jew is today the very heart and center of the problem of the world; there will be justice among all men in the days to come.

Therefore, why should there be the opening of Palestine to Jews? I say, for one chief reason, not only to save these people but because until the time comes when the nations of the West understand that this is the minimum of justice that can be done, they will not save themselves. They will not have come to the time when they understand their own destiny. There was a time after the last war when Mustafa Kemal Pasha drove the hordes of Greeks back over the plains and down toward the Mediterranean and the eyes and the noses of the world were filled with a burning of Smyrna and the men and women that had leaped into the sea to try to reach their way to the boats; and when the nations sent under the leadership of a great man a committee of the League of Nations to take a million and a third Greeks who were in Asia Minor to repatriate them in the Peloponnesian Peninsula, that was a time when the conscience of the world was awakened. If we have come to a time when millions of Jews can die in Europe, if we have come to a time when they can reach out despairing hands toward the haven of Palestine, and the heart of the world has become so hard that the gates cannot be opened, then we must despair not of ourselves alone but of all the world of which

we are a part and close ourselves in some intanglement like dead sea fruit so that we wake to the time when the drought of the spirit will be past and the richness of the human heart will be full again.

Perhaps my friends I am an incurable optimist, but I feel convinced that it is possible in the Conference with some exceptions in the very nature of the case, but with very few, to come to an agreement in regard to Palestine. I believe it is within the bounds of possibility or reason to devise a program at this Conference which may be used by those who will go upon our behalf to whatever assemblies or conventions may be held to devise the structure of the new world, and which will represent the united will of American Jewry. We have not come together my friends, into this Conference because we take pleasure in seeing each other's faces, though I see many that give me pleasure. We have not come together for the enjoyment of listening to brilliant and envisioned addresses. We have not come together for the purpose of barren argument. Let us not forget for a single moment that this Conference—and perhaps the others which may be necessary as the war pursues its course and as we come to the time of the writing of the peace—has but one purpose, to exert the maximum power which is within the hands of the American Jewish community on behalf of our brothers in Europe and those who may go to Palestine and live there.

That is the sole purpose, and every action which we take must be judged by that criterion and by that criterion alone. There has been, it seems to me, a tremendous lot of misunderstanding, misunderstandings that might be added to those of which Dr. Nahum Goldmann spoke so cogently and so eloquently. We Zionists know that by a Jewish Commonwealth we do not mean the setting up in Palestine of a state in which everyone who is not a Jew will be disfranchised. We know that we do not mean by that the establishment of a Church in that country which would contravene the spirit of the first amendment to the American Constitution and which all liberty-loving men accept in these days. But unfortunately for ourselves, with the exception of certain statements which we issue, we have not made that position clear. I express the hope that this Conference, in addition to the emancipation of certain essential principles and the attempt to describe these projected means of their implementation in the days after the war will also make clearer that there is no intention to create a situation which will cast doubt upon the loyalty of Jews elsewhere in the world, that there will be no idea of religious and political loyalties among Jews and that all of that is farthest from the minds of the Zionists in relation to Palestine. I feel confident that were these things made clear, many of the contentions will automatically disappear and that it will be possible to write a program upon which an overwhelming majority of the delegates here will be able to agree.

And one final word, my friends. We have been warned again and again by many of the sages and seers of the Zionist movement never to judge it solely by political standards. I am interested in Palestine because I crave for my people, as I always have, the chance to be themselves; because I behold the disease of a life that is about to die; because I see how much we have lost, irretrievably lost, during these past few decades, perhaps a century



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or a century and a half. I am interested in Palestine because I know that in Palestine the Jew will become whole, that we must have enough faith to understand that one does not judge the flower by the root, that Palestine is a place in which people plant themselves deep and in which they will grow. I have enough faith in my people to believe that the centuries have not brought to them senescence, that they have not weakened the immortal fiber of our folk. I have enough faith in them to believe that if we will only open the doors to them, if we only give them the chance of ordering their own way, they will grow, they will create, they will again come to that final fruit of the spirit to which they came in the days of the past. And that I desire beyond all things, the chance to know that again among my people there are prophets and palmists, that there are men who like Amos, lift up their eyes from the Terrace hills of Terrah over which broods the dead silence of the Dead Sea and who hear the words of the living Gods. I covet for my people the chance to be once sound and great again as I know they can be and all that I wish for them is to clear the way with all my people, make clear the way, a highway in the wilderness for our people as it was for our God.

That must be the labor of this Conference; it must be the labor upon which we unite with all our hearts and with a submergence of that bitterness and derisiveness which sometimes take their hold upon us.

God grant that it may be so among us!

Address by Dr. Silver

CHAIRMAN LEWENTHAL: Ladies and gentlemen, the next speaker is Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

DR. SILVER: My dear friends, the Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told here and elsewhere — tragic, ghastly, unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four

Freeds and Victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit bitter reasoning and logic, to beguiling romanticism in the void. We are again turning away from a history to dreams and to Apocalypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But you remember, have you forgotten? It brought also in its wake the most thoroughgoing, brutal and annihilational anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Have you already forgotten the story between the two World Wars? Dare you forget it? And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied Victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them—peace and security — there again confusing formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures.

The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy, remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking and to hide the real problem, the nettling, perplexing, insistent problem crying for expression and solution, under the thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and Jewish affability.

It is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unconquered opposition, and at the slightest provocation, as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely

demolished them. There is a stout black cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its feral cry of "hep, hep," and the era of Hitler with its cry of "Jude verreckt." And so far the rest. The Damascus affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Eszlar affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusation in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus affair in France; the pogroms of 1902; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency which, unfortunately, has been immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home! Not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, for new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution when Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere. The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally accepted interpretation of the statement of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, or as many of them called it, the Jewish state, which was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Home.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish State rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared — and these are beautiful words —

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a (Continued on page five)

Dr. Silver's Address

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Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

And how did our American Jews in these days interpret that document? When the first American Jewish Congress met in Philadelphia in 1918 — and this has already been pointed out, but I repeat it to drive my point home, and it is the only point which I wish to make this evening — when the first American Jewish Congress met after the last war, 25 years ago, a Congress in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, as in this Conference, it elected a delegation to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference, and the delegation was given instructions formulated as follows:

"They were to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

Why has there arisen among us today this mortal fear of the term "Jewish Commonwealth," which both British and American statesmen have in these days, as it were, and which our own fellow-Jews of both camps endorsed a quarter of a century ago? Why are anti-Zionists or non-Zionists, or neutrals — why are they determined to excise that phrase — and I suspect in some instances at least, the hope?

Why are they asking us on the plea of unity to surrender a basic political concept which was so much a part of the whole pattern of the Balfour Declaration? I suspect that because they, or some of them, or most of them, have never really reconciled themselves to the fact both of the Declaration and of the Mandate. They would like to forget about them or have the world forget about them or wish them out of existence. Of course, they have no objections to Jews going to Palestine, any more than they would have any objections to Jews going to New Zealand, to Australia or any other part of the world.

It is amazing to me, I frankly confess, that Jews are moved to applaud a fellow-Jew when he consents that Jews should have the right to go to Palestine. Once having made this monumental concession that Jews have a right to go to Palestine and that that right should not be restricted, they feel justified in asking the Zionists to make a little concession — namely, to surrender that for which they and their fathers hoped and prayed through the centuries and which is already in the process of fulfillment — a Commonwealth of Palestine.

We are told that our insistence on this Jewish Commonwealth is an insistence on an ideology, and why should one create disunity in the ranks of American Israel over an ideology?

In all sincerity, friends, I ask you to think along with me — is it an ideology? Is the natural, normal instinct of a homeless people to find a home for itself after centuries of homelessness and to lead a normal, natural existence,

an ideology? Is it an ideology for an Englishman to want an England, or for a Frenchman to want a France, a Free France, and when exiled from it to wish ardently to return to it?

Why is it an "ideology" for the people of Israel to want the Land of Israel, from which it had been driven centuries ago and so lost its peace and its rest and its joy of life?

Was it an ideology which kept alive the hope of national restoration among our people for 19 centuries? Was it not rather the hard, cruel facts of our existence, written and repeated, exiles, massacres, pogroms, indignities, all the way along the black stout cord of disaster, never broken from 1917 to 1943?

We are not insisting on ideologies; we are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new; it is they, who tell us to surrender these demands which have already been acknowledged in international sanctions. It is they who are motivated by ideologies, not we. It is they who are forcing the reopening of a question which should have in all conscience been closed in 1917.

So, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

From the infected typhus-ridden ghettos of Warsaw, from the death-block of Nazi-occupied lands where pyramids of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which becloud the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end!"

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depression, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last? Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries, the myriad martyrs of our people, as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world — should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last with re-establishment of a free Jewish Commonwealth?

Is not this historic justice and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it? I am for unity in Israel, but unity for what? It is strange; frequently, I am bewildered. If I agree with certain people, that's unity. If I ask them to agree with me, that is disunity.

I am for unity in Israel, for the realization of the total program of Jewish life: relief, res-

cue, reconstruction, and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program, for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the British Colonial Office, for that matter — which at the moment seems to be synonymous — that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish Commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish Commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea, that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated

Conference Presidium and Secretariat

By unanimous vote the Conference approved the recommendation of the General Committee for the following Presidium. (One place reserved for Conservative Bloc)

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
Henry Nosenky
Judge Joseph M. Proskauer
Adolph Held
Leon Gellman
Rabbi Israel Goldstein
Chaim Greenberg

Herman Hoffman
Edgar J. Kaufmann
Judge Louis E. Levinthal
Mrs. David de Solz Pool
Adolf Rosenberg
Carl Sherman

The Conference also elected the following as the members of the Secretariat:

Maurice Biaggyer
Jane Evans
Lillie Shultz
Meyer W. Weisgal

Simon Shetzer
Rabbi Max Kirshblum
Marie Sytkin

upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable.

To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decisions of the majority.

It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews of America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to it is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn convocation, to say so and to make their demand upon the world. A strange thing has occurred here. We are asked not to relinquish our convictions but at the same time not to express them.

The minority, if it is wise, as I believe it is, and responsible as I know that it is, and responsive to the democratic process,

will abide by the decision and accept the role of a loyal opposition. We are not a government and we have no authority to impose decisions, but there is a tremendous moral authority in a solemn convocation such as this of the chosen representatives of our people, and when, after due deliberation it speaks in overwhelming endorsement of a certain program, its decision ought to not to be lightly disregarded.

I close with this word, my friends. The heroic Yishuv in Palestine has prayerfully appealed to us to uphold its hands. You have read it in the public press. Our Yishuv today is fighting a desperate fight against enemies which are stretched all the way from Jerusalem through Cairo, through newspaper offices in the city of New York. They are fighting a desperate fight against enemies who are organizing another conspiracy at the moment to strangle its further development and to extinguish the great hope of national freedom which has sustained the faith and courage of those splendid men and women who are building today the Jewish Commonwealth. They have appealed to us, their brothers and sisters in America, to approve of their struggle, to defend their rights and to appeal to the political leaders and statesmen of this great and free and blessed land to help them now in this, the approaching hour of decision, with the same sympathy and the same understanding as the Presidents of the United States from Wilson down, and the Congress of the United States, helped them in the earlier years. I ask you, good friends, shall we let them down?

Shall we pass a Palestine resolution here which will mention nothing about the historic Balfour Declaration and its clear intent and underlying purpose, the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth? Will it be perhaps our purpose to send a delegation to the peace conference with nothing more than an immigration aid plea, to let Jews go to Palestine, as if Palestine were for us another Santo Domingo?

Are we to ask merely for the right of asylum in our historic home, the right which any people may claim in any part of the world, though, unfortunately, such claims are only infrequently recognized? Is this Jewish statelessness? Is this Jewish vision, courage, faith, or are we to declare in this great assembly, when the proper time comes, that we stand by those who have given their tears and their blood and their sweat to build for them and for us and the future generation, at long last, after the weary centuries a home, a National Home, a Jewish Commonwealth, where the spirit of our people can finally be at rest as well as the body of many of our persecuted people?

Are we going to take counsel here of fear of what this one or that one might say, of how our actions are likely to be misinterpreted; or are we to take counsel of our inner moral convictions, of our faith, of our history, of our achievements, and go forward in faith to build and to heal?



BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

'Council for Judaism' Denounced by Rabbis

(Continued from page one)

In this statement at this time, totally aside from its merit or demerit, in and of itself is a disservice to this representative body, is a denial in Jewish life of that very democracy which this statement declares it loves and serves.

As a Reform Rabbi, as a Zionist and as an American Jew, whatever may be the motive of the men responsible for this statement, I denigrate and describe it here as treachery to the cause of Israel, and in the widest and deepest sense, as treachery to that cause of justice and humanity which our country and its allies are pledged to save and to serve.

Rabbi Gordis:

As vice-president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the national organization of Conservative Rabbis, I rise to express my brotherly sense of identification with Rabbi Heller, who has spoken so eloquently a few moments ago.

It seems difficult to believe that in this day and age, when our people are beset by enemies on all sides, a group of men who denominate themselves as Jewish leaders, would feel called upon to fulfill the prophetic words, "Thine enemies and thy destroyers arise from thine own midst."

I have no hesitation in saying that the so-called American Council for Judaism is neither American, nor a Council, nor Judaism. It is not American because it contravenes the basic principle of American democracy. If we are Americans who believe in democracy, this was the forum and this is the place where ideas, non-Zionist or anti-Zionist, should have been presented.

Unfortunately for the American Council, the convening and the world-wide interest in the American Jewish Conference has demonstrated that they are a Council only for their own fears, their own cowardice, their own stupidity and their own selfishness.

Finally, we declare as spiritual leaders in American Israel that the American Council is not dedicated to the cause of Judaism, for they betray those instincts, those emotions, those ideals and those aspirations which have been flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone for 3,000 years of recorded history.

Their right to speak out, timed as it was for this moment, when already we find on all sides our enemies united against us, has no other purpose but to detract from the significance and the basic importance of our gathering here. We believe that just as Zionism which is not rooted in Judaism will have no roots, so Judaism which has no contact with Zionism will have no fruits.

I think the time has come for us to make it clear that loyalty to the Zionist cause and to Palestine is no longer an optional feature in Judaism. Today we must all take our places. "Art thou with us or with our enemies?" There is no neutral ground in our hour of crisis.

And so, in this solemn and difficult and tragic, yes, and disgraceful hour for American Israel, I say that this Conference has a solemn obligation to act valiantly, to speak out courageously on behalf of the defense of Jewish rights throughout the world and particularly to implement all of its power for the establishment of a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

Thus we shall serve notice on the world that for us the service of God is inseparable without the survival of the Jewish people, the preservation and growth of the Jewish heritage.

God, Israel and the Torah are one, and that one cannot be severed by any group of self-seeking or self-deluded individuals, however august their personnel.

I therefore urge upon all of us a solemn sense of consecration to the cause of Palestine, rebuilt and Israel restored so that Jewish courage, Jewish character, Jewish wisdom and Jewish honor may not perish from the earth.

Rabbi Lookstein:

I rise, to endorse completely and without any reservation the sentiments and the pronouncements made by the spokesmen for the Reform and Conservative Rabbinate of the country. I do so as a member of the Religious National Bloc; I do so as a member of the Mizrahi, and as an officer of the Rabbinical Council of America.

To all of us, this statement, though a shocking surprise, was to some extent expected. We remember when this baby was born on the boardwalk of Atlantic City. We remember its early utterances before it began to walk, and now we see it completely and fully grown to the status of a "rebellious and wayward son." Regarding a rebellious and wayward son there is only one decision: "Thou shalt remove the evil from thy midst."

By divorcing ourselves completely from this group, by denouncing its statements, by administering a forceful and effective rebuke that will be understood by Jews and non-Jews, we will declare and affirm that in so far as the body of Israel in America is concerned, these men, by their statement, have placed themselves outside the pale and camp of Israel.

In a sense, we ought to mourn and we ought to shed tears for these rebellious sons that sprang from our loins and that we helped to rear. Those who dare to speak in this hour of crisis, those who dare to speak at this moment of universal Jewish sorrow, those who dare to stand at the grave of 3,000,000 Jews and mutter about the "theoretical" homelessness of the Jew, who dare to fiddle on their distorted theological fiddle while the Jewish world burns, who dare at this grave and serious hour, when American Israel through its representatives is assembled to take counsel and to find action to bring help and salvation to our people—dare not to punch us below the belt, not to stab us in the back, but verily to stab us in the heart.

At such a time we hear from those people while we are grappling with the problem of individual and minority rights, while we are battling and struggling with our consciences to find a solution to the ancient and troublesome problem of the Jews. These people dare to refer to some of these rights which we are trying to validate and which we are trying to confirm. They dare to refer to these rights as "Eastern-European concepts" from which they divorced themselves.

They are supposed to be proficient in the Prophets, in whose name they always speak. And they should know that these rights are the rights pronounced for all men and for our people by such "Eastern-European" Jews as Moses, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and all the hosts of inspired leaders of Israel.

Therefore, they cannot delude us; they cannot mislead us, even if they flavor their misguided and ill-spoken sentiments by the Sh'ma Yisroel. We will say to them, "He who speaks in such language, he who acts as a betrayer, dare not take the name of God in vain."

We shall say to them that whoever asks God to listen to him

must be willing to listen to the we and the pain of Israel, and we remind them also that following Sh'ma Israel, there is another brief, concise chapter, which begins, "If you will listen to God and if you understand the true intent of the Commandments," then follows some mention of "Your Land" and of the blessing from Heaven that must descend upon it; and whoever divorces himself from that land, by his very testimony, ultimately divorces himself from the God of Israel and becomes not theoretically, but practically, homeless and definitely Godless.

We cannot be silent about this, and it ought to be the duty of this Conference, this democratic body, to express its opinion, to convey its thought, to advance its judgment of what we think, not of the misguided thoughts, of the distorted ideologies, not of the hair-splitting intellectual exercises—but what we think of those who dare to stand against Israel, against the God of Israel, and against the future of Israel.

Rabbi Wise:

Haven't you and I imagined that never again would another chapter be added to the history of contemporary Jewry, under the title, "Protest-Rabbinate." I rise merely to add a word to what my three younger colleagues have effectively and eloquently said.

Rabbi Gordis spoke of Eretz Israel as flesh of our flesh, body of our body. He might have added Eretz Israel, which is the soul of our soul, not merely flesh of our flesh and body of our body.

The attempt is made to bring up the necessity of dividing Jews as between faith and people. Faith and people are not two different and divisible factors. You remember the words of Daniel Webster, in reply to Senator Haynes-Senator Haynes had spoken of liberty or union, and Webster's immortal answer was, "Liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever." We are not going to accept a new Torah from a group of men who come to us with the readiness to destroy the democratic character and conduct of the People of Israel. We speak here for Kol Israel. They speak for K'lalot Israel, the curse which they seek to bring upon Israel as we seek to unite it, to unify it, and to make it one.

Mr. Chairman, I know that you will make a statement that we can all approve. I urge you not to add to the discussion. Let the statement go out. Reform, Orthodox, Conservative Rabbis, unite in saying to these men, "All that you have done is to encourage us to go on and on for a democratic Israel."

Mr. Monsky:

MR. MONSKY'S STATEMENT.

The tone of these remarks on behalf of the four Rabbis is entirely understandable, and by your applause you have punctuated these remarks and given your consent and approval. There is a difference between the American Jewish Conference and those who were the sponsors of the statement, and we should not, as a Conference, enter into any argument or disputation. I would not dignify their statement by that kind of action on the part of this Conference.

The American Council for Judaism, a body of 100 men speaking for themselves, have seen fit to issue a statement in the name of Americans of the Jewish faith at a time when the American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body, representing every major Jewish organization and community in the United States is seeking to unite American Jewry on a common program for the solution of the tragic problems confronting World Jewry.

The timing of this action must be characterized as unimportant-like and reprehensible impertinence. It is calculated to confuse American public opinion and to disrupt the American Jewish community.

Today the delegates here assembled, representing every point of view, are united in their repudiation of this attempt to sabotage the collective Jewish will to achieve a unified program.

CORRECTION

In the issue of the CONFERENCE RECORD of August 31, an error was made in the list of members of the delegation attending the Conference as representatives of the Canadian Jewish Congress. The Congress is officially represented by Mr. Samuel Bronfman, President, Mr. A. B. Bennett, Vice-President, Mr. Saul Hayes, Director, and Messrs. S. J. Zacks and E. E. Geiber.

Official Notices

CONFERENCE DIRECTORY

Hotel Waldorf-Astoria

1. Registration—Astor Gallery (third floor).
2. Information and Delegate Service—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 is at the disposal of the delegates at the Information 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 (shachrit), 8:30 A.M.

Daily evening services (mincha and maariv), 7:20 P.M.

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER

Photographs in the CONFERENCE RECORD are credited to Alexander Archer, official photographer of the Conference, who may be reached at the Press Headquarters, Room 4A.

Committee Officers

The General Committee announced the formation of the Conference committees and their officers, as follows:

Palestine Committee: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman; Robert P. Goldman, vice-chairman; Meyer W. Weisgal, secretary.

Committee on Postwar Problems: Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman; Professor Chaim Finesman, vice-chairman; Mrs. Archibald Silverman, secretary.

Committee on Organization: Judge Meier Steinbrink, chairman; Daniel Frisch, vice-chairman; Mrs. Harry Berkman, secretary.

Committee on Credentials: Charles P. Kramer, chairman; Joseph Seifert, secretary.

Committee on Resolutions: Mortimer May, chairman; Sigmond David, vice-chairman; Rabbi Solomon Rosenberg, secretary.

Committee on Records: Louis Fabricant, chairman; Adolph Held, vice-chairman; Sara Feder, secretary.

Leaders of National Religious Block



RABBI WOLF GOLD, GEDALIA BUBLITZ, RABBI MEIER BERLIN, LEON GELLMAN

Jewish Labor Committee Defines Its Position

On Postwar Demands

Address by Adolph Held

I am happy to have the opportunity to present to this great assembly of representatives of American Jewry the Jewish Labor Committee's postwar peace demands for the Jews of Europe.

It may seem strange to some, that while the war is still raging and the blood of our youth flows freely on the battlefields of Europe, Africa, and the Pacific, we should gather here to discuss postwar Jewish demands.

But we have long since come to the realization — and this is the view of all socially conscious and liberal men and women — that winning the war is organically linked with winning the peace.

The declarations of President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill following the Casablanca and Quebec conferences, are the best indication that our present statesmen are now planning, not only the strategy for victory over the Axis powers, but also the future peace. The Atlantic Charter, and the Declaration on Four Freedoms, although not binding treaties, are without any doubt the core of the Anglo-American principles for which this war is being fought.

To us Jews, the future peace is a matter of life or death. To the first, and greatest sufferers of Hitlerism, the winning of the war and the peace is for us not only a matter of reconstruction and rehabilitation, but the very existence of the Jewish people.

Let me say from the very outset: I did not come here to mourn. I did not come here to count our dead. The Jewish people will not perish. We shall continue to build Jewish life. It is based on this underlying belief that the Jewish Labor Committee has formulated its peace demands for Jews.

What is the postwar program of the Jewish Labor Committee?

In a special publication, issued for this conference, you will find our postwar program printed in full. This will save me from going into details and I shall limit myself merely with a presentation of the basic principles underlying our program.

First it must be clearly understood that ours is an organization of organized Jewish labor. As such we represent the bridge between the Jewish people and the great American labor movement which plays a leading role in the prosecution of the war against the Axis.

Labor has a vital stake in this war. It is destined to play in the future even a greater role in the winning of a peace of human progress and social advancement — a world where all individuals will be free and all peoples will have their rightful place in the family of nations.

The opening shot in this war was fired when the first anti-Jewish law promulgated in Nazi Germany followed by the destruction of the German trade union movement. There is a direct connection between the two.

A free labor movement is the foundation upon which the whole structure of modern democracy rests. And Jewish fate has always been inseparably bound up with democracy and social progress. Jewish emancipation has always been part of democratic expansion in which man sought to affirm himself as man without regard to birth or race or creed. Likewise, in terms of reaction, anti-Semitism always flourished and flourishes as a barometer of dangerous social storms. That is why when the outlaws of modern civilization planned their attack upon all that decent men and

women cherish most, they chose the Jew as the first object of their attack.

But the tide has turned. Bataan, Guadalcanal, Sicily, Stalingrad and Kharkov are the heralds of our victory. Our enemies are in retreat. We can already hear the sound of victory.

We are now on the threshold of a new world. No one has as yet a blueprint of the coming world order. We believe, however, that in the post-war world economic planning and international organization will have to take the place of social anarchy. It is our conviction that real planning of international organization is possible only in a society guided by the principles of democratic socialism. But even under capitalism, it will no longer be possible to return to the rugged individualism and unbridled economic exploitation and national subjugation of pre-war days.

And under such conditions Jewish reconstruction must neither be unloaded upon the bent backs of the surviving Jews of Europe or on the Jewish community in the United States.

We say here that the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Jewish life must not and cannot be left to the blind play of social forces.

We do not have the exact number of Jewish casualties in the war against Hitlerism. They reach in the millions. But whether our dead and martyred brothers reach three or four million, we shall not be shaken from our conviction that Jewish life will continue in Europe; that Jews have as much right to live in the countries they inhabit as have all other citizens. We shall therefore accept no program of reconstruction that is not based on this inalienable right.

Point 3 of the preamble to our program states clearly and unequivocally: "We are firmly convinced that following the war, the Jews will remain in the lands in

which they have lived for centuries, and where they created all of their modern history. We are equally convinced that mass-immigration cannot solve the Jewish question. We categorically reject all projects for forced Jewish emigration or evacuation. We firmly adhere to the principle that the country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Jews have the right to organize their economic, social, and political existence in accordance with their desire and need, and under the protection of the law of the land. This also includes the right to participate on an equal democratic basis in the determination of the state's domestic and foreign policies."

Secondly, our program is concerned with the rehabilitation of Jewish life in what might be called the transition period. We, of the Jewish Labor Committee, have seen with our own eyes, the wreckage of Jewish life in Europe: the orphans, the widows, the homeless and crippled. Moreover, the Jewish labor movement, over a period of decades, has acquired great practical experience in building Jewish sanatoriums, homes for aged and orphans, hospital and cultural institutions. That is why we speak a great deal in our program about the transition period. Indeed, as we state in our post-war peace demands for the Jews of Europe, the most urgent

action to be undertaken as soon as the first opportunity presents itself is to save the Jews of Europe from physical extinction. It is particularly urgent to rehabilitate the vast number of Jewish orphans and homeless children by supplying them, immediately upon the conclusion of the war, with food, medical aid, clothing, and shelter.

Closely allied with this problem is the problem of the refugees. We insist on the demand that large numbers of Jewish refugees and deportees be repatriated if they so desire. They must be given, by the United Nations, all means of transportation. Particular stress should be laid upon the problem of reuniting families which have been torn apart by the Nazi-Fascist enemies. All refugees are to be guaranteed the right to return to their homeland, while at the same time retaining the right to remain permanently in the lands of their present abode.

I should like to stress one more point in our program which we consider essential to Jewish existence in Europe. The Jewish Labor Committee categorically rejects the view of Jews in postwar Europe as individuals in need of charity or philanthropy. To us, the Jewish people in Europe are a collective, with its own cultural and national needs. Therefore, we say: "In European countries, with

large and compact Jewish settlements, the Yiddish language is to be given full recognition in the administrative, legal, and political institutions of the state. In such countries, too, Jews are to receive the right to organize into autonomous bodies for the purpose of administering their national-cultural affairs. Jewish schools of various types and grades, are to enjoy the same privileges and rights as corresponding types and grades of schools of the majority of the population. State funds for cultural and educational purposes should be granted to the Jewish population in proportion to its numbers."

I have touched here on three salient points in our program. I have omitted such vital demands as the restoration of properties of individual Jews, communities and public institutions, confiscated or destroyed by the enemy and reparations for such properties. I have also omitted all reference to Palestine, since this will be the subject of a special report by one of our delegates. Likewise, I have said little about our general demands to safeguard minority rights, etc. All these, you will find in our printed program.

But the pattern it seems to me, is clear. The burden of history is unmistakable. The enemy of the Jew is the enemy of freedom. They who organize a pogrom today, will attack tomorrow the general foundations of freedom. That is why the moral stature of a nation is set by its recognition that the claim of the Jew to freedom and to the right to exist is the claim of its own people to strike off its chains. When it is silent before the agony of the Jew, it collaborates in the organization of its future servitude.

In conclusion, may I quote from the preamble to our postwar demands for the Jews all over the world:

"In the declaration of the twelve United Nations, made on December 17, 1942, the Jewish people were solemnly promised that not a single person guilty of crimes and murders against them will escape punishment. Out of this solemn promise, there also logically arises the obligation of the guilty powers to recompense their innocent Jewish victims."

"But, while demanding compensation and restitution from the Nazi-Fascist states it ought to be unequivocally clear that postwar reconstruction of Jewish life, Jewish economic and social existence becomes the sacred duty of all countries, particularly of the future international body of nations that will emerge out of this war."

This in brief is the program of the Jewish Labor Committee. We came to this Conference with the hope, that despite social and political differences which exist and must exist in Jewish life, just as among other peoples, we shall find a common language in the formulation of basic postwar Jewish demands. About these, there can be no division among the Jewish people.

European Jewry, the flesh of our flesh and the blood of our blood — since we are all immigrants and the sons and daughters of immigrants — suffer horribly in the present war. But out of the present ruins and blood, the Jewish working masses in whose name I presume to speak, together with the democratic labor movements throughout the world, will seek the establishment of a new order. We shall strive for a world order which will be akin to labor's socialist ideal, and will assure a lasting peace based on the principles of democratic justice and equality for all men and women, whatever their race, creed, or color.

On Palestine Program

Address by I. H. Goldberg

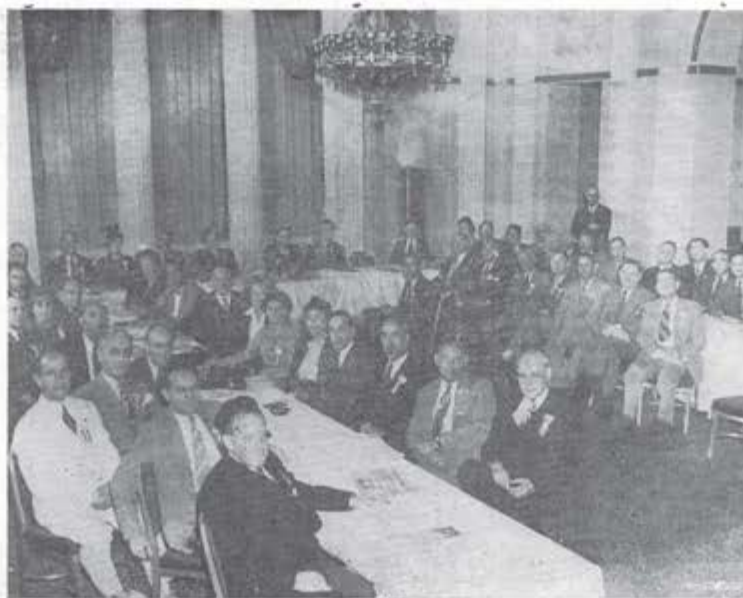
As a spokesman of the Jewish Labor Committee, it is my privilege to present to the American Jewish Conference that portion of the Jewish Labor Committee program which relates to Palestine. The Jewish Labor Committee is composed of representatives from various Jewish Labor organizations in this country, comprising an aggregate membership of half a million. All shades of Jewish opinion are reflected among our constituents. The Jewish Labor Committee, as such, does not commit its constituents to a final position on such a cardinal postwar

issue as that of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. When formulating our program in relation to Palestine it was, therefore, our policy to find only points of agreement and avoid those of disagreement.

What ever differences of opinion there may be in the Jewish Labor Committee with respect to Palestine as a national Jewish objective, we all agree that Palestine will be able to admit large numbers of Jews who are now homeless and stateless. We are all vitally interested in keeping the

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Committee On Postwar Jewish Problems



Address by Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum

It is fitting and proper to single out the Polish Jews out of the flaming orbit of Jewry under the Nazi yoke, not only because Poland had been chosen as the dumping ground, the torture chamber, the concentration camp and the graveyard of the Jews of Europe, but also the dawn of tomorrow will usher in the fourth anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Poland—a date as infamous as it is horrible in misery and misfortune. This is the fourth "Yahrzeit," the memorial of no less than two million Jews, men, women and children murdered, poisoned, burned and brutalized unto death, and close to another million dead from starvation, disease and exhaustion.

Unfortunately, cessation of war for all nations does not necessarily signify peace for the Jews. Armistice for the fighting nations does not mean armistice for the Jews. I have witnessed and described some of these postwar massacres and I cannot be too emphatic in warning against the postwar holocaust. Let us be wary and forewarned and be armed with means of rescue and defense for the victims of the armistice pogroms, and make all necessary provisions to prevent their recurrence. This is but one of the many problems which show that you cannot separate the future from the present or speak of postwar problems as if they were totally unrelated to the present problems.

We must act now in a double or triple capacity. We must feed the starving, make possible the escape of the remnants, and help those most valiant, most heroic fighters and battlers for freedom, the incomparable and unconquerable spirit, the heroes of the Jewish barricades and the daring of thousands and tens of thousands of Jewish partisans and underground fighters for whom some day, I hope, the United Nations will erect an Arc de Triomphe to render homage to the greatest deeds of heroism

that ever a people was called upon to perform.

We hear the clamor for a Jewish army—and on justifiable grounds, in the opinion of some of us, but there is a Jewish army in Poland which is fighting and dying for the cause of the United Nations. Let the timid and, alas, so "tactful" statesmen who Jews are concerned, who are afraid to raise their voices beyond a whisper lest that conscientious objector, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, may suspect that this is a "Jewish war," let them take notice that we have given more than they can ever repay. And the least we expect is that the strongest measures compatible with the war effort be taken now to rescue the remnants of Polish Jewry before it may be too late.

The Jews are not an amorphous conglomerate but a people. They are not only a communion of common faith but a community of common fate and must be granted all attributes of a special ethnic, religious, cultural—and in compact Jewish settlements—a linguistic group—a Jewish nationality, if you please, to which must be granted and internationally guaranteed all rights and powers of a free autonomous people capable of taking care of their own cultural and communal affairs.

Unlike others, Jews have their special problems. Palestine is the heart of the Jewish people, but the Diaspora is its arterial system. Both must be strong, strongly fortified and free. Specific religious, cultural and linguistic problems do exist. Rehabilitation, reeducation and social assistance are other problems in the economic plan. Immigration is another and, I hope I shall never hear the word "evacuation," and if there are any evacuationists among us, then I believe they are in the wrong place. But emigration is a specific problem and as part of redistribution and rehabilitation will occupy much of our postwar activity.

Address by I. H. Goldberg

(Continued from page seven)

gates of Palestine open for Jewish immigration, and in enabling the Jews who are there now and those who will come later to build for themselves a fuller and happier life.

We all agree that Palestine must occupy an important place in any program concerned with immediate help for the Jewish victims of Nazism and with Jewish postwar reconstruction. As organized workers of America our thoughts are directed primarily to the organized Jewish labor movement of Palestine. Our sense of solidarity with it is strengthened by the expressions of brotherhood and cooperation made on various occasions by the labor movement of America and also by the British labor movement.

As organized workers we rejoice in the fact that our comrades have done so much to make of Palestine a place where hundreds of thousands of Jewish victims of Nazism were able to find security and human dignity.

It is not by accident that labor occupies a position of leadership in Palestine. In one of the most backward and neglected countries it has established social and economic standards known only in advanced industrial countries.

As you know our constituents come in the main if not entirely from countries which are now under Hitler domination. Their kindred are still there. Thus the frightful Jewish tragedy is of immediate and personal concern to many of us. We regard the possibility

of providing a safe haven in Palestine for many more suffering Jews now and after the war as an essential part of our program. We insist that the gates of Palestine be kept open for Jewish immigration. We equally insist on free immigration and emigration everywhere.

With respect to Palestine this brings us to the issue of the White Paper. This document was a product of the general policy of seeking to appease by all methods the Nazi forces in Europe and in the Middle East. The White Paper is an instrument of race discrimination and a glaring violation of human rights and we demand its immediate annulment.

This opposition to the White Paper is in keeping with the position taken by the Jewish Labor Committee in 1939 when the paper was first issued. We expressed then the unanimous sentiment of bitter opposition on behalf of our constituents and do so again now. The rights of immigration and colonization must not be denied the Jews.

The Jewish Labor Committee therefore submits the following program with regard to Palestine:

1. We declare our solidarity with organized Jewish labor in Palestine and its demands regarding Jewish immigration and colonization of Palestine.
2. We demand the immediate annulment of the White Paper, and the guarantee of free Jewish immigration, land purchase and colonization of Palestine.

In regard to the ultimate constitutional status of Palestine, the Jewish Labor Committee takes no stand, because there is no unanimity among its membership on this question.

We are all united in demanding Jewish immigration to Palestine as a natural right, not as a grudging favor. We are all united in demanding in the same spirit the right of colonization and all other rights vital in a modern and free community.

We are determined to give all aid to the millions of suffering and tortured Jews in the Nazi-dominated countries. It is not only of suffering, however, that I speak here tonight but also of the undying spirit of resistance shown by our brothers in the ghettos and us. Their spirit of resistance in the face of certain death is a symbol of man's striving for a world of human decency and freedom.

We are here to add the voice of Jewish labor to that of American Jewry in this most tragic moment in the history of our people. Jewish labor is an integral part of the American Jewish community. We have made our contributions to the Jewish creative effort in the past and we assume our responsibilities in the present unparalleled emergency.

Our position is clear. Together with the entire Jewish community in the United States we are ready to mobilize the material and spiritual strength of the five million Jewish citizens of our great democracy. We, who have benefited so richly from the free and democratic institutions of this country, are ready to do our full duty to those of our brothers and sisters to whom fate has been so cruel. We are confident that American Jewry will emerge from this strengthened and united and that by its decisions will prove itself a credit to this country, a tower of strength to our people everywhere, and to all lovers of freedom and human decency.

PITCH IN FOR VICTORY



◆ BUY WAR BONDS ◆

CONFERENCE RECORD

Published daily by the
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LOOKING ON

Many delegates to this Conference duly chosen by their communities with full right and authority to speak and act for them, surely rubbed their eyes and wondered when they read a published list of dissidents from a number of cities, unknown, unrecognized, and unheralded, who have come forward to supersede the authority, and thwart the wishes of the majority of Jews in the name of the so-called American Council for Judaism. The proclamation may be said to be published almost anonymously, for with a few exceptions the signatories to the same are quite unknown to fame and to those who concern themselves with the fortunes of Israel. Most of them are as obscure as the pronouncement itself and may in the future only be remembered in the dubious reputation of persons who ran out on their people and sought to undermine their standing and welfare. It is assumed that the communities mentioned will know how to deal with these distant and dissonant relations.

After the strain, tumult, and excitement of the Conference, the delegates on the return to their homes, will undoubtedly settle down to quiet and intensive study of all ramifications of the problem affecting our people. It will not be anybody's fault if after listening to the many addresses here and reading at home all the literature they have been provided with, they do not all become experts in the understanding and exposition of these questions.

Whatever the representatives from the different communities will not be able to carry away from the sessions, they surely will be able to add to their luggage heavy parcels of books, pamphlets, and leaflets, with which they have been provided by the Conference organization itself, and by the various national and central bodies which distributed literature to advance their different points of view. I saw one delegate bending under the weight of a heavy satchel of literature which he was carrying to his room for future shipment. The coming long winter evenings, especially in the smaller quiet communities, should have no terrors of boredom for the returned delegates. They surely will have enough to read and think about.

All the circumstances surrounding the calling of this Conference are so similar to the conditions that prevailed during the time of the convening of the first American Jewish Congress, that even the famous Washington rumor, which figured in the events of 1916-17, was not lacking in the present instance.

The opponents of an all-inclusive Congress then favored a Conference—with limited program. The word Congress itself was objectionable on the ground that it seemed unpatriotic to utilize for such an organization the name of the legislative body of the United States Government. Thereupon, the late Jacob de Haas produced a list of some 300 organizations in the United States, social, philanthropic, cultural, scientific, and industrial, which went under the name of Congresses. When this and other arguments were exhausted, some of the anti-Congressists spread a rumor to the effect that the Administration in Washington was opposed to the holding of such a gathering during the period of the war. It so happened that the aims and public activities of those who were promoting the Congress were pretty well understood and sympathized with in Washington. Therefore, President Wilson himself offered to straighten matters out. He wrote to Dr. Wise and expressed sympathy with the purposes of the Congress to labor for Jewish enfranchisement abroad, and the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland, etc. As the conveners of the Congress had by that time come to the conclusion that it would be best to postpone the sessions until the cessation of hostilities, with certain elements in the movement being opposed to such postponement, President Wilson also assisted in this matter and gave his *Ashkenaz* both to the Congress and the postponement.

Speaking of Washington, we had here at the opening sessions of the Conference a distinguished visitor from the Capital in the person of David K. Niles, one of the six special assistants to President Roosevelt, "with a passion for anonymity." Mr. Niles, a "rebel" and formerly a leading social worker in Boston, had during the last few years been identified with several important departments of the Government, especially the former WPA, as close lieutenant of Harry L. Hopkins.

R. G. R.

The first two numbers of the CONFERENCE RECORD may still be obtained at the Conference headquarters. The final issue will appear on Friday, September 3. Delegates who desire to obtain the last number may arrange to have it mailed to them.

CONFERENCE RECORD

The Daily Proceedings of the American Jewish Conference

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DEMAND JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

Conference Adopts Palestine Resolution

Amid scenes of boundless enthusiasm the Conference at its session last night adopted the resolution submitted to it by the Palestine Committee calling 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."

The resolution, presented by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as chairman of the Palestine Committee, was adopted by an overwhelming majority, with only four votes recorded in the negative. The 16 delegates of the Jewish Labor Committee, according to a statement by Adolph Held, its chairman, refrained from voting, although the Labor Committee in a formal statement declared its support of free immigration to Palestine and called for the annulment of the White Paper.

Among the four who dissented was Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee, who read a declaration in explanation of the position taken by his group.

After Judge Proskauer made his statement, Rabbi Silver declared that "amazing unity" had been achieved at the Conference and that he was pleased that those who had felt called upon to dissent had nevertheless "resolved to remain with us as the loyal opposition."

"We have made great headway in drawing in more and more important sections of American Jewry. Some day, the last of the important sections will join up with us. Nevertheless, in spite of the dissent, our record of history of the last two decades and more indicates that the American Jewish Committee at all times, whenever a critical situation arose affecting Palestine, was ready to work with us and help us."

Resolution On Palestine

We, Jewish 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 desolate 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

"I believe we go forth from this conference tonight perhaps more united than American Israel has ever been united and because this problem has drawn us together in such strong unity, it will be easier for us to approach many of the other vital problems which confront us."

The session was opened by Stephen S. Wise, who presided. He presented Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the Palestine Committee.

Dr. Silver Presents Resolution
The following is a transcript of the proceedings which followed:

DR. SILVER: Mr. Chairman, members of the American Jewish Conference: I take pleasure in presenting to you the resolutions of the Committee on Palestine.

There were three resolutions presented to your committee as well as one declaration. Your committee deliberated on these resolutions during four sessions. The deliberations were carried on at a very high level, which would have done credit to any deliberative body in the world.

I have two declarations, which I was requested to make before I speak of the resolutions.

I was requested to make this declaration for the Jewish Labor Committee:

"In regard to the ultimate constitutional status of Palestine, the Jewish Labor Committee takes no stand because there is no unanimity among its membership on this question, but we declare our solidarity with organized Jewish labor in Palestine and its demands regarding Jewish immigration and colonization of Palestine."

"We demand the immediate annulment of the White Paper and the guarantee of free Jewish immigration, land purchase and colonization in Palestine."

The second declaration is from some members of the National Council of Jewish Women here in attendance as delegates, and I read their declaration:

"Due to the fact that the membership of the National Council of Jewish Women is of the maximum of diverse opinion, and due to the fact that the program of the National Council of Jewish Women does not include the subject of Zionism, we the undersigned, representing the duly accredited representatives of the National Council of Jewish Women, refrain from

casting a vote on the resolution under consideration."

And this is signed by:
Mrs. M. L. Goldman, President,
Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, First Vice-President.

Mrs. Albert J. May, for Mrs. Carl J. Kaufmann.

Now, there were three resolutions presented to your committee:

1. The Joint Resolution presented by the Zionist Bloc, the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, the Order Sons of Zion, and the same resolution by the American Jewish Congress, the Zionist Labor Bloc, and the National Religious Bloc, Miraschi. This was one resolution.

There was another resolution presented by the Reformed religious group; and a third resolution presented by the Nonpartisan group. These were all very fine resolutions, each containing some very vital subjects and recommendations.

As I say, these resolutions were discussed in four sessions, and some forty members of the committee participated in the discussion. After consultation among these bodies who brought in the three resolutions, and after incorporation in a single resolution of the vital contributions which each of the three blocs made, it was found that a single resolution could be brought to this body, both the Reformed religious group and the Nonpartisan group or the members thereof having withdrawn their resolution. And so there emerged from the Committee on Palestine a single resolution which was adopted by an overwhelming vote of your committee, and I now take pleasure in presenting this resolution to you (The text of the Resolution appears in this issue.)

Monks Supports Resolution

Dr. Wise then recognized Henry Monks.

In seconding the resolution Mr. Monks said:

"When it was my privilege to open this Conference I had occasion to say that it was not the function of the temporary chairman in his official capacity to suggest or to predict what shall be the position of the Conference with respect to the vital questions involving Palestine. But now we have presented a resolution representing the composite will and judgment of the Committee on Palestine upon which sat the representatives of all of the groups in this Conference with all of the different points of view. This resolution when adopted will become a historical document, vital to the future fate and destiny of the people of Israel, and Mr. Chairman, the time has come now not for speeches but for concerted action and, therefore, I claim the privilege, one that I shall cherish for the rest of my life, of seconding the motion of Dr. Silver."

The resolution was then taken to a vote by a show of delegates' hands and it was adopted by an overwhelming majority. A prolonged ovation followed the vote. The delegates rose and sang

(Continued on page two)

Conference Adopts Palestine Resolution

(Continued from page one)

Hatikvah and the Star Spangled Banner.

Dr. Wise then presented Judge Proskauer who read the following declaration:

Judge Proskauer Dissents

It is with profound regret that, for the American Jewish Committee and my two fellow-delegates from that organization, I must register dissent from the resolutions which have been introduced and which I have no doubt will receive the vote of this Conference.

These resolutions at this critical time call for vesting in Jewish authority the full power to regulate and direct immigration into Palestine and presently call for the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth. Quite apart from the validity or invalidity of these proposals were they to be considered in the interval between the cessation of hostilities and a Peace Conference, we believe that at this time, when the gravest and most delicate military and world-wide political questions are involved, the present issuance of these proposals contained in the resolutions is unwise because it may carry with it embarrassment to the Governments of the United Nations, and is calculated to jeopardize the status of Jews and even prejudice the fullest development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine itself.

At this time it is our duty to concentrate on victory for the United Nations. We are convinced that it is inadvisable to bring to the foreground of public attention at this time political matters that may divide the peoples of the United Nations and create added difficulties.

And it is for that reason that we endeavored, without success, in the Palestine Committee, to secure the passage of a resolution deferring action on this matter until some subsequent session of this Conference to be called by the president. We yield to no one in our devotion to the cause of Judaism and to the protection of the rights of Jews throughout the world. We have demonstrated a deep and abiding concern for the

welfare of Palestine and its full and proper development. We have asked for the abrogation at once of the White Paper, and have requested that the gates of Palestine be immediately opened for the freest entry of the victims of Nazi brutality. But, because of the war considerations and the impossibility of foreseeing the quickly changing world scene, we deemed it wise to ask for the continuance of an international trusteeship to safeguard the Jewish settlement in Palestine and the fundamental rights of its inhabitants to prepare the country to become within a reasonable period of years a self-governing commonwealth under a constitution and a bill of rights that would protect the basic rights of all.

In entering this Conference, the American Jewish Committee acted on the condition that the then so-called "Assembly" should be called the "Conference" and that the right of any participating organization to dissent from and, so dissenting, not to be bound by the conclusions of the Conference was recognized. Pursuant to that provision, for myself and for my two fellow-delegates and the American Jewish Committee, and for the reasons I have mentioned, we respectfully dissent from concurrence with these resolutions.

Dr. Wise Hails Decision

Dr. Wise concluded the session with the following statement:

"Blessed indeed are we at this moment of solemn adoption of the resolution which will be as balm to the wounded hearts of our surviving brothers throughout Axis lands. We know that the adoption of the spirit of this resolution is made more certain by reason of the understanding sympathy of the two foremost statesmen on earth today: our beloved President and Britain's revered Prime Minister."

At the afternoon session presided over by Carl Sherman, addresses on post-war Jewish problems were delivered by Rabbi Irving Miller, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein and Rabbi O. Zilberstein of Los Angeles.

affirmation of the Balfour Declaration. They who ask for immigration into Palestine without being prepared to accept the political foundations which alone support such immigration, speak without understanding or sincerity. They speak also without sympathetic feeling for the needs of their people in this desperate hour. They who choose this hour when the fate of Palestine hangs in the balance to speak against the necessary political guarantees, are blind or callous to the tragic needs of their people.

Even for the sake of the safety of the existing Jewish community in Palestine, large scale immigration controlled by a Jewish agency is indispensable. A permanent Jewish minority in an Arab country would have a dark future. Turn where you will in the Arab world, the Jewish minorities, and also the Christians, have had a miserable time of it. If, God forbid, the Jews of Palestine be frozen permanently into a minority group, their fate would be sealed. A Jewish national home in Palestine would relieve the pressure on all Jewish communities. But it isn't the intention of Zionism to surrender any jot or tittle of Jewish rights anywhere in the world. What then can we do; what should we seek to do for the Jews of central and eastern Europe?

In the first place, we must insist upon the recognition in principle of the equality of Jews with other peoples everywhere in the world. This war will have no moral meaning if, at its end, any people are denied the basic human rights that others possess.

We must insist on the right of Jews to live as free men in their native lands. On the other hand we must insist upon their right to migrate to Palestine if that is their choice.

There will also be when this war ends a tremendous, unprecedented task of relief, rehabilitation, and population transfer.

Concerning the future of the Jews whose fate will be bound up with that of Soviet Russia, I would herewith publicly address an appeal to that government. Let Russian Jews, I plead, turn as they will to the Torah of their fathers. It is no oplate for the people—it is social vision and social justice.

Let your Jews, I plead, share the hopes as they have shared the sorrows of their brothers in other lands. They will be better citizens of the Socialist state because of a deepened sense of brotherhood and because of the broadening of their horizons. Let your Jews, I plead, share the gratification and the obligations touching the Jewish national home in Palestine. The Jewish commonwealth in Palestine should mean much to you for it has been built by the blood, sweat, and tears of Jewish labor. It rests upon foundations of practical social idealism. It has established institutions of social justice patterned after some of your own.

Finally, let me speak about the democratic nations of western Europe and the western world. In these lands that have been invaded by the Nazis, Jewish rights and property should be restored. This should not be impossible in countries like France, Holland, Belgium, Norway, where relatively small Jewish populations enjoyed equal rights.

In the other western nations which have not felt the heel of the Nazi tyrant there must be for the security of the Jew the preservation of democracy and the strengthening of its institutions.

The fate of our people is inextricably bound up with the destiny of democracy. Paper guarantees to the Jews are worthless unless the institutions of democracy are strong. We must stand by the side of those who seek a just social order not only because we believe in justice, but also because if we don't, where there is poverty and privation, minorities must pay the price.



LOUIS LIPSKY, Chairman of General Committee

The Formulation of Postwar Jewish Demands

Abstract of Address By

Rabbi Irving Miller

Both as Americans and as Jews we declare at this Conference that this war is being fought for a way of life which is fundamentally opposed to that of the Nazis and Fascists. We abhor domination of weaker peoples, the violation of treaties, the repudiation of human dignity. The present catastrophe has its roots in these doctrines which have become a way of life for millions of people. The victory on the battlefield, in the air and on the sea is surely coming for the United Nations, but if that victory is to have its roots in the souls and hearts of men, there must be established at the end of this war a new international structure which will find its expression in an international Bill of Rights for the protection of all men, wherever he live and whatever he be. Such a Bill of Rights, embodying the principle of unequivocal equality in law and in fact for all the citizens of every country, will provide not only full and complete protection of life and liberty and freedom of worship to all men without distinction of nationality, race or religion, but will also affirm and, with the aid of appropriate and efficient machinery, enforce the inalienable and undisputed right of all ethnic and religious groups to maintain and foster their ethnic, cultural and religious identity.

The Nazi way of life, to which I have already referred, has been distinguished for its abhorrent use of anti-Semitism as an instrument of internal and international policy against all liberal and democratic tendencies. So long as organized anti-Semitism is permitted to exist as a tolerated prejudice, its protagonists will always threaten the liberties and then the lives of Jewish communities everywhere and consequently undermine the foundations of any democratic world order.

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

A survey of the conditions created in the occupied countries, which happened to be the countries of Jewish age-long settlement, reveals the undeniable fact that, while sharing many disabilities with their gentile fellow citizens, Jews were singled out for a policy of ruthless extermination. In order to remedy the ravages caused by the war, the United Nations will have to adopt the following measures:

1. Immediate abrogation with

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

2. Detention of all persons, whether native or Axis, accused of crimes against international law and humanity; such crimes to be understood to include all acts committed by the Nazis and their followers and designed to despoil, degrade and destroy populations under their control, and the completion of arrangements for the trial of such persons immediately following the cessation of hostilities in accordance with procedure previously agreed upon by the Governments of the United Nations.

3. The provision of relief for all sections of the population in the light of their special needs and the adoption of measures designed to promote rehabilitation and the reconstruction of national life with the least possible delay.

4. Recognition of the right of all refugees, deportees and other victims of Axis persecution, to return to their places of de facto residence and to the opportunities of which they were deprived, and provision of measures enabling them to return as circumstances permit, if they desire to do so.

5. Recognition of the right to indemnification for all those who have suffered as a result of discriminatory and or war measures, the loss of livelihood and property (including the loss by Jewish organizations of communal property), such right being acknowledged as a charge on public funds.

6. Appropriate measures should be taken in preparation for the restoration of normal conditions to expedite the reintegration of all sections of the population into the economic life of every liberated country.

Special attention should be paid to the distinctive Jewish problems created by the policy of extermination of the Jewish people, ruthlessly carried out by the Axis authorities and their accomplices both in the preparation for and the conduct of the war.

THE FINAL ISSUE

Delegates who desire the final issue of the Conference Record, which will contain all the resolutions adopted, may arrange for receiving it by mail by applying at the headquarters, Room 4A, Waldorf-Astoria, or at the executive offices, 321 Fifth Ave.

JEWS AFTER THE WAR

Abstract of Address By

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein

I find it necessary for the purpose of this discussion of the Jew in the post-war world to divide the subject into four broad segments and to speak about the future of the Jew after the war, first in Palestine, second in those central east-European countries that have been under Nazi domination, where the Jewish communities have been utterly shattered, third in Soviet Russia, fourth in the free democratic nations of western Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

Palestinian Jewry will be destined shortly to become the second largest free Jewish community in the world. No one knows exactly how many Jews still survive in Poland where once were three million, or in Rumania where there were nearly a million. No one can tell how many men will die before this horror comes to an end, and especially when, as now seems likely, Poland may again become a battleground, perhaps also Rumania and other lands of eastern Europe.

Any opening of the gates in Palestine will add hundreds of thousands almost overnight to the 600,000 Jews who now live there. The possibilities for immigration are truly beyond prediction.

Great plans are under con-

templation which will make the waters of the rivers freely accessible for irrigation and will channel the waters of the Mediterranean down into the Dead Sea. There will be vast power projects; new industries can be developed; innumerable Jewish families can be absorbed by an agriculture so modernized, by an industry so highly developed.

We must think of the future of Palestine, not as of some backward country of the Near East, but as a Belgium or Holland on the Mediterranean, thriving from industry and commerce, resting security on the foundations of a modern self-supporting agricultural economy. Some experts say it will hold two millions; others say three of four; some even six. Clearly, Palestine represents the great, growing Jewish community of the future.

But all this is predicated on political guarantees. The increase in the Jewish population in Palestine, over half a million since 1918, the redemption of hundreds of thousands of victims of Nazi terror, were made possible only by the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. The salvation now of hundreds of thousands of others, perhaps even millions, will be possible only through the re-

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Wohlgeleuter, Rabbi S. P., Seattle.

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Silverstein, Max, New York
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Brody, Nathan H., Newark, N.J.
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David, Sigmund W., Chicago, Ill.
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Klainer, Ruben H., Chelsea, Mass.
Kopelman, Mrs. Barnett, New York
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Leivick, H. Alpern, Bronx, N. Y.

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Committee on Rescue Action



CONFERENCE RECORD

Published daily by the
American Jewish Conference

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Official notices and other material intended for publication in the CONFERENCE RECORD must be delivered to the editorial office not later than 6 P. M. preceding date of publication.

LOOKING ON

Sensation after sensation and one emotional outburst after another still characterize the proceedings of the Conference, and all in connection with utterances and not action, though the demolishing protest against the spiteful little men of the un-American Council for Mischief and Misrepresentation was in the nature of a necessary performance.

The delegates were still talking with intense enthusiasm about the overwhelming impression which was made by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver with his soul-stirring address on Monday night on the subject of the Jewish Commonwealth, when a new sensation was sprung upon them in the shape of the published manifesto of the little group of oppositionists. The delegates were again moved to depths of feeling, the emotion changing from admiration to indignation, all centering around the same cause. All those in attendance were so thoroughly wrought up and so anxious to hear the fiercest kind of denunciation, that they would have listened to a few more powerful addresses against the obscure and willful recalcitrants. This, in spite of the previous surfeit of speeches, the impatience and apparent weariness of the delegates, the commonly expressed desire to get down to business. So the overflow of addresses notwithstanding, it all depends who is speaking and what it is about, and as it was shown late Monday night when Dr. Silver unexpectedly arose to address the gathering after an exhausting day and evening of speeches.

Rabbis Heller, Gordis, Lookstein, and Wise characterized fully and emphatically the act of disloyalty that was committed by the petty oppositionists. Yet the delegates were ready to stand by and take part in a longer form of malediction.

And here an incident occurred which showed that the high authority of the chairman can sometimes be overcome. The presiding officer may be all powerful but when a delegate can grab a microphone and hold on to it against all objections, he manages to pour out whatever he has on his heart. This is what the storm-petrel, Rabbi Joseph Shubow of Boston accomplished when he launched a fierce, unofficial tirade against what Rabbi Silver termed, "Times Square."

Maximum and minimum programs of Jewish demands discussed by our spokesman at this and previous gatherings, have been stated in different terms and phraseology. There are classic formulas which have been evolved by conferences that have now become historic. But some of our modern Jews and delegates have attained a terseness and directness of up-to-date speech which, though somewhat out of place in the consideration of Jewish matters, is certainly descriptive and colloquial.

"What shall it be?" they ask.

"Shall we go the whole hog or shall we not?"

It is not the most reverent designation of a Jewish Commonwealth but it apparently serves the purpose of the urge for quick and pointed speech.

The statisticians have not as yet figured out how many presidents, treasurers and secretaries of various organizations, including many large bodies, are present at this Conference. Officers of these organizations are of course particularly busy, while taking part in the work of the Conference and also advancing the points of view and desires of their own constituents. Especially active are the secretaries, the directing geniuses of the different associations and societies, who, if they ever got together and formed a union, would become a tremendous force in Jewish life.

It is part of the business of the secretaries to make friends and create good will for their organizations. That means a terrific amount of handshaking. Thus Morris Margulies, for many years secretary of the Zionist Organization of America, and now again associated with the American Jewish Congress, was seen walking around with a lame and limp arm, as a result of hand-shaking.

"What happened to you?" someone asked him. He explained, "But this is not a Zionist convention."

"Yes," he answered, "but there are so many Zionists here."

The delegates seem to be laboring under such strain that not many striking observations are heard in the corridors. But one man from the Middle West came forward to announce that he knew when the Messiah would arrive. He was talking about the divisions of Jewry into so many parties and groups.

"The time will come," he said, "when we will have more parties than Jews. That will be the signal for the advent of the Messiah."

Just about the time when the press published the ill-famed statement of the un-American Council for mischief, which Mr. Lessing Rosenwald has adopted, a letter arrived at the Conference headquarters addressed to Mr. Rosenwald as "Chairman of the American Jewish Conference." It was of course no discredit to the writer, who apparently wanted to extend greetings to the Conference, to have mistakenly assumed that Mr. Rosenwald was in the right camp of public Jewish activities.

B. G. R.

Conference Committees

(Continued from page three)

Levine, Seymour R., Peekskill, N. Y.
Levinthal, Mrs. Louis, Philadelphia, Pa.
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Zambrowsky, Rabbi S. R., Cleveland, Ohio

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Feigenbaum, J. Leo, Syracuse, N. Y.
Fink, Rabbi Adolph, Spokane, Wash.
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Lewis, Albert S., Norfolk, Va.
Lewis, Judge Emanuel, Savannah, Ga.
Loew, Philip, Lewiston, Me.

Machinist Abraham, Manchester, N. Y.
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Schaver, Morris, Detroit, Mich.
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Wessel, H., New York
Wolberg, Samuel, Chicago, Ill.
Woldman, Mrs. Albert, Cleveland, Ohio

Postwar Problems

Adler, Rabbi Morris, Detroit, Mich.
Aronowitz, Samuel E., Albany, N. Y.
Barnett, Judge Samuel, New Bedford, Mass.
Barsell, Rabbi Solomon, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bergman, Rabbi Bernard, New York
Bernstein, Dr. Philip, Rochester, N. Y.
Bispyer, Samuel S., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Burack, Rabbi A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Cohn, Joseph, Kansas City, Mo.
Coleman, David, Los Angeles, Calif.
De Sola Pool, Dr. David, New York
Doff, Max, Cedarhurst, L. I.
Eisner, Mark, New York
Evans, E. J., Durham, N. C.
Evans, Miss Jane, N. Y. and Cincinnati
Fineman, Hayim Dr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Finkel, S., Boston, Mass.
Fishman, Jacob, New York
Fryund, Dr. Miriam, New York
Gellman, Leon, New York
Gingold, Pinchas, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ginsburg, Arnold, Phila., Pa.
Glaser, Rabbi Benedict, Detroit, Mich.
Greenberg, Dr. Simon, Phila., Pa.
Gribetz, Louis J., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hamerman, Mrs. Joseph, New York
Hoenig, Moses H., Bklyn, N. Y.
Hoffman, Rabbi Dr. J., Philadelphia, Pa.
Kaplan, Dr. Mordecai, New York
Kaufmann, E. J., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Kohn, Rabbi Jacob, Los Angeles, Calif.
Koppleman, Congressman Herman P., Hartford, Conn.
Krensky, Milton J., Chicago, Ill.
Lazansky, Judge Edward, Bklyn, N. Y.
Livingston, Sigmund, Chicago, Ill.
Lookstein, Rabbi J. H., New York
Miller, Rabbi Irving, Far Rockaway, N. Y.
Moss, Louis J., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Nierenstein, Dr. Samuel, New York
Peyser, Jefferson, San Francisco, Calif.
Prinz, Rabbi Joachim, Newark, N. J.
Redelheim, Abraham, New York
Rosengarten, Charles, Waterbury, Conn.
Sachs, Louis, New Haven, Conn.
Sanks, Dr. David, Chicago, Ill.
Sanders, Rabbi I., Little Rock, Ark.
Schlossberg, Joseph, New York

Schneiderman, Mrs. Anna C., New York
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Silverman, Mrs. Archibald, Providence, R. I.
Silverman, Rabbi Morris, Hartford, Conn.
Solow, Eugene, Dallas, Tex.
Sonnenreich, Charles, New York
Sugarman, Mark S., Coatesville, Pa.
Tennenbaum, Dr. Joseph, New York
Weingrod, Morris, Milwaukee, Wis.
Welt, Mrs. Joseph M., Detroit, Mich.
White, Rabbi Saul E., San Francisco, Calif.
Winter, Benjamin, New York
Wolsey, Dr. Louis, Philadelphia, Pa.

Credentials Committee Reports 502 Delegates

The Committee on Credentials, in a report to the Conference by its chairman, Mr. Charles P. Kramer, of New York, stated that it ratified the list of 500 delegates to the Conference certified to the Committee by the National Board of Elections and recommended the recognition of two additional delegates, Dr. S. Steinberg, as a delegate from the Montana Election Region, and Mr. Louis Jurin as a delegate from Northern California.

During the session of the Committee on Credentials, the report stated, a representative of the International Workers Order, which had been denied recognition as a national membership organization, stated that he desired to be heard on the protests of his organization and upon the petition asking for admission to the Conference. With the full acquiescence of the Committee, the chairman ruled that since the International Workers Order had already appeared before the General Committee and had agreed to abide by its decision, there was now no right of appeal from the General Committee's decision which had upheld the National Board of Election's ruling to the effect that the Order was not a national organization according to the election rules.

The Conference voted to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee.

CORRECTIONS

Our attention is drawn to the fact that one additional organization, Hahonim Labor Zionist Youth, is a participant in the American Jewish Conference. This group has participated in the local elections to the Conference as a constituent of the Labor Zionist Council for the American Jewish Conference, and one of its members, Mr. Kieve Skidell, is a delegate to the Conference from Brooklyn.

In the address of Mr. I. H. Goldberg, printed yesterday, the phrase "American Jewish Conference" was omitted from the sentence which should have read, "We are confident that American Jewry will emerge from this American Jewish Conference strengthened and united, etc."

In the alphabetical list of delegates published in No. 2 of the Conference Record the name of Dr. Simon Segal, who is a delegate from The American Federation for Polish Jews, was inadvertently omitted.

INVITATION TO DELEGATES

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America extends a cordial invitation to Conference Delegates to visit its buildings during their stay in New York. Visitors' tours may be arranged for any day except Saturday. Evening visits may be made by appointment. For appointments call Monument 2-7500 and ask for Doctor Max Arat.

CONFERENCE RECORD

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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 392 elected representatives of the Jews of America, adopted a resolution 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 in the afternoon of Thursday, October 2. Judge Louis E.

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 on the agenda, Justice Cleveland 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 in the name of 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 nation on the planet.

"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 Mizrachi. 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. Finally, 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 ad-

"We must go farther and just as that door is 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 sweat today in large measure because of the pattern set by that other terrible war in 1914 when we saw that the war is over we will see that the war is again as brutal just as the National Council of Social Concerns helped to make sure that thousands of families after the Russian program. 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.

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 portions 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. Arieh Tartakower and Rabbi Maurice L. Perle, Director of the World Jewish Congress; Mr. Carl Sherman of the American Jewish Congress; and

Dr. Nathan Sussel 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 Council

Health and Finance

...before the delegates the recommendations of the Budget Committee which recommended that the funds required for the Conference be contributed by the communities of the country on a proportional basis. In the debate that followed Mr. M. J. Slenin 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

The spirited debate continued without intermission by Mr. Spierhandler of Brooklyn who urged

Mr. Brooklyn urged the treasury of the United Jewish Appeal be asked to cover the costs. The CRA's ruled the motion out of order and then recognized Mr. Israel Kramer of Trenton, N. J., who raised a question as to the source 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)

(Continued on page two)

Closing Moments of the Conference



Chairman Munsky declares the Conference stands recessed following the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and Hattikwah.

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. Weizmann 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

Brooklyn-born Benjamin D. Friedman, 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 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. Perleweig and Dr. Leon Kubewitzki 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 action which was then unanimously adopted.

Following the adoption of the resolution Rabbi Wohlgelernter of Seattle, Washington, 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 session 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 Broock 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 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. Dypock 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 Teltz 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 co-ordination 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 Jewry 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 interests 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 Stolz
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

BNAI BRITH

Henry Monsky
David Blumberg
Frank Goldman
Sidney Kueworn

Mrs. Maurice Turner
Julius Livingston
Maurice Bisgryer

RELIGIOUS NATIONAL ORTHODOX BLOC

Gedalia Bublik
Rabbi S. Federbush
Mrs. R. J. Goldstein

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

LABOR ZIONIST BLOCK

Prof. Hayim Fineman
Dovornik Rothbard
Louis Segal

David Wertheim
Baruch Zuckerman

NON-PARTISAN GROUP

Edgar J. Kaufmann
George Fredman

Iulior Sack
Mrs. M. L. Goldman

REFORM RELIGIOUS GROUP

Rabbi Maurice Eisenrath

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 laying the stigma of "enemy alien" removed from Central European Jews new 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-

tion 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 the 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 Bisguy, Jane Evans, Lillie Schultz and Meyer W. Weisgal; Jesse B. Calmonson, Administrative Secretary; the Committee on Preliminary Studies under the chairmanship of Rabbi Milton Steinberg and Samuel Kaplan, 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. Blumenthal, 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 resolution, the Chair made several introductions of notable personalities present at the Conference, among them Professor Chaim Tchernowitz, Chief Rabbi of Yagoulaia 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 1919, was elected honorary secretary of the Conference.

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

He also presented Mr. Nathan Chaimin 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:

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



RABBI IRVING MILLER

prepare to disperse, each in his own home, his own fire-side 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 may have 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 and 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 upon nations in 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, HETZOG, 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 MICROELS, ITZIK PEFER.

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 "to instruct executive council actively fully collaborate conference and other approximate bodies overseas. Records full concurrence view expressed 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 Poles Chapter 137, ZIONIST FEDERATION OF ARGENTINE, Geanag, Dr. Rinsky.

From Spain

Barcelona, Aug. 26, 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 BRASILEIRO SAO PAULO.

From Bolivia

Lapa, Bolivia, Aug. 28, 1943.

Please send our best wishes Conference Jewry United States greatest success possible. Consider our honor 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. 26, 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 very 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 Wartes 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 Wohlgenant of Seattle, Wash., was requested 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-Polish 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 cooperation 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. Unqualified 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.

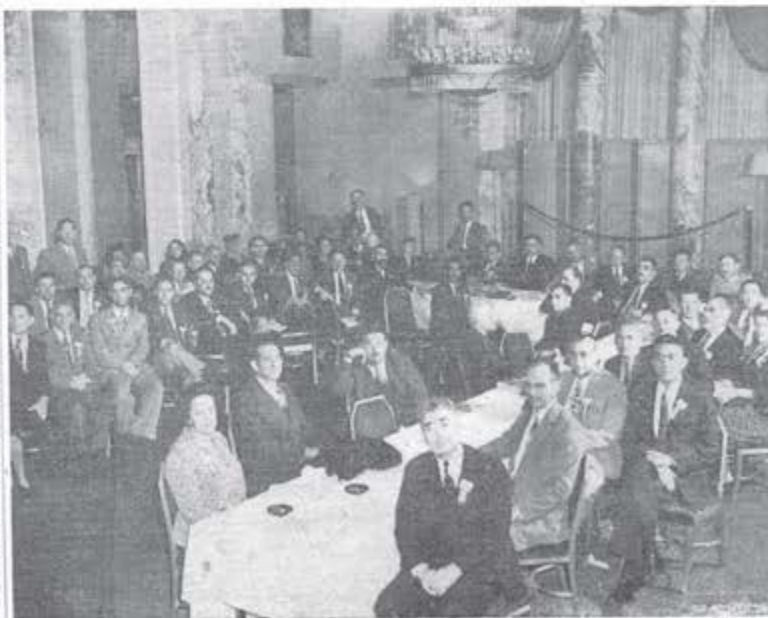
(c) Facilities should be provided for the reestablishment of Jewish religious, educational and welfare organizations.

(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 inescapable 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 the re-

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 to 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 shapers 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 all 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 communities 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 in 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.

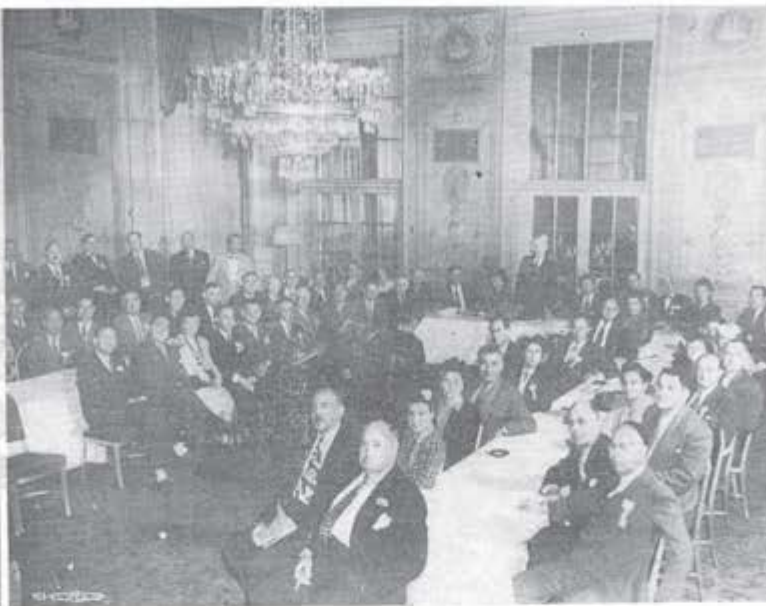
Out of this Pittsburgh conference, which adopted a proposed agenda, there grew the American Jewish Conference.

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 special gratitude to the members of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee for the organization of the American Jewish Conference: Maurice Blagyer, 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 H. Calmeson, 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.

1. 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 "ker 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 23rd 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.

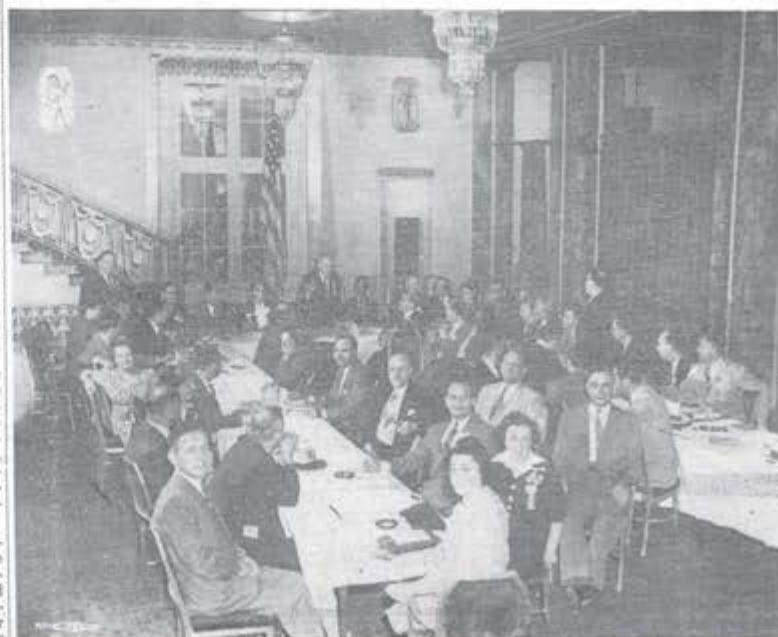
Rabbi Samuel Cooper is a member of the General Committee and not of the Resolutions Committee as reported.

William V. Sockle, 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. Bonim, 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 Drizin of Baltimore, Ohio, and Rabbi William Drizin of Savannah, Ga.; Rabbi Solomon P. Wohlgerter of Seattle, Wash., and Rabbi Max J. Wohlgerter 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.
Althuler, Oscar—Youngstown, O.
Antin, Benjamin—Bronx, N. Y.
Appel, 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.
Barrow, Dr. Moses—Minneapolis, Minn.
Barzel, Rabbi Solomon—Philadelphia, Pa.
Beck, Norman M.—Bay Shore, L. I.
Becker, Leonard S.—Dayton, O.
Bender, Mrs. Oscar G.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Bergner, 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.
Bialik, M.—Chicago, Ill.
Birnbaum, Rabbi Benj. H.—Chicago, Ill.
Bisberg, Maurice (alternate)—Washington.
Bisberg, Samuel—Brooklyn.
Bisberg, Mrs. Jules—Flushing, L. I.
Blumstein, Jacob—Baltimore, Md.
Bluch, Herbert R.—Cincinnati, O.
Bloem, Rabbi Herbert L.—Kingston, N. Y.
Blomfield, 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.
Bresler, Max—Chicago, Ill.
Brickner, Rabbi B. E.—Cleveland, O.
Broday, Nathan H.—Newark, N. J.
Brown, Frank—Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, Jacob—Kansas City, Mo.
Brown, Meyer—Bronx, N. Y.
Bublick, Gedaliah—Brooklyn.
Bunim, Irving M.—New York.
Burack, Rabbi Aaron D.—Brooklyn.
Burke, Walter—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Burshtein, Sol—New York.
Butzel, Fred M.—Detroit, Mich.
Caldman, Rudolf—New York.
Candor, Rabbi Jonah E.—Long Island City.
Candor, Judge Oscar S.—Chicago, Ill.
Chamlin, Nathan—New York.
Charlop, Rabbi J. M.—Bronx, N. Y.
Chertoff, Naomi—New York.
Chislik, Oscar—Newark, N. J.
Cohen, A. R.—Scranton, Pa.
Cohen, Rabbi Benzel—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.
Cushman, Merton—Norfolk, Va.
David, Sigmund W.—Chicago, Ill.
Delman, J. David—New York.
Deutsch, Samuel—Elyria, Ohio.
Diamond, Judge David—Buffalo, N. Y.
Dinkes, Nathan—Brooklyn.
Dobuzinsky, Jacob—Brooklyn.
Doft, Max—Cedarhurst, L. I.
Drazin, Rabbi Nathan—Baltimore, Md.
Drazin, Rabbi William—Savannah, Ga.
Droczek, Aaron—Detroit, Mich.
Dubinsky, Carl M.—St. Louis, Mo.
Daker, Samuel—Bronx, N. Y.
Ehrenreich, H.—New York.
Ehrlich, Harry M.—Springfield, Mass.
Ehrlich, Mrs. Joseph H.—Detroit, Mich.
Eisenfrath, Rabbi Maurice N.—Cincinnati, O.
Elmer, 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.
Estes, Ad—Rock Island, Ill.
Ettinger, Prof. H. J.—Austin, Tex.
Evans, E. J.—Durham, N. C.
Evans, Miss Jane—New York.
Fahrcant, Louis—New York.
Fam'lian, 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.
Fe'ler, Harry S.—New Brunswick, N. J.
Fellerman, Irving—New York.
Ferber, Sol—Philadelphia, Pa.
Fertig, M. Maldwin—Bronx.
Fineman, Dr. Hayim—Philadelphia, Pa.
Fink, Rabbi Adolph—Spokane, Wash.
Finkel, Hon. Samuel R.—New York.
Fisher, Judge Harry M.—Chicago, Ill.
Fisher, Julius—Roanoke, Va.
Fishman, Jacob—New York.
Flaasberg, Louis—New York.
Fhigel, Hyman J.—Brooklyn.
Fellman, Rabbi Jerome D.—Grand Rapids, Mich.
Fram, Rabbi Leon—Detroit, Mich.
Frankel, Charles—Ashbury Park, N. J.
Franklin, Pearl—Chicago, Ill.
Friedman, J. George—Jersey City, N. J.
Freedman, Mrs. Isidor—New York.
Freehof, Rabbi Solomon R.—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Freund, Dr. Miriam—Brooklyn.
Friedenwald, Dr. Harry—Baltimore, Md.
Friedman, Benjamin—Philadelphia, Pa.
Friedman, Samuel—Akron, O.
Frisch, Dan'el—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.
Gertler, Charles—Brooklyn.
Gigler, Louis L.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Gingold, Miriam—Chicago, Ill.
Gingold, Philip—Brooklyn.
Ginsburg, Arnold R.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Ginsburg, El'as—Brooklyn.
Gladstone, Dr. Arthur—Burlington, Va.
Glantz, Leib—Los Angeles, Cal.
Glazier, Dr. B. Benedict—Detroit, Mich.
Gold, Rabbi Wolf—New York.
Goldberg, I. H.—New York.
Goldberg, Judge Lewis—Brooklyn, Mass.
Goldstein, Jacob C.—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 R.—St. Louis, Mo.
Goodman, Joseph—Troy, N. Y.
Gorka, Dr. Robert—Rockaway Park, L. I.
Gorden, Rabbi Julius—St. Louis, Mo.
Gottlieb, Harry N.—Chicago, Ill.
Greenbaum, Nathaniel—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.
Guskin, R.—New York.
Guthman, Rabbi Sidney S.—Chelsea, Mass.
Haber, Philmore—Cleveland, O.
Ha'bert, Joseph—Atlantic City, N. J.
Halpern, Rabbi Harry—Brooklyn.
Halprin, Mrs. S. W.—New York.
Hammerman, Mrs. Joseph—New York.
Ham'lin, Isaac—New York.
Hans, Michael—Pittsfield, 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 L.—Bronx.
Hers'el, S. L.—Shreveport, La.
Hornig, Moses H.—Brooklyn.
Hoffman, Abraham—Philadelphia, Pa.
Hoffman, Herman—New York.
Hoffman, Rabbi Jacob—New York.
Hoffman, Jacob B.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Horowitz, Mrs. Joseph—Brooklyn.
Horwitz, Aaron B.—Duluth, Minn.
Isaacs, Mrs. Elizabeth—Yonkers, N. Y.
Isaacs, Mrs. Edward—New York.
Jacobson, Reuben—Canton, O.
Jick, Morris—St. Louis, Mo.
Jolt, Rabbi Harry—Lincoln, Neb.
Juren, Louis—Northern California.
Kagan, Isadore—Boston, Mass.
Kahsky, Samuel—Boston, Mass.
Kaplan, Gustav—Harrisburg, Pa.
Kaplan, Dr. Louis L.—Baltimore, Md.
Kaplan, Prof. Mordecai M.—New York.
Katz, Mrs. David (alternate)—New York.
Kaufman, Benjamin—New York.
Kaufmann, E. L.—Washington, D. C.
Kaufman, Mrs. Louis—Cleveland, O.
Kaufmann, Edgar J.—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Kaufmann, Mrs. Karl J.—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Kaurar, Rabbi C. T.—Denver, Colo.
Kirshblum, Rabbi Max—New York.
Kleiner, Ruben H.—Chelsea, Mass.
Klavan, Rabbi Joshua—Washington, D. C.
Klein, Rabbi Max D.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Koenigsberg, Benjamin—New York.
Kohn, Rabbi Jacob—Los Angeles, Cal.
Konoitz, Mordecai—Jamaica, L. I.
Kopelman, Mrs. Earnest E.—New York.
Kopplemann, Herman P.—Hartford, Conn.
Kopstein, Max A.—Chicago, Ill.
Kraditor, Mrs. Henrietta L.—Brooklyn.
Kramer, Charles P.—New York.
Kramer, Israel—Trenton, N. J.
Kranitz, Louis—St. Joseph, Mo.
Kratzke, Samuel E.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Krensky, Milton J.—Chicago, Ill.
Kroll, Mrs. Mortimer—Cedarhurst, L. I.
Krumbein, Abraham—Brooklyn.
Kusky, Sarah (alternate)—Newark, N. J.
Kutz, Milton—Wilmington, Del.
Kusurum, Sidney G.—Dayton, O.
Laderman, Rabbi Manu—Denver, Colo.
Landes, David S.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Lashkowitz, Hon. Harry—Fargo, N. D.
Latansky, Judge Edward—Brooklyn.
Lazarus, Fred, Jr.—Columbus, O.
Leichtman, Jacob—New York.
Leivick, Halpern—Bronx.
Levi, Benjamin George—Boston, Mass.
Levine, Dr. Harris J.—Bronx.
Levine, Harry—Lynnminster, Mass.
Levine, Seymour—Peekskill, N. Y.
Levinthal, Rabbi Israel H.—Brooklyn.
Levinthal, Judge Louis E.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Levinthal, Mrs. Louis E.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Levitsky, Dr. Louis M.—Newark, N. J.
Levitt, El'as—Des Moines, Ia.
Levy, Dr. Felix (alternate)—Chicago, Ill.
Levy, Mrs. Felix A.—Chicago, Ill.
Levy, Max—Fort Richmond, S. I.
Lewis, Judge Emanuel—Savannah, Ga.
Lewis, Mrs. M. J.—Philadelphia, Pa.
Lichter, Rabbi E. A.—Pittsburgh, Pa.
Lieberman, Rabbi Joshua L.—Brookline, Mass.
Lipsky, Louis—New York.
Livingston, Julius—Tulsa, Okla.
Livingston, Max—New Haven, Conn.
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Group of Delegates from New England



1943

GENERAL BULLETIN

For Member Agencies

No. G - 9

REPORT ON AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

September 9, 1943

Report on American Jewish Conference

Held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York
August 29 - September 2, 1943

After five days of meetings, and after adopting resolutions on rescue of Jews in Axis dominated countries, relief and rehabilitation of European Jewry, the post-war status of Jews, and Jewish rights in Palestine, the American Jewish Conference recessed on September 2, to be convened again within the next twelve month period. The implementation of the action taken had been left to an Interim Committee and such sub-committees as it may designate.

Participation

Five hundred and two delegates participated in the Conference. Three hundred and seventy-nine had been chosen in local elections in 80 cities and 56 regions; the other 123 delegates had been designated by 65 national organizations.

The report of the Elections Committee showed 23,432 ballots cast in cities where more than one candidate was nominated. In 22 other cities and regions delegates had been chosen unanimously without the use of ballots. 8,437 groups participated in the local elections.

In explaining why special machinery had been set up for local participation in the Conference, the Committee stated that "Most of the community councils could not be used for this purpose, either because they were not all-inclusive or their programs would not allow for their diversion to this special task." (Many Jewish Community Councils actually did conduct the local elections.*)

* See CJFWF Bulletin G-8, August 18, 1943.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
NATIONAL OFFICE: 165 WEST 46th STREET · NEW YORK CITY

The national organizations which sent delegates directly were the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, American Federation of Polish Jews, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress and its Women's Division, B'nai B'rith and its Women's Supreme Council, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations, Free Sons of Israel, Habonim Labor Zionist Youth, Hadassah, Hapoel Hamizrachi of America, Hashomer Hatzair, Histadruth Ivrit, Independent Order B'rith Abraham, Independent Order B'rith Sholom of Baltimore, Independent Order B'rith Sholom of Philadelphia, Jewish Educational Organizations, Jewish Labor Committee and Affiliates, Jewish National Workers Alliance, Jewish War Veterans and Auxiliary, Jewish Writers and Journalists, League for Labor Palestine, Mizrachi (Men's and Women's Organizations), National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Young Israel, National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs of the United Synagogue of America, National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Women's League of United Synagogue, Order Sons of Zion, Pioneer Women's Organization, Poale Zion, Progressive Order of the West, Rabbinical Assembly of America, Rabbinical Council of America, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations and Women's Branch, Union of Sephardic Congregations, United Galician Jews of America, United Roumanian Jews of America, United Synagogue of America, Youth Organizations, Zionist Organization of America. Important Jewish organizations such as the National Jewish Welfare Board, our Council, and American Jewish agencies engaged in overseas programs of relief and rehabilitation such as the JDC, ORT, HIAS and others were not invited. Left wing Jewish groups such as the Jewish Section of the International Workers' Order were also excluded. The Revisionist and Agudah groups refused to participate.

An analysis of the delegates showed: Average age 49, with an age range of 21 to 78; 27 percent lawyers; 20 percent rabbis; 16 percent business and trade; 13 percent women. Others included journalists, professors and teachers, doctors, dentists and trade unionists. One federation executive, Harry Sapper of Oakland, was an official local delegate.

In addition to the participants, official delegations were in attendance from Canada, Columbia, Argentina, Chile and Mexico.

Organization

The basic organization of the Conference, in accordance with the rules of procedure adopted at the opening session, was in groups or blocs of ten or more delegates. Each delegate could register as a member of only one bloc. An alternative proposal that the delegates be divided into committees of 70 without regard to ideological groupings and only in accordance with their own interests in the work of the respective committees, was defeated by the Conference. In proposing the bloc organization plan, the committee which had planned the procedure stated that the objective was 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."

The blocs established were: B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, General Zionist, Labor Zionist, National Religious, Reform, Conservative, and non-affiliated or independent group. The fact that a considerable number of the delegates had affiliations with several of the constituted blocs was cited in opposition to the formation of these "blocs".

Eight functional committees were set up and operated throughout the Conference to discuss the various phases of the Conference's program and to handle the mechanics of the Conference's operation. Each committee was composed of persons selected by the various blocs, on the basis of one representative for every eight members of the bloc or major fraction thereof.

The committees were:

1. General Committee - for the "guidance of the interests of the Conference as a whole"; to coordinate reports of various committees; to serve as a committee on rules; with members not to be members of more than one other committee. Its chairman was Louis Lipsky.
2. Committee to Draft Resolutions on Implementation of the Rights of the Jewish People with Respect to Palestine. Rabbi A. H. Silver, chairman.
3. Committee to Draft Resolutions on the Rights and Status of Jews In a Post-War World. Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman.
4. Committee on the Rescue of Jews in Europe. Louis Fabricant, chairman.
5. Committee on General Resolutions. Mortimer May, chairman.
6. Committee on Organization. Judge Meier Steinbrink, chairman.
7. Committee on Budget and Finance. Judge Emanuel Lewis, chairman.
8. Committee on Credentials. Charles P. Kramer, chairman.

Only resolutions which were submitted through these committees and considered by them could be presented to the Conference for action. Resolutions rejected by any committee could be reported out for Conference consideration at the request of ten members of the committee.

The Conference elected a praesidium of 14 persons. Ten of the 14 were chosen by the various blocs on the basis of one for every 50 members. The other four were nominated by the General Committee. The members of the praesidium were Henry Monsky, president of B'nai B'rith; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress; Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, president of American Jewish Committee; Adolph Held, chairman of Jewish Labor Committee; Judge Louis Levinthal, president of Zionist Organization of America; Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Jewish National Fund of America; Carl Sherman, chairman of the Executive Committee, American Jewish Congress; Herman Hoffman, Grand Master of the Independent Order B'rith Abraham; Mrs. David de Sola Pool, president of Hadassah; Edgar Kaufmann, president of the General Jewish Council; Leon Gelman, president of Mizrachi; Hayim Greenberg, editor of Jewish Frontier; Adolph Rosenberg, president of Union of American Hebrew Congregations; and Louis J. Moss, president of United Synagogues of America.

Information to Delegates

Prior to the Conference each delegate had received from the Conference office several publications prepared by various national organizations on the problems to be considered by the Conference. Delegates also received "A Survey of Facts and Opinions on Problems of Post-War Jewry in Europe and Palestine", prepared by a special committee of the Conference headed by Rabbi Milton Steinberg. This 143 page document included an analysis of problems to be considered by the Conference, including statements and program proposals made by various organizations.

Program

In general, the delegates of the Conference were occupied with general sessions every afternoon and evening and devoted mornings and odd periods between and after general sessions to committee meetings.

Action

1. PALESTINE - The Committee on Palestine considered three resolutions, introduced by the Zionist, Reform (Religious) and Non-Partisan blocs. It reported that it had integrated the three and that the resolution presented to the Conference had been adopted by the Committee with two dissenting votes in its membership of 65. The resolution was adopted by the Conference with few opposing votes.

After a preamble calling attention to the undivided loyalty of the Conference delegates to America, the resolution stated that in the First World War "the civilized nations had pointed to a solution of the Jewish problem through the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine... expressed in the Balfour Declaration issued by the British Government, after consultation between the Allies and Associated Powers... and in the Mandate for Palestine accorded to Great Britain in 1922 with the consent of the 51 member nations of the League of Nations and with the unanimous approval of the Congress of the United States"; called attention to the 25 years of Jewish achievement in Palestine, shared by Arabs as well as Jews, and to the contribution of Palestine Jews to the War effort of the United Nations; pointed to "the general deterioration of world order and international morality" during that period, with Jews the chief victims; and called for "the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine whose intent and underlying purpose, based on the 'historical connection of the Jewish people in Palestine' was to reconstitute Palestine as The Jewish Commonwealth"; demanded the "immediate withdrawal in its entirety of the Palestine White Paper of May 1939 with its unwarranted restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement... as a violation of the rights... under the Mandate... characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill as 'a breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration'" with neither its legality nor moral validity recognized by the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations; demanded that the gates of Palestine be opened to immigration under the regulation of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

The resolution further pledged the Jewish people 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"; pledged the "inviolability of the holy places of the various religions" to be guaranteed; reaffirmed the readiness of the Jewish people to cooperate with Arabs in Palestine and welcomed "the economic and political development of the Arab peoples of the Near East". The statement concluded with the belief that the establishment of The Jewish Commonwealth would "represent another fundamental contribution to the social and political ideals of the world", and would "finally answer the agonized cry of the most martyred of people, and enable it to

take its rightful place in that progressive order of mankind which, we pray, may issue from the present struggle."

Representatives of the Council of Jewish Women stated that they could not vote on the resolution because their membership "had not studied Zionist problems". The Jewish Labor Committee endorsed the plea for full immigration and abrogation of the White Paper, but took no position with regard to the future political status of Palestine because their membership was divided on this question. The American Jewish Committee's representatives likewise endorsed full immigration into Palestine and abrogation of the White Paper. On the question of establishing a Jewish Commonwealth, however, the representatives of the American Jewish Committee had urged that consideration of this question be deferred, believing that action at the present time might "carry with it embarrassment to the Governments of the United Nations, and is calculated to jeopardize the status of Jews and even prejudice the fullest development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine itself." The Committee took the same view with regard to "vesting in Jewish authority the full power to regulate and direct immigration to Palestine". It sought "continuance of an international trusteeship to safeguard the Jewish settlement in Palestine and the fundamental rights of its inhabitants to prepare the country to become within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing Commonwealth under a constitution and a bill of rights that would protect the basic rights of all." The Committee statement called attention to the "right of any participating organization to dissent from and, so dissenting, not to be bound by the conclusions of the Conference": In accordance with this provision, the three national representatives of the American Jewish Committee voted against the resolution.

Proponents of the resolution, on the other hand, argued that the call for a Jewish Commonwealth did not represent a new demand, but that on the contrary, the Jewish delegation to the Peace Conference following the First World War had been instructed to seek a Jewish Commonwealth, and that this interpretation of the Jewish Homeland had been voiced by David Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, President Woodrow Wilson, Winston Churchill and others.

2. AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM. Conference delegates were greatly disturbed over the publication of a Statement of Principles by the American Council for Judaism on August 31, opposing the "effort to establish a Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else", and adopted a vigorous resolution condemning the timing of the statement "as unsportsmanlike and reprehensibly impertinent".

3. RELIEF. The Conference urged the United Nations relief and rehabilitation agencies to give earnest attention to the special needs of Jews in war stricken areas because of the systematic starvation, forced labor, continuous deportations, compulsory segregation, appalling housing conditions, withholding of medical care from Jews and closing of Jewish hospitals in Axis Europe; called for the liberation of Jews from ghettos, reservations and concentration areas, with observance of the ritual requirements of Jews; and called upon them to feed, clothe, shelter and prevent the further spread of disease and epidemics, care for orphans, reunite scattered families, aid deportees in repatriation and emigration, and to deal with the Jewish population in a spirit of equity and urgency.

4. RESCUE. Expressing the concern that four months after the Bermuda Conference and eight months after the United Nations Declaration denouncing Jewish persecution "the Democracies have as yet failed to institute sustained and vigorous action to rescue those who may yet be saved", the Conference called for -

- a. A sound warning by the democracies that all who take part in crimes against the Jews will be brought to justice.
- b. Immediate constitution of the Allied Commission on War Crimes which was promised a year ago.
- c. The right of temporary asylum for all surviving Jews who can escape to the territory of any of the United Nations.
- d. The right of any Jewish refugee who can reach Palestine to establish permanent homes there.
- e. Encouragement to neutral countries bordering on Axis territory to give shelter to refugees, especially children, through financial help and additional supplies to those countries, and by appropriate guarantees of the ultimate disposal of refugees.
- f. Establishment of an inter-governmental agency to work with Jewish organizations in expanding a program of rescue through underground channels.
- g. Evacuation of thousands of children and their escorts from Axis countries to Palestine, taking note that certificates for them have been made available by the British Government.

The Conference also issued a statement to Jews in the ghettos of Europe, expressing the pride of American Jewry in the resistance of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto and assuring the enslaved Jews that their day of liberation is near.

In its program of relief and rescue, the Conference pledged itself to seek the cooperation of all agencies now active in such work.

5. TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE. Because the Jews had been singled out for extermination, the Conference urged the United Nations to give special attention to the problems created by these conditions and asked that the following steps be taken:

- a. Immediate abrogation with retroactive effect of all measures discriminating on racial, religious, or political grounds against any section of the Jewish population, including all acts of denaturalization.
- b. 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.
- c. Recognition of the right to indemnification for all those who have suffered loss of property and/or livelihood as the result of discriminatory measures, including the loss of communal property by Jewish organizations, such indemnification to be a charge on public funds.

- d. Detention of persons charged with crimes against international law and humanity, such crimes to be understood to include all acts committed by Nazis and their followers, designed to despoil, degrade and destroy civilian population 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.

6. REHABILITATION. The Conference agreed that -

- a. Jews who want to return to their former occupations should be given an opportunity to do so and that economic retraining should be provided for others.
- b. Facilities should be provided for reestablishing Jewish religious, communal, educational and welfare organization.
- c. The rights of Jews to emigrate to Palestine and to take their possessions with them should be recognized.

7. POST WAR. Expressing the "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", the Conference asked that its provisions should embody:

- a. Full and complete protection of life and liberty for all inhabitants of all countries without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.
- b. Unequivocal equality of rights, in law and in fact, for all the citizens of every country.
- c. The inalienable rights of all religious, ethnic, and cultural groups to maintain and foster their respective group identity on the basis of equality.
- d. Anti-Semitism as an instrument of internal and international policy should be specifically outlawed through international conventions and national legislation, and adequate machinery to safeguard these objectives should be established.
- e. The United Nations should recognize representation of Jews on agencies for relief, resettlement and other post-war reconstruction.

Domestic Affairs

The Conference did not consider any questions involving Jewish activity in America. A suggestion that it consider unity of civic-protective work, proposed by some of the delegates, did not get to the floor of the Conference. Proposals for changing the organization of overseas relief programs were also rejected in Committee.

Budget and Finance

The Conference voted to have local and regional Jewish communities finance the continuing activity of the Conference, through existing central instrumentalities or through such other means as each community might select, with each community bearing a share of the cost in proportion to its population. The Conference rejected a proposal that the cost be borne by funds taken from the United Jewish Appeal. There was no knowledge as to what these costs were likely to be.

Permanence

The Conference took no action on making itself a permanent organization, although the Labor Zionist bloc expressed a desire for such permanency. Instead, it recessed the Conference to be reconvened within a period of not more than twelve months. A recommendation by the General Committee that the next session could be delayed beyond twelve months if the matter were submitted to the delegates and the postponement were approved by a 2/3 majority in a mail vote, was defeated by the Conference.

The Interim Committee chosen to implement the action of the Conference until the next session is composed of one representative for each 50 members or major fraction thereof of each bloc, with eight additional persons to be chosen at large by this group.

Reactions to Conference

Leaders of member agencies of the CJFWF in 15 cities met informally on Thursday morning, September 2, to exchange views concerning the Conference. Among the expressions at this meeting were the following:

1. It was important that delegates report back to their communities on the activities and decisions of the Conference. In several cities with Jewish community councils, it was planned to have reports made to these bodies or to community meetings called by the councils. It was recognized that these reports could serve as educational instruments and that in at least one city the delegate had offered to meet with individual organizations to make possible a more intimate discussion than could take place in a large community gathering.

2. It was suggested that reports on the Conference be given at regional conferences of the CJFWF, possibly by leaders of those regional organizations who were delegates.

3. There appeared to be general agreement among the group that the cumulative voting system had been unsatisfactory. Where this had led to local dissatisfaction with the delegations chosen, it would affect the post-Conference prestige and activities of the delegates.

4. The shortcomings in the representative character of the Conference were also noted. Several delegates stated that the Conference was not democratic due to the division into "blocs" and the consequent restrictions on individual participation.

5. There was unanimous agreement that the discussions in the Palestine Committee had been on a high plane. More than 40 of the 65 Committee members had participated actively in the discussion, and regret was expressed that the entire Conference could not have benefitted from the Committee's discussions.

6. There was some feeling that a clarification of points of agreement and disagreement with regard to Palestine would clear the atmosphere locally and would serve as an impetus to greater cooperation between Zionists and non-Zionists in the various communities.

7. The Conference would accelerate interest in community organization, and especially of community councils, in some cities.

8. The belief was also expressed that some of the interest and information developed at the Conference could be utilized for constructive local campaign activity.

9. It was suggested that the CJFWE continue to keep its member agencies informed of developments with regard to the Conference through periodic bulletins.

WRHS



C O P Y

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 Fourth Avenue
New York, 16, N. Y.

October 27, 1943

The American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Attention of Interim Committee

Gentlemen:

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the
American Jewish Committee held on October 24, I was directed
to send you the attached communication.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Joseph M. Proskauer
President

JMP
Enc.

C O P Y

The American Jewish Committee associated itself with the American Jewish Conference in the hope that through meetings of representatives of Jewish organizations and communities in a consultative body, an endeavor might be made to achieve a program for unity of action with respect to Jewish problems in the post-war world.

The American Jewish Committee has at all times taken the position that the American Jewish Conference should be exactly what the name implies, - a conference, that is to say, a deliberative body, fairly representative of a cross-section of American Jewry, and that it should not be an authoritative or permanent body superimposed upon the structure of Jewish life in America. Consequently the Committee entered the Conference on two conditions: (1) the character and accordingly the name of the project should be changed from "Assembly" to "Conference"; and (2) the right of any participating organization to dissent from and, so dissenting, not to be bound by the conclusions of the Conference, should be recognized. These two conditions were accepted.

As the election machinery developed, it became evident that the inclusion of overlapping organizations, on the one hand, and the exclusion of large local and national agencies, on the other, would necessarily result in a gathering in which significant segments of the Jewish population would have virtually no voice. Prior to the actual meeting of the Conference, we called the attention of its Executive Committee to this situation. Our protest pointed out that the organizations excluded "constituted the backbone of a substantial part of every Jewish community and that to exclude them is to confine membership in the Conference to restricted groups in the community."

Nevertheless we still deemed it our duty to confer. We continued association with the Conference in the hope that by mutual exchange of views there might be consideration for a unified course of conduct with respect to the problems within the scope of the Conference. However, to a large extent the delegates, though elected as community representatives, came to the Conference with voting instructions, and a large number of delegates felt that their action was determined by virtue of decisions made by official Zionist bodies. Hence, to our deep regret, there was no adequate opportunity for an exchange of views and the character of the meeting as a Conference was essentially destroyed. Indeed, some organizations which had both Zionist and non-Zionist members felt obliged to refrain from voting.

The resolutions with respect to Palestine were thus adopted without opportunity to effect a possible adjustment between ultimate political Zionist aspirations and the position held by a vast number of Jews not affiliated with official Zionist bodies. These resolutions were, in our judgment, not in the best interests of Jews throughout the world, including Palestine. Therefore, we had no alternative but to dissent.

In its Statement of Views adopted last January, the American Jewish Committee set forth its principles and program. In that statement we pledged ourselves with all Americans to the winning of the war and the achievement for the whole world of the Four Freedoms and the blessings of the Atlantic Charter. We urged upon the United Nations relief from the havoc and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on millions of human beings, especially Jews, their repatriation, rehabilitation and the complete restoration and safeguarding of their equal civil and religious rights; the implementation of a program under international supervision that shall facilitate voluntary settlement of refugees in other countries; reaffirmation of the principle that Jewish citizens of every land shall be guaranteed the right of complete equality. The acceptance of these principles and the realization of these measures continue to be of first importance.

We join with all our fellow Jews in proud recognition of the achievements of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine where there has been built up a flourishing economic life and a satisfying spiritual and cultural life. These achievements have been the result of the work not only of Zionists but also of non-Zionists. Leaders of the American Jewish Committee were in the forefront of the efforts which culminated in the enlargement of the Jewish agency, and the American Jewish Committee joined with Zionist organizations in protests against policies which appeared calculated to place obstacles in the way of the progress of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine. Non-Zionists as well as Zionists helped establish the Hebrew University, promoted substantial cultural, religious and economic activities in Palestine, and contributed generously to the support of the efforts to establish the Jewish Settlement in Palestine on a firm foundation.

But despite the recognized achievements of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine, it cannot, in the light of the realities of Jewish life in the world, alone furnish the solution of the problem of post-war Jewish rehabilitation.

In our Statement of Views we recognized the wide divergence of opinion with respect to the future government of Palestine, and we emphasized that under the existing conditions in Palestine and in the world there should be no preconceived formula at this time as to the permanent political structure which should obtain there.

We affirmed and reaffirm that whatever government be established ultimately in Palestine, there can be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with such government.

This must be emphasized and we deem it our duty to preserve a position free and untrammelled to urge this view.

In accordance with our Statement of Views we approve for the present for Palestine an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations for the following purposes: To safeguard the Jewish Settlement in, and Jewish immigration into, Palestine, and to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country; to safeguard and protect the fundamental rights of all inhabitants; to safeguard and protect the holy places of all faiths; and to prepare the country to become, within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing Commonwealth under a Constitution and a Bill of Rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all.

We thus tendered an affirmative program of conduct to which we believed and still believe that Zionist and non-Zionist alike might accord support.

As opposed to this, at a time when the Jews in Palestine constitute approximately one-third of the population, the Conference made the immediate demand for the exclusive exercise by a Jewish body of the sovereign right to control immigration and for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. From such demands, clearly incapable of immediate realization, there was bound to be grave dissent. To our regret we could get no consideration for the plea for the withholding of these ultimate, divisive demands in order to concentrate upon present unity of action on matters upon which there was complete agreement -- such as the abrogation of the White Paper, which terminates immigration into Palestine.

We are profoundly convinced that in the interests of the development of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine itself, as well as the security and welfare of the Jews throughout the world, the position taken by the American Jewish Committee is sound, and that in view of international conditions it is an error to insist upon these ultimate political proposals.

We deem it vital that in the interest of Jewry it should be made clear that the assertion of such extreme demands has been unacceptable to large segments of American Jewry.

The salvation and rehabilitation of the stricken Jews of Europe cannot be achieved through Palestine alone, and certainly not by over-emphasis on the political constitution of Palestine. It can be achieved only by considering Palestine a part of the larger program which looks to the rehabilitation of Jews throughout the world and the restoration of their equal rights.

Holding these views, we do not see how, on the one hand we can in good conscience usefully continue membership in the Conference which, through its Interim Committee, is now seeking to implement the Resolutions from which we dissented, or, on the other hand, how that Committee, on which we have been asked to take our place, could function unembarrassed were we to remain as a dissenting element. Moreover, in view of the fact that the predetermined position of so many of the delegates renders impossible consideration of ideas that do not conform to that position, it is futile for us to continue what in reality can only be nominal participation. Our remaining in the Conference would give the appearance of unity of action -- but only the appearance, not the genuine unity of action that we have always hoped for. Therefore, in fairness both to the Conference and to the American Jewish Committee, and prompted by the firm belief that it is to the best interest of Jews in this and other countries, we feel impelled, to our keen disappointment, to withdraw from further participation in the Conference.

At this tragic juncture in the history of the Jews we are confronted by grave and immediate tasks. We invite the cooperation of all Jews in a program of action which we mean to continue to pursue aggressively in behalf of Jewry in America, in Europe, in Palestine and everywhere in the world where we can be helpful. Desiring as we do for the stricken Jews of Europe the broadest opportunity which Palestine can offer them, we shall exert our most diligent efforts to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper. Unhampered by intransigent political objectives, we believe we can be the more effective in this direction. So long as countless Jews continue to die day after day in Europe, we believe that all Jews should concentrate on the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration rather than on debates regarding ultimate political aspirations.

But much more than Palestine must occupy the attention of any responsible body which is vitally concerned with the total welfare of Jewry. Through the marshalling of public opinion, through representations to our government and through proper diplomatic channels, we shall continue to seek to achieve the quickest possible rescue of the Jews persecuted in Europe today and to attain for the millions who will be there tomorrow a normal life on a basis of equality with their fellow-citizens. We insist upon the right of Jews to live as equal citizens in Europe or anywhere.

We shall continue assiduously our efforts to deal with anti-Semitism in this country and to expose its true character as a miserable anti-democratic and anti-American Manifestation. By a broad educational program, by collaboration with all groups in America who recognize the divisive and demoralizing nature of anti-Semitism, we shall seek to bring about such a community of understanding between all religious and racial groups that bigotry and discrimination will be destroyed. By continuing to cooperate with those many vital Jewish institutions and movements in this country - religious, cultural, philanthropic -- we hope to help nourish and enrich Jewish life in America. In all this we shall be moved by a conviction, shared, we believe, by an overwhelming number of American Jews, that the problems of world Jewry cannot be solved by any single political panacea, but by concentrated activity toward the attainment of a secure place for Jews in all countries of the globe.

Unity of conduct in these broad areas continues to be our aim. We shall always hope for the largest measure of cooperation by our Committee with all other Jewish organizations to achieve these common objectives.

December 6, 1943

Dr. Nahum Goldmann
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Goldmann:

I hope that you have spoken to Judge Rosenman about the Committee advising him not to proceed in that direction. You have undoubtedly seen Weizmann's cable in which he says that Shertok is coming to London, and in view of this, he hopes that we will arrange for an American delegation. You have probably also seen Szold's cable about sending a successor to the late Lewin Epstein of Rechavia.

I am asking Mr. Montor to have a meeting of the Zionist Emergency Committee next Monday, December 13, a week ahead of the scheduled date in order that we may dispose of these and other matters. There will also be a meeting of the full Emergency Committee Monday night.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
for the organization of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

December 7, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th St. at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

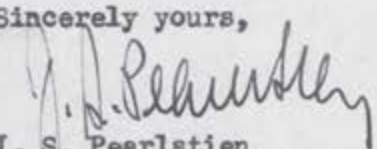
I hasten to reply to yours of December 4th. I do know that Dr. Wise has spoken to Judge Steinbrink and at the time the Judge had not reached any definite decision. I shall try to follow it through today.

The pamphlets on the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee are being given distribution. However, I regret to say that it is not receiving the wide distribution that the Statement of the American Jewish Committee received. We have no mailing list of any size available, and we will have to mail out our Statement piece-meal. So far the Statement has gone out to the delegates, to officers of Federations and Welfare Funds and to about 2,000 key persons in the country, this list having been obtained from the Emergency Council.

At this moment we are in the process of drafting the type of stationery needed for the Conference. I believe that within a week we shall have some and of course we will have separate stationery for the Palestine Commission, which we will send you.

May I remind you that you were to send me a draft of the letter to be sent out to the delegates? The first letter, on which we agreed at the meeting of the Palestine Commission, as a preliminary to the letter from the Palestine Commission, is going out within a day or two. We should be able to send out your letter at the end of the week, if I can get the draft back here by then.

Sincerely yours,


J. S. Pearlstien
Administrative Secretary

JSP:AJ

December 8, 1943

Please reply to: The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Mr. J. S. Pearlstien
Administrative Secretary
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Pearlstien:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 7.
I gave the draft of the letter to be sent out to the
delegates of the Palestine Commission to Mr. Henry Montor
with a request that he transmit it to you. If you have not
yet received it, please get in touch with him.

I appointed two committees at the last meeting of
the Palestine Committee. Have they been at work?

The last Interim Committee meeting authorized the
chairman of the conference to draft a statement in expose of the
Emergency Committee to save the Jewish People of Europe. Has
that been done?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE - POST-WAR COMMISSION

OUTLINE OF A PLAN
for the
COMMISSION ON POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION
AT FIRST MEETING, JANUARY 14, 1944

A. Fields of Activity:

1. Political (general Jewish rights in all countries;
specific guarantees in given countries)
2. Economic (equal opportunities in rehabilitation and
reconstruction; special Jewish needs)
3. Religious and Cultural (guarantee of religious rights;
opportunities of reconstituting Jewish
religious and cultural institutions)
4. Financial (aid from United Nations agencies for specific
Jewish reconstruction work; private Jewish
philanthropy)

B. Areas of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction:

1. France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway,
Italy, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia
2. Germany, Austria
3. Balkan States, Hungary, Poland
4. Middle East and North Africa

C. Problems of Rehabilitation and Reconstruction:

1. International Bill of Rights
- ascertaining the attitude toward such a bill on the part
of the United Nations governments and of general organizations.
2. Outlawing Anti-Semitism; Abrogation of all Measures of
Discrimination.
3. Specific Jewish Rights (Political Status)
- guarantees of Jewish civil rights
- formulation of policy on minority rights
4. Retribution
- formulation of policy
- obtaining information on individual responsibility for
the extermination of Jews

5. Indemnification
 - formulation of specific demands with regard to private indemnification (problem of documentation of claims, etc.)
 - formulation of policy on communal indemnification (extent of demand; how funds will be used)
6. Right of domicile, Repatriation, Emigration
 - formulation of policy on the basis of whatever information is now available.
 - present situation in neutral and Allied countries.
7. Reunion of families, Relief, Re-establishment in former occupation, Retraining
 - political and legal problems involved; formulation of policies
8. Re-establishment of Jewish religious, cultural, educational and welfare institutions
 - policy on procedure and necessary assistance
9. Financing, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction
 - policy on general and specifically Jewish needs
 - designation of sphere of Jewish relief agencies in the total program
 - policy on demanding financial aid from United Nations agencies for specifically Jewish needs.
10. Jewish Representatives on United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agencies
 - policy with regard to such representation (on what agencies, and who is to be represented)

D. Functions

1. Preparation of material (studies, plans, memoranda, etc.)
2. Contacts with authoritative agencies (official and unofficial) preparing for post war reconstruction (AIG, UNRRA, Commission on Retribution, peace planning organizations, etc.)
3. Representations to governments
4. Coordination and cooperation with other Jewish organizations in this country and abroad (World Jewish Congress, Board of Deputies of British Jews, American Federation for Polish Jews, United Rumanian Jews of America, American Federation of Jews from Central Europe, etc.)

March 1, 1944

MEMORANDUM

Submitted by the Commission on Rescue
of the
American Jewish Conference
to the
WAR REFUGEE BOARD

As we now approach the problem of rescuing the remaining Jews of Europe, we are conscious of the tragic fact that millions have perished because no help has been forthcoming. The last remnants of European Jewry, once totaling 8,250,000, are awaiting their salvation, or else are doomed to destruction. At this late hour, everything humanly possible should be done to rescue those who can still be saved.

Areas of Rescue

There are five areas in which rescue work is imperative and to the best of our knowledge, possible. These are: (1) Rumania; (2) Bulgaria; (3) France, and related thereto; (4) Spain and Switzerland; and (5) Poland. Each area calls for specific measures to be applied in accordance with particular conditions which now prevail or which may develop in the near future.

Our representatives have on various occasions submitted proposals on rescue work to officials of the War Refugee Board. We now wish to submit an outline of proposals concerning the work to be done in the areas mentioned herein. In the near future, and as occasion arises, we shall present detailed memoranda on each of these areas.

Avenues of Rescue

1. RUMANIA

This area presents two different aspects of rescue, one pertaining to TRANSNISTRIA and the other to RUMANIA proper. In TRANSNISTRIA there are now 75,000 to 80,000 Jews living in most ghastly circumstances, without food, clothing or shelter and in constant threat of annihilation by the retreating Nazi military forces. Of these, some 30,000 to 35,000 (including 4,406 orphans) are Rumanian subjects; they are the surviving remnants of 180,000 Jews who had been deported to TRANSNISTRIA more than two years ago. Those Jews who are Rumanian subjects, should be immediately transferred back to Rumania proper; the others should be evacuated by way of Turkey. During this process, and before it gets under way, the Jews in TRANSNISTRIA should be given food, clothing and medical attention by the International Red Cross. (Since clothing cannot be obtained in Turkey for shipment to Rumanian territory, provision should be made for a transport of clothing from the United States, which many private organizations in this country are willing to supply.)

Two major problems concerning the transfer of Jews from Transnistria to Rumania require special consideration. It has been reported: (1) The Rumanian government has allowed the use of only ten trucks for transportation purposes. (2) The transportation fee for each person is the equivalent of third-class railroad fare. The persons to be transferred must first obtain through the Jewish Central Office in Bucharest "registration cards" at the price of 150,000 to 800,000 lei per head. Apart from this ransom money, the Jewish

Community in Rumania has been ordered under threat of deportation, to pay the arrears of the 1943 collective punitive tax (which totaled four billion lei) and part of a similar tax for the current year.

Both, the extremely limited transportation facilities and the exorbitant price that the transferees are compelled to pay for face and registration cards, render the entire undertaking exceedingly difficult.

The Rumanian government must be given to understand, through diplomatic channels, that the ransom money and the punitive taxes which it continues to extort from the Jews will be charged against Rumania's account in the day of reckoning after the Allied victory. At the same time, it should be made to realize that its assistance in accelerating the rescue of the Jewish people from Transnistria will be to Rumania's advantage after the war.

In RUMANIA proper, there are some 250,000 to 300,000 Jews (out of a pre-war total of close to one million). The exigencies of war in the Balkans may bring about complete Nazi dominance or even occupation of Rumania, in which case the Jewish population there will suffer the same fate of deportation and extermination as in other Nazi-occupied countries. It is therefore of paramount importance to evacuate the Jews from Rumania, especially the women and children. While the Rumanian government does not officially permit emigration, it is known that in practice it does not try to prevent it. The main problem there is to provide the Jews with exit and transit visas and a place of destination, or temporary asylums.

2. BULGARIA

In Bulgaria, there are now some 50,000 Jews (out of 60,000 prior to the war), almost all in concentration camps and forced labor battalions. Deportation of Jews from Bulgaria to the "death centers" in Poland started more than a year ago. The remainder is also in imminent danger of deportation, as Nazi pressure on the Bulgarian government may increase. They can be evacuated by way of Turkey, if they are provided with transit visas, and if Bulgaria can be persuaded to give them exit permits. Too many difficulties have been encountered in trying to arrange for transportation. Definite arrangements, for example, were made for the removal of 4,000 children and 500 adults to Palestine, for whom immigration certificates were available. The main obstacles were the lack of exit permits and the failure of British authorities to approve the lease of Turkish boats. In another case, the Bulgarian government had granted exit visas to a thousand Jews on condition that they leave within a certain time. A ship had been secured, but it took seven weeks for the British authorities in London to act. By that time, the exit permits had expired.

The problem of obtaining exit visas or permits, both in Bulgaria and Rumania, requires diplomatic attention. At the same time, every possible means of transportation should be made available without unnecessary delay. The International Red Cross should be provided with boats designated for rescue purposes.

3. FRANCE

In 1940, there were 300,000 Jews in France. Estimates vary as to how many of them are still there. Whatever their number is at present, it is being reduced almost daily, as deportations and executions continue unabated. Through organized and coordinated assistance from the underground, thousands can manage to escape into Switzerland and Spain. They would be admitted into the latter countries in large numbers if the refugees who are there now were evacuated, making room for others to enter.

There are in France and other parts of Europe some thousands of Sephardic Jews who are Turkish subjects. It is known that they are being rounded up by the Nazi authorities and deported to Poland. The Turkish government is in a position to claim their release from France and Poland.

Thus, the rescue of Jews from France, especially the women and children, depends on three major factors: (1) Creation of a special apparatus designed to organize all possible means of escape to be directed from neutral centers, and with the aid of underground emissaries in France. (2) Representations to the Turkish government that it consent to repatriate its Jewish subjects from France and Poland, and that it exert every pressure on the German Ambassador in Ankara to secure their immediate release. (3) Removal of refugees who are now in Spain and Switzerland to other places of asylum. This leads us to the proposals with respect to the latter two countries.

4. SWITZERLAND AND SPAIN

In SWITZERLAND, there are now some 20,000 Jewish refugees. SPAIN still holds some 2,000. While no evacuation is now possible from Switzerland, the victorious Allied Armies may soon open the gates of that country. As soon as feasible, therefore, refugees should be removed from Switzerland to make room for others. From Spain, the transfer of refugees to other places of asylum should be accelerated, without delay.

To enable these two countries to admit refugees in large numbers, the Allied Nations will have to guarantee: (1) additional food allowances required for an increased number of refugees; (2) financial support; and (3) assurances that after the war all the refugees will be repatriated to their former homes, or enabled to find permanent residence in other lands.

In connection with the evacuation and transfer of refugees, we wish to call attention to the existing strictures in the visa procedure of the United States Department of State. Under present regulations, the process of admitting alien immigrants into this country is protracted and unnecessarily complicated. More than half the total number of visas issued to refugees since 1933 were never used; apparently they arrived too late. We urge that the visa procedure be simplified to expedite the entry of such refugees who may come into this country within the limits of present immigration laws.

We also wish to point out that Palestine can take in a very large number of evacuees. Restrictions against Jewish immigration into Palestine should be eliminated, and the country opened to all Jews who may seek refuge there.

5. POLAND

The Jews in Poland are entrapped, hermetically sealed, and earmarked for a daily toll of annihilation, until none is left alive. Of the 3,000,000 Jews who remained in that country and of those deported there after the Nazi occupation, only some hundreds of thousands still survive. Optimistic reports place their number at 800,000; the more pessimistic, at 300,000.

These Jews are herded in Ghettos and concentration and labor camps where they exist under the most abject, indescribable conditions. Only those fit to work are kept alive; those who weaken or take ill are forthwith "liquidated". Their hope lies in extraordinary efforts of a political and diplomatic character. Toward that end, we wish to propose the following measures:

(1) The International Red Cross, supported by all the neutral countries, should make representations to the German government to release the Jews, especially the women and children, from Poland.

(2) These representations should be broadcast and publicized throughout the world, and particularly to the German people, through the Office of War Information and other avenues of propaganda which are at the disposal of the United Nations.

(3) Pending the evacuation of the Jews from Poland, the International Red Cross should also request the German authorities for permission to send a delegation to that country, to bring food and supervise its distribution to the Jewish population. The mere presence of the International Red Cross in Poland will have an ameliorating influence on the Jewish position there, and may stave off the death sentence of thousands of people.

(4) The neutral countries, as well as countries bordering on Poland, should be urged and induced to cooperate, especially by providing transit visas.

(5) The general population should be encouraged to aid the Jews who are in hiding. Appeals to that effect should be dropped frequently from airplanes. Financial and other assistance should be given to these Jews through underground channels. Those who may reach the southern borders of Poland should be aided through the underground to escape into Hungary, and the Hungarian people and government should be encouraged to give them every possible assistance.

(6) The lead taken by the United States War Refugee Board in all these measures will have a most salutary influence on all concerned.

Renewal of Warnings

As a primary step in the rescue process, every pressure must be brought to bear on the German government, compelling it to cease the extermination of Jews in its occupied territories. Now that the Allied Nations near victory, their warning to Germany will no doubt have greater effect. It is important that such warning be issued repeatedly not only to the German government, but also to the German people, making it clear that the instigators, accomplices and agents of crimes committed against Jews and other people will be brought to justice.

It has been reported that the Nazi propaganda machine is giving assurances to the people of Europe that the Allied Nations do not care about the Jews in German occupied countries and that crimes committed against Jews will not be punished in case of Allied victory. On the other hand, it has been further reported that the German people are not fully aware of the actual barbarities carried on by the Nazi extermination squads. In issuing warnings to Germany, therefore, the Allied Nations should apprise the German people of the Jewish situation in Nazi-occupied territories in all its horrible and gruesome detail. If the stark facts are called to their attention, there is at least a possibility that decent elements among the German people may respond with sympathy and exert some pressure on their government in favor of the Jewish victims.

Two Areas of Relief

Yugoslavia

Of the 85,000 Jews in Yugoslavia at the time of occupation, only some 1,200 have remained, having been placed in a concentration camp in Croatia. Given the financial means, the International Red Cross is in a position to distribute food among them. This should be made part of the function of the rescue apparatus to be created in Switzerland.

Shanghai

Some 20,000 Jewish refugees are in Shanghai, denied the means of a livelihood or relief. There is no way of reaching them except through the International Red Cross. It should place them under its supervision and be given the authority to send them money and other relief from the United States.

Means of Rescue

Machinery

The War Refugee Board will no doubt create the necessary machinery for the various phases of rescue work which it will undertake. We offer a suggestion with respect to the utilization of certain forces now in operation. There are several private organizations, Jewish and Christian, in a position to submit names of persons who have had wide experience in the field of rescue and are presently engaged in this work in Switzerland. We respectfully recommend that the War Refugee Board, in establishing a rescue apparatus in Geneva, Switzerland, invite these persons to cooperate with the Board and to coordinate their efforts under its supervision and guidance.

Finances

The rescue work which should be undertaken at this time is of such great magnitude that it cannot possibly be financed by private philanthropic agencies. Private organizations will undoubtedly contribute to the limit of their means; but the bulk of financial requirements can be met only from government sources.

We submit that the principles governing the allocation of funds to UNRRA also apply to the War Refugee Board. Both agencies are dedicated to the salvation of human beings. In this task, one must not draw a line of demarcation between people already liberated and those yet to be freed. The salvation of those facing extermination is even more urgent; otherwise, for them rehabilitation will come too late.

We trust that the War Refugee Board will give fullest consideration to all the measures proposed herein and that its efforts in behalf of the Jews and other suffering people in Europe will meet with success.

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

DIGEST OF MINUTES OF MEETING OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Tuesday, March 21, 1944 - Biltmore Hotel, New York, N. Y.

1. Presiding: Mr. Henry Monsky.

2. Those present were: Dr. Abba Abram (alternate for Dr. Levitsky), Maurice Bisgyer, J. David Delman, Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Jane Evans, Ida Cook Farber (alternate for Mrs. Maurice Turner), Prof. Hayim Fineman, J. George Fredman, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman (alternate for Mr. Dublick), William Gerber (alternate for Frank Goldman), Mrs. Israel Goldstein (alternate for Dr. Solomon Goldman), Mrs. Samuel Goldstein, Mrs. Samuel Halprin, Mrs. Hugo Hartmann, Herman Hoffman, Charles P. Kramer, Sidney G. Kusworm, Louis P. Lipsky, Isidor Margolis (alternate for Rabbi Federbush), Rabbi Irving Miller, Henry Monsky, Mrs. David deSola Pool, Herman Z. Quittman (alternate for Harry Pine) Dvora Rothbard, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Isidor Sack, Max J. Schneider, Louis Segal, Mrs. Herman Shulman, (alternate for Mrs. Epstein), Herman Shulman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Judge Meier Steinorink, Rabbi Mordecai Stern (alternate for Rabbi William Drazin), Dr. Joseph Tennenbaum (alternate for Prof. Ettlinger), Meyer W. Weisgal, William Weiss (alternate for Dr. Nirenstein), Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, David Wertheim, Benjamin Winter, Rabbi David Wise (alternate for David Blumberg), Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Baruch Zuckerman.

Guests - Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mrs. Albert May, Bernard Postal.

3. Communications: Secretary read communication from Mr. Alfred Rosenberg, accepting membership on the Interim Committee.

4. Administrative Committee - Mr. Lipsky reporting:

(a) New Zionist Organization: It is recommended that we renew our invitation to the New Zionist Organization, giving them one place on the Interim Committee, the right to name members to the Commissions, provided that reference to "revisionists" shall be included after their name. -- Carried.

(b) War Emergency Conference of the World Jewish Congress: The Administrative Committee has decided to submit the facts regarding the War Emergency Conference to the Interim Committee for its consideration. Mr. Lipsky further stated, "It is expected that the War Emergency Conference of the World Jewish Congress will define views for what may be defined World Jewry -- Jewries outside of the United States on matters of the rehabilitation and relief of Post-war Europe and Palestine and there must be some relation established between these two organizations unless they are to be regarded as independent parallel activities that have no relation to each other." Dr. Kohanski then read a prepared statement of the facts. Dr. Goldmann then spoke at length on postwar problems and the aims and purposes of the proposed War Emergency Conference scheduled to meet in New York in May, and invited the American Jewish Conference to participate in its deliberations as observers. A sub-committee, consisting of Rabbi Eisendrath, Mrs. Hartmann and Messrs. Shulman, Lipsky, Kusworm, Zuckerman and Gellman, was appointed to give consideration to the matter during the noon hour and make a report and recommendation in the afternoon.

Following the recess, Mr. Mensky reported for the sub-committee: "The Committee discussed at some great length the whole matter of the relationship between the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress. It was considered by the Committee that there should not be and there could not be any such thing as affiliation between the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference without the decision of the Conference itself. That was not indicated at the present time, at all events. As a matter of fact, there has been considerable collaboration between the Rescue Commission at least of the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress. We have utilized a great deal of their material and there has been the closest cooperation between them and also the Post-War Commission. It was suggested by your Chairman in the discussions of the Committee that there would seem to be no logical reason why we shouldn't make the utmost use of the kind of an instrumentality that is represented by the World Jewish Congress in those fields of activity in which the American Jewish Conference has neither the machinery nor the facilities nor the ability to activate its work without any official affiliation and that, therefore, there ought to be some recognized collaboration between us, the terms of which collaboration have to be rather carefully worked out, short of affiliation, but collaboration.

"It was also suggested by your Chairman that one of the principles of that collaboration should properly be that all representation that may in the future be made in the field of activities covered by either post-war or rescue, to American governmental departments or officials, should be made through the American Jewish Conference, imposing no restrictions upon the World Jewish Congress with respect to its representations to other governmental officials, but all representations to American agencies and departments should be siphoned through the American Jewish Conference.

"The details of that agreement are something that will have to be worked out, but that is the general plan of collaboration that is now being considered and contemplated, and it is intended that the Co-Chairmen representing the American Jewish Conference and the representatives of the World Jewish Congress should get together to discuss that further. In the meantime, the Committee recommends that this Interim Committee shall consider the oral invitation extended by Dr. Goldmann on behalf of the World Jewish Congress to have the American Jewish Conference send observers to the War Emergency Conference which is to be held May 20th, and that the Co-Chairmen of the Interim Committee shall be authorized by the Interim Committee to send such observers, if in their judgment it shall be done.

"Now, that is the recommendation of the sub-committee."

It was carried.

- (c) Proposals Regarding Reorganization of Administrative Committee: Mr. Shulman presented the following recommendation of the Administrative Committee: "It was suggested that these should include (1) the authority to administer the affairs of the Conference within the limits of the decisions of the Conference in the Interim Committee, to supervise the activities of the Executives who shall be responsible to the Administrative Committee; (2) the authority to ask for regular reports of the progress made by the various Commissions, to make suggestions within the limits of such resolutions as may have been adopted by the Interim Committee as to the proper discharge of the duties delegated to them, and to coordinate the work of the Commissions; (3) each Commission shall designate one of their members to serve on the Administrative Committee."

Mr. Kramer presented a report on the same subject, of which the following is a summary of his recommendations:

- (1) As six months have elapsed since the Conference convention, it is important not only to fix a time and place for this adjourned session, but to put in motion the machinery necessary to bring together the 502 delegates constituting the Conference. The uncertainties of the next few months make it imperative that convention plans be formulated immediately.
- (2) The Executive Committee, if properly constituted with a single chairman, meeting at least once a month and with perhaps more frequent meetings of sub-committees, will accomplish the result of completing the Interim Committee's work before the next convention. Recommended also is that co-chairmen and heads of committees be designated members of such Executive Committee.
- (3) All public representations for purpose of implementing resolutions adopted by the Conference shall be made under the auspices of the Conference.
- (4) Very little, if any, contact has been retained with the delegates and the communities which elected them, excepting perhaps where such delegates are members of the Interim Committee and where fund-raising has been attempted, and where general bulletins and press releases have reached such delegates and their communities.
- (5) A Washington Committee of the Conference, properly implemented, should be set up to work out of the nation's capital. This Committee and the staff should be charged with the responsibility of furnishing information to the various commissions and of making contacts with government officials. This Committee should not control the more formal visits of delegations in behalf of the Conference -- for example, to the President or the Secretary of State -- but rather should be a working Committee.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, Mr. Kramer's recommendation that the Executive Committee become a functioning body and that the Executive Committee shall have a single chairman, or at least a single chairman in charge and responsible for the operations of the Executive Committee, was carried.

(d) The Second Session of the Conference.

Mr. Kramer moved that a Committee of Five be appointed to consider the matter of the second session of the Conference and bring in recommendations to the Interim Committee or Executive Committee, whichever meets first. Carried.

5. Cooptions - Mr. Shulman reporting (on representation from Youth Organizations)

"Recommendation 1: they shall be given one place on the Interim Committee. Youth Organizations may delegate one delegate and an alternate; both may attend meetings of the Interim Committee, but only 1 vote may be cast.

"Recommendation 2: the Secretary shall be instructed to convene a meeting of the delegates representing the Youth Organizations for the purpose of designating their delegate and alternate on the Interim Committee.

"This is substantially the same procedure that was followed in giving representation to the Youth Organizations on the pre-convention Executive Committee" - Carried.

6. Budget and Finance - Mr. Kuswern reporting:

A loan of \$10,000 was secured to meet current expenditures. Up to the present, communities have accepted quotas amounting to \$43,900 and cash remittances amounting to \$9,200 were received.

"It is encouraging, in a way, but the difficulties that we are confronted with are very discouraging. There seem to be three objections of the Welfare Fund. First, the communities claim they have not been properly represented; that their delegates were not representative delegates; that as a result of the elections, people were sent from communities who really had no standing in the communities as far as influence is concerned. Second, the alleged inactivity of the Conference has brought the tremendous amount of criticism and, in the third place, some of the communities feel that our budget, as far as their particular communities are concerned -- that is to say, the allocations that we have made -- are excessive.

"Mr. Pearlstien has visited many communities and, as Co-Chairman of the Budget Committee, I have been in close touch with him in all of his activities, and we have been meeting with resistance in some communities. Practically all of the communities take the position that I indicated at first.

"Our next difficulty has been that we started out to raise the money at a time when allocations were already made. Federations had already allotted the amounts of money that they had raised to various organizations, of which the American Jewish Conference was not one. We hope, however, that we will be able to successfully raise the amount that we have been asked to raise, although it will take us longer than we thought, and it will take a great deal more effort than we originally contemplated."

7. Rescue Commission - Rabbi Miller reporting:

(a) "Since the last meeting of the Interim Committee, there was held on January 31st in New York the National Orthodox Conference on Palestine and Rescue, to which Mr. Shulman made a full report on behalf of the Rescue Commission.

(b) "Since this Interim Committee met, the Committee headed by Justice Murphy announced its formation and, in connection with the announcement given to the press by the Justice himself, the only organization featured was the American Jewish Conference. This Committee will understand that it wasn't done accidentally. The members of this Rescue Commission had a very important part in the creation of this Committee, that is, in the creation of the Committee as an instrument, as a non-Jewish instrument, for rescue work. That aspect of the Committee's work which deals with the problem of combatting anti-Semitism was something which the members of the Committee did entirely on their own, without any consultation whatsoever with those members of the Rescue Commission who had conversations with them regarding their establishment."

(c) "The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom commissioned one of its members, Mrs. John Herman Randall, the wife of the Head of the Department of Philosophy in Columbia University, to write a pamphlet on this whole problem of rescuing Jews in Europe. Reverend Harry Emerson Fosdick wrote the foreword to that pamphlet. It was an excellently written pamphlet, a very, very moving appeal for Americans to proceed without any delay in the direction of the rescue of Jews. Mrs. Randall approached us with a request that we participate in the printing of that pamphlet to a very nominal extent, several hundred dollars, and the Rescue Commission voted to do it after Miss Evans had examined the pamphlet, and inserted the American Jewish Conference at proper places and eliminated all other references which were unnecessary."

(d) Rabbi Miller further reported on the work of the War Refugee Board and its relations with the Rescue Commission, with particular reference to the availability of public funds for the work of the War Refugee Board; a memorandum was submitted to the War Refugee Board, containing specific proposals for rescue, prepared by a special committee of the Rescue Commission.

(e) Relations with non-Conference Organizations: "You will recall that this Interim Committee authorized the Rescue Commission at the last meeting to approach other organizations and to ask them to cooperate with the Rescue Commission on a very broad and liberal basis. All we asked for was that the name of the Conference shall be maintained, otherwise the Rescue Commission was given almost what amounted to autonomy in the conduct of its affairs, and other organizations were asked to join either as observers or as full participating members in order that there be this clearance and coordination. I want to say this, Mr. Chairman, without any bitterness and without any heat: We went up against a stone wall with every other organization when we discussed this matter of affiliation -- with the Agudas Israel, with the Agudath Ha'Rabbonim, with the American Jewish Committee -- in every case there was no willingness whatsoever to join the Rescue Commission as long as the Rescue Commission maintained the name of the American Jewish Conference. They would join a Rescue Commission which would abandon the name of the American Jewish Conference and take on the name of the United Rescue Committee, or whatever it is. They were unwilling to go under the heading of the American Jewish Conference."

"The American Jewish Committee did say that they are willing to meet with us whenever we wish to and discuss any problem, but after all, that is a very loose kind of arrangement which, in effect, would be of no value whatsoever. I found, as I say, a stone wall with the Agudas Israel and the Agudath Ha'Rabbonim. I was extremely distressed to feel that these organizations were ready to abandon any thought of cooperation because they did not wish the name of the Conference attached to that work. Within the scope of the resolution adopted at the last Interim Committee meeting, your Commission, Mr. Chairman, has done everything possible to secure the affiliation of other organizations. There isn't anything more that we can do within the framework of the organization. We have no power to abandon the name of the Conference."

Mr. Shulman supplemented the report with the following: "With respect to the American Jewish Committee, as you know, I negotiated with them in an attempt to work out some arrangement whereby they would at least participate in the work of the Rescue Commission as an observer, that is, take counsel with us and agree upon a unified program of action. That matter was submitted to the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Committee. Dr. Slawson advised me of the decision which they reached. The decision was that the American Jewish Committee would be glad to meet with the American Jewish Conference for the purpose of submitting to the joint conference such proposals as emanate from the Conference or from the Committee, in an attempt to reach a common agreement of action, and in the event that there is such an agreement, to participate jointly with the Conference in making the proper representations to the government officials. There was no talk of a partnership, but it was quite obvious what they intend by that decision is that the two parties should meet on an equal basis for the purpose of agreeing upon a program of action. There is to be no affiliation between the two organizations. There is to be complete freedom of action to agree or disagree, and they will not operate, obviously, under the name of the Rescue Commission of the Conference. That decision has not been acted upon. I don't believe it could be acted upon until it was reported to this Interim Committee at this meeting, which is the meeting immediately following the communication of that decision."

Mr. Minsky recommended "that this Interim Committee should authorize a communication to be prepared by your Co-Chairmen to be sent to each of the organizations, giving them the record up to date, stating just exactly what the area of Rescue Commission is and that it has taken the place of the Emergency Council; stating the conditions that prevail in Washington and the requests that we have had that there be unification; indicating that there is no basis for any ideological conflict or difference with respect to rescue or post-war as between the agencies; inviting them, not as affiliates, but as observers without commitment on their part, to the balance of the Conference. I am now talking about a formal communication. I will tell you the reason -- and making them go on record as refusing to cooperate on the basis of that record so that when we do have our second session of the Conference, let the Joint Distribution Committee then make its explanations as to why it did not come in, and the American Jewish Committee, to the American Jewish community. That is the disposition, it seems to me, which ought to be made of this matter."

On motion of Dr. Wise, and duly seconded, this recommendation was carried.

(f) Hungary: The Co-Chairmen were authorized and directed by the Interim Committee to bring representations, as quickly as possible, to the War Refugee Board and the other interested governmental departments and agencies, with respect to the Hungarian situation.

8. Palestine Commission: Dr. Silver reported in detail on the Congressional Resolution and the steps taken by the Palestine Commission in support of it. On behalf of the Palestine Commission, Dr. Silver presented a draft of a resolution for the approval of the Interim Committee.

On motion duly made, seconded and carried, the resolution presented by the Palestine Commission was adopted and the Co-Chairmen were authorized to release it immediately.

9. Post War Commission - Miss Evans reporting:

"The Post War Commission held several meetings since the last Interim Committee meeting; it has appointed two sub-committees, one sub-committee on Political Status, headed by Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg, and a sub-committee on UNRRA, of which I happen to be the Chairman. This sub-committee recently sent a letter enclosing a questionnaire to each of the 64 national organizations in the Conference; the purpose of the questionnaire was for us to determine how many of our organizations have already made contact independently with UNRRA; how many are planning to make such contact in the future, and whether or not they are willing to make those contacts directly in connection with the American Jewish Conference rather than to take independent action.

"To date we have had only 20 replies, so there are 44 replies still due. Of the 20 replies thus far received, the overwhelming majority, at least 16 out of the 20, indicate that those 16 organizations, while seriously interested in UNRRA do desire to make their contacts in the future through the Post-War Commission and the Interim Committee.

"The remaining organizations have, several of them, indicated that they are not, because of the particular limitations of their program, interested at all in a direct contact with UNRRA, either independently of us or through us, but they won't take their own action, their program is entirely different."

10. Next Meeting of the Interim Committee. The next meeting of the Interim Committee is scheduled for May 16, 1944. The Co-Chairmen were authorized to change the date, if necessary.

J. S. Pearlstien,
Secretary

American Jewish Conference

521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-7197

INTERIM COMMITTEE

Co-Chairmen

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, New York
HENRY MONSKY, Omaha
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, New York

Confidential

I. L. KENEN
Public Relations Director

J. S. PEARLSTIEN
Administrative Secretary

May 5, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver:

Previously, we reported to you that the War Refugee Board is considering the establishment of a refugee rescue camp or free port in the United States in which refugees would be given a haven for the duration. In a statement to the Board, the Commission on Rescue of the American Jewish Conference has advocated approval and we ask your assistance in marshalling public opinion throughout the country.

We urge that you request your local Congressman to make a speech or statement approving the proposal and to forward his expression of support to President Roosevelt and to John W. Pehle, executive director of the War Refugee Board.

We also urge that you ask friendly newspapers to print editorials and that you stimulate the adoption of resolutions by organizations, these to be sent to the President and the War Refugee Board. Emphasis should be placed on non-Jewish organizations. A friendly reaction from local labor bodies would also be valuable.

We suggest that you do not ask your Congressman for the introduction of a resolution in Congress. Whether Congressional authority is to be sought at this time is a matter of policy to be determined by the War Refugee Board. What is essential is to have favorable expressions from individual Congressmen.

Should the United States establish a free port here, it would be important not only because a considerable number of refugees might find sanctuary in this country, but also because other countries would be encouraged to follow our example and would be more disposed to give refugees shelter and grant them transit.

We are enclosing reprints of editorials from the New York Post and the New York Times. Will you please send to this office copies of resolutions, statements and editorials which may be adopted or printed in your city?

Sincerely yours,



I. L. Kenen
Secretary, Commission on Rescue

ILK:s

THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

MERCHANTS BUILDING, CINCINNATI, OHIO

May 16, 1944

Mr. J. S. Pearlstien
American Jewish Conference
521 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Pearlstien:

It is my duty to transmit to you herewith a resolution adopted by the Executive Board of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods at its annual session in New York City, May 2, 1944.

Cordially yours,

(Signed)

Jane Evans
Executive Director

JE:JD

CC to: Mr. I. Kenen
Dr. A. Kohanski
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

RESOLUTION ON THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

May 2, 1944

New York City

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

Committee on Resolutions

Mrs. Aaron L. Lambie, Pittsburgh, Chairman
Mrs. C. Mason Ehrman, Portland, Oregon
Mrs. Jesse Heiman, Little Rock
Mrs. Norman Kauffmann, New Orleans
Mrs. Julius Mark, Nashville

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
Merchants Bldg, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

American JEWISH CONFERENCE

521 Fifth Avenue

Telephone MUrray Hill 2-7197

New York 17, N. Y.

INTERIM COMMITTEE

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

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DAVID BLUMBERG
GEDALIAH BUBICK
NAOMI CHERTOFF
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RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
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PROF. HYMAN J. ETTLINGER
RABBI SIMON FEDERBUSCH
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DANIEL FRISCH
FRANK GOLDMAN
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DR. LOUIS M. LEVITSKY
LOUIS LIPSKY
JULIUS LIVINGSTON
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ISIDOR SACK
LOUIS SEGAL
HON. CARL SHERMAN
HERMAN SHULMAN
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
MRS. ARCHIBALD SILVERMAN
HON. MEIER STEINBRINK
HERMANN STERN
ROBERT SZOLD
MRS. MAURICE TURNER
MRS. JOSEPH M. WELT
DAVID WERTHEIM
BENJAMIN WINTER
MRS. STEPHEN S. WISE
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

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SAMUEL ROTHSTEIN
HERMAN SHULMAN
MEYER W. WEISGAL
DAVID WERTHEIM

June 9, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
% The Temple
E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The following have accepted membership
on the committee to prepare the report of the
Palestine Commission:

Isaac Hamlin
Carl Sherman
Rabbi Wolf Gold
Jacob Alson
Judge Louis Levinthal

In addition, I called Mrs. Schoolman,
the only other member of Hadassah on the Commission,
and she tells me that she will be out of town most
of the summer. She is willing to serve, however,
if you are satisfied with that arrangement.

I have obtained a great deal of material
from the Emergency Council and from Dr. Bergson,
and have started work on the report.

Sincerely yours,

I. L. Kenen
I. L. Kenen

ILK:FSK

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

DRAFT OF LETTER TO DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Dear _____:

At a meeting of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference held in New York on November 23, 1943 the following resolution was adopted, summoning the Jewish communities of America to effective action to bring about the abrogation of the British White Paper on Palestine which is due to go into effect on March 1, 1944. The White Paper is in clear violation of the intent and purposes of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate which calls for the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference directs its Palestine Commission to undertake immediately a program for the mobilization of American public opinion against the British White Paper of 1939 on Palestine.

The Palestine Commission is authorized to set up such machinery and to take such steps as will reflect the unanimous decision of the American Jewish Conference as expressed in its Palestine Resolution, to use its utmost resources to bring about the withdrawal of the White Paper.

All delegates to the American Jewish Conference are urged in the local communities to bring about the most effective cooperation in order to achieve this result.

An Emergency Committee on Palestine has been formed in your community which will be charged with the responsibility of defending the rights of the Jews in Palestine and the interests of the Jewish National Home. If you, as a delegate to the American Jewish Conference, have not already been co-opted in the membership of this Committee, may we suggest that you make known your willingness to serve so that the benefit of your counsel may be placed at the disposal of the local Emergency Committee.

From time to time the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference will communicate with you and inform you of any future action which the Commission deems advisable to undertake.

Cordially yours,

Meier Steinbrink Abba Hillel Silver
Co-Chairmen
Palestine Commission

a j c. W

THE POSITION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
on
PALESTINE, ZIONISM, and JEWISH NATIONALISM

The "Statement of Views with respect to the Present Situation in Jewish Life" adopted by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee in December, 1942, and ratified by the General Committee at its Annual Meeting on January 31, 1943, is a formulation of the position of the Committee with regard not only to the solution of post-war Jewish problems, but also to the questions of Palestine, Zionism, and Jewish Nationalism and of the relation of Jewish citizens in the U.S. to their non-Jewish compatriots.

1. Palestine

On the question of Palestine, the Statement is a compromise between the extreme views of Zionists and anti-Zionists. It is a recognition of the realities of the situation. There is a large and thriving settlement in Palestine. This settlement has served as a refuge for a larger number of Jewish refugees from Nazi oppression than any other single country in the world. The Jews of Palestine have made great progress in the upbuilding of a country whose development had long been neglected. The ability of Palestine to absorb a large additional influx of Jews is admitted by all who have studied the resources of the country. The Statement of Views expresses the opinion that this development should be permitted to continue, that Palestine should be administered by an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations for (a) the safeguarding of the Jewish settlement in, and immigration into, Palestine, and adequate scope for its future growth and

development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country; (b) the safeguarding and protection of the fundamental rights of all inhabitants; (c) the safeguarding and protection of the holy places of all faiths; and (d) the preparation of the country to become within a reasonable time a self-governing Commonwealth, under a constitution and a bill of rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all.

This position with regard to Palestine has been found generally acceptable, except by extreme Zionists and extreme anti-Zionists. On the one hand, it endorses the demands of Zionists for an open door in Palestine for Jewish immigration, but it does not support the Zionist demand that immigration be controlled by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, or that a Jewish Commonwealth be established in Palestine immediately after the war. In respect of the latter plank of the Zionist program, the Committee's Statement recognizes "wide divergence of opinion" and expresses the view "that under existing conditions there should be no preconceived formula at this time as to the permanent political structure which shall obtain there." However, by implication, the Committee's Statement does provision the ultimate establishment of a commonwealth in Palestine, when the Jews become a majority in the population. At the same time, the Committee's Statement makes it clear that inhabitants other than Jews shall not be subjected to a subordinate civic status because it holds that such commonwealth as may be established shall be based on a constitution and a bill of rights, which, while guaranteeing the freedom of Jewish immigration and adequate scope for the future growth and development of the

Jewish settlement, yet also safeguards and protects the fundamental rights of all inhabitants and the holy places of all faiths.

2. Zionism

While in these limited respects the Committee's Statement supports the Zionist program in its practical effect and at the proper time, it nevertheless makes clear that the Committee does not endorse one of the basic principles of Zionism. It points out that, though recognizing Palestine achievements, "settlement in Palestine, although an important factor, cannot alone furnish, and should not be expected to furnish, the solution of the problem of post-war Jewish rehabilitation." Implicit in this statement is the view that the settlement of Jews in Palestine, or the establishment there eventually of a Jewish Commonwealth, is not the solution of Jewish problems, even in normal times; in other words, the Committee is of the opinion that "the preservation of the Jewish community as a spiritual force" can be achieved in the various countries in which Jews live and of which they are an integral part. Therefore, the statement asks of the United Nations and those who shall frame the terms of peace "reaffirmation of the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land, fulfilling their obligations of complete loyalty to their respective countries, shall be guaranteed the correlative right of complete equality." The Statement also calls for a continued fight against those who endeavor in any way to imperil the rights of any group of American citizens and urges that the United Nations and the framers of the terms of peace restore and safeguard the equal civil and

religious rights of all victims of Axis barbarism, and formulate and implement "a program which shall under international supervision facilitate voluntary settlement" of those victims who may desire to emigrate from countries in which they now live or formerly lived.

The position of the Committee on Palestine and on Zionism as formulated in this Statement is in line with its position throughout the Committee's history. In April, 1918, at a special meeting, the American Jewish Committee adopted a statement welcoming the issuance of the Balfour Declaration (November 1917). That statement, however, recognized that the greater number of Jews "will continue to live in the lands of whose citizenship they now form a component part, where they enjoy full civil and religious liberty, and where as loyal and patriotic citizens they will maintain and develop the principles and institutions of Judaism." The statement of the Committee then went on to point out that the conditions annexed to the Balfour Declaration were regarded by the Committee "as of essential importance." These conditions stipulated that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." The 1918 statement of the Committee concluded with a pledge of the Committee's cooperation "with those who, attracted by religious or historic associations, shall seek to establish in Palestine a center for Judaism, for the stimulation of our faith, for the pursuit and development of literature, science and art in a Jewish environment, and for the rehabilitation of the land."

In line with this pledge, the officers of the Committee

headed by Louis Marshall, its President, vigorously promoted and helped to bring about the enlargement of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which had been provided for in the Mandate, to include representative non-Zionists as well as representatives of the Zionist organizations. In cooperation with Zionist leaders, a group of non-Zionists organized a commission of experts to make a survey of Palestine to determine its capacity for immigration and development. It was in line with this pledge, as well as with the basic purpose of the Committee "to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world," that the Committee officially condemned the tri-partition of Palestine proposed in 1937 by a British Royal Commission, on the ground that the proposal violated the rights accorded to the Jews under the Mandate. In July 1939, the Committee joined with other American Jewish organizations in protesting against the British White Paper of May 1939, which aims at making the Jews in Palestine a permanent minority by drastically limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine until 1944, when it is to be entirely forbidden, and also limiting the sale to Jews of land in Palestine.

It will be seen that the Committee has been neither pro-Zionist nor anti-Zionist. As it is at present constituted, the Committee cannot take an extreme position with regard to Palestine or Zionism, because its membership and its supporters include Jews of all shades of opinion on these subjects. It was the original purpose of the organizers of the Committee that it should bring together Jews of all ideologies on the common platform of the protection of the civil and religious equality of Jews where this

was actual, and to struggle for the attainment of this equality where it had not yet been acquired.¹ It may be said, however, that while cordially supporting the fullest development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, the Committee has taken a definite position against Jewish Nationalism.

Jewish Nationalism

3. Jewish nationalism is a doctrine which holds that all the Jews in the world belong to a nation which lacks only one of the requirements for nationhood, namely, a sovereign state in a territory of its own. So long as the Jews do not have a sovereign state, they are "homeless", in "exile" (Galuth). Their tenure in the lands in which they live is temporary, because eventually they will return from their "exile" to the Jewish land. While Zionism is a movement for creating in Palestine a Jewish national home, not all Zionists base their aspirations on this nationalist philosophy. There is another view of Jewish nationalism, held chiefly by Yiddishists, that is, those who regard Yiddish as the National language of the Jewish people, which holds that the Jewish nationality is largely cultural and can be preserved in the various countries in which Jews live.

A third form of Jewish nationalism is one that is restricted in its application to countries in Eastern Europe, in which national groups are recognized. This form was given recognition by the American Jewish Committee in connection with the Peace Conference following World War I, when it endorsed the demand that in countries in which national groups are recognized and given rights as such, the Jews will be similarly recognized if they so desired.

One of the corollaries of the basic principle of Jewish nationalism is that the Jewish nation should have a central authority, as expressed by its spokesmen, an "address," to which those desiring to speak to the Jews of the world may turn. Some Jewish nationalists believe that when a Jewish state or commonwealth is established in Palestine, this will exercise authority over all the Jews of the world. This, however, is an extreme view held by a very small group of theorists. Jewish nationalists, however, appear to be agreed that being in exile the Jews should have something in the nature of a government-in-exile. In fact, the suggestion has been made publicly by some extremists that Jews should demand the recognition of a Jewish government-in-exile as one of the United Nations. The theory that the Jews of the world should have a central authority was put into practice in 1936, when, under the leadership of the American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress was established at a conference of Jewish nationalists of various countries held in Switzerland.

Another corollary of the doctrine that the Jews are a scattered nation is that the Jews of each country should have a central authority "democratically" elected. The term "democratically" is interpreted to mean, by popular vote.

The American Jewish Committee has definitely and unequivocally opposed both the doctrine and the practice of Jewish nationalism. It firmly rejects the view that Jews are in exile and that the Jews outside of Palestine are merely a reservoir or building material for the colonization of Palestine and are, therefore, living in various countries only provisionally. As pointed out

above, in connection with the Committee's 1918 statement on the Balfour Declaration, it is the Committee's view that the overwhelming majority of Jews outside of Palestine regard themselves as members of the body politic in each country in which they live; they have the same aspirations for the welfare of those countries as their fellow-nationals or fellow-citizens of non-Jewish origin. They regard their destiny as inextricably bound up with the destiny of the country in which they live. Although they feel a strong tie of a common religion, history and culture with Jews in other countries, they do not feel that they are bound by any political ties with them.

Interest in the welfare of Jews of other countries was the central purpose of the organization of the American Jewish Committee; but, while it believed in maintaining close cooperation with Jewish organizations in other countries, it steadfastly opposed an international organization of a general character. (Obviously there can be no valid objection to an international religious organization or an international Zionist body, etc.). The Committee vigorously opposed the establishment of the World Jewish Congress and carried on a campaign of education in the United States in opposition to it. In a public statement, the Committee pointed out that, as citizens of various countries, Jews could not recognize an international Jewish authority which presumed to look after their interests and would, therefore, conceivably make representations to the government of various countries on behalf of their Jewish citizens. The statement went on to say: "The Committee believes that as American citizens, Jews have the right, individually or

associated in groups, to approach the government of the United States and solicit its good offices in behalf of the betterment of the lot of oppressed Jews in other lands. The Committee does not believe, however, that it is consistent with these principles for them to associate themselves with the citizens of other countries in creating an international body which will assume or attempt to speak for the Jews of this country."

With regard to the relationship between Jews outside of Palestine and whatever government may eventually be established in that country, the Committee has made its position equally clear. Its 1918 statement, as has been pointed out, emphasizes the importance of the stipulation of the Balfour Declaration that the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine is not to prejudice the rights or the civil status enjoyed by Jews in other countries. Reference to the same point is made in the Statement of Views adopted at the Annual Meeting on January 31, 1943, in the following words: "Since we hold that in the United States, as in all other countries, Jews, like all others of their citizens, are nationals of those nations and of no other, there can be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with whatever government may there be instituted."

The Committee has also consistently opposed attempts to carry into practice in the United States the nationalist idea that the Jews of every country should create an over-all totalitarian organization to supervise and control all their activities. The Committee holds that the spirit of American institutions tolerates

voluntary religious, cultural, philanthropic, and similar organizations, but does not accept the creation or preservation of nationality blocs in the population. When, in 1914-16, Jewish nationalists launched a drive for the creation of such an over-all Jewish organization based on individual suffrage, the Committee effectively mobilized opposition to this proposal with the result that, while an American Jewish Congress was established, it was agreed in advance that the Congress was to deal exclusively with efforts to secure religious and civil equality for Jews at the then forthcoming Peace Conference, and that the Congress was to adjourn sine die when this purpose was achieved.



The American Jewish Committee holds the view that the establishment of organizations to deal systematically with Jewish community problems should be a natural process, as it has been, and that, whenever it is desirable that there should be close cooperation, this can be achieved by the establishment of associations or federations of separate organizations, established for various purposes. The Committee rejects the notion of an over-all supreme Jewish organization elected by the votes of individuals who, after casting their ballots, have no control over the action of the delegates they elected, and, in turn, cannot be held responsible for providing the means for carrying out the decisions of these delegates or even for cooperation in carrying them out. Individual suffrage is a prerogative of states which are endowed with the power to enforce their decisions on all the members of the state. The idea of a national group organized on the basis of individual suffrage is repugnant to the spirit of America.

(Sept. 1943)

STATEMENT ON "THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE
JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE"

The American Jewish Conference has received many inquiries from its constituent organizations and from individuals about the status and activities of the "Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe". This memorandum is issued in response to these inquiries.

The "Emergency Committee" is one of a series of "fronts" created in this country during the past few years for the professed purpose of solving the vast problems confronting the Jewish people as a result of Nazi persecution and the war. They have been called the "American Friends of Jewish Palestine," "The Committee for an Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews", and "The American League for a Free Palestine", (now in formation).

These several manifestations have common features which reveal their character as being substantially one and the same. There is in the main a continuity of leadership, method, purpose and result. The leaders have constantly assumed to speak for the Jewish people in this country without having, in fact, or endeavoring to secure, a mandate from any constituency. Instead of cooperating with established and recognized national Jewish agencies, they have entered into competition and sought to undermine them. They have conjured up the illusion of activity by press agency, financed by the appeals for contributions invariably accompanying their advertisements. They have sought to create the impression that they are the only bodies capable of achieving "action" and results. A consequence of their activities has been discord and confusion, resulting frequently in a disservice to the cause they have assumed to represent.

An unfortunate and regrettable aspect of this situation is that many men and women of good will, moved by humanitarian sympathy for the plight of the Jews of Europe, have been misled into believing that these committees represented Jewish needs, and have contributed to their support. What is written here is not

intended as a reflection of them. Their motives command respect and appreciation. A number of them, it should be stated, withdrew when they became aware of the facts.

First of these organizations was the "American Friends of Jewish Palestine" which functioned for a brief period prior to our entry into the war. Its leaders included persons from this country and abroad who were in conflict with constituted Jewish Leadership. Some of them were members of a small political party which refused to accept the democratic discipline of such bodies as the elected assembly of Palestine Jewry and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the official body recognized by the League of Nations to work with Great Britain in the administration of the Palestine Mandate. They flouted the Agency when it called on Jewish colonists in Palestine to exercise disciplined restraint at the time of the Arab riots.

The "American Friends of Jewish Palestine," though ostensibly organized for the implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine, seemed to have only one aim in view, namely, to establish a front against the authority of the Jewish Agency. A few well-meaning Jews were at first attracted to this organization but they soon discovered its true purpose, and withdrew from it, whereupon the organization was dissolved.

The next "action front" was the "Committee for an Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews", formed when the Nazi military machine was rolling over Europe and North Africa and approaching the gates of Palestine.

At the outbreak of war, the Jewish Agency for Palestine had offered its services to Great Britain and the Allies in the promotion of the war effort. The Jewish Agency negotiated with the British Government for the formation of a Jewish fighting force, and at the same time, mobilized the Jewish community in Palestine for war emergency needs.

The Jewish Agency maintained, from the beginning, that the Jews of Palestine had "a right to play their full part in the war effort and in the defense of their country, through a Jewish military force fighting under its own flag and under the high command of the United States."

It would have seemed proper, therefore, that all those who were interested in promoting this cause, would have lent their support to the Agency. But the group of individuals who formed the Committee for a Jewish Army in this country started a campaign of their own.

Although a Jewish Army was not formed, as a result of the negotiations initiated by the Jewish Agency, there were established separate Jewish fighting units within the British Army. As a result of its recruiting campaign, over 30,000 Palestinian Jewish men and women enlisted.

Ignoring these efforts of the Agency, the Committee for a Jewish Army carried on an unrealistic agitation in this country, publishing exaggerated statements, and purchasing expensive advertising with money furnished by the public. This created misunderstanding, and served to prejudice the position of the Agency and to mislead the American public.

* * * * *

But, when the immediate danger to Palestine faded, following the rout of Rommel, the Jewish Army Committee could not continue to command the public's attention. It abandoned the fight for an army and launched a new venture - that of saving the Jews of Europe.

More than a year ago, the governments of the United Nations officially confirmed what responsible Jewish organizations had been attempting to call to the world's attention - the indescribable horror of the Nazi campaign of extermination against the Jewish people. The need of active and concrete rescue measures by the governments of the United Nations was urgent. Jewish organizations promptly joined in formal representations to the United States government. The American Jewish Conference was not then in existence. In order to co-ordinate Jewish

rescue activity, there was created the Joint Emergency Committee for European-Jewish Affairs, including these organizations: The American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the ~~BBMM~~ Synagogue Council of America, The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America, and Agudath Israel of America. This was the most representative group which could then be assembled to deal with the problem. It drew up a program of concrete steps which might be taken to effect the rescue of Jews from Hitler; it submitted this program to government leaders and later to the Bermuda Conference; to its support it rallied the Jewish people in a series of mass demonstrations in all parts of the country and it continued persistently to press for its program.

Notwithstanding the existence of this all-inclusive agency, prepared to do all that was reasonably possible to save the Jews of Europe, the Army Committee began to engage in sporadic and sensational competitive activities.

In a full page display advertisement on February 16, 1943, the Committee published an appeal for funds to help promote "an intensive campaign to arouse the conscience of humanity and to demand that something be done now, while there is still time, to save the remaining Jews of Europe." They dramatized their appeal with such slogans as, "For Sale to Humanity - 70,000 Jews, Guaranteed Human Beings at \$50 a Piece ... Roumania will now give Jews away practically for nothing."

Reprints of this advertisement were mailed out with requests for \$300 contributions. From the content and phrasing of this advertisement, many persons were led to believe that a \$50 contribution would save a Jewish life. The public is still waiting to hear how many Roumanian Jews were ransomed with the money that was collected. The public might also be interested to know how much was collected and what disposition was made of the money.

Another advertisement published May 4, 1943, had serious repercussions at Washington. This advertisement listed the names of a number of senators and representatives. Senator Lucas (Ill.) announced that the advertisement had committed

members of the Senate to a point of view of which they had no advance knowledge. Senator Truman (Mo.) and Senator Chandler (Ky.) told the Senate that their names were used in the advertisement without specific permission. This action prejudiced the position of responsible Jewish organizations and agencies, for Washington officials frequently did not distinguish between them and the Committee.

After entering the field of "rescue" work, the Committee for a Jewish Army, apparently realizing that its old name was not appropriate for its new project, created a new front which it called the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe.

This "Emergency Committee" was organized at a time when the American Jewish Conference, the elected representative body of American Jewry, was in formation. The public was aware of the program of the Conference, as delegates from every Jewish community in the country were preparing to attend the Conference which was to convene at the end of August, 1943. Anyone who had a genuine interest in the fate of European Jewry could well express such interest by lending support to the leadership responsible for the organization of the Conference. Yet the founders of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe timed an Emergency Conference of their own, which they staged in New York City on July 25, 1943, one month prior to the convening of the American Jewish Conference.

The Emergency Committee has since continued its separatist activities, only to bring confusion in the minds of well-meaning people who might otherwise be helpful to the truly representative and responsible bodies in organized Jewry. These activities have been financed by contributions from persons who have mistaken propaganda for performance and advertisement for achievement.

As a climax, this Emergency Committee undertook to sponsor a resolution in the Congress of the United States recommending that the President create a commission of experts to formulate a plan of action to save the surviving Jewish people

of Europe. The merits of this resolution ^{need} ~~will~~ not be discussed here. The Congressmen who introduced it have been motivated by the highest humanitarian sentiments. But it must be stated that it was introduced in complete disregard of the rescue program which is being actively pressed at Washington by representative Jewish agencies and it does not reflect the totality of that program. Obviously any resolution which promises the slightest hope for the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe will command support, but it must be pointed out that the Emergency Committee has made rash and exaggerated claims as to what this resolution will accomplish.

There is a sharp discrepancy between the statements made by the Emergency Committee in its appeals for funds and support and the action projected at Washington. In a petition circulated by the Emergency Committee, there is a call for the creation of a "special intergovernmental agency to save the Jewish people of Europe with powers and means to act at once and on a large scale." But the resolution pending in Congress proposes merely the creation of a commission of experts in this country.

In public statements the leaders of the Committee have insisted that the resolution would influence the British government to open the doors of Palestine and on that basis they have appealed to the public for support and funds. The petition circulated by the Emergency Committee, which the public is asked to sign declares: "We also respectfully petition our Government to convey to the British Government, which was entrusted with the Mandate over Palestine, the desire of Americans that the doors of Palestine be opened to all European Jews escaping the death trap of Europe, and their conviction that it is against all justice that the Jews alone, of all peoples, are not allowed free entry into Palestine."

But the resolution contains no reference to Palestine! And one of its congressional sponsors told his colleagues in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs that the question of Palestine was being "specifically avoided". On November 26, 1943, he said, according to the transcript, "This resolution was specifically drawn up to ~~remove~~ eliminate Palestine."

In this instance, as in the past, the Committee has sought to undermine established Jewish agencies. The committee was responsible, not long ago, for broadcasting a statement over the air that Jewish organizations were not interested in rescuing their compatriots. One of the spokesmen of the Emergency Committee has stated on the air: "I sincerely regret to say again that, with a few notable exceptions, we did not receive the anticipated support of important Jewish American organizations or leading Jewish American personalities." This is a presumptuous attack. The Emergency Committee know of the excellent rescue and relief work that has been carried on by the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Youth Aliyah to mention only two of a number of responsible Jewish agencies which have long been identified with this work. They knew of the existence of the American Jewish Conference and that its Interim Committee, through its Commissions, was attempting to coordinate the work of rescue.

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Their new front, the "American League for a Free Palestine", has already begun to call for public contributions. The prospectus of this new organization is an accumulation of all the confused and ~~misleading~~ confusing propaganda items which have proved servicesble in the past in capturing sympathy and contributions, but if the propaganda is confusing the purpose is clear. The prospectus includes an open attack on the World Zionist Organization. Once again there is an attempt to establish a front against the Jewish Agency for Palestine and to challenge the status of that body which was created with the approval of the League of Nations under the terms of the Palestine mandate, to take steps in consultation with Great Britain "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of a Jewish National Home."

If this new League is intended merely to win the support of Christians for the implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine, it should be stated that there are already in existence organizations which act as vehicles for the expression of Christian sentiment in this country. There is the American Palestine Committee, an

organization of distinguished Americans, headed by Senator S. Robert Wagner of New York and Charles McNary of Oregon, and including on its rolls many congressmen, governors, public officials, civic and labor leaders, and educators. There is the Christian Council for Palestine, an organization of clergymen who support mass Jewish immigration into Palestine.

The American Jewish Conference was convened August 29, 1943, to unify American Jewry by the creation of a democratic responsible body which could speak and act authoritatively in meeting the problems confronting the Jewish people. It has a mandate from 64 national Jewish organizations and from delegates representing every Jewish community. It represents the organized responsibility of the American Jewish community.

It adopted a comprehensive program of action looking to the rescue of Jews in Hitler-occupied Europe, the implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine, and the rights and security of the Jews of Europe in the post-war reconstruction. Commissions have been established to implement this program. The Conference program for rescue has been submitted to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, to the House ~~REPRESENTATIVE~~ Committee on Foreign Affairs and to appropriate government officials. The Conference Rescue Commission in cooperation with existing Jewish agencies will continue to press for more active measures.

The orderly advancement of this work requires that the public be informed of all the facts. Irresponsible action, which destroys co-ordinated effort and which defeats the objectives it pretends to serve, must be so characterized.

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JUDGE LEVINthal thought that the neutral members of the Allocations Committee would be tremendously impressed if they saw a substantial reduction in expenses. Also if the U.P.A. could reduce their budget, the grants asked by the Z.O.A., Mizrahi, Poale Zion, etc. could be given.

RABBI BRESLAU felt that in the absence of definite action tonight there ought to be a further meeting. He thought at the next meeting of the Executive a further report should be rendered and the Executive should take definite action.

JUDGE LEVINthal asked why any action is necessary at this time. The U.P.A., he pointed out, is created annually by the E. H. and E. K., and why not, he suggested, take care of these matters when the U.P.A. is recreated next Fall.

IX. REPORT OF AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS:

MR. EMANUEL NEUMANN: "The Extraordinary Zionist Conference went off as well as was expected at the last Executive Committee meeting. We are publishing in pamphlet form the address of Ben Gurion which was a rather remarkable statement of the Zionist position.

"We had a very interesting report -- of work done by one of the newer departments in the Emergency Committee, the Economic Department with Mr. Szold as Chairman and Rehabiah Lewin-Epstein, who is in Washington and reported on a number of very interesting and important contacts made there, particularly in fields that affect Palestine and the possibility of utilizing opportunities created by America's participation in the war for material, for development of industry in Palestine, and the like. It looks like a promising activity that will bring important results in the future. As it is, there are a great many American missions to the Near East and activities seem to be on the increase.

"We had reports on Dr. Weizmann's activities in Washington. I was present in most cases at the interviews Dr. Weizmann had with a group of Senators, Lord Halifax, Litvinoff and others. In regard to the Senators, the net result of a later meeting we had at Senator Wagner's office was that a direct approach be made to the President. The upshot was that Senator Wagner went to the President and one of the fruits was the letter of the President which was read at the Second Annual Dinner of the American Palestine Committee.

"With regard to the visit with Litvinoff, I want to say a word about that, because I think it was the most interesting. It was the first time Weizmann and Litvinoff met, and there was quite a full discussion of the Zionist movement. Litvinoff was responsive and could see no reason why the Soviet Union should oppose Zionist aims, and indicated that the whole attitude would be considered in a new aspect. He went back to the history of the organization and said that the Soviet is not concerned about the Arabs; the English had Arabs and they had no Arabs and they were not concerned about that side of the question, he could see no reason why Russia should be hostile. The Histadruth in Palestine raised £10,000 to send gifts to Russia.

"I want to say a word about the general political situation as it has been developing. We ought to take note of the statements made by several American statesmen regarding the post war situation -- Wallace, Welles and Winant. The

important one was made by Welles at Arlington Cemetery, in which he expressed certain ideas which would be followed in connection with post war period. From our point of view, the important things were the idea of a period of reconstruction following the war without immediate peace, economic aspects of various countries and international policing. All three ideas are important and have a bearing on the situation in Palestine. Reconstruction and financial assistance and international policing would seem to me to make it so much easier to carry out our purposes than without them. I think these statements which are appearing now are due in part to the improvement of the military situation and also to the fact that the isolationist elements of the Republican Party have been removed under the influence of Mr. Wilkie. The country and the world owe a debt to Mr. Wilkie for this work.

"At the same time American's interest in the Near East seems to be increasing. As I reported to the Emergency Committee one of the men in the State Department referred quite casually to the fact that an American would be sent to the Near East. The Institute on Near Eastern Affairs will take place at Chicago University on June 25th under auspices of a Foundation which deals with international relations. The program is rather impressive. Those participating are largely pro-Arab. The only pro-Zionist to give a paper is Dr. Salo Baron. We have been following it up because it has given us a great deal of concern. We ought to try to get friends to participate. Three or four members of the State Department's division on Near Eastern Affairs will attend, and it looks from every point of view like an important institute which will publish its findings or proceedings in book form and out of which other things may grow.

"You must have heard, of course, about the dinner of the American Palestine Committee which was a great success. It was unique and important, not only because of the message of the President but also because of the rest of the program. There were important addresses by Senators Wagner and McNary and Dr. Weizmann and speeches made by representatives of different countries especially the Chinese. Wedgewood's trans-Atlantic address which you have all heard provoked quite a stir and there was an excellent address by Arthur Greenwood. There were present many hundreds of people and a fine representation of the press, including correspondents from the London press. It was an impressive affair which I think has strengthened our position. The work in connection with the dinner was carried on largely in Washington by the office of the Z.O.A. which placed itself at the disposal of the Emergency Committee for this purpose, and I think special recognition is due to Mr. Schulson who carried the brunt of the work and did it exceedingly well and successfully. It was a revelation to see Mr. Schulson go through with it as he did so competently.

"Regarding the Conference of Reform Rabbis in Atlantic City, the press again was not correct. There were present not sixty reform rabbis but thirty-two. We decided in advance that if it did not appear too imposing in the press, we would not take counter action; we will not do so unless this becomes more serious. We have already appointed a sub-committee of Rabbis to deal with them.

"Organization of Christian Clergymen has been accomplished and a statement has been signed by eighty pro-Zionist Christian Clergymen, which has not yet been released but which will get publicity.

"We have had reports from Palestine - on the subject of Federation. The whole idea has met with such strong opposition on the part of the French that it has not made progress and is standing still. On the other hand, the policy

assessment is proceeding. As a result of the Struma incident, there has been modification of the rules regarding entry of refugees into Palestine. The Government has announced that those shiploads arriving in Palestine will be allowed to land and will be taken to detention camps until sifted and investigation made as to who can be released. Also an encouraging fact is that the British navy asked for a group of Jews to serve in a special unit for special purposes, etc.

"Dr. Weizmann has called a special meeting of the Emergency Committee to meet with him next Tuesday from three o'clock for the rest of the day and evening, to discuss questions of policy. Since the Extraordinary Conference we had, could not very well go into some of the questions, it was thought best to have series of conferences to go into these matters. A proposal has been made by Mr. Ben Gurion that we should set out to get ratification by a million Jews in writing of the peace aims or the post war aims of the Zionist movement, as declared in the resolution of the conference. This matter has been referred to a sub-committee and it might be desirable to consider it here. My own reaction, when it was proposed, was rather critical, but since I heard so many speeches regarding post war aims, it may be that the time is more propitious for such political action than I thought. My view was that such thing should be done at a later stage.

"One word about the negotiations with the non-Zionists. The situation, as you know, has been fluctuating up and down; at times hopeful; at times hopeless. There was an exchange of views with regard to certain formulations both on Palestine aims and the position of the non-Zionists and the anti-Zionists regarding the question of Diaspora political nationalism. We think that on the question of political nationalism, etc., we can come to some kind of understanding for actually there is nothing of a serious character that we have to worry about there. With regard to the policies, aims, etc. it looks more hopeful than it has for some time. They may agree with us on a formulation that is pretty strongly Zionist, but there is a certain condition that they make that there be a satisfactory solution with regard to World Jewish Congress and its program, activities, etc. They are insisting that an understanding be reached with regard to that. That is something that will have to be taken up as well. I think it is correct to say that at the meeting, the prospects seemed slightly better than they were a couple of months ago, when we were not getting anywhere. Whether we will be able to overcome the difficulties that exist, it is too early to say."

MR. SZOLD thought that there were two items in Mr. Neumann's report that required action by the Executive Committee and there are, first, the matter of establishing unity of American Zionist Organizations, as raised at the Extraordinary conference. "We ought to appoint a special committee to consider that. It is a matter that we cannot avoid and I think we ought to give it our best and constructive attention. I MOVE that the Chairman appoint a small committee, with Mr. Shetzer as an ex-officio member, to consider the question of an American Zionist Federation."

This MOTION was seconded and unanimously carried.

MR. SZOLD continued: "Another matter to be taken up is mass registration of American Zionists. That would be a very effective thing for international Zionist reasons and political reasons. On the other hand, unless it is carefully planned, it can be a bad thing. It would cost a lot of money and disrupt activities of our organization, if it is not properly planned. Mr. A. K. Epstein had an idea we can do it with the synagogues in the Fall. I MOVE that a special committee be appointed to consider mass registration."

. NEUMANN said: "Summer is upon us. We are having a meeting of the Emergency Committee tomorrow morning to consider this matter. It would be well, as small as the meeting is, if some of the members present would express themselves. Mr. Fisher referred to the registration of 1929, as a sort of associate membership idea." He said: "The idea then was to strengthen the organization. This was not a success. It was a failure because it came shortly after a very successful emergency fund raised at that time. On the other hand, we held one at the close of the world war and that was much more successful. We got about 350,000 people who signed. It was a different matter. We did not ask for money; but only asked people to sign names. It is that sort of idea we are thinking of now -- to get mass support behind a declaration of Zionist aims which we can show to the Government and others."

THE CHAIRMAN announced that the matter will be considered by a special committee of the Emergency Committee and Mr. Frisch and Mr. Shetzer will be asked to sit in. He went on to say: "Suppose we can deliver over a million signatures, the newspapers, nevertheless, may say only a small percentage of Jews in America support Palestine, therefore, the publicity work is important. The expense is important too. Mr. Lipsky was opposed to it at the meeting of the Emergency Committee for he thought it would be tremendously expensive. Mr. Frisch and Mr. Shetzer should go to these committee meetings with an open mind, ready to hear what is proposed and perhaps give us a report at the next meeting. Although Mr. Ben Gurion is anxious for immediate action, I hope he will not be too much in a rush."

MR. FRISCH informed the Executive that he is very much against this registration, but that he will go to the meeting with an open mind and listen and that if there are any recommendations that are better, he may change his mind.

To Mr. Shetzer's question whether this committee was empowered to make decisions, MR. NEUMANN explained that the sub-committee was only to bring in suggestions to the office committee and that then the matter would be taken up with the full Emergency Committee.

X. THE Z. O. A. CONVENTION:

MR. SHETZER reporting on the coming convention stated, in parts: "On May 28th a letter was addressed to all the members of the Administrative Council conveying to them the recommendation of the Executive Committee adopted at its meeting on April 26th, upon the recommendations of the Committee which had been appointed previously to meet with Hadassah to explore the matter of concurrent conventions. You will recall that on April 26th we approved, in principle, that the convention be held concurrently with Hadassah in October and in New York City, or some other eastern city. Subsequently we explored the prospects in Atlantic City, Philadelphia, Boston, etc. and New York City seemed to be the best."

Mr. Shetzer further continued: "As of yesterday afternoon, we had received 96 ballots -- 84 in favor of the recommendation for a concurrent convention in New York City, October 15th thru the 18th; 12 opposed -- some against holding it in New York City and some were opposed to concurrent conventions with Hadassah; one was opposed because of the date but the overwhelming majority was in favor. I believe, therefore, that the President should be authorized to appoint a Committee to make arrangements for the convention, to prepare the program, etc." (As of July 6th - the vote is 91 in favor; 14 opposed.)

Conference Procedure

Reports by Louis Lipsky -- Rules of Procedure -- Key of Representation --
Change of "Key"

Conference Record

SYMPOSIA

Symposium on the General Problems of Jewry in Europe and Palestine

Henry Monsky -- Dr. Stephen S. Wise -- Judge Joseph M. Proskauer

Symposium on Rescue of European Jewry

Joseph Weinberg -- Dr. Israel Goldstein -- Mrs. David deSola Pool --
Baruch Zuckerman -- Gedaliah Bublick

Symposium on Palestine

Judge Louis E. Levinthal -- Dr. Nahum Goldmann -- Rabbi Solomon Goldman --
Israel H. Goldberg -- Dr. James G. Heller -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Symposium on Post-War Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

Rabbi Max Nussbaum -- Rabbi Jacob Hoffman -- Louis Segal -- Adolph Held --
Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum -- Rabbi Irving Miller

THE COMMITTEES IN SESSION

Committee on Rescue of European Jewry

Topics and Questions of Discussion -- Presentation of Problems by Experts --
Discussions on Rescue Resolution -- Adoption of Resolution at Plenary
Session -- Text of Resolution on Rescue of European Jewry

Committee on Palestine

Proposed Resolutions -- Topics and Questions of Discussion -- Discussion --
Adoption of Resolution by the Committee -- Adoption of Resolution at
Plenary Session -- Text of Resolution on Palestine

Committee on Post-War Problems of European Jewry

Topics and Questions of Discussion -- Presentation of Problem by Experts --
Discussion on Resolution -- Adoption of Resolution at Plenary Session --
Text of Resolution on Post-War Reconstruction of European Jewry

Committee on Organization

Topics and Questions of Discussion -- Question of Permanence -- Report
of Sub-Committee -- Discussion on the Resolution -- Adoption of Resolution
at Plenary Session -- Text of Resolution on Organization

Committee on Credentials

Committee on Budget and Finance

Committee on General Resolutions

Functions of the Committee -- Presentation at Plenary Session --
Texts of the General Resolutions

General Committee

Functions -- Formation of Committees -- Program of Plenary Sessions --
Rules on Presentation of Resolutions -- Resolutions of the Rescue
Committee -- Resolution of the Palestine Committee -- Resolutions of
the Post-War Committee -- Resolution of the Organization Committee --
Report of Credentials Committee -- Resolution of the Budget and Finance
Committee -- Resolutions of the Committee on General Resolutions --
Miscellaneous

STATEMENTS

On the Rights of Organizations at the Conference

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

On the Palestine Resolution

Jewish Labor Committee -- National Council of Jewish Women -- American
Jewish Committee -- Hashomer Hatzair -- Religious National Orthodox
Bloc

On the Scope of the Conference

Labor Zionist Bloc

On a Call to Return to the Torah

Religious National Orthodox Bloc

On a Statement of the American Council for Judaism

Dr. James G. Heller -- Rabbi Robert Gordis -- Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein --
Dr. Stephen S. Wise -- Statement by the Conference

GENERAL ADDRESSES AND CLOSING PRAYER

Addresses

Rabbi Meyer Berlin -- Rabbi Osher Zilberstein -- Halpern Leivick --
Rabbi Philip Bernstein -- Israel Mereminsky -- Nathan Chanin --
Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman -- Rudolf Callmann

Concluding Addresses

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver -- Hayim Greenberg

Closing Prayer

Rabbi Milton Steinberg

ROSTER OF DELEGATES

Delegates Registered at the American Jewish Conference

APPENDIX

A. To Part One

1. Henry Monsky's Letter of Invitation to the Pittsburgh Meeting
2. Representatives of Organizations Attending the Pittsburgh Meeting
- Committees at the Pittsburgh Meeting
- Proposals Adopted at the Pittsburgh Meeting

B. To Part Two

Executive Committee for the Organization of the American Jewish Conference
National Jewish Organizations Participating in the American Jewish Conference
Committees Appointed by the Executive Committee
Call for the American Jewish Conference
Rules of Election for the American Jewish Conference
Number of Delegates Elected in Each City and Region
Roster of Delegates Elected by City or Region or Designated by National
Organization

C. To Part Three

Organization and Rules of Procedure of the American Jewish Conference
Bloc and Groups Formed at the American Jewish Conference
Praesidium and Secretariat of the American Jewish Conference
Committees and Their Respective Officers
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RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERIM COMMITTEE
of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

IN THE KNOWLEDGE that the salvation of hundreds of thousands of homeless and hunted European Jews depends on their settlement in Palestine, we call anew for the immediate opening of Palestine to mass Jewish immigration and colonization and the reconstitution of that country as a Jewish Commonwealth.

WE REMIND our plea at this time because the Palestine White Paper of 1939, a document without legal or moral validity and violative of the rights of the Jewish people under the Palestine mandate, goes into effect on March 31 to forbid new Jewish immigration into Palestine in excess of the 25,000 certificates remaining under the quota fixed five years ago.

WE WARMLY WELCOME President Roosevelt's recent statement that the United States has never approved the White Paper and we are heartened by his declaration that he is "happy that when future decisions are reached full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home."

WE PERVENTLY HOPE that our President's statement may be a forerunner of early action by our ally, Great Britain, looking to the abrogation of the White Paper and the establishment of an affirmative policy to implement fully the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration.

NOW PENDING in Congress are the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions which call for the opening of Palestine's doors for the free entry of Jews and full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. It is clear that American public opinion overwhelmingly favors these resolutions. Action, however, is being deferred for the time being at the instance of the War Department. We hope that military authorities will soon find it possible, consistent with the realities of the situation, to withdraw their objections, so that Congress may proceed to express itself on these resolutions.

WE TRUST that favorable action on these resolutions will be taken at the earliest possible moment. Palestine means life for thousands of refugees who are on Hitler's death list and its reconstitution as a Jewish Commonwealth will be assurance that the Jewish people, dispossessed and uprooted by the war, will be enabled to take its rightful place in the progressive world order to be established in the peace to come.

The National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America met in session at the Hotel Amex on Saturday evening, April 9th, and Sunday morning, April 10th. The sessions were devoted to discussions with Dr. Weizmann as to differences which had arisen in the past between the World Organization and the Zionist Organization of America. The sessions were protracted and, at the conclusion of the discussion, the following resolution offered by Mr. Frankfurter, was passed by a vote of 23 to 14:

RESOLVED that the President of the Zionist Organization of America is and he is hereby instructed to proceed in agreement with Dr. Weizmann, as President of the World Zionist Organization, on the basis of the Buffalo resolution, to establish in America forthwith the Keren Hayesod Donation Fund. This Fund is to be applied exclusively in Palestine by the World Zionist Organization through such instrumentalities as may be agreed upon between the President of the World Zionist Organization and the President of the Zionist Organization of America and under such rules and regulations as the President of the World Zionist Organization and the President of the Zionist Organization of America shall jointly agree upon.

By the same vote of 23 to 14, the Committee defeated the following substitute motion offered by Judge Rosenblatt:

RESOLVED that until the further resolution or decision of the World Zionist Congress to be held in August 1921, the Keren Hayesod campaign in America be confined to an appeal for donation funds only; that such campaign be launched immediately and that the moneys collected be forwarded to the head office of the Keren Hayesod in London to be disposed of by the World Zionist Executive for the upbuilding of Palestine.

On a vote in which there were only two negatives, the following resolution, offered by Judge Rosenblatt and seconded by Mr. Jacob de Haas, was adopted:

RESOLVED that in the event an invitation is extended by the President of the World Zionist Organization to the Zionist Organization of America to nominate two or more persons of the Zionist Organization of America to the Executive of the World Zionist Organization to take office provisionally and serve until the convening of the World Zionist Congress in August 1921, and to participate actively in the work of such Executive and in the administration of the funds entrusted to it, the Zionist Organization of America will accept such invitation.

The evening session was attended by Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ussischkin, Dr. Mossinsohn, Dr. Levin, Mr. Stein and 38 members of the Executive Committee.

At the morning session, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Stein and 39 members of the Executive Committee were in attendance. At the time of voting, 38 members of the Committee were present.