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United Palestine Appeal, 1943.

Summary of Proposals
by group of Jewish Religious Leaders of Organizations
Constituting the Synagogue Council of America
Made to the Leadership of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in
January 6, 1943 at Federal Council offices America

Jews are not the only victims of the Nazi blight. The Jewish people feels the tragedy of all the other victimized peoples of Europe. If comparisons in suffering may be drawn, it is, however, fair to say that no people has suffered as much as the Jewish people. Hitler has already destroyed 40% of the Jews under his domain, and has marked the remainder for extermination.

One must distinguish between the Long range program and the immediate program of alleviation. Concerning the long range program involving the position of Jews in postwar Europe, immigration opportunities in various lands, and the special dispensation with regard to Palestine, there should be a full conference between these two groups at some other time in the near future.

At the present moment it is the immediate objectives which should receive our consideration.

Immediate help can be extended in three possible directions:

1. Food for Jews in Poland.

The instance of Greece offers an analogy. Food is being brought into Greece under an arrangement supervised by the International Red Cross which sees to it that the food reaches the starving Greeks and is not confiscated by the Germans. Canadian grain is shipped to Greece in Swedish bottoms. Jews in Poland at present receive a fraction of the meager food rations which are available to the general population. Hunger deaths are common. It is a problem in which the cooperation of our State Department and the International Red Cross are indispensable. Once their cooperation is secured the cooperation of the Joint Distribution Committee and other Jewish bodies would no doubt be forthcoming. In all probability

The American Council for Judaism



RABBI ELMER BERGER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SECOND & LIBERTY STS.
FLINT, MICHIGAN

March 1, 1943

TO THE MEMBERS of the
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS:

Dear Colleagues:

The President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis has seen fit to address a letter to our colleagues, in which he absolves himself from all blame in the present situation, predicts a split in the Conference and, we regret to say, completely misinterprets the motives and intentions of the American Council for Judaism. Indeed, unfortunately, he implicitly threatens his colleagues who have associated themselves with the American Council for Judaism. We have no alternative but to reply.

We have no desire to impugn the motives of the President of the C.C.A.R., nor need we assure our colleagues that we are just as loyal and devoted members of the Conference, just as concerned in its welfare as he. The President of the Conference has no monopoly of concern for the welfare of the organization nor for the tragedy of Jews throughout the world.

We desire to bring to the attention of our colleagues the following facts:

1. Despite the fact that the President of the Conference was reminded of the Neutrality Resolution of 1935, he nevertheless put the Army Resolution before the body. Over 180 men had left the Conference. Quite a number did not vote. The final vote was 64 for and 38 against. (See Yearbook 1942 - pg. 171). Notwithstanding this background, the President of the Conference in public advertisements to which his name was signed as President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in association with official Zionist bodies, publicly committed the Conference to the Zionist platform and policy.

2. The whole procedure attendant upon the passage of the Resolution was unparliamentary, as the stenographic record will show.

3. The President says that he did all he could to heal the breach, and we have no doubt but that he desires peace. But on what terms: the liquidation of the American Council for Judaism.

But the President of the Central Conference is also the chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America. He may be committed to neutrality as a member of the Central Conference, but his Zionist point of view has the Zionist Organization, the American Jewish Congress and other organized agencies to promote it. Were the American Council for Judaism liquidated, we would destroy the one organization which presents the Jewish people as a world religious community and opposes the nationalist interpretation of Jewish life. He has asked us to commit suicide. Where is the wrong in creating an organization of laymen and rabbis to defend a point of view which has wide acceptance among us - indeed, which represents the dominant convictions of the vast majority of Reform Jews in the United States? If rabbis were to withdraw from the American Council for Judaism, then rabbis ought to withdraw from the Zionist

Organization of America. We do not want the latter, and will not submit to the former. The President of the Conference asserts that the continuance of the American Council will lead to a schism in the ranks of the Conference. If Z.O.A. rabbis have not created a schism, why should A.C.J. rabbis be so accused? Not one of us has ever expressed the intention to resign from the Conference, nor do we intend to do so. There need be no split in the Conference. Although the President has it in his power by persistent agitation against us to force a split, it will be his responsibility and not ours. To predict a split is only a matter of opinion. The conduct of the President to make good his prediction is quite another affair.

It has just been brought to our attention that the letter of the President of the C.C.A.R. was printed in the New Palestine of February 19th, the official organ of the Z.O.A. How can the President justify such procedure? Presumably in sending the letter to our colleagues he was acting as President of the Conference on a matter of Conference importance. He had a right to do this though as we point out, the letter is filled with - shall we say distortions? But the conclusion is inescapable that when he permitted publication of this Conference document in the New Palestine he was acting NOT as President of the Conference but as Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. We submit that this is a serious lapse involving the official conduct of the President. Our colleagues may reasonably ask him by what right he did this thing?

Such conduct hardly confirms the assertion of the President that his sole concern is the peace of the Conference. It rather seems to confirm our belief that unfortunately the President is determined either to make the Conference Zionist or force a split - a prediction that occurs not once in his letter but four times!

4. The President declares there was "growing acrimony on both sides". This is not true. The official organs of the Zionist movement, the Zionist controlled press have been filled with misrepresentations and distortions of our position. We were called "quislings" and "traitors". These epithets were hurled at us despite the fact that Zionist leaders, including the President of the Conference, knew that we had publicly in our Statement of Principles declared that we appreciate the position of Palestine, the sentiment that attaches to it, its capacity to absorb Jewish emigration; that we are prepared to help bring as many of our brethren to Palestine as possible. In his capacity as chairman of the Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A., the President of the Central Conference and our Zionist colleagues in the Conference who are also influential in Zionist leadership, might have asserted themselves to stop this campaign of vituperation. They did not do so. The fact that the President of the Conference offered to stop these unseemly slanders during the time when we were considering his proposal to liquidate, certainly indicates that he had the power to prevent them. He did not exercise that power. A study of the Jewish press will reveal that there was not one answer in kind from our side.

5. Why do we deem a lay-rabbinical organization like the American Council for Judaism necessary? The answer is obvious. The Zionist-Congress groups presume to speak for all American Jews. Again and again they have expressed their determination to dominate Jewish life and they have proceeded up to the present with organized opposition along just these lines. No rabbi who has opposed them but has been the object of continual attacks. Pressures of all kinds have been exerted upon our non-Zionist colleagues. Opportunities have been denied them. Efforts have been made to keep any recognition from them.

We have borne with long-suffering patience the Totalitarian tactics of the Zionists. They would brook no opposition. Typical of their methods is the shameful experience of one of our colleagues in New York who was prevented by the Zionists, because he is a non-Zionist, from being elected president of the New York Board of Jewish Ministers. Further typical is their opposition to Judah Magnes and Henrietta Szold and that entire group in Palestine who have evidenced their loyalty by living in the land over a score of years. This presumption of Zionist leaders to speak for all American Jewry, to dominate American Jewish life, to give a Palestinian orientation to all American Jewish thinking, to pour all our American Jewish energies into the one channel is an unconscionable situation. We dare not let it go unchallenged. It is quite obvious to us that the Zionists intend to take over by force of numbers, every forum in Jewish life. They are determined that no organization shall presume to speak except through them. We hold that this is not alone an unJewish method, but that it represents a way of life against which the democracies of the world are in arms.

See article in "New Palestine" of January 22, by Harry Grayer: "What Price Compromise?": -- "The Jews are a Nation The Jewish people must rebuild its national life and its home in Palestine, through self-help, not philanthropy. Zionism is not a philanthropic movement. It is opposed to philanthropy as the means of solving the Jewish problem. Finally, it is secular in nature . . . Most pertinent to our present discussion is the controversy presently raging as to the precise nature of Zionism. I maintain that it is a secular as distinct from an exclusively religious movement But Zionism per se is not a religious movement, or, more correctly, it is not a movement exclusively of a religious nature".

6. It is claimed that we shall injure Palestine. We take the view that the constant agitation of the present Zionist leadership, its extreme demands as voiced by the resolutions passed at the last Zionist convention in New York are not only folly, but, we believe, endanger the very work of Palestine reconstruction to which we are all committed and we believe they are breeding anti-Jewish feeling here in America. We are convinced a more moderate program for Palestine, with which we have publicly stated we wish to cooperate, will get further in the end than the persistent pressure and clamour of official Zionist bodies. We believe the majority of American Jews, when they are acquainted with the facts, will shun the tactics and program of the extremists now in control. We intend to bring this situation to the attention of American Israel.

It is charged our organization is untimely. We ask where is the timeliness in demanding a commitment NOW to a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine in the light of a present majority non-Jewish population? Is not such a demand obviously in opposition to both the spirit and letter of the Atlantic Charter? We ask where is the timeliness in pressing extreme demands now when both the military and political situations in North Africa are delicate, with millions of Arabs from Casablanca to Suez, with uncertain and unpredictable Spanish Morocco on the flank of our 1000 mile long communication lines to Tunis? Such procedure is hardly indicative of cooperation in the United war effort, no matter what verbal affirmations or financial contributions Zionists may make.

7. The opposition of the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to the American Council for Judaism is arbitrary and unjustified. We regret that he feels hurt, but his own ill-considered conduct has created this situation. The President of the Conference violated the rules and procedures of the organization of which he is the leader; he is guilty of misrepresenting the views of a substantial number of its members, he failed to raise his voice or assert his

influence to prevent this misrepresentation. We can do nothing else than bring these facts, regretfully, to the attention of our colleagues.

8. The American Council for Judaism was not organized primarily as a non-Zionist lay-rabbinical group. The fight was forced upon us by the misrepresentations to which we have been subject. We have other and larger aims and purposes. We are convinced of the necessity of an organization in American Israel which shall have as its primary objective the religious emphasis and shall promote the viewpoint that we Jews are a world religious community. The recent turn to religion and the emphasis upon it by some Zionist leaders does not hide the basic fact that present day Zionism is secular, political and chauvinistic.

It is quite important to emphasize our conviction that the stakes in the world Jewish situation are based on principle and Jewish survival. We feel that the aims, program, and ideals of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations are jeopardized by the Palestinian orientation. Men in neutral positions are concerned with the threat to the unity of Reform and its organizations. Reform Judaism has had as its major concern the religious welfare and development of the Jews in America, and that the espousal of a nationalistic objective will jeopardize the faith and fate of the Jews in America. We hold that Palestinian nationalism in America will not alone segregate the Jew in our democracy, but that it will demand and emphasize the principle of minority rights, which not alone leads to misapprehension and antagonism, but is definitely counter to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States. We must not forget that we are living in a free democratic society, where we are allowed, thank God, to express our opinions, organize our work, and cherish hopes and ideals in accordance with our conscience. We are quite confident that the American Council for Judaism is absolutely in harmony with our Reform Judaism, and as we are serving our sacred cause in the spirit of the prophets, we have neither fear nor doubt of attaining constructive results.

We have just as deep a sense of fellowship with our brethren as the Zionists, and just as keen a will to help them. We do not believe theirs is the way. This moment when the world is tearing itself to pieces by reason of nationalism, we believe is the time to voice the universal prophetic ideals of our faith. Programs of practical help for our brethren in Palestine and throughout the world do not need the nationalist emphasis.

Elmer Berger	S. J. Levinson
William H. Fineshriber	Clifton H. Levy
Solomon Foster	Nathan A. Perilman
Ephraim Frisch	David Philipson
Norman Gerstenfeld	William Rosenau
S. H. Goldenson	Jerome Rosenbloom
Abraham Holtzberg	H. J. Schachtel
Isaac Landman	Louis Wolsey
M. S. Lazon	

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

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March 18th, 1943

Dear Colleague:-

Long ago I was taught that "a soft answer turneth away wrath." Perhaps this a good general rule. But I have discovered that it has exceptions. For the last letter I sent you, on behalf of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, succeeded only in eliciting a reply from our friends of the American Council for Judaism, which—at least to me—seems replete with personal bitterness.

I suppose we shall have to return to the days of Isaac M. Wise and of his contemporary giants, when the air was dark with pamphlets, when no epithets, no apt excoriations from Holy Writ, were deemed too extreme. This time, evidently, we are to make it a war of letters. We shall protest that we "have no desire to impugn the motives of the President of the CCAR", and then proceed to impugn his motives. We shall try to cover the dagger with a piece of velvet!

I fear that I am compelled now to answer. I ignored a letter of similar character, sent abroad last fall, setting forth charges not dissimilar to those just reiterated. Perhaps rightly, perhaps wrongly, I thought then that these accusations would speak for themselves, that my colleagues would not lend credence to charges against one of their brothers, against their president. But Hitler has proved that statements, however wild, repeated often and vehemently enough, do convince. Therefore, after much wrestling with myself, I have decided to send you this reply, to enable you to judge for yourself.

I thought that the letter I sent you some weeks ago was simple and clear. Its purpose was primarily to inform, to keep the members of the CCAR in touch with the progress of events. This I regarded as my duty. And, if you will look over that letter, you will find that three-fourths of it is no more than a narration of facts. I deplored the events I described. I tried to show that I had done my utmost, or what seemed to me my utmost, to restore peace. I expressed my own conviction that what had happened had led and would continue to lead to acrimony. I ended with the prediction that the Conference would insist on considering the entire matter at its next convention, and taking appropriate action. While the letter naturally represented my own point of view, its purpose was not to arouse, nor to accuse, but to allay.

But this last epistle of the American Council for Judaism breathes bitterness in every line. It tries to discredit me with the members of the organization I have tried to serve, to the exclusion of almost all the rest of my life. It puts all this on the basis of personal charges and and personal derelictions. It makes me out as one who has no regard for fair play, who has been attempting a Mephistophelean game of intrigue, who has been using the slipperiest wiles to beguile my fellow rabbis. I cannot let these things go unanswered!

First, as to the *cause celebre* of the whole history!

In spite of the so-called "neutrality resolution" I did put the Army Resolution to a vote at the Cincinnati Convention. I have no hesitation in setting forth the reasons . . . The Conference was reminded by several members of the status of the Army Resolution, in their opinion. There was repeated reference to the action of the Conference in 1935. Dr. Freehof made a motion, which would in effect have tabled the resolution under discussion, and have expunged the discussion from the record. This was defeated by a small plurality. A number of those who favored the Army Resolution stated that they were not Zionists. The "neutrality resolution" of 1935 contained a paragraph which committed the Conference to aid in the physical, cultural, and religious rehabilitation of Palestine.

It seemed to your President:

1. That the Army Resolution was not in and of itself a violation of the "neutrality resolution."
2. That the Conference had had the chance to determine for itself whether it thought so, in voting on Dr. Freehof's motion, after strong statements to this effect had been made by several men.

3. That no resolution, adopted by any convention, binds those that follow, unless they wish to be bound . . . It must be understood clearly that a resolution is not identical with an amendment to the constitution, or to the by-laws. No notice is required for a resolution, and it requires only a bare majority to pass.

These were the reasons I did not declare it out of order. I take full responsibility for that decision. The gentlemen who sign this last letter do not appear to realize that the action that was taken was not that of the President, who participated in the debate in no way, whose sole duty it is to see that orderly action shall be the rule. The wrath of those who are angry (which I have tried so hard to "turn away") ought rightfully to be directed at their colleagues, not at me!

Moreover, it seems to me that responsible men, engaged in serious discussion, ought to be very cautious about their "facts." Among those that the American Council for Judaism desires "to bring to the attention of" their colleagues are these: that over 180 had left the Conference, when this vote was taken; that "quite a number did not vote"; and, by implication, that the vote was unrepresentative.

This would indicate that approximately three hundred men attended the Cincinnati Convention. The actual number was 236. Of these 102 voted on this resolution, 64 for it, and 38 against it. Precisely how many refrained from voting I have been unable to ascertain. Neither the Yearbook nor the stenographic record supplies this information. But let us suppose that it was about 15 men. This would mean that approximately 119 men had left the convention.

In point of view of proportions the vote was decisive, almost two to one. It was as fair and representative as such votes usually are. The "neutrality resolution" has become a kind of *Torah min Hashomayim*; but it was carried by a vote of 81 to 25, a total of 106, out of 182 who attended the Chicago convention.

It is true that I was one of the signers of a resolution on the Jewish Army that appeared in the New York Times. I did not sign it as President of the Conference. The ticketing of my signature in this fashion was done without my knowledge or consent. But I would like to make perfectly clear that I did not do even this until after my friends, who now constitute the American Council for Judaism, had taken separate action in regard to the press in Cincinnati, had circularized most of the members of the CCAR, and had published a resolution *against* a Jewish Army!

The second paragraph of this letter asserts that "the procedure attendant upon the passage of the Resolution was unparliamentary, as the stenographic record will show." I have the stenographic record. I took it to the subsequent meeting of the Executive Board of the CCAR, so that all members might examine it. I brought it with me to the Baltimore meeting, of which I wrote in my last letter. It is true that some things were a bit unclear. But, to distort this into the accusation that it was "unparliamentary" and again by implication that I was guilty of intentional unfairness, of forcing the Conference to take an action it did not intend, is both wildly untrue and utterly unfounded.

The record is here for anyone who wishes to read. When the Committee on Resolutions presented a "compromise" resolution, a motion was made to substitute for this a strong resolution, which would favor a "Jewish fighting-force, based on Palestine." In the course of the discussion it was brought out that such a resolution had in fact been in the hands of the Resolutions Committee. The feeling was expressed several times that the "substitute" called for should be this original resolution. All that I did was to inquire of the mover of the resolution whether this was his intention, and thereafter to put the motion in this form. More than this, the stenographic record shows that I went out of my way to make all this perfectly clear, when several "points of order" were raised. It is, therefore, not more than a silly technicality that is involved. To make this the basis of a charge of unfairness, or of "distortion" exhibits no more than the state of mind of those who make the charge.

I have no intention of entering into any of the problems with which this letter abounds, about the reasons for the existence of the American Council for Judaism, or about its point of view in regard to Zionism. These are matters for the CCAR itself, when next it convenes. Although I am a Zionist, and still Chairman of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, I have not been arguing, nor shall I argue this affair on the score of Zionism. I have regarded my whole part in this as that of the President of the CCAR, whose duty it was to prevent a schism within its ranks. And I was not, nor am I concerned, with the legal technicalities,—whether these gentlemen have or have not the intention to remain loyal members of the Conference. My concern has been with my feeling that, willy-nilly, deep divisions were arising and would continue to arise,—that the unity of the Conference would be at an end, that the whole spirit that has animated its counsels and its labors would be destroyed. In this, unless I err, I have the support of a substantial majority of our members, judging by the letters I have received. I have *not* tried to aggravate the condition, as these gentlemen insist. It is an old trick to try to put the blame for the trouble on him who tries to prevent it, or stop it. On the contrary, whether they believe it or not, I have desired ardently to heal the breach. Both proposals of peace came not from them, but from me . . . But all this I am content to leave to the judgment of the members of the Conference.

I am asked, next, how I can justify the publication of my last letter in The New Palestine of February 19th. What a tempest in a tea-pot! The letter was not published at my request. On the contrary, I pointed out to the editor that the letter was of interest only to CCAR members. But it was a public document. Any letter to 450

and more men is bound to be. This our friends of the American Council ought to know. Many of their resolutions and addresses have been published in various places, with or without their consent. And it is this trivial and unworthy accusation that is made the basis for inquiring—in effect—whether I ought not be impeached! This is termed “a serious lapse involving the official conduct of the President.”

✓ All these weighty charges are put together, and, in the opinion of those who hurl them, like thunderbolts of tinsel, they are added up to the final conclusion that I am trying “to make the Conference Zionist, or force a split.” How absurd! And how deliciously oblivious of the past! I shall make a public *Viddui*! The “neutrality resolution” of 1935 was my own idea! I argued then that, though anti-Zionism had been rammed down the throats of Zionists for many years, with more than a little cruelty and exultation, now that the Zionists had a majority, I for one did not want them to adopt the same tactics. One of the most remarkable aspects of this remarkable exchange is that some of the very older men, who sign these letters, who accuse me of trying to “make the Conference Zionist”, were themselves parties again and again to making the Conference anti-Zionist! Last February I read a message, ✓ in which for the sake of unity, and because I believe in this kind of conciliation and friendliness, I said not one word about Zionism!

I stand upon the record. When anti-Zionists were in the majority, the Conference was openly and strongly anti-Zionist. From 1896 onward it enacted resolutions, and approved presidential fulminations, blasting and condemning Zionism roundly. Slowly the conformation of our membership changed. In the seven or eight years in which presumably the Zionists had a majority, they have not demanded Zionist commitments, nor have they followed the hosts of precedents laid down by their anti-Zionist colleagues.

✓ If it were possible, I should like the Conference to continue as it had been proceeding before last February. I have tried to achieve this by the proposals I made to the American Council for Judaism. I cannot believe that we can return to neutrality, as long as a considerable part of our members organize outside the Conference to express themselves, and to agitate, on the very subject on which the Conference is neutral. I may be wrong in believing that the existence of the American Council for Judaism impairs any possible status of impartiality. I may be wrong in believing that it is not analogous to the Zionist Organization (which includes Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Jews; which does not purport to serve specifically religious ends; which does not pretend to be an interpretation of Reform Judaism; which was not initiated nor manned by rabbis who come exclusively from the ranks of the CCAR). I may be wrong about all this. But I have done my utmost to look upon this, not as a Zionist, but as President of the Conference. I beg my colleagues, especially those not embroiled in this so acrimoniously, to believe what I write!

Perhaps the nub of the whole matter is to be found in the long paragraph on page four of this letter. There it is contended that the aims of Reform Jewish organizations are in jeopardy, that their unity is imperiled, that there is need for an organization dedicated to a religious emphasis. The paragraph is not a little confused, and leaps merrily from one theme to another. None the less, it seems to me to give away the whole show. The American Council for Judaism proposes to be a body that shall take over the functions of the CCAR and the UAHC. Are not these two devoted to religious purposes? Has their effort on behalf of liberal Judaism waned? Have we failed, again and again, to underline the need for the primacy of the synagogue? Unless I err, the whole argument is deeply revealing. It tends, to my mind, to confirm all that I wrote, that this organization *is* conceived as duplicating and overlapping the very reasons for which the Conference and the Union exist.

Perhaps I was wrong in writing that it is now too late! That “the die has been cast!” I know that I would feel derelict in my duty, if I did not use every opportunity for allaying this strife, which unquestionably is mounting in bitterness. Personally may I confess that I dislike this kind of debate intensely. I don't like having to defend my actions, especially to my colleagues. I don't like it, especially, after almost two years of the most intensive work on their behalf. I regret deeply that we have been forced into the situation of charge and countercharge.

It would be far better, if we would do two things:

1. Wait until the CCAR itself meets and when face to face we shall have the chance of hammering out our agreement or disagreement;
2. Confine ourselves to the problems of policy that are involved, and eschew all recriminations or personal indictments.

It is these latter that will prove deeply disruptive, that will rouse men to the point where no peace or cooperation will be possible.

Both sides must know that we are dealing with something infinitely precious. The future of Reform Judaism. Some of our enemies have been rubbing their hands at this controversy. Can we not, at the very least, wait until we can talk all this over among ourselves, and decide what the majority want to do? It might be argued that I am myself responsible for the inauguration of this era of letter-writing. If so, I promise to say a fervent *Al chet*, and to refrain!

With fraternal greetings, I am

Yours sincerely,

JAMES G. HELLER.

March 16, 1943

Dear Colleague:-

Rabbi Jonah B. Wise is quite within his rights in the letter he sent out under date of March 11th. But I find the reasoning of the letter more than a little difficult to follow.

First of all, Rabbi Wise is, in my opinion, incorrect in asserting that no votes of the Conference have ever been taken by mail. Reference to the record will, I think, show that it has been done in the past.

Secondly, the letter was sent out over the signature of the President for a very simple reason: namely, that it was I who in the main attended the meetings of the American Jewish Assembly, and who am now serving on its Executive Committee. Therefore, I wanted the vote so as to be able to report it.

While it is quite true that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has not yet taken a vote on its affiliation, it is incorrect that no other organizations have done so. The last report that was made indicated that twenty, out of the thirty-two organizations represented at Pittsburgh, had voted to ratify the agreement and to join in the call for an American Jewish Assembly.

Rabbi Wise expressed the opinion, also, that "no one can competently judge the matter involved simply by reading the material enclosed by the President." That is his opinion. But it does not seem to be the general opinion of the members of the CCAR. Up to this writing, 230 votes have been cast: 211 in favor of joining; 15 opposed; and 4 not voting. I sent to the members all the material available, which, together with the articles in the Jewish press, ought to have been more than adequate. In addition to this, in the letter with which I accompanied these materials, I did my utmost to acquaint the members of the CCAR with actual conditions, even going so far as to tell them about the then stand of the American Jewish Committee. It may interest our own members to know that, since that letter was sent out, considerable progress has been made in negotiations with representatives of the American Jewish Committee, and there appears to me a good chance that they will come in. It is easily possible, therefore, that *every* national Jewish membership organization will take part.

As for the matter of the submission of this to the members of the CCAR! No matter what your President does, there are some people who dislike it! I was mindful of the criticisms made after the last convention about the vote on the Jewish Army Resolution. I thought that it would be wise to have as large and democratic a vote as possible, and that the members of the Conference had a right to vote on it. To have called a meeting of the Executive Committee would have been very expensive, and they would probably have decided upon the same course of action. In all organizations, of which I know, the President possesses this right, to submit matters for decision to the members. Rabbi Wise's use of the terms "dragooning", and "serious breach of the privileges of the members" is simply absurd. To ask for a vote is "dragooning"? And white is also black! And it is a "serious breach of the privileges of the members of the Conference" to ask them to vote on the position and decisions of their own organization? I feel tempted, in the best style of critical writing, to add a huge "(SIC)." As for Rabbi Wise's wish to have his opinion recorded; it is recorded!

Those who read carefully the material that was sent out will have noticed: 1st, that it was an impartial and careful setting forth of *all* the available facts; 2nd, that it was necessary to have a vote within thirty days; 3rd, that the plan is to call the American Jewish Assembly some time in June, and that therefore the Conference would not have been able to vote on it *viva voce*, at its next convention.

I have no real idea why Jonah Wise got so excited about all this, or why he felt it necessary to send out his ill-tempered letter. Perhaps all this is another result of the general distemper that seems to have infected us. At any rate, whatever the reason, I am again content to leave this to the judgment of the members of the Conference.

With most cordial and fraternal greetings, I am

Yours sincerely,

JAMES G. HELLER

P.S. This letter is paid for by the Conference, since it is an official communication of the President to the members, on a matter of business of the Conference!

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

1720 - 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 23, 1943

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
President

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD
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LILLIAN SCHOOLMAN
HARRY A. TAKIFF

TO ALL CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES
OF Z. O. A. DISTRICTS.

Dear Friends:

The forthcoming National Conference for Palestine which is being convened by the United Palestine Appeal on May 1-2, 1943, in Philadelphia will provide an opportunity for Zionists from all parts of the country to take common counsel on the major problems confronting us, and particularly, to review the latest war developments as they affect the future of Palestine and the destiny of the Jewish people.

Dedicated to the mobilization of our strength and resources in behalf of Palestine, this annual conference assumes a special importance at this time when the unity of American Jewry for the up-building of the Jewish National Home is a matter of supreme urgency. The United Palestine Appeal, which is a constituent partner in the United Jewish Appeal, has been a vital factor in the growth of the Jewish National Homeland and in the latter's remarkable contribution to the war effort of the United Nations.

The National Conference for Palestine will serve to focus the attention of American Jewry on the scope of the Jewish tragedy in Nazi dominated Europe and the need for effective action to bring immediate and constructive amelioration. It is of the utmost importance that the forthcoming conference of the United Palestine Appeal be attended by representatives from all our Z.O.A. Districts throughout the country. A maximum representation will insure the success of the conference as an impressive demonstration of the united will of American Jewry to serve as an ever expanding arsenal of support for the Palestine Yishuv.

I urge you, therefore, to select immediately two delegates to represent your District at the National Conference in Philadelphia. Please advise me promptly of the selection of your delegates so that credentials may be forwarded to them in due time by the national office of the United Palestine Appeal in New York.

With kind regards and Zion's greetings

Faithfully yours,

Louis E. Levintal
Louis E. Levintal



HIRAM S. RIVITZ
WEST 98th ST. & WALFORD AVE.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

May 28, 1943

Rabbi A. H. Silver,
c/o The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Hillel:-

I thought you might be interested in reading copy of letter from Inland Steel Company to their stockholders, written by Mr. W. Sykes, President, issued May 7, 1943, in the light of the published article which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of May 17th which quotes you as saying that the average wage of the miner is \$35 per week.

I also have a letter dated January 1, 1943 "In the Field" from Lt. Commander William J. Sheehan, who formerly supervised the Medical Departments of our three plants, and I quote verbatim one of the paragraphs of his letter:

"Our Marines do a good job of loading & unloading, a damn sight better than our C.I.O. Merchant Marine whose chief worry is to collect their bonus if not protected by a submarine net."

The writer of this letter paid me a visit only a few weeks ago when he was home on a week's furlough, and told me personally that the boys in the Navy and in the Army where he was located were very bitter against the C.I.O. because of their dilatory tactics which was outstanding in their effort to get time-and-a-half and double-time pay for their work by stalling.

It would seem that your statement about Captain Rickenbacker in this same article to the effect that it is doubtful whether the soldiers would have underwritten his attacks is, at least in this instance, incorrect. You are definitely correct, however, when you say in the opening paragraph of your article that we must guard ourselves against falling victims to the beguilements, attractiveness and inducements of propaganda.

With kind regards, remain,

Sincerely yours,

Hiram Rivitz

June 1, 1943

Mr. Hiram S. Rivitz
West 98th & Walford Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Hiram:

Thank you so much for your letter of May 28 and for the copy of the letter from the Inland Steel Company which I read with a great deal of interest. The figures which I quoted in my address on May 16, were of course for the entire industry -- some 600,000 men -- and the average wage of these men is about \$35 a week. I checked up on the official figures, and to the best of my information, this is correct.

I am sorry that you did not hear the entire address which I delivered on May 16. A sentence or two in a newspaper account hardly does justice to the subject to which I devoted careful study, as I try to do before speaking in public. I spoke in sharp criticism of the tactics of Mr. Lewis and of the danger of strikes in war time. But I did stress, as every fair-minded man would, the fact that the miners' wages are inadequate in the light of the sharp rise in the cost of living. I don't know whether you listened in to the address, yesterday, by James F. Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization. It was a heartening and inspiring address. The full text of it was printed in this morning's New York Times. I am enclosing the first part of his address which refers to the stoppages of work in industries caused by strikes. This is an accurate and sober statement of the situation.

There are dark forces in our country who are exploiting the strike situation for unholy purposes, I am afraid, just as the Fascists did in Europe. If ever a Fascist coup is attempted in our country, it will be led by labor-baiters, and the first victims of it will be the Jews. There will be no line drawn between rich Jews and poor Jews, capitalist Jews and communist Jews. They will all be tarred by the same brush as they were in Europe. The strongholds of underground anti-Semitic agitation today are certain reactionary and powerful industrial forces who in order to break what has come to be known as the New Deal, will have no hesitancy in crucifying the Jew. They will incite and exploit the returning American soldiers to do the dirty job for them.

Mr. Hiram S. Rivitz

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June 1, 1943

With all good wishes and hoping to see you in the near future, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1943 at 12:30 P.M.

AT THE HOTEL BILTMORE, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Stephen S. Wise presiding; Frank Abelson, Harry P. Fierst, Mendel N. Fisher, Jacob Fishman, Louis Frankel, Abraham Goodman, Sylvan Gotshal, Hermann Hollander, Mendel Jacobi, Abraham Krumbein, Louis E. Levinthal, Abraham L. Liebovitz, Irving Miller, Asher Papish, Harry A. Pine, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Mrs. Dvorah Rothbard, Abba Hillel Silver, Maxwell Silver, Robert Silverman, Jacob Sincoff, Michael A. Stavitsky, Sigmund Thau, Abraham Uslander, Harold M. Weinberg, Morris Weinberg, Herman L. Weisman, Aaron Weiss;

Samuel Blitz, Baruch Braunstein, Leon Feuer, Nahum Goldmann, Isidor Kadis, Henry Montor, Martin Panzer, Martin Rosenbluth, Alex Rothenberg, Meyer F. Steinglass, Miss Gisela Warburg, Meyer W. Weisgal.

STATUS OF THE CAMPAIGN

Mr. Charles Rosenbloom, as Treasurer, submitted a report on the income and expenditures of the United Palestine Appeal as of June 25, 1943 (Appendix A). The report was received with thanks.

Mr. Montor then reviewed the status of the United Jewish Appeal campaign for 1943. He asked permission to incorporate into the record a more detailed statement which he had prepared on behalf of Mr. Isidor Coons and himself as Executive Vice-Chairmen of the United Jewish Appeal. (Appendix B) This report had been submitted to the Executive Committee of the United Jewish Appeal at a luncheon meeting on June 23rd.

YOUTH IMMIGRATION

A letter was read from Rabbi L. Seltzer, Executive Director of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada. (Appendix C) Mr. Montor then read a cable dispatched on May 9th to Dr. Stephen S. Wise from Rabbi Juda Leib Fishman, Mizrachi member of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem, on the subject of the religious training of children coming to Palestine from Teheran. (Appendix D)

It was decided that the acknowledgment by Mr. Montor in a letter dated May 28th (Appendix E) was in itself a summary of the action being taken by the Jewish Agency on this matter.

Consideration was then given to the subject of centralizing fund-raising activities in the United States for youth immigration in Palestine. Mr. Montor reported that Dr. Silver had appointed a sub-committee for the purpose of formulating exclusively on behalf of the United Palestine Appeal a basis for the relationship of the U.P.A. to the complicated situation. The committee appointed consisted of Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mr. Sylvan Gotshal, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Mr. Rudolf Sonneborn and Dr. Stephen S. Wise. However, Drs. Goldstein and Wise had been unable to attend meetings, and Dr. Goldstein had been unable to serve. The other three members had had several sessions to review all phases of the problem. The Committee adopted a

formula for the proposed centralization of the handling of the youth immigration problem insofar as fund-raising in the United States is concerned. In order that there might be a unified approach to the problem, the formula was submitted to several representatives of Hadassah and discussed. This was done in the hope that if the U.P.A. sub-committee and Hadassah, which have between them the greatest interest in the problem, could agree on a commonly acceptable formula, the major hurdles would have been surmounted. We are now advised, however, that Hadassah had not yet been able to dispose of the problem. The formula had been submitted the previous day to the National Board of Hadassah, but there was no time for action. Hadassah was now asking that the U.P.A. Administrative Committee should not adopt final action or consider the formula of the sub-committee until Hadassah has had a full opportunity to form its judgment. Under these circumstances it might be advisable to postpone consideration of the formula by this body.

Mr. Weisman inquired whether the officers of the United Palestine Appeal conceived that other organizations besides Hadassah should have the formula submitted to them. Mr. Montor stated that the sub-committee of the U.P.A., which dealt with the problem, have in mind the interest which other bodies have in the problem of youth immigration. Without wishing to give the contents of the formula at this time, he could say that reference was made to the participation of other bodies. It seemed to be felt, however, by the sub-committee that, since Hadassah has a major interest in the subject at this time and since more rather than less unity is desirable to achieve the centralization of this work, it would be best to obtain the consent of Hadassah first before presenting the matter officially to other bodies or to the Administrative Committee itself for action.

Mr. Weisman pointed out that even the action of the Administrative Committee on this subject would have to be subject to ratification by the respective boards of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth which constitute this body. The United Palestine Appeal, he stated, exists merely to administer a written agreement.

Mrs. Rothbard said that other organizations besides Hadassah are involved. There had been a committee meeting in which representatives of various agencies were included and several proposals had been made at that time. She felt that it would be only fair to send a copy of the proposals to the other organizations involved.

The Chairman assumed that the centralizing committee would do all that was required to be done to make the information available to the parties concerned.

Mrs. Pool felt that the proposals should be discussed and disposed of first by the sub-committee of the U.P.A. and Hadassah so that the Hadassah's reaction to the proposals could be adopted before they are submitted to other bodies.

Mr. Montor, referring to Mr. Weisman's question, pointed out that the sub-committee of the U.P.A. had no power whatsoever to act. It was only engaged in considering and exploring the problem and offering recommendations. It might have been more desirable technically to submit the proposals first to the Administrative Committee, but it was deemed in the interest of more expeditious and harmonious handling if Hadassah's agreement could be secured first. However it should be pointed out that Hadassah's acceptance or rejection of the sub-committee's formula does not bind this body.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

Dr. Silver pointed out that he had for some time been pressing the question of the relationship of the Jewish National Fund to the United Palestine Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal in order to iron out the difficulties. He had met with representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee in an effort to come to an understanding. He had also requested Dr. Goldstein to meet with representatives of the J.D.C. with the thought that any arrangement that would be acceptable to the J.D.C. and the J.N.F. would be satisfactory to the U.P.A. He asked Mr. Montor to read a letter which had come to him from Dr. Goldstein under date of June 16th. (Appendix F)

MIZRACHI

Mr. Montor reviewed the action of Mizrachi in having launched the Mizrachi Rehabilitation Fund for \$250,000. The subject had been considered at previous meetings of the Administrative and Executive Committees of the United Palestine Appeal. At a meeting of the Executive Committee on May 10, 1943, at which Rabbi Meier Berlin was present, it seemed to be the consensus that the Mizrachi had undertaken to discontinue the campaign which it had asserted was not launched. The Executive Committee had pointed out that the launching of the campaign was in violation of the agreement which the Mizrachi had with the United Palestine Appeal and that there was no warrant for the campaign. Since the date of that meeting of the Executive Committee, protests from various communities have indicated that this allegedly suspended campaign was still very much alive. As a result, under the terms of the agreement of the 1943 United Palestine Appeal, he, as Executive Director, had suspended payments to the Mizrachi on account of the 1943 allotment of \$125,000, which was paid presumably in lieu of a campaign. By the 1943 agreement Mizrachi was bound to conduct no campaigns of any kind for any purpose. Mr. Montor stated that the suspension of payment to Mizrachi was not appreciated by that organization. Two of its representatives, Rabbi Max Kirshblum and Mr. Hermann Hollander, met with Dr. Silver on June 23rd in New York City. As a result of that discussion and on the basis of the agreement made with Dr. Silver, the payments to the Mizrachi toward the \$125,000 allotment were resumed. Mr. Montor had accompanied the check with the following letter:

"June 22, 1943

"Mr. Leon Gellman
Mizrachi
1133 Broadway
New York City

Dear Mr. Gellman:

There is being sent to you a check for the June allotment to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund.

Remittances are being resumed on the basis of a conversation which Mr. Hermann Hollander and Rabbi Max Kirshblum had with Dr. Silver on June 22nd, during which representations were made that the campaign initiated by the Mizrachi Rehabilitation Fund would be completely suspended.

Cordially yours,
Henry Montor
Executive Director"

At the same time Mr. Montor also read into the record a copy of a letter dated June 24th from Mr. Hermann Hollander which did not completely coincide with Mr. Montor's understanding of the situation. (Appendix G) Dr. Silver agreed that Mr. Hollander's interpretation was correct.

Mr. Montor stated that prior to the exchange of communications with Mizrachi, the sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Sylvan Gotshal, Morris Rothenberg and Rudolf Sonneborn, had come to the conclusion that the Mizrachi Rehabilitation Fund was completely unauthorized, had no basis in the 1943 U.J.A. agreement and was not necessitated or warranted by the circumstances existing in Palestine. The sub-committee called upon the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal to declare the Mizrachi campaign completely unauthorized and so to announce it. The formulation on the Mizrachi Rehabilitation Fund was read into the record. (Appendix H)

Dr. Silver did not think there was any need for additional action at this time. There was a clear understanding that the Mizrachi was liquidating its campaign. There will be no further publicity in connection with it.

Mr. Goodman pointed out that the U.P.A. agreement for 1943 has a provision binding the Mizrachi to turn over to the United Palestine Appeal any funds collected. He was wondering whether that subject had been taken up in the discussion of the Mizrachi representatives with Dr. Silver. The latter said it had been mentioned.

Mr. Montor stated that there are individuals who are alleged to have made contributions in local communities on the erroneous interpretation or misinformed assurance of some Mizrachi representatives that a contribution to Mizrachi was the same thing as a contribution to the United Jewish Appeal. There were several cases of this kind on record, and the U.P.A. had been asked to reimburse the particular community for contributions so made and received. It was his intention that where it is clearly proved that a man has given such a contribution to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund on that understanding, the money will be reimbursed by the U.P.A. and a deduction made from the allotment to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund.

Mr. Hollander denied that the Mizrachi had done anything contrary to the agreement of 1943. He said he agreed, however, 100% with the point that had just been made by Mr. Montor. It should be the function of the United Palestine Appeal office to let the Mizrachi know of any and all cases where it is felt that contributions made by individuals to Mizrachi had been made at the expense of the U.J.A., and the money will promptly be returned.

Before the discussion on the subject was closed Mr. Montor asked that there be included again in the record Clause 15 of the 1943 United Palestine Appeal agreement, which describes "Obligations of Mizrachi" (See Appendix H).

Mr. Hollander again said that in any cases where it is felt that the U.P.A. or U.J.A. has lost directly or indirectly by the Mizrachi campaign, he would personally handle the matter to see that satisfaction was given by Mizrachi.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY

It was pointed out by Mr. Montor that, in connection with the application of the American Friends of the Hebrew University for a grant of \$30,000 to the University (Appendix I), the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal was in no

position to make allocations. However, as a matter of record he was inserting into that record a copy of a cable which had been received from Eliezer Kaplan, Arthur Hantke and Abraham Granovsky, in which, on behalf of the Jewish Agency, the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, they agreed to a recommendation as follows:

"View difficult position University Jerusalem consequence shrinking sources income increased expenditure due higher cost living also important special work University doing war effort agree increase your allocation University this year from fifteen thousand to thirty thousand dollars in hope Joint's allocation also be increased"

Mr. Montor stated that copies of the cable had already been submitted to the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, which alone were in position to act. This cable was supplementary to the original application submitted to the U.P.A. by the American Friends of the Hebrew University, which letter had also been transmitted to the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth for their action.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS

Reference was made to the question of whether the United Palestine Appeal should continue to pay a grant of \$2,500 for 1943 to the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, or whether the United Palestine Appeal should give its consent to having the New York City United Jewish Appeal, Inc., become a member agency in the Council. Mr. Sidney Hollander, President of the Council, had submitted an application to Dr. Jonah B. Wise as Chairman of the Board of the New York City United Jewish Appeal, Inc. (Appendix J) The New York City United Jewish Appeal had subsequently advised the Council that it was withholding action on the Council's request until it had advice from the national United Jewish Appeal and the three agencies included therein, the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal and the National Refugee Service, to whom its money must go. As soon as the views of these bodies would be forthcoming the matter would again be taken up by the Executive Committee of the New York United Jewish Appeal.

It was decided that the subject should be given serious consideration by U.P.A. representatives on the Executive Committee of the New York United Jewish Appeal, Inc., but that the New York United Jewish Appeal, Inc. should feel free, if it so wishes, to act on whether it desires to become a member agency of the Council.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

It was moved, seconded and unanimously carried that Dr. Silver and Mr. Montor should be appointed as a committee with power to act, to name the U.P.A. members on the Executive Committee and other bodies of the New York United Jewish Appeal, Inc. in order to obtain substitutes for those believed not to be able to fulfill the obligations of these posts.

The Chairman interrupted the regular business of the meeting by making reference to the fact that Dr. Silver had just been named Vice-President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and would succeed to the Presidency two years hence. He complimented Dr. Silver and the Central Conference.

ISIDOR KADIS

Mr. Charles Rosenbloom reported that a meeting of the Budget Committee of the United Palestine Appeal had been held prior to this meeting and that Messrs. Abraham Goodman, Jacob Sincoff and himself had discussed the question of severance compensation for Mr. Kadis. Mr. Kadis had left the employ of the New York United Jewish Appeal in February 1942 to go to the American Jewish Congress on the assurance of Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Mr. Louis Lipsky that his rights would be maintained. The Budget Committee, reviewing all the facts, recommended six months' payment as severance compensation. After extended discussion it was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the Budget Committee be increased to eight months' payment as severance compensation to Mr. Kadis in payment of any and all obligations that might be owed to him because of his years of service in the employ of the U.P.A. or U.J.A. Messrs. Rosenbloom, Sincoff and Goodman voted against the motion, which was passed.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:20 P.M.



INCOME AND EXPENSE REPORT
1943 UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
AS OF JUNE 25, 1943

Bank Balance as of January 1, 1943 \$ 56,942.39

INCOME

United Palestine Appeal - 1943 (Bequests)	\$ 3,660.15	
Jewish National Fund 1943 (thru April)	361,873.63	
United Jewish Appeal 1943 (thru 37th unit)	1,021,200.00	
United Jewish Appeal 1942	1,492,500.00	
United Jewish Appeal 1941	40,601.02	
United Jewish Appeal 1940	7,794.24	
United Jewish Appeal 1939	2,063.91	
Prior Campaigns	<u>191.16</u>	<u>2,929,884.11</u>

Total Cash Received\$2,986,826.50DISBURSEMENTS

Jewish National Fund -	1943	\$ 635,000.00	
	1942	696,175.00	
	1941	60,000.00	
	1940	7,543.02	
	1938	139.87*	
	1937	177.11**	
	1936	<u>140.00</u>	1,399,175.00

Palestine Foundation Fund-	1943	\$ 635,000.00	
	1942	696,175.00	
	1941	60,000.00	
	1940	7,543.02	
	1938	139.87*	
	1937	177.11**	
	1936	<u>140.00</u>	1,399,175.00

Mizrachi Palestine Fund - 1943	60,000.00
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Service Payments

Zionist Organization - 1943	\$ 27,000.00	
Mizrachi Organization - 1943	4,000.00	
Poale Zion - Zeire Zion - 1943	4,000.00	
Hashomer Hatzair - 1943	<u>300.00</u>	<u>35,300.00</u>

Executive Committee Grant - Mrs. Annie Stone	1,040.04
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National Administrative Expenses - 1943	<u>58,862.23</u>
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Total Cash Disbursements2,953,552.27

Bank Balance as of June 25, 1943

\$ 33,274.23

National City Bank	\$28,274.23
Public National Bank	<u>5,000.00</u>
	<u>\$33,274.23</u>

* Includes \$47.62 for 1938 Palestine Emergency Fund

** Includes \$59.04 for 1937 Palestine Emergency Fund

APPENDIX B

REPORT TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
Wednesday, June 23, 1943

By

Messrs. Isidor Coons and Henry Montor, Executive Vice-Chairmen

The Spring campaigns benefitting the United Jewish Appeal have been the most successful in American Jewish fund-raising history. Increases have been registered almost uniformly, with the percentages depending upon the effectiveness of local leadership in utilizing the economic situation and the emotions aroused by the news reports from Europe.

As has been our consistent practice, we do not enter on the records of the United Jewish Appeal allotments from communities unless they have been officially communicated to us by responsible officers. In order, however, to provide to the Executive Committee at least an impression of the successes registered in the campaign, we believe that an estimate is desirable. A conservative estimate of income that may accrue to the United Jewish Appeal as a result of campaigns conducted between January 1st and June 30, 1943, is approximately \$11,500,000. At a meeting of the Executive Committee held at approximately the same time in 1942, we estimated that the Spring income of last year would be \$11,650,000, of which \$10,300,000 represented the amount for cities to be compared with this year's estimate. It should be noted, however, that the periods are not entirely comparable because of changes in campaign times for some communities. Chicago and Milwaukee, for example, which conducted Spring campaigns last year, have now shifted to the Fall when they will be included in local War Chest drives. Chicago and Milwaukee accounted last Spring for \$900,000. This is cited to emphasize the real improvement in UJA income which is not reflected in a superficial comparison between the total estimate reported for the Spring of 1943 and that for the Spring of 1942.

A change has been made in the method by which the national UJA records the income of the New York UJA, Inc. Until this year when a separate autonomous corporation was formed in New York to conduct the campaign of the United Jewish Appeal agencies, the New York City campaign was regarded as a branch of the national campaign. The national books recorded the total pledges received in New York City. Beginning this year, however, the national office regards New York City income on the same basis as any other community in the country, that is, it takes credit only for net income after expenses and shrinkage.

A breakdown of the total estimate for the Spring campaigns of 1943 shows that \$7,600,000 is credited to the rest of the country and \$3,900,000 net is expected as a minimum for the year from New York City. New York City does not terminate its campaign in June but will continue into the Fall to complete its fund-raising effort. In order to give a proper picture, however, of the New York City campaign, it should be noted that in June 1942, the New York United Jewish Appeal reported gross pledges of approximately \$3,100,000, whereas in June 1943, New York City UJA reports an increase of about \$600,000 over last year's figures at this time.

With adjustments to allow for the change in recording New York City figures and the transfer of Chicago and Milwaukee from Spring to Fall, the estimate of \$11,500,000 for the 1943 Spring phase represents an actual increase of about \$1,200,000 over the pledges from the same communities in 1942. Our estimate for Spring income is conservative. It should be noted that it does not represent an estimate for the entire year of 1943, since many campaigns are still to be held in the Fall, including such

major cities as Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, etc.

Because most major campaigns are held in April, May and June, a great number of them do not complete budgetary consideration until late this month or next. Thus, we are unable to present complete official pledges made to the United Jewish Appeal. Our books do record as of June 21, 1943, on an incomplete basis, pledges officially communicated to us by communities of \$5,297,690. With a cash receipt from New York City of \$2,300,000, the total official pledges now recorded are \$7,597,690.

The cash experience of the national United Jewish Appeal has also been gratifying. As of June 21, 1943, the UJA has received \$1,879,422 from the rest of the country and \$2,300,000 from New York City. At the same time last year the UJA had received in cash \$1,618,918 from the rest of the country and \$1,600,000 from New York City. The cash return from the former communities is even more impressive when it is recalled that Chicago, among other communities, had a Spring campaign last year and forwarded cash accordingly.

In the Spring phase of the 1943 UJA 3,095 communities will have participated in the national campaign. This compared with 2,520 in 1942.

CAMPAIGN COMMENTS

The uniformity with which communities throughout the country reported campaign successes indicates that national factors were at work. Where strong leaders were in charge of the campaign, the natural sentiment for giving reached unprecedented levels. The general economic conditions were perhaps the most important contributing factor. An early analysis of returns from many communities indicates that the bulk of the increases came from middle bracket givers, with only limited substantial increases from the top givers. This phenomenon was so strong that even in some communities where big givers maintained their gifts at last year's level or even reduced, the losses were absorbed by the rest of the giving. In the past, cutting at the top would have been instantly reflected in reduced giving in the brackets below. This was not true in 1943. This would seem to be a sign of healthy development in the American Jewish community. Giving is now measured in terms of the importance of the work rather than in relationship to what a few prominent individuals do.

It should not be assumed, however, that the successes registered in these campaigns have drastically changed the ratio of givers to the ratio of giving. It is still true that some 10% to 15% of the top givers provide the bulk of the money. Into this 10% or 15% top bracket, however, have come many new givers whose relation to the economic situation is reflected in their current generosity.

A review of the major cities on which the United Jewish Appeal depends for its income shows the following: Baltimore, which had a larger goal than last year, has exceeded by a comfortable margin the \$434,000 it set out to raise; Newark, New Jersey, which has experienced a steady development during the past two years, raised approximately \$400,000 in 1942 and hopes to raise about \$560,000 in 1943. We are especially gratified to pay tribute to Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, National Treasurer of the United Jewish Appeal, who is the chairman of the 1943 Pittsburgh United Jewish Fund, which expects to raise about \$575,000 or about \$150,000 more than last year. Cleveland also reported the best campaign in its history, with some \$900,000 reached.

As was said above, Chicago is holding its campaign in the Fall of 1943 as part of the Chicago War and Community Fund. It is our understanding that although the Chest generally is raising funds for 1944, the income for the UJA will be credited to 1943.

Detroit and St. Louis held their 1943 campaigns as part of their local War Chests in the Fall of 1942. Detroit has allotted to the United Jewish Appeal \$500,000 for 1943. This is the largest allotment from Detroit in our history. The report from San Francisco, now in the midst of its campaign, indicates that more money is being raised than last year.

Los Angeles is a community in which the UJA has a special interest this year, because field representatives of the UJA are exclusively responsible for the direction of the campaign. Because of the induction into the armed services of its Executive Director, Los Angeles accepted the offer of the UJA to use our man to run the general campaign. We have also assigned a field representative to handle the Hollywood section of the campaign. We have given every form of encouragement and stimulation to that community and the preliminary reports indicate that a substantial amount in excess of what was raised last year will be forthcoming.

The UJA is showing in the case of Los Angeles what it can do in a big city where it is given an opportunity to apply its experience and techniques with the full cooperation of the local community. In large cities where trained staffs are available, this form of close cooperation is not always possible, although there are many other forms of aid and stimulation which we do provide with special emphasis on the work that is done by national headquarters to obtain the maximum allocations from these communities.

When the UJA has unrestricted opportunity to apply its experience and guidance to community campaigns, the results are striking. A review of campaign developments during the five years in which the UJA has operated shows that the greatest per capita and community increases, in terms of total funds raised by these communities and in terms of allotments to the UJA, are in the so-called second bracket communities, giving us sums ranging up to \$250,000. The field representatives of the UJA who set up campaigns, who persuade local leaders to adopt larger and challenging quotas; visits from national headquarters to spur community leaders and givers; the participation of our national officers and special speakers in big gifts and similar functions - all contribute to the larger results that are reported year after year. It is because of the gains that have been made steadily in these communities that the United Jewish Appeal has been able to absorb losses in other directions, such as the drop in income from New York City, from which for 1939 the UJA received in cash \$5,394,000 and \$3,659,800 in cash to date on account of 1942; and from Chicago from which in 1939 the UJA received in cash \$1,400,000 and in 1942, \$800,000. A number of other large communities were in the same category. We feel it important to underline the direct and effective contribution being made by the national UJA to local campaign techniques because too often it is assumed that local campaign developments are exclusively natural and spontaneous phenomena bearing no relationship to outside influence or guidance.

There is cited herewith a list of some of the representative communities about which we have information indicating (1) the total amount raised in 1942; (2) the total amount raised in 1943; (3) the allotment to the United Jewish Appeal in 1942; and (4) the allotment or estimated allotment to the United Jewish Appeal in 1943.

<u>Community</u>	<u>Total Raised 1942</u>	<u>Total Raised 1943</u>	<u>1942 UJA Allotment</u>	<u>1943 UJA Allotment</u>
Akron, Ohio	\$ 88,772	\$127,000	\$ 40,000	\$ 50,000 Estimate
Atlanta, Ga.	111,000	154,325	61,500	-
Birmingham, Ala.	59,250	65,000	32,000	40,000
Canton, Ohio	49,000	70,500	23,520	34,000
Cleveland, Ohio	774,000	897,000	425,000	475,000 Min. Est.
Detroit, Mich.	W A R C H E S T	450,000		500,000
Elizabeth, N. J.	38,000	50,977	30,000	40,000 Min. Est.
Harrisburg, Pa.	70,000	98,500	26,250	50,000 Minimum
Hartford, Conn.	208,195	277,000	140,000	200,000 Estimate
Louisville, Ky.	122,591	147,838	74,868	83,000
Madison, Wisc.	12,371	29,000	8,175 Estimate	15,000 Estimate
Miami, Fla.	113,885	135,977	40,000	51,000
Minneapolis, Minn.	183,177 approx.	217,000	85,000	110,000 Estimate
Newark, N. J.	402,075	525,000	202,500	-
New Haven, Conn.	104,366	140,000	63,000	90,000
Pittsburgh, Pa.	438,000	565,000	200,000	-
Portland, Ore.	90,123	97,000	61,500	65,000
Southern Illinois	59,517	90,000	32,500	47,000 a/c Est.
Syracuse, N. Y.	92,354	110,000	55,000	65,000
Trenton, N. J.	59,741	79,000	25,000	35,000
Worcester, Mass.	90,841	108,000	52,500	60,000 Min. Est.

It is with pleasure that we record a gift of \$50,000 through the initiative of Mr. Edmund I. Kaufmann on behalf of the Key Jewelry Company and associated stores. This is the first corporation gift on a national basis which the United Jewish Appeal has received. It has been made clear by the donor that this sum is intended directly and exclusively for the UJA and is not shared with any local community.

NATIONAL WAR FUND

As this body is aware, negotiations on the subject of affiliation by the United Jewish Appeal with the National War Fund, either on a national or local level, were conducted for a very long time. These negotiations have come to an end. It is our impression from personal conversations and correspondence that the National War Fund did not believe itself to be in a position to arrive at an arrangement with the United Jewish Appeal for its inclusion as one of the member agencies in the National War Fund. Since this conclusion was also arrived at by the United Jewish Appeal itself, there should be an amicable relationship. The last proposal on the subject was that the United Jewish Appeal should encourage local Welfare Funds, if all conditions seem otherwise appropriate, to join local War Chests. The National War Fund, on the other hand, would encourage local War Chests to embrace Welfare Funds. The National War Fund has taken the position that it cannot exercise local pressure. The last communication on this subject was from Mr. Robert O. Loosley, Executive Vice-President of the National War Fund, who wrote as follows to Mr. Charles A. Riegelman on May 28, 1943:

"Dear Mr. Riegelman:

This is to acknowledge your letter of May 18th.

"As I understand the situation, both United Jewish Appeal and the National War Fund are to refrain from taking any specific action with respect to combining campaigns for local war chests and Jewish Welfare campaigns. Whatever is undertaken locally is satisfactory to both organizations. Does this clear the matter?"

On May 3rd there was a meeting in the office of the United Jewish Appeal of officers of the United Jewish Appeal and of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, including Mr. Sidney Hollander and Mr. Harry Lurie. This and several previous meetings were in conformity with the decision of the Executive Committee that there should be collaboration between the United Jewish Appeal and the Council of Jewish Federations in arriving at a mutually acceptable point of view on War Chest affiliation. At the meeting on May 3rd the officers of the Council indicated their belief that it was not necessary or desirable for the UJA to issue any further statement to the country on the subject of War Chest affiliation. There were sufficient facts available from the first bulletin issued jointly by Community Chests and Councils, Inc. and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and subsequent bulletins of information issued by the Council alone to give the American Jewish communities such information as they desired to make decisions on affiliation of their Welfare Funds with War Chests.

The widespread interest which existed late in the Fall and early this Spring in the merger of Welfare Funds with War Chests has subsided. In some areas the resistance has increased. We would not regard this, however, as a finished item for consideration, since we believe it possible that the subject may receive new stimulation in the Fall. At that time the National War Fund will be engaged in national publicity and local War Chests will be conducting campaigns. The stimulation may spill over into the Jewish communities with some of them feeling a renewed desire to associate themselves with the War Chest campaign.

Since the last meeting of the Executive Committee on March 16th, we have been advised that the following Welfare Funds have voted to join the local War Chests:

San Jose, California
Memphis, Tennessee (voted to participate subject to final acceptance)*

To understand how limited is the number of Jewish communities which have joined War Chests, a complete list is herewith given:

San Jose, Calif.	St. Louis, Mo.
Tampa, Fla.	Buffalo, N. Y.
La Grange, Ga.	Cincinnati, Ohio
Chicago, Ill.	Erie, Pa.
Indianapolis, Ind.	Memphis, Tenn.*
Baton Rouge, La.	Austin, Texas
New Orleans, La.	Dallas, Texas
Detroit, Mich.	Houston, Texas
Flint, Mich.	Kenosha, Wisc.
Kansas City, Mo.	Milwaukee, Wisc.

There are a number of additional communities which are considering War Chest affiliation, while a number of others who have had the idea formally before them have definitely rejected it. Generally, reports are of continued satisfaction in those communities which have joined War Chests. There is, however, a feeling in some of them that their Welfare Fund structures become weakened; and efforts are being made to improve the situation. In one community which has joined its War Chest, the feeling is that the Welfare Fund need not exist during the period of the war and the Executive Director has been allowed to go. It happens that this is a large community which, in our view, needed the services of such a person.

There is one incident in the War Chest situation that concerns a small community, but is nevertheless of interest: Lancaster, Pa., was the first Jewish community in the United States which last Spring joined its War Chest. The Jewish Welfare Fund obtained 23% of the total War Chest income. The Jews were the most generous per capita contributors to the campaign. This year the War Chest leaders advised the Jewish Welfare Fund that they did not wish its participation any longer. The War Chest officers seemed to feel that the standards of giving established by the Jews last year would be maintained in the War Chest even without the inclusion of the Welfare Fund. There was also the feeling that the Jewish community took too large a share of the total income. Within a few days of being notified of its exclusion from the War Chest, the Lancaster Jewish community launched an independent campaign, with results reported to be the most successful in its history.

Earlier this year when sentiment for War Chest affiliation was high and some Jewish communities were confused as to their responsibilities to the United Jewish Appeal, we had fears for our income. These fears were dissipated in two directions: on the one hand, the overwhelming majority of communities decided to continue with their present Welfare Fund campaigns; on the other hand, the United Jewish Appeal conducted an intensive nationwide campaign to make clear to communities that regardless of decisions they made with respect to 1944, they owed an obligation to the United Jewish Appeal agencies for the maintenance of their programs during the calendar year 1943. There were, however, several communities which did not accept the interpretation of the United Jewish Appeal that our campaign is based on a twelve-month calendar period and that the distribution of funds to the agencies is related to the income of a current calendar year.

Indianapolis, Houston and Dallas are three communities which are joining their 1944 War Chests which will campaign in the Fall of 1943. They decided that they did not need to meet a full year's responsibility to the United Jewish Appeal, since their own fiscal year was on a different basis than ours. As a result we will receive from these communities approximately half or one-third of what they contributed to United Jewish Appeal in 1942. This is another factor that must be kept in mind in comparing Spring 1943 with 1942 income.

WAR RELIEF CONTROL BOARD

In accordance with the decision made by the Executive Committee of the United Jewish Appeal, application was made for the registration of the United Jewish Appeal with the President's War Relief Control Board. We have been notified of the acceptance of this application. The United Jewish Appeal now has registration number 566 with the Board.

DISTRIBUTION OF 1943 FUNDS

On the basis of the 1943 agreement of the United Jewish Appeal which provided certain formulae for the distribution of funds, especially with respect to the National Refugee Service, and on the basis of cash income thus far available, the United Jewish Appeal has distributed to its agencies the amounts indicated:

Joint Distribution Committee	-	\$1,645,600
United Palestine Appeal	-	938,400
National Refugee Service	-	900,000

The administrative expenses of the UJA from January 1, 1943 to June 21, 1943 were \$239,319.

FINAL RESULTS OF 1942 CAMPAIGN AND DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS RECEIVED TO DATE

The final tabulations on the 1942 campaign show a total of \$14,427,000 raised in gross pledges. In comparison with the total of \$14,060,000 raised in 1941 there is a net increase of \$367,000.

However, in analyzing the sources of income for 1942, we find that the actual aggregate increase from communities which gave more to the UJA in 1942 than in 1941 is over \$1,000,000. This figure is reached on the basis of a deficit of \$670,000 represented in decreased allocations from a few communities such as New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore and San Francisco, plus the non-participation of Cincinnati.

On the other hand, there were substantial increases from cities like Philadelphia, Boston, Newark, Detroit, Hartford, Paterson, Rochester, Minneapolis, Providence, Toledo, Wilkes-Barre and Akron; these twelve cities alone aggregating increases of \$473,000 and hundreds of other scattered communities of all sizes accounting for additional increases of \$547,000.

In order to raise the gross total of \$14,427,000 in 1942 and to allow for the deficits mentioned, it required these aggregate increases of \$1,020,000.

The United Jewish Appeal of 1942, on the basis of the original agreement and the subsequent decision made by the Allotment Committee, has distributed cash sums to date to its agencies as follows:

Joint Distribution Committee	-	\$6,447,000
United Palestine Appeal	-	3,753,000
National Refugee Service	-	2,000,000

1939 - 1943

In the four-and-a-half years that the United Jewish Appeal has functioned as a fund-raising agency for the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal and the National Refugee Service, it has received total pledges of over \$66,000,000. This is the largest amount ever raised by any single Jewish organization in the history of organized Jewish philanthropy.

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UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA
132 Nassau Street
New York City

May 26, 1943

United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd Street
New York City #17

Gentlemen:

It is almost two months since American Jewry was alarmed through protests against the Jewish Agency in Palestine for having settled refugee children in irreligious settlements in Palestine.

In behalf of the American Orthodox Rabbinate, we cabled to the Jewish Agency in Palestine, demanding that a special committee, headed by Chief Rabbi Herzog, be appointed to place the children and supervise their religious education.

We requested the Agency to reply to our cable so as to avoid the necessity of our taking drastic action against raising funds for them in this country, as was the case in Great Britain. Till date, however, we have not received a reply.

Many of our members, upon learning that the refugee children were fed on Treifoth, given bread on Passover and taught to violate the Sabbath and Jewish holidays, demanded most strongly that we take action against the Jewish Agency so as to prevent a repetition of such an unheard of act.

With great difficulties we succeeded till now to withhold taking any drastic action against the Zionist funds in this country - a step which might have resulted in harming the work of upbuilding Eretz Israel. However, you must realize that it is impossible for us to agree that orphans and refugee children brought into Palestine and maintained by funds raised by the Jewish people should be reared in an irreligious environment and trained to violate Torah and its traditions. It would be unforgivable on our part if we, as the leaders of the Orthodox Rabbinate, were to remain silent and permit such a crime to continue without taking action merely to save funds - no matter how important that might be - and thereby endanger the souls of thousands of Jewish children whom Providence placed under our guidance and responsibility. We dare not compromise on the principles for which their fathers and forefathers sacrificed their lives.

For the love of our Torah and Eretz Israel, we urge you to request the Jewish Agency to rectify their unpardonable error without delay, so that the remnants of Jewish children whom we succeed in bringing into the Holy Land will be given a true religious education in accordance with our Torah and tradition.

We trust that you will realize the importance of this letter and will cooperate with us by taking immediate steps in this vital matter.

With Torah and Zion greetings, we are

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Rabbi L. Seltzer, Executive Director

APPENDIX D

C A B L E

Despatched May 9, 1943

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY #17

RE ARRANGEMENTS FOR EDUCATION POLISH CHILD REFUGEES FROM TEHERAN CONSIDER
IT DUTY INFORM YOU THAT SO FAR ONLY 716 BOYS GIRLS ARRIVED PALESTINE FROM
TEHERAN AND NOT 1,000 AS RUMOR MONGERS ASSERT stop OF THESE 72 PLACED IN
BABY HOMES WITH RELATIVES AND IN HOSPITALS stop OF REMAINING 644 ARRANGED
346 IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS OF WHICH 278 IN MIZRACHI SETTLE-
MENTS INSTITUTIONS 32 IN AGUDAH ISRAEL INSTITUTIONS 36 IN AHAVA AND BETH
YEHOASHUA stop 298 SENT TO GENERAL AND LABOR INSTITUTIONS AND SETTLEMENTS
OF THESE 203 ABOVE AGE 14 WHO THEMSELVES INSISTED BE SENT THESE PLACES stop
OF REMAINING 95 BELOW AGE 14 GREAT MAJORITY FROM UNRELIGIOUS HOMES OR HAVE
OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO HAVE GONE TO LABOR AND GENERAL SETTLEMENTS
AND WHO NOT WISH TO BE SEPARATED FROM THEM stop IN ONLY SOME 30 OF THESE
95 CASES HAVE ANY COMPLAINTS BEEN MADE FROM INTERESTED BODIES AND THESE
COMPLAINTS NOW BEING INVESTIGATED YOUTH ALIYAH OFFICE stop AGUDAH DIS-
SEMINATING EXAGGERATED FALSE STATEMENT RE TEHERAN CHILDREN WITH AIM DAMAGING
ZIONIST INTEREST stop KINDLY INFORM EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

RABBI JUDA LEIB FISHMAN

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
41 East 42nd Street
New York City #17

APPENDIX E

May 28, 1943

Rabbi L. Seltzer, Executive Director
Union of Orthodox Rabbis
132 Nassau Street
New York City

Dear Rabbi Seltzer:

I am glad to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 26th in which you expressed the views of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis. You may be sure that your communication will be given the most earnest consideration and will be referred to the next meeting of the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal.

As you may have noted from the press, the Jewish Agency for Palestine has been giving the most careful scrutiny to the problem of the proper education of the children coming into Palestine. Rabbi Juda L. Fishman, one of the outstanding leaders of Mizrachi and an Orthodox scholar of great renown, is a member of the Executive who has been entrusted with the task of determining the religious needs of the children. He has been acting in concert with Miss Henrietta Szold, Director of the Youth Aliyah Bureau in Jerusalem. I am enclosing herewith a copy of the cable which was sent by Rabbi Fishman reporting on the very careful efforts that are being made to deal most sympathetically with the important problem of proper education for the children.

Sincerely yours,

Henry Montor
Executive Director

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APPENDIX F

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND
41 East 42nd Street
New York, N.Y.

June 16, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Last Friday Mr. Isaac Levy and Mr. Joseph C. Hyman met with Mr. Mendel Fisher and myself to continue our discussions regarding the J.N.F.

While Mr. Fisher and I maintained the view that the J.N.F. activities as at present conducted are not responsible for any appreciable financial hurt to the U.J.A., I stated that if it would help toward meeting the problem, as they see it, I would undertake to recommend the following to the J.N.F. Board with regard to the 1944 U.J.A.

1. That the J.N.F. should agree that the maximum unit of a J.N.F. contribution should be fixed at either a Golden Book inscription or a garden of trees - it being understood, however, that the right of the J.N.F. to conduct its traditional collections under the agreement, just as clearly as its limitations, must be brought to the attention of the community campaign directors.

Mr. Fisher and I expressed the opinion that there would probably be an abatement of complaints against the J.N.F. in the near future.

Mr. Levy stated that he understood the difficulty of the J.N.F. position which was inherent in its very existence and operation as a separate fund-raising campaign. Yet he urged the J.N.F. to do its utmost to meet the difficulties in the spirit of cooperation as a co-beneficiary of the U.J.A. He proposed that we give the thing a trial again and if after a few months the results are not satisfactory, we then consider the proposal made by me.

We agreed to leave the matter that way.

Mr. Hyman felt that it would be better to have specific understandings, but did not press the point.

Mr. Hyman read to us the latest edition of the complaints by the U.J.A. people. We urged that he give us an opportunity to reply to this and future memoranda, so that impressions should not be unilateral. It was so agreed.

Mr. Fisher enumerated instances of his having refused to accept contributions to the J.N.F. which did not properly belong to us under our agreement.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Dr. Israel Goldstein,
President.

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APPENDIX G

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
1133 Broadway
New York City

June 24, 1943

Mr. Henry Montor
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd Street
New York City #17

Dear Mr. Montor:

In the absence of Mr. Gellman, who has been away since June 20th, it is my pleasure to acknowledge yours of June 22nd and extend to you our hearty thanks for your promptness in conveying to us the check for the month of June on the basis of the conversation of Rabbi Kirshblum and myself with Dr. Silver on the same day when your communication to us went forth.

May I call your attention to the fact, however, that you have not fully recorded the representations which were made in reference to the Rehabilitation Fund. It was rather understood between us that while we are to refrain completely from expanding our Rehabilitation Fund efforts, tending rather to conclude it within the shortest possible time, we should, nevertheless, be entitled to collect the outstanding pledges in as quiet a manner as possible.

To give concrete form to our new understanding, we have already discharged as of July 1st the person who was the propelling individual in the Mizrahi Rehabilitation Fund activities.

May I express the hope that you will make available to us soon also the July check, which our people in Palestine need desperately for their normal constructive efforts in our behalf.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Hermam Hollander, Chairman
National Executive Committee

APPENDIX H

A STATEMENT ON THE MIZRACHI REHABILITATION FUND

Having examined the facts of the campaign initiated by the Mizrachi Organization in the form of a Mizrachi Rehabilitation Fund for \$250,000 and having studied the agreement of the U.P.A. for 1943, we unanimously find that the Mizrachi Palestine Fund is not authorized, either by the terms of the U.P.A. agreement or by the situation in Palestine, to conduct a campaign such as has been initiated. We recommend that the U.P.A. call upon the Mizrachi Organization to discontinue its campaign or otherwise to hold that the U.P.A. agreement for 1943 has been broken by the Mizrachi Palestine Fund.

In arriving at our view, we took note of Paragraph 15 in the 1943 agreement of the U.P.A. as follows:

- (15) "It is agreed that the United Palestine Appeal for 1943 shall allot to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund the total sum of \$125,000, which shall be payable in twelve equal monthly instalments, it being understood that the total sum made available to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund shall be spent entirely within Palestine and that an accounting for such expenditure, duly audited and certified, shall be made semi-annually to the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, and a copy delivered to United Palestine Appeal. It is understood that upon notice from the Executive of the Jewish Agency that such statements have not been received, United Palestine Appeal shall be entitled to withhold further payment to the Mizrachi Palestine Fund until the matter is adjusted. It is also agreed by Mizrachi Palestine Fund that it will immediately pay to United Palestine Appeal all funds which it may receive in 1943, and that neither the Mizrachi Organization of America, nor Mizrachi Palestine Fund, nor any of its officers or members shall conduct or aid in Palestine fund-raising efforts except through United Palestine Appeal.

"The Mizrachi Organization of America agrees that it will deliver to United Palestine Appeal semi-annually a detailed statement duly certified by its auditors of all income which it is accountable to pay over to United Palestine Appeal pursuant to this agreement including all allotments by Welfare Chests and receipts from all other sources, also a certified account of expenditures incurred by said Mizrachi Organization. The Mizrachi Organization of America represents that it has received the written consent of Mizrachi Women's Organization that said Mizrachi Women's Organization will do all in its power to assure full performance by Mizrachi Women's Organization of its said agreement."

In view of the fact that a comprehensive scheme for the integration of Jewish refugee children into Palestine has not yet been completed, and in view of the uncertainty of the entire scheme, as described by Mr. Eliezer Kaplan in his cable to the U.P.A. of June 12, 1943, we see no warrant in the large-scale campaign that has been launched at this time in the form of the Mizrachi Rehabilitation Fund.



AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY
10 East Fortieth Street
New York City

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In accordance with our usual procedure, we are applying herewith for a grant of \$30,000. for the Hebrew University for our current fiscal year.

We are enclosing herewith a statement of our income and expenditures for our fiscal year ended September 30, 1942 and a statement of anticipated income and expenditures for the current fiscal year.

The Hebrew University is in the unfortunate position of having to cope with an expansion of its program and responsibilities and at the same time with a drastic cut in income from its former European Societies of Friends. America, therefore, must raise practically double the amount expected of us before the war.

In addition to its normal functions, the University has been making outstanding contributions to the Allied war effort. As the war came nearer to Palestine, on the one hand student enrollment at the University began to drop, but on the other hand, the Army and local industry came to the University laboratories for advice and assistance in solving pressing problems. This resulted in an intensification of the program of research work in the various laboratories.

At the beginning of 1942 the War Supply Board of Palestine appointed a Scientific Advisory Committee staffed in a large measure by members of the Hebrew University faculty. This research council advises not only the Palestine Government but also the Middle East.

The value of the scientific laboratories of the University to the war effort and the important functions which all our scientific institutions could fill toward the winning of the war was now officially recognized.

Once again the importance of the University as a scientific research center came to the fore.

In substantiation of these services I am attaching hereto an excerpt from an official report of work done in Applied Science at the University.

Under separate cover we are sending you the following descriptive literature:

1. Cancer Research Pamphlet
2. Hebrew University Year Book
3. Our April News Bulletin

Trusting that your Committee will find it possible to comply with our request, believe me to be

Very sincerely

(signed)

A. S. W. ROSENBAUGH
President

ASWR/CG
enc.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS AND WELFARE FUNDS
165 West 46th Street
New York City

February 18, 1943

Dr. Jonah B. Wise
United Jewish Appeal
250 West 57th Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Wise:

Each year since 1939 the Council has received annual contributions from the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal and the National Refugee Service. These contributions came in response to a request addressed to the United Jewish Appeal of New York City for a contribution to the work of the Council. The Council, as you know, has a service program for local Jewish community organizations and serves as a national center in the interest of Jewish federations and welfare funds.

Our requests to the New York City United Jewish Appeal have in the past been referred to the constituent agencies for the reason that the New York United Jewish Appeal was not at that time a local autonomous body but had functions limited to raising and transmitting funds to the national United Jewish Appeal. We understand that the New York United Jewish Appeal is now incorporated and that our request for an appropriation in behalf of New York City should be addressed directly.

Since you are now organized as a local community agency, we should be greatly pleased if the New York United Jewish Appeal were to become a member agency of our Council. Membership is open to any federation, welfare fund, community council or similar organization which has for its object the planning and/or financing of Jewish social work or meeting Jewish communal needs and responsibilities. The New York Federation and the Brooklyn Federation are members.

The Council budget is financed by its member agencies and we look to New York City to supply its proportionate share. In 1942 we adopted a uniform schedule of dues to insure equitable distribution of Council costs among the members. In applying the schedule to New York City we estimate that a contribution of \$12,250 is the appropriate amount from the New York United Jewish Appeal exclusive of the dues of the New York and Brooklyn Federations. The method of determining this amount is shown in the attached explanation of schedule. We have been receiving a total of \$10,000 from the three agencies of the national United Jewish Appeal in response to our request. (In 1942 the sum received amounted to \$9,500.) The schedule of membership dues calls for a payment of \$12,210 by your agency in line with the 1943 budget of the Council and the established basis of responsibility of local communities.

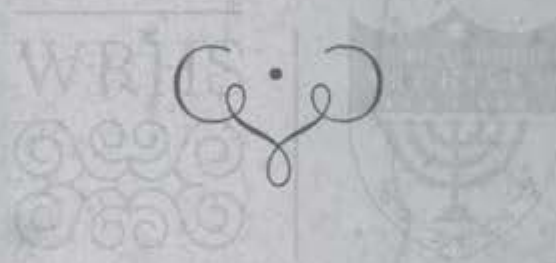
I would very much appreciate your bringing this request to the appropriate administrative body of your agency. We shall be very happy to present any additional information and the details of our agency budget and operation if they would be helpful to you in considering our request.

Very sincerely

SIDNEY HOLLANDER
President

[July 1943]

**A SURVEY
OF FACTS AND OPINIONS
ON PROBLEMS OF POST-WAR JEWRY
IN EUROPE AND PALESTINE**



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for the ORGANIZATION of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

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NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

PARTICIPATING in the AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Convening August 29, 1943

WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK

American Association for Jewish Education
American Federation for Polish Jews, Inc.
American Federation of Jews from
Central Europe
American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Jewish Congress—Women's
Division
B'nai B'rith
B'nai B'rith—Women's Supreme Council
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations
Forward Association
Free Sons of Israel
Hadassah—Women's Zionist Organization
of America
Hapoel Hamizrachi of America
Hashomer Hatzair
Histadruth Ivrit, Inc.
Independent Order B'rith Abraham
Independent Order B'rith Sholom
Independent Order B'rith Sholom
of Baltimore
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish National Workers' Alliance
Jewish Socialist Verband
Jewish War Veterans
League for Labor Palestine
Left Poale Zion
Mizrachi Organization of America
Mizrachi Women's Organization of America
National Council of Jewish Education
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Young Israel
National Federation of Hebrew Teachers
National Federation of Jewish Men's Clubs
of the United Synagogue of America
National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods

National Ladies Auxiliary—Jewish War
Veterans
National Women's League of the
United Synagogue
Order Sons of Zion
Pioneer Women's Organization of America
Poale Zion—Zeire Zion
Progressive Order of the West
Rabbinical Assembly of America
Rabbinical Council of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations—
Women's Branch
Union of Orthodox Rabbis
Union of Sephardic Congregations, Inc.
United Galician Jews of America
United Hebrew Trades
United Roumanian Jews of America
United Synagogue of America
Workmen's Circle
Yiddish P. E. N. Club
Yiddish Writers Union
Zionist Organization of America

Youth Organizations

Avukah
A. Z. A. of B'nai B'rith
Hashomer Hadati
Hillel Foundation
Junior Hadassah
Junior Mizrachi
Masada
National Council of Jewish Juniors
National Federation of Temple Youth
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WRHS



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WRHS



PREFACE

The Committee on Preliminary Studies was established by the Executive Committee for the organization of the American Jewish Conference, at its meeting in New York City on June 7th, 1943. The purpose of the Committee is to prepare for the delegates a survey of the problems and issues facing post-war Jewry.

On July 1st, 1943, the Committee assembled in New York City to implement the instructions given to it by the Executive Committee. In the light of these instructions and the probable needs of the delegates to the Conference, the following task was undertaken:

- 1) To examine the official statements and pronouncements of all the constituent bodies of the Conference; to prepare a digest of these documents, indicating especially points of agreement and disagreement.
- 2) To present a synopsis of the problems confronting Jewry in the post-war world in Europe and Palestine; to divide this synopsis into appropriate fields of interest and to document it with excerpts from the official pronouncements of the constituent agencies, using references from scientific studies and especially those prepared by the research institutes of the constituents of the Conference.
- 3) To make a selection of published articles and brochures, particularly those prepared by the institutes of the constituent agencies, sending such selected reading material to the delegates.

For the execution of this program, the Committee on Preliminary Studies designated a research staff, recruited in the main from the research personnel of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Labor Committee. The Committee furthermore established a Board of Editors to review the work of the research staff and authorize its publication.

The seven "Areas" into which this Survey is divided cover an equal number of phases of the problems involved in the post-war reconstruction of Jewish life. Although each Area is treated as a unit in itself, some overlapping in content among the different Areas is inevitable. The context in each case determines how often and to what extent a given subject must be repeated.

A word of caution is in order. The entire manuscript has been prepared in the short period of five weeks. Under such pressure it is possible that omissions may have occurred. The names of some of the organizations of the Conference may have been omitted from Areas and sections in which they should have been included, or some of the quotations from their docu-

ments may be inadequate. Yet great care was taken to analyze the statements with reference to each proposition and to quote the appropriate passages expressing the views of the respective groups. However, some of the excerpts, when taken out of original context, may not fully express the entire point of view of an organization. This is in the nature of every quotation.

The statements that have been received from the organizations in the American Jewish Conference have been printed as Documents at the end of this Survey. Reference to them will provide further elucidation of passages quoted in the text.

The facts presented in this Survey have been culled from many sources of standard scientific works, including those prepared by the research institutes of the constituent organizations. In the brief space allotted for this publication, all material had to be covered in the most succinct form. In order to supplement the information given herein, the delegates to the American Jewish Conference have received in advance from the Board of Editors a series of pamphlets and brochures which have been provided with the compliments of the several research institutes. On the basis of objectivity of presentation and inclusiveness of content, the following items have been sent to each delegate:

- (1) *Jews of Europe*, by Philip S. Bernstein. Reprinted from *The Nation* by the Nation Associates, Inc., 1943; (2) *Minorities in a Free World*, by Jacob Robinson, Director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress. Reprinted from *Free World*, Vol. V, No. 5, May, 1943; (3) *Palestine in the New World*; and (4) *Position of the Jews in the Post-War World*: both pamphlets prepared by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems, American Jewish Committee. Edited by Abraham G. Duker, 1943; (5) *Political and Cultural Aspects of Jewish Post-War Problems*, by Abraham G. Duker. Reprinted from the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, September, 1942; (6) *Postwar Jewish Problems*, by Jacob Robinson. Reprinted from *Congress Weekly*, June 25, 1943; (7) *Realities of Jewish Life*, by Jacob Robinson. Reprinted from *Congress Weekly*, January 29, 1943; (8) *Toward a Common Program of Action*. Address of Henry Monsky at Conference of National Jewish Membership Organizations, January 23, 1943. Published by B'nai B'rith; (9) *Uprooted Jews in the Immediate Postwar World*, by Jacob Robinson. Reprinted from *International Conciliation*, No. 389, April, 1943; (10) *Yidden noch der Milchome (Jews After the War)*. Prepared by the Research Institute of the Jewish Labor Committee, 1942.

This Survey is now presented to the delegates to the American Jewish

Conference in the hope that it will prove of value in familiarizing them with the problems on which they are to deliberate and in helping them to find solutions through a unified and workable program of action.

The Chairman of the Committee on Preliminary Studies wishes to make acknowledgment of the indebtedness of the Committee to its research staff and in particular to its Editor, Dr. Alexander S. Kohanski; to the Board of Editors and especially to Miss Jane Evans. He wishes to express his indebtedness also to the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Labor Committee for their helpfulness in placing at the disposal of the Committee both the services of the personnel of their research institutes and their published source material. He further acknowledges the aid rendered by the Zionist Archives and Library in making its sources available. Without such generous cooperation, this project could not have been completed in the brief time allowed for it.

Respectfully submitted,

MILTON STEINBERG

Chairman, Committee on Preliminary Studies



WRHS



INTRODUCTION

EUROPEAN JEWRY UNDER THE AXIS

Any plans for the reconstruction of post-war Jewry must be based on anticipation of the conditions in which Jews will find themselves in war-torn Europe when that continent is liberated by the Allied Powers. The paramount question is, how many Jews will survive the Nazi ordeal? Another vital query is, how many of those who have escaped Nazi dominated Europe and are now scattered throughout the world, will find it necessary, desirable or permissible to return to former domiciles?

Today no one can answer these questions, or even give an estimate of the magnitude of the problems involved in them. However, a description of the present situation, in so far as it is revealed through available information, may give an insight into post-war Jewish exigencies.

At the outbreak of the second World War in 1939, some 8,250,000 Jews lived in the European countries now occupied or dominated by the Axis. Less than three years later, in July, 1942, probably only 5,000,000 remained, of which the great majority was concentrated in Poland and occupied Soviet territory. Of those who escaped, 1,600,000 were evacuated by the Soviet Government from Eastern Poland, White Russia and the Ukraine and later transported to various parts of Asiatic Russia. Another 150,000 reached Palestine, the United States and other overseas lands. A million and a half perished inside Europe through organized massacre, torture, forced labor, starvation, and epidemics.¹ It is further estimated that during the past year at least another two million Jews have met their death in Europe; and still the gruesome process continues.²

In each country the story repeats itself with sombre uniformity:³

In the Axis Countries

GERMANY had 525,000 Jews living within her borders before 1933. Of this number only 215,000 were still there in September, 1939. The anti-

¹ *Uprooted Jews in the Immediate Post-war World*, by Jacob Robinson. Reprinted from *International Conciliation*, No. 589, April 1943, p. 292.

² As we go to press, New York newspapers of August 20, 1943, carry a statement by Dr. Stephen S. Wise that fewer than 2,000,000 Jews remain in the whole of Nazi Europe, with 4,000,000 having been exterminated since the summer of 1942.

³ The information on present conditions of the Jews in Europe has been furnished by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee and the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the American and World Jewish Congress. Another source used, is *Conditions in Occupied Territories, A Series of Reports Issued by the Inter-Allied Information Committee, London, No. 6: Persecution of Jews*. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office. 20 pp. The figures are, of course, fluid and approximate, revealing a situation that probably prevailed in 1942.

Jewish measures in Germany are described elsewhere in this Survey. Since the Nazis started their plan of total Jewish annihilation, thousands more have been deported, forced into labor camps, or exterminated. It is estimated that only 5,000 Jews may still be living in Germany.⁴

THE FREE STATE OF DANZIG, according to the census of 1929, had 10,500 Jews. By September, 1939, only 500 of this number were left. Today in Danzig, *Jews exist no more.*

ITALY in 1939 had a Jewish population numbering almost 75,000. This figure included many immigrants and those who were "racially" classified as Jews. The anti-Jewish laws introduced under Fascist rule in 1938 excluded Jews from the professions and government posts. They were also deprived of their property. The stateless Jews were forced to leave the country or were placed in concentration camps. As far as is known, there has been no violence against the Jewish population in Italy.

In Nazi Occupied Territories

AUSTRIA had 75,000 Jews at the time it was "incorporated in the Greater Reich," in 1938. The Nazis immediately enforced the Nuremberg laws there and proceeded to dispose of the Jewish population in the same fashion as in Germany. An estimated 8,000 may still be living in Austria.

BELGIUM had 85,000 Jews at the time of its occupation by the Nazis in 1940. At first the Germans tried to force the Belgian authorities to persecute the Jews. Failing in this, the Nazis initiated their own well-known methods. Beginning with "routine" anti-Jewish measures of the Nuremberg pattern, they ended with mass deportations to eastern Europe.

The non-Jewish population showed great sympathy. Many risked their lives to save Jews, especially children. Now, some reports say, *Jews exist no more* in Belgium.

IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, too, the Czech Protectorate Government persistently opposed anti-Jewish measures; then the Germans took matters into their own hands. Of the 90,000 Jews who lived there in 1939, only some 10,000 remained at the end of 1942. The others were dispatched to labor battalions, or deported to concentration areas in Poland. About 10,000 who had been imprisoned for a year in the Terezin Fortress were also deported in December, 1942.

Of the 8,000 Jews who lived in DENMARK in 1939, 2,000 have emigrated or have been evacuated. The government has resisted Nazi pressure to impose anti-Jewish measures, although it is not known how successful this resistance has been.

⁴For an account of the anti-Jewish measures in Germany see Area Three.

FRANCE had 300,000 Jews, including several thousand refugees, when it fell in 1940. During the period when only half of the country was occupied, the Nazis directed Jewish persecutions from Paris while Marshal Petain pursued his anti-Semitic policies from Vichy. Mass arrests of Jews started in the French capital the night of July 12, 1942. Husbands and wives were separated and thrown into concentration camps. Children were torn from their parents and sent to workhouses or institutions. Their identification papers have been lost or destroyed. Next, the deportations began and tens of thousands were sent eastward to face "labor camps" or annihilation. Later, the Vichy government surrendered to the Germans thousands of Jewish refugees who had been herded together in concentration camps in southern France.

The Christian population recoiled in abhorrence from the anti-Jewish acts. Students in Paris wore the "Yellow Star" in sympathy with their Jewish neighbors. French Cardinals and Archbishops protested to Marshal Petain against Jewish persecution. And from London, General de Gaulle declared: "The famous decree emancipating the Jews of France . . . cannot be abrogated by the men of Vichy. Free France is resolved to establish, after victory, equality both of rights and duties of all citizens in all French territories."⁴

Since France has been completely occupied, the Nazis have intensified their extermination policies against the Jews. It is estimated that only one-fifth of the original Jewish population still remains there.

GREECE has been able not only to avert the deportation of its Jewish population (73,000) but also to counteract some of the anti-Jewish measures introduced by the Nazis. The latter had planned to deport some 10,000 Jews either to a ghetto in Crete or to Poland. However, the Greek Orthodox Church issued a solemn warning that if the scheme were carried out, the entire population would rise in protest. The plan was abandoned although all Jews of 18 to 45 years of age were drafted for slave labor, while approximately 8,000 were placed in a concentration camp in the Macedonian Mountains.⁵

The Jews of LATVIA, LITHUANIA and ESTONIA—a total of 245,000—were taken from their ghettos, sent to extermination camps or led into the woods and then machine-gunned. In these countries, also, *Jews exist no more.*

LUXEMBOURG had 2,300 native Jews and 600 German Jewish refugees on the date of invasion, May 10, 1940. Of this group 600 escaped as the Nazis

⁴*Conditions in Occupied Territories, A Series of Reports Issued by the Inter-Allied Information Committee, London, No. 6: Persecution of the Jews. Published by His Majesty's stationery office, December, 1942, p. 5.*

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 10.

marched in. After the Grand Duchy was "incorporated in the Greater Reich" the remaining Jews received an order to leave the country within two weeks. Two thousand were rescued through the efforts of the Grand Duchess with the aid of the Joint Distribution Committee and other relief agencies. Of the remaining, 100 escaped by "illegal" means, and the rest were deported to the east. The peasantry showed deep sympathy for the Jewish sufferers and extended to them whatever aid they could muster.

IN THE NETHERLANDS, too, the Nazi program of Jewish persecution met with stiff resistance from the Dutch people. At the time of occupation in May, 1940, the country had 180,000 Jews, many of whom were recent refugees from Germany and eastern Europe. During the first nine months of occupation, the Nazis limited themselves to the ousting of Jews from civil service, and from various enterprises. It was a comparatively quiescent period. However, in February, 1941, when a full attack was launched against the Jews, the Dutch population responded with a general strike. Dutch Nazi henchmen who tried to break into the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam were driven off by organized workmen's groups. The strike was quelled and the Nazis later devised a scheme of swooping down on Jews in the streets, taking them straight to the depots for deportation. By the end of 1942, 65,000 had thus been sent to "work" in Germany or eastern Europe. Catholic and Protestant clergymen have carried on a vigorous campaign against these measures. As a result many of them have been imprisoned.

NORWAY witnessed the demise of its 1,400 Jews through the hands of its own Quisling. The latter started his anti-Jewish measures in the Nazi pattern, first by depriving the Jews of their citizenship rights, then by confiscating their property, staging pogroms and throwing them into concentration camps. The Provisional Church Council of Norway issued a strong protest against these persecutions, petitioning the government to stop the atrocities. Quisling, however, went on with his work to the end. On the night of November 6, 1942, he ordered Jews dragged from their beds and shipped to eastern Europe. According to reports from Sweden, 1,000 Norwegian Jews are now slaving for the Nazis in the mines of Upper Silesia. Another 120 were deported later. It is believed that some Jews are in hiding with Norwegian peasants while a small number have succeeded in escaping to Sweden. In Norway *Jews exist no more.*

POLAND has been the most unfortunate of all the countries occupied by Hitler. From the very first day of invasion, persecution began not only of Jews but of the entire population. However, while the non-Jewish population has been "coordinated" in the "New Order," the Jews have been singled out for total annihilation. Of the 3,300,000 Jews who lived in Poland before the war, 2,000,000 were there at the time of German occupation of the coun-

try. Of those who fled to the territories occupied by the Soviet Union, 800,000 were later trapped by the Nazi advance to the east. About half a million were sent by the Soviet Government to the far interior of Asiatic Russia.

Poland was transformed by the Germans into a center for the extermination of European Jewry. The first year passed with pogroms, murder and "routine" elimination of the Jews from economic activity, and the imposition of forced labor. On November 1, 1940, the Nazis organized the Warsaw ghetto where 550,000 Jews were crowded together under the most abject living conditions. Similar ghettos and concentration camps were established in other sections of Poland in which were herded together not only local Jews but also those deported from all parts of Europe. For twenty-one months the Jews remained locked behind their ghetto walls, subsisting on starvation rations, ridden with pestilence and paying a high death toll. The Nazis, however, considered this pace of annihilation too slow. On August 7, 1942, they started deportations from the ghettos to places of execution in Chelm, Belzec and other towns. This task of execution was turned over to a special "Vernichtungskommando" (Extermination Squad) that had been organized and trained in Germany for murder.

The Christian population in Poland, though cut off entirely from the Jews, has managed to render assistance. Its underground movement has kept the Polish Government-in-Exile informed of the Nazi bestialities and the Government, in turn, has taken steps to bring these to the attention of the world. With the aid of the Polish underground movement, the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto were able to organize some armed resistance against their murderers before they were wiped out.

IN SLOVAKIA, or what has remained of it as "independent," there are still some 10,000 Jews. These were baptised before March 15, 1939 in order to escape deportation or else they received from Father Tiso, the puppet President, a special certificate declaring them "economically indispensable." Seventy-five thousand Jews, including refugees from neighboring territories, have been deported by the government under the most barbarous conditions to Lublin, and other ghettos in Poland. The Lublin ghetto has since been "removed." Some 45,000 Jews of western Slovakia were transferred to Hungary with the cession of that region.

In the German occupied territories of the U. S. S. R., the Jews have suffered the same fate: forced labor, deportations, and mass executions. Of the 2,100,000 Jews who lived in Soviet White Russia, the Ukraine and the Crimea, only 250,000 have remained. (Another 150,000 have been transported there by the Germans from other parts of Europe.) It is not known

how many of the rest have escaped to the interiors of the Soviet Union, or the number that have perished at the hands of the Germans.

YUGOSLAVIA had 85,000 Jews including 5,000-6,000 refugees, before it was subjugated by the enemy. In those parts of the country which have been "annexed" to Germany, Italy, Hungary or Bulgaria, the Jews have suffered the fate of their brethren. In CROATIA and SERBIA they have been wiped out in the most cruel way by Pavelitch's *ustasha* organization under Gestapo supervision. It is believed that several thousand have succeeded in joining General Mikhailovich's guerrillas, as well as the Partisans. Apart from these, in present day Yugoslavia, *Jews exist no more.*

Axis Satellites

IN BULGARIA the government followed the dictates of the Nazi overlords to dispose of the 60,000 Jews who had lived in the country at the beginning of the war. First came their elimination from economic life and the confiscation of their property. This was followed by forced labor and transfer to concentration camps. In May, 1943, all the Jewish inhabitants of Sofia, the capital, were evacuated to camps. In June of the same year, 12,000 were deported from the occupied areas of Thrace and Macedonia to Poland, mostly to the "death camp" at Treblinka. The Christian population expressed its protest against these acts through mass demonstrations.

FINLAND's Jewish population of 2,000 has remained relatively unchanged. Only some 200 persons have been evacuated or have emigrated from the country since 1939.

HUNGARY has refrained from executing anti-Jewish policies to the full measure demanded by the Nazi masters. After the Munich pact of 1939, the country was enlarged through several annexations, thus increasing its Jewish population from 400,000 to 750,000, including some 12,500 refugees. Many severe restrictions have been imposed by the government. But there have been no known expropriations of property, except agricultural lands. Jewish personnel in business is limited to 12%. Reports indicate that there have been deportations of some 20,000 to 30,000, and that thousands have been drafted for forced labor. On the whole, the Jewish population in Hungary has been spared the agonies suffered by the Jews in other German dominated countries.

RUMANIA has a long history of Jewish oppression. Since it has come under German control, the government has intensified its anti-Semitic policies, following slavishly the Nazi pattern. Of the 850,000 Jews who lived in that country in 1939, only 270,000 remained within its contracted boundaries in 1942. One hundred thousand have been evacuated by Soviet authorities

into the Russian interior. Some 300,000 have perished or have been deported. The rest have been annexed, together with territories, by other countries. One-third of the Jews in present Rumania has been declared stateless and subjected to the control of the alien department. All have been practically ousted from their previous occupations. Private and community owned Jewish property has been confiscated. Some 170,000 have been sent to the concentration center in the newly annexed territory of Transnistria.

How do the Jews who are still alive manage to exist in Nazi Europe? All able-bodied men and women are conscripted for slave labor in mines, quarries, saw mills, textile factories, on road construction, or in armament plants. Many of these slave laborers still live in ghettos; others are quartered in unheated barracks, barns or stables without even primitive hygienic facilities. Their food rations (in calories per normal consumer) are 21% of the rations received by Germans, and even so the Jews are allowed to obtain only certain items. They receive none of the essential protective vitamin foods—no meat, fish, poultry, milk, dairy products, fruit or vegetables. They may purchase none of the still unrationed or semi-rationed products. "The weekly rations for food in Polish ghettos amount at best to a pound of black bread, two ounces of so-called jam or marmalade, an ounce of sugar, and perhaps a few potatoes. They receive no other food. . . . In Poland . . . Greece, Hungary and Rumania, Jews seldom receive more than half and often considerably less, the ration quantities allotted to the 'Aryan' population."⁶ Very often, the Jews cannot obtain even these meager rations, as "they are compelled to do their purchases at such hours when stocks are either depleted or entirely gone."⁷

Religious persecution is part of Hitler's scheme of destroying not only the body of the Jewish people but its spirit as well. In all of Nazi-dominated Europe these acts have been perpetrated: Synagogues have been destroyed, or converted to garages, latrines or stables; Torah scrolls and other Jewish sacred objects demolished; cemeteries desecrated; religious libraries burned or plundered; the observance of the Sabbath prohibited; religious schools liquidated and Rabbis martyred.⁸

In the face of these adversities the Jews have struggled to maintain some cultural-religious life. Even in places of concentration they have made efforts to hold religious worship and to reopen schools. In the larger ghettos they have had libraries, theatres, schools for children and adults. The liquidation of the ghettos has reduced these opportunities, limited as they were.

⁶ *Starvation Over Europe*, p. 75.

⁷ *Memorandum to the President of the United States, submitted at the White House on Tuesday, December 8, 1942, by a Delegation of Representatives of Jewish Organizations.*

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

Scope of the Problem

Since August, 1942, the Nazis have accelerated the tempo of their diabolic scheme of outright Jewish extermination. It has now become clearly evident that in order to save the remaining Jews in German dominated territories, their immediate evacuation or rescue must be undertaken through international intercession. Otherwise, it will be only a matter of time until they become extinct.

In the post-war period, the surviving Jews of Europe will be beset with stupendous problems. Their rehabilitation during the transition period and their final reconstruction will overtax the resources of Jewry in the United States and other free countries. A full program of re-establishing the Jews in Europe and elsewhere will call for large-scale assistance from the national and international reconstruction agencies that may be created by the Allied Powers after the war.

One cannot approach the task of rebuilding Jewish life in the European countries without taking into consideration the respective historical backgrounds and pre-war conditions of the Jewish communities. Their political status, their economic, social and religious development in the past will determine in large measure the form of their future rehabilitation.

The Yishub in Palestine may emerge strengthened after the war but it, too, will face serious obstacles in its future development. The question of free immigration into that country, unrestricted land purchase and the creation of new opportunities for colonization, will be paramount among the many problems confronting the Yishub.

In the following pages the reader will find a brief outline of the historical background pertaining to the different phases of Jewish life in both Europe and Palestine. Each phase has been analyzed in the form of problems and propositions, followed by a presentation of the various views expressed by the organizations participating in the American Jewish Conference. Thus, the collective views presented in this Survey will help the reader to orient himself in the complex of post-war Jewish needs.

ALEXANDER S. KOHANSKI, *Editor*

AREA ONE

RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

A. BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATUS

1. *Flight of European Jewry*
2. *Aid from Jewish Organizations*
3. *Reaction of Public Opinion*
4. *The Bermuda Conference*

B. MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE RESCUE

1. *Food and Medical Supplies*
2. *Evacuation*
3. *Temporary Asylum and Permanent Settlement*
4. *Transportation*
5. *Passports*
6. *Amelioration*
7. *Children*

C. DETERRENTS

D. IMPLEMENTS

1. *Appeal to Civilized World*
2. *Organization*
3. *Finance*

AREA ONE

RESCUE OF EUROPEAN JEWRY

A. BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATUS

1. *Flight of European Jewry*

That thousands of Jews would have to be rescued from Germany became apparent as early as September, 1935, when Hitler passed his Nuremberg laws. Since then a carefully planned Nazi program of discriminatory legislation, economic extirpation, physical violence, and total annihilation, has made it gradually yet definitely impossible for Jews to continue their existence under Nazi rule.

Four hundred and thirty-two thousand refugees fled from Germany and German dominated lands between 1933 and 1939.¹ It was then still possible to direct Jewish emigrants through the established channels of transportation. Except in cases where it was deemed more desirable to retrain refugees in Germany, it was nearly always possible to obtain for them temporary havens in nearby countries, such as Belgium, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, England, Switzerland and France, while they awaited necessary transit papers. It was also possible to arrange for certain transfers of funds, or property, through agencies functioning internationally, without benefiting the German economy to any large extent.

Recognizing the international scope of this problem, President Roosevelt convened on July 6, 1938 the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees at Evian. The war clouds were already gathering. The voracious war machine of Germany had engulfed Austria, and the liquidation of the Jewish communities was going on apace. Responsible leaders who were acquainted with the political temper of Europe that year, knew that the time for rescue was limited. At Evian many stirring speeches proffered sympathy for the plight of the Jews in Germany and Austria; yet not one country of magnitude opened its doors to facilitate a swift exodus of European Jewry. Even when the anti-Jewish excesses in Germany were intensified following the assassination of vom Rath in November, 1938, substantial relief was not forthcoming.

As anti-Jewish measures spread with the occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the flight of Jews increased—in many cases becoming dis-

¹ *Aiding Jews Overseas: Report of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc. for 1940 and the first five months of 1941*, New York, p. 16.

organized and unassisted. Jewish refugees found their way to far off corners of the world—to Bombay, Manila, Singapore, and Shanghai, to Africa, Cuba, Mexico and South American countries, to Japan, England, the United States and Palestine. To this era of desperate flight from heightened anti-Semitic persecution belong the episodes of the "floating death house" on the Danube, the disgraceful shuttling in no-man's-land of Jews who had been deported from Germany and refused admission to Poland, and in contrast, the steady immigration into Palestine.

Beginning with the Nazi invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, the problem changed. Opportunities for rescue became difficult—often well nigh impossible. Internal transportation and communication in central and eastern Europe were cut off completely.

As country after country fell under Nazi domination and anti-Jewish legislation was passed, more Jews had to seek asylum in other lands or face extermination. At the time of the Nazi invasion of Soviet Russia in June, 1941, there were 2,000,000 Polish refugees on Russian soil of whom 600,000 were Jewish.²

The program of emigration came to an end abruptly when Germany, in October, 1941, forbade Jews to leave her borders. Until this time German anti-Jewish measures had consisted mostly of mass expulsions. Now the avowed German policy became mass extermination of the Jews. They were shunted into ghettos, doomed to lives of misery or to face gruesome death. As Hitler's forces spread throughout Europe, the diabolical pattern of his scheme became clear. By establishing centers of torture and annihilation into which Jews from all parts of Europe were herded, he was able to dispose of them by asphyxiation, by mass machine gunning, and through other measures. In all Nazi-occupied lands, Jews have been completely eliminated from the economic and social life of the country. They are either in concentration camps or are being used as forced laborers.

The poison spread by the Nazis has even penetrated to the Far East. Japan, their "Aryan" co-partner, which had never known either Jews or Jewish problems, has now instigated in the conquered territory in China anti-Jewish measures which parallel the Nazi procedures.³

2. *Aid from Jewish Organizations*

Many Jewish organizations have been active in aiding refugees. Prior to the outbreak of the war Hicem (Hias-Ica-Enigdirect), the Joint Distribu-

² *Aiding Jews Overseas: Report of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., for 1941 and the first five months of 1942*, New York.

³ *JTA Daily News Bulletin*, New York, March 7, 1943.

tion Committee, Ort, and the Jewish Agency through Hechalutz and Hadasah, were effective in facilitating the immigration or retraining of refugees. From 1933 to 1939 J.D.C. alone spent over \$30,000,000. When war came, emigration, retraining and relief became more difficult and at the same time, more urgent. In many cases flight was the only means of survival, yet opportunities and channels of escape daily grew narrower. In the face of almost insurmountable obstacles, the work of rescuing the trapped Jews of Europe went on. When it was no longer possible to obtain steamship passage through ordinary commercial channels, entire ships were chartered. All the passenger space on freighters was bought and paid for months in advance. New overland route possibilities were investigated and wherever feasible established. Since diplomatic relations with enemy countries were completely broken, branch offices of Hicem and the Joint Distribution Committee were opened in nearby neutral states. Many political refugees, scholars, Rabbis, and students were also rescued through the efforts of the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Labor Zionist Council, the Agudas Chasidei Chabad, and the Emergency Committee for Rabbis and Yeshiva Students in Lithuania.

In cooperation with the American Red Cross, the International Red Cross, the American Friends Society (Quakers), and others, Jewish organizations and agencies attempted to ameliorate the lot of the Jews who remained in Nazi occupied territories. The American Federation for Polish Jews sent by way of Lisbon and Switzerland many packages of food and clothing to their kinsmen in Poland. The B'nai B'rith women forwarded thousands of blankets through the Red Cross to the Jews of Poland. The World Jewish Congress supplied through the Red Cross medicaments and food parcels for Polish Jewish refugees. The Jewish Labor Committee provided one million pounds of clothing to civilians and refugees in Soviet Russia and gave the American Red Cross a large sum of money for general relief work there. Many political refugees stranded in unoccupied France, Lisbon and other places were maintained by the Jewish Labor Committee. The Joint Distribution Committee, which carried the burden in this field, gave relief through money grants, food, drugs, medical and surgical supplies.

The Saga of the Children of Teheran has become a symbol of the unceasing efforts to rescue European Jewry in the face of all adversity. Nearly every one of these children (who came from throughout Poland) had been wanderers since the first days of the war. They had made their way to Russia and were then shipped by the Polish government to Iran. Eight hundred and fifty-one Jewish children were gathered by representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and finally taken to Palestine by a circuitous route.

5. Reaction of Public Opinion

The reaction of American and British public opinion to this mounting tragedy of European Jewry has been on the whole sympathetic, though ineffective. Public demonstrations demanding the rescue of the Jews of Europe from Nazi occupied territory, have been sponsored by such organizations as the British Council of Churches, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the British National Committee for Rescue from Nazi Terror, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Church Peace Union, the Free World Association, the C.I.O., the A.F.L., and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. A series of mass meetings took place in all the major cities of the United States under the auspices of the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs. Children's protest meetings were sponsored by the American Association of Jewish Education, by Hebrew and Religious schools as well as by local Jewish Bureaus of Education.

On December 8, 1942, a delegation consisting of the presidents of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Synagogue Council of America,⁴ and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States, submitted a memorandum to the President of the United States calling attention to the horrors of the Nazi destruction of European Jews, and pointing out the urgency of immediate rescue. The delegation asked President Roosevelt to appoint an American Commission at once "to receive and examine all evidence of Nazi barbarities against civilian populations, and to submit that evidence to the bar of public opinion and to the conscience of the world."

In England an all-party delegation of members of both houses of Parliament was received by high-ranking members of the British Cabinet, with whom they discussed measures to aid the Jews in Nazi-held countries. They presented a four-point program for immediate rescue, which included approaching the German government through intermediaries with a suggestion that Jews be allowed to leave, a demand that Great Britain, the United States and other members of the United Nations offer asylum to Jewish refugees, that facilities to transport the Jews be provided, and that provision be made for their maintenance after rescue.⁵

Yet all these protests and demonstrations brought no practical results.

⁴The president of the Synagogue Council of America signed the memorandum but was unable to accompany the delegation to the White House.

⁵*JTA Daily News Bulletin*, New York, January 29, 1945.

4. The Bermuda Conference

On December 17, 1942, a joint statement was issued by the United States and the European members of the United Nations, acknowledging the fact that the German authorities "are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe." About three months later, the British and American governments decided to call a conference "which will lead to the relief of a substantial number of refugees of all races and nationalities." Such a Conference was finally held in Bermuda, on April 19, 1943.

Representative Jewish organizations sought to call to the attention of the Conference the particular plight of the Jews under Nazi domination. A statement was submitted by the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs—consisting of the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Agudath Israel of America, The American Jewish Committee, The Jewish Labor Committee, The Synagogue Council of America, and The Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America—urging the adoption of a twelve point program for rescuing the Jews from Nazi-occupied Europe.* The World Jewish Congress submitted a memorandum to the Bermuda Refugee Conference describing the destruction of Jewish life in Europe, the attitude of the United Nations, and setting forth the need for action. Representative organizations of British Jewry sent to the Conference similar documents.

A memorandum was also presented by the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Signed by Chaim Weizmann, its president, and submitted through the British Embassy, that memorandum called attention to the fact that the Yishub in Palestine was willing and economically able to accept immediately a large number of Jewish refugees. It ended with the plea that the gates of Palestine be thrown open for immediate immigration in order to rescue the enthralled Jews of Europe. The reaction of the Bermuda Conference to the Jewish presentations will be revealed only when its secret proceedings become public.

The request of British and American Jewish organizations for representation at the Conference was refused. Neither was the press allowed free access to the Conference. It was definitely announced by Foreign Minister Eden that no practical measures would be taken—that the conference was "exploratory in character." Men whose wide experience and specialized knowledge of refugee problems would have contributed to the discussions, were not invited to the sessions. However, negotiations are still going on and

* Program for the Rescue of Jews from Nazi Occupied Europe, Submitted to the Bermuda Conference by the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, April 14, 1943.

it is probable that a new conference will be called. The achievements of the Bermuda Conference are still unknown and criticism of the Conference is being withheld by the joint body of representative American Jewish organizations until the proceedings are publicly announced.⁷

Many practical problems stand in the way of any program for the immediate rescue of the Jews of Europe. There are difficulties in transportation, identification, providing passports and in finding places of temporary refuge. The greatest difficulty of all is to negotiate with the Axis and their satellites for the release of Jews from their territories. Nevertheless, it is generally felt that all efforts must be made to rescue as many Jews as possible from Nazi Europe. Unless they are removed from there now, very few of them, it is feared, will survive to the end of the war.

B. MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE RESCUE

1. Food and Medical Supplies

Problem: Jews in Axis territories are existing on starvation rations. Their average supply of food is 20% of the normal daily intake. The death and epidemic rates are high.

Proposition: That food, medical supplies, vitamin pills and other medical essentials be sent to the Jews in Europe at once.

The *Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs*⁸ states in its program "in view of the fact that mass starvation is the design of the Nazi regime, the United Nations should take appropriate steps without delay to organize a system for the feeding of the victims of Nazi oppression who are unable to leave the jurisdiction and the control of the Axis."⁹ The *Independent Order Brith Abraham* and the *United Roumanian Jews of America* concur with this statement.

2. Evacuation

Problem: Since October, 1941, Germany has forbidden the emigration of Jews from her territories, and consequently 4,000,000 Jews face extermination.

Proposition: That the United Nations approach the German Government and the governments of the states it now partly dominates or controls, through the Vatican or neutral governments like Switzerland, Spain, Sweden,

⁷ Dijour, E. "Analysis of Two Documents concerning the Bermuda Conference," *Yivo Bleter*, XI, p. 1. (Yiddish)

⁸ See above. Subsequently, it will be referred to as the Joint Emergency Committee.

⁹ A Swedish-Swiss Commission under the auspices of the International Red Cross has successfully distributed food and medical supplies to the Greeks without any losses. It is suggested that the same agency help in distributing similar items to the Jews of Europe.

Turkey or Argentina, with a view to securing German agreement to release her Jewish victims.

This proposition is part of the program formulated by the *Joint Emergency Committee*.

3. Temporary Asylum and Permanent Settlement

Problem: It is essential for the refugees to find sanctuary immediately upon evacuation from Nazi territory, since their lives will be endangered if they are evacuated without destination. While some countries have given temporary as well as permanent asylum to refugees, the present immigration restrictions prevent their admittance in large numbers.

Proposition: "The United Nations should, without delay, take steps to designate and establish a number of sanctuaries in Allied and neutral countries to accommodate substantial numbers of Hitler's victims and to serve as havens for those Jews whose release from captivity may be arranged for, or who may find their way to freedom through efforts of their own. . . . The possibilities in several British territories, both in Africa and in the Caribbean, should be explored without delay. Sanctuary has already been afforded to thousands of refugees in these territories and there is room for many more, if not for permanent settlement, at least for the duration. . . . The United Nations should urge the Republics of Latin America to modify such administrative regulations that now make immigration under the law extremely difficult, and to endeavor to find temporary havens of refuge for a substantial number of refugees." It is also suggested that "England should be asked to provide for receiving a reasonable number of victims escaping from Nazi-occupied territories and to provide for their accommodation for the duration."⁹

Permanent settlement should be made available to as many refugees as possible. For this purpose, it is proposed that the United States and Great Britain allow refugees to enter their countries within the maximum limits of their immigration laws, and particularly to the full capacity of the quotas in the U. S. A.¹⁰

This is maintained by the *Joint Emergency Committee*, and also by the *Independent Order Brith Abraham*, which declares "that democratic nations

⁹ Program for the Rescue of Jews from Nazi Occupied Europe submitted to the Bermuda Refugee Conference by the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, April 14, 1943.

¹⁰ From the advent of Hitler in 1933 through June 1942, the State Department of the United States issued only 547,775 visas, although quota regulations allowed, during the same period, the admission of more than 1,380,000 immigrants. In the war years 1939-1942, only 228,964 of the available 460,000 U. S. visas were issued. (See *Contemporary Jewish Record*, June 1945, Vol. VI, No. 5, p. 277.)

should open their doors to more liberal Jewish immigration," and by the *American Federation for Polish Jews*, that asks for Jews in Poland free access to countries of immigration.

4. Transportation

Problem: War time exigencies such as blockades, convoys, movements of troops and war materials, make transportation (particularly transoceanic passage) exceedingly difficult. Can shipping and railroad facilities be made available for the transportation of refugees during the war?

Proposition: Without in any way interfering with the war effort and without diverting Allied shipping, European Jews may be transported by road and rail into Spain, Switzerland, Sweden and Turkey. Neutral ships taking supplies to Greece may transport, on their return trips, European refugees to Palestine or to West Atlantic ports. Such ships as still ply between Europe and America can accommodate many passengers. Lend-lease vessels can carry Jewish refugees as ballast on the return trip westward.

While the organizations have not recently expressed themselves on this problem, they and others have suggested the above mentioned propositions on previous occasions.

5. Passports

Problem: Many Jews coming from Nazi territories have been deprived of their naturalized or native citizenship, and have thus become stateless.

Proposition: In order to give legal identification and protection to those refugees who are now stateless, an arrangement similar to that which existed under the League of Nations should be established and the stateless refugees given identification passports analogous to the "Nansen" passports.¹¹

This is part of the program of the *Joint Emergency Committee*.

6. Amelioration

Problem: Refugees who have found temporary asylum in neutral countries are in many cases suffering from want and privation.

Proposition: "The United Nations should provide financial guarantees to all such neutral states as have given temporary refuge to Jews com-

¹¹ After the First World War Fridtjof Nansen called to the attention of the League of Nations the plight of passportless refugees (particularly Russians) who had need of special identity cards and travelling permits. At a conference held in Geneva in 1921-22, it was decided to introduce a special certificate. On presentation of this "Nansen passport" that does not in itself entitle the owner to return to the country which has issued it, the refugee may be admitted to the state to which he intends to travel, either after a visa has been affixed or after he has received a certificate permitting him to cross the frontier. (From *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. XII, p. 16.)

ing from Nazi-occupied territories, for their feeding, maintenance and eventual evacuation. The neutral states should be guaranteed that the refugees will not become a public charge and that they will be transferred to permanent sanctuaries as soon as possible."

The *Joint Emergency Committee* has incorporated the above statement into its program.

7. Children

Problem: The indiscriminate deportation and torture of Jewish children present another tragedy and one which is a serious menace to Jewish survival. Orphaned or separated from their parents, with no means of subsistence, scattered and wandering throughout Europe and Asia, these children must be gathered and immediately rescued.

Proposition: Simultaneous with the general program of rescue, the particularly urgent and helpless condition of unprotected children should receive special consideration. A program should be organized to deal specifically with their needs.

This is urged by the *Labor Zionist Council*, the *National Women's League of the United Synagogue* which states that their members will adopt war orphans if such a movement is organized, and the *United Roumanian Jews of America* which have adopted a resolution "to locate and arrange for the settlement in suitable homes in this country and Canada, of children from Roumania, or of Roumanian parentage." *Hadasah's* interest in the children is evidenced by its work for Youth Aliyah.

The *Pioneer Women's Organization*, and the *Mizrachi Women's Organization*, have shown their active interest by placing rescued children in their respective institutions in Palestine. The *National Council of Jewish Women* has long had a program of meeting unaccompanied women and children at ports of entry in the United States and Canada. At one time this organization supported German-Jewish Children's Aid, Inc. All the other organizations, though they have not submitted any specific propositions, are also vitally concerned with this problem.

C. DETERRENTS

Problem: It is thought by leading American Jewish organizations that the threat of international investigation and the fixing of war guilt upon individuals will act as a deterrent in the present persecution of the Jews by the Nazis and their satellites.

Proposition: That the United Nations begin to implement their warning of Dec. 17, 1942 to the Nazis and their satellites that they will be pun-

ished, individually and collectively, for the atrocities perpetrated against the Jews; that they expedite the establishment of instruments for indictment and trial of Nazi assailants of Jews; that they begin as promptly as possible the issuance of specific indictments, publicizing such indictments in German occupied territories, as a method of deterring further atrocities.

A score of representative American Jewish organizations including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Synagogue Council of America, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, Agudath Israel, Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, and the General Jewish Council, in a plan to rescue European Jews from extermination suggest that "steps be taken at once to implement the declaration of the United Nations to bring the Nazi criminals to justice; to appoint an international court to assemble the evidence on which the trials shall be based, and to establish the procedure of such a tribunal."¹²

D. IMPLEMENTS

1. Appeal to Public Opinion of the Civilized World

Problem: The Jewish problem in Europe is daily becoming more acute. It is estimated that two million Jews have already been murdered. In order to effect immediate action for the rescue of the surviving Jews of Europe, public opinion must be aroused in the United States and among the other Allied nations.

Proposition: That an organized appeal be made to the civilized world to save the Jews of Europe from complete extermination, and that "an American Commission be appointed at once to receive and examine all evidence of Nazi barbarities against civilian populations, and to submit that evidence to the bar of public opinion and to the conscience of the world."

This demand was included in the presentation made by the delegation of the six organizations mentioned above (Section C). The *Mizrachi Organization of America* suggests that the "entire civilized world unite in helping preserve the Jewish people." The *National Women's League of the United Synagogue* urges an appeal to the United Nations.

2. Organizational Implements

Problem: A vast administrative relief organization will be necessary to carry out on a large scale the program of rescue of the Jews of Europe.

¹² "Voice of the Unconquered," April, 1943, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2.

This organization must be acceptable to and capable of dealing with all the governmental and private agencies concerned.

Proposition: That "the United Nations be urged to establish an appropriate inter-governmental agency to which full authority and power should be given to implement a program of rescue."

This statement was made by the *Joint Emergency Committee*. The *Independent Order Brith Abraham* demands a central agency under Allied supervision for the feeding of homeless and unfortunate victims of Nazi oppression. The *Order Sons of Zion* asks for the immediate establishment of a United Nations Agency to rescue as many Jews as possible from Nazi-occupied countries of Europe.

3. Financial Implements

Problem: The rescue of the Jews of Europe will be a great financial undertaking. An effective program calls for the expenditure of enormous sums of money, which will have to come from steady and assured sources. It is quite obvious that such an undertaking cannot depend upon the voluntary gifts of individuals, or the limited funds of philanthropic agencies.

Proposition: That the "United Nations undertake to provide the financial guarantees that may be required for the execution of [an adequate] program of rescue."

This demand was submitted by the *Joint Emergency Committee*. The *Order Sons of Zion* states that the United Nations Agency "should have financial means necessary for the sustenance and welfare of such refugees who are to be maintained in neutral countries for the duration." It is also proposed that Lend-lease arrangements be made with the government of the United States in order to insure an immediate supply of medicine and food-stuffs for the Jews of Europe.

AREA TWO

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

A. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRANSITION PERIOD

B. RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

1. Food, Clothing, Shelter, Medical Care and Mental Hygiene
2. Reunion of Families and Care of Children
3. Redress and Reparation
4. Religious and Communal Rehabilitation

C. PUNISHMENT OF THE GUILTY

D. LEGAL RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES

1. Annulment of Racial Laws
2. Outlawing Anti-Semitism
3. Rights of Repatriation, Residence and Citizenship
4. Safeguarding Jewish Rights

E. FINANCE AND ORGANIZATION

AREA TWO

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

A. GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRANSITION PERIOD

The post-war transition period in the Axis-dominated territories will start with occupation by the Allied forces. This period will last until peace terms are formulated and accepted, and stable governments finally established. The general assumption is that unlike the Peace Conference following the first World War, which was convened in haste, the future peace discussions will be prolonged. Some years may elapse before the transition period passes into an era of tranquillity and permanent security. Obviously, the position of the Jews during this transition stage will be determined not only by the general conditions prevailing in the liberated countries, but also by the policies of the Allied occupation authorities and their effectiveness in coping with the situation as a whole.

It is hard to conceive that Fascist and Nazi feelings of race hatred, inculcated into the people for two decades, will be eradicated immediately following the cessation of hostilities. Civil strife, plunder and marauding may set in, unless promptly checked by the authorities of occupation. Millions of demobilized soldiers, and other persons released from concentration camps or forced labor battalions, will be wandering throughout Europe. Many will be unable to find former homes and will seek new habitations. Conflicts over state boundaries and territorial claims may result in local armed strife. And then, there will be the staggering task of feeding, clothing, providing shelter and medical care for the uprooted millions throughout the European continent.

It is recognized by all who have given thought to these complex problems, that their solutions will have to be undertaken by a united authoritative body to be set up by the Allied Nations. The United States and Great Britain have already laid the foundations, the former through the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, headed by ex-Governor Herbert Lehman, and the latter, together with the Governments-in-Exile, through the Sir Frederick Leith-Ross Committee.¹

B. RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

1. Food, Clothing, Shelter, Medical Care and Mental Hygiene

Problem: The Jews of Europe who will have survived the Nazi ordeal,

¹ *The Position of the Jews in the Post-War World*. A Study Course, prepared by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee, Unit V, edited by Abraham G. Duker, 1943, pp. 15-16.

will be emaciated from hunger, their clothes worn to tatters, their health undermined, and their homes destroyed.²

Proposition: That a large scale relief program be organized for the transition period, for the purpose of feeding the destitute Jews and providing for them clothes, medical care, and temporary shelter.

These aspects of relief, which are primary necessities, are demanded by all the organizations that have expressed themselves on this matter.

2. Reunion of Families and Care of Children

Problem: Members of Jewish families who have been forcibly separated and scattered over many territories, will seek to reunite. This will be extremely difficult in view of the fact that children who have been torn from their parents have been deprived of identification papers. The separation of husbands and wives will create the problem of *Agunot*.³

Particularly acute will be the question of child care. This is not to be conceived as an ordinary case of providing for underprivileged or subnormal children. An entire generation of youth has been dislocated and denied all avenues of normal growth and development.⁴ Countless numbers have been orphaned, or separated from close relatives. Even those who will have been fortunate enough to have remained with their parents will not find, for a long time, their reestablished homes fit for normal living.

Proposition: That immediately after the war steps be taken to reunite families and to place orphaned and homeless children in institutions (or preferably with private families), and to provide for them schools, occupational training, recreation, medical care, and opportunities for cultural and religious development.

This is recognized as an urgent and primary aspect of the relief work, by several organizations, who also emphasize the specific problem of the care of children. *The Jewish Labor Committee* states: "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." *The National Women's League of the United Synagogue* "will adopt war orphans, if such a movement is organized." *B'nai B'rith* states: it "has surveyed the prospects for homes for refugee children and war orphans throughout its seven districts

² See Introduction above on present conditions.

³ According to Jewish traditional law, a woman whose husband has disappeared is not allowed to re-marry until it is ascertained that he is dead.

⁴ "Uprooted Jews in the Immediate Post-war World," by Jacob Robinson, *International Conciliation*, No. 389, April 1943, p. 303; and "The Problem of Jewish Child Relief After the War," by Emanuel Pat, in *Jews After the War* (Yiddish), published by the Jewish Labor Committee, New York, 1942, pp. 40-50.

in the United States, and is looking into the possibility of the use of several of its institutions for temporary care."

3. Redress and Reparations

Problem: Jews seeking to return to their homes and to regain whatever may still be intact of their former possessions, will face innumerable obstacles—physical, psychological and financial. Dispossessed of their properties and dislocated from their economic positions not only by Germans but also by individuals of other nationalities who, willingly or unwillingly, have benefited from Nazi anti-Jewish measures, the Jews will find the new owners reluctant to return their properties or positions to them. Furthermore, it is likely that the occupation authorities will move cautiously in pressing Jewish claims, for fear of straining Jewish-Christian relations. The solution will require goodwill, a clear policy, tact, but at the same time resolute action in order to settle these claims with equity.

Jews who have been left destitute and without redress will seek reparation for their lost possessions, or reemployment in new occupations. They will have to be compensated financially, or given occupational retraining and employment. Reparations must be forthcoming not only to individual Jews, but also to their communities which were despoiled of communal possessions. Further, there will be the question of the right of the Jews collectively to demand reparations for the properties of victims who left no heirs, applying these indemnities to the general funds for Jewish rehabilitation. The disposition of these problems will determine in large measure the effectiveness of Jewish reconstruction after final peace is established.

Propositions:⁵ Several organizations make specific demands with reference to these questions. *The American Jewish Congress* calls for "compensation

⁵ On January 5, 1942, the United Nations issued the following statement:

"The Union of South Africa, the United States of America, Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, the Czechoslovak Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Greece, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the French National Committee:

"Hereby issue a formal warning to all concerned, and in particular to persons in neutral countries, that they intend to do their utmost to defeat the methods of dispossession practiced by the governments with which they are at war against the countries and peoples who have been so wantonly assaulted and despoiled. The governments making this declaration and the French National Committee reserve all their rights to declare invalid any transfers of, or dealings with, property rights and interests of any description whatsoever which are, or have been, situated in the territories which have come under the occupation or control, direct or indirect, of the governments with which they are at war or which belong or have belonged to persons, including juridical persons, resident in such territories. This warning applies whether such transfers or dealings have taken the form of open looting or plunder or of transactions apparently legal in form, even when they purport to be voluntarily effected."

sation and reparation for losses suffered by Jews in Germany and Nazi-occupied territories." *Young Israel* demands "that adequate reparations be made for all deaths, injuries and damaged property, including commercial property, as a result of illegal acts or acts in violation of fundamental human rights." *The Labor Zionist Council* includes in its program the "restoration or restitution . . . of Jewish positions destroyed by Axis inspired laws, decrees or other forms of deprivation direct or indirect, legal or extra-legal." *The Jewish Labor Committee* adds, "if the victims of the Nazi-Fascist criminals have left no legal heirs, their property, or compensation therefor is to be transferred to the Jewish Communal Organization of the district in which the crime has been perpetrated." *The United Synagogue of America* refers particularly to the "restoration of religious buildings and property of all denominations," which "should be undertaken promptly and so far as practicable, at the expense of the Axis countries, under the supervision and direction of the United Nations." Reparations in one form or another are also asked by the *Mizrachi Organization of America* and the *Progressive Order of the West*. *B'nai B'rith* "favors the restoration of property to individuals and where such is not possible, settlement of reparations upon organizations in the field of relief and rehabilitation—it being understood that the Axis countries are to sustain the cost."

4. Religious and Communal Rehabilitation

Problem: The wanton destruction that has taken place of synagogues and other Jewish sacred places or objects, will be a hindrance to Jewish religious observance after the war. Also, the ruin, confiscation and looting of Jewish communal property will render extremely difficult the post-war rehabilitation of Jewish communal institutions.

Proposition: That those who are responsible for the destruction or confiscation of Jewish religious institutions, sacred objects and communal property shall rebuild and restore these at their expense and through their labor.

The United Synagogue of America desires "restoration of the religious buildings and property of all denominations. The Jews, in common with other religious groups, have been victims of the vandalism of the totalitarian powers, resulting in the destruction of thousands of churches, synagogues, seminaries, libraries, museums, orphanages and similar property. The restoration and rebuilding of these properties should be undertaken promptly and so far as practicable at the expense of the Axis countries, under the supervision and direction of the United Nations."

Other organizations have implied similar attitudes in their statements on religious freedom.

C. PUNISHMENT OF THE GUILTY

Problem: On December 17, 1942, the United Nations issued a statement with regard to the mass executions and other atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews of Europe, reaffirming "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."

It has already been pointed out in a previous section (on Rescue) that the warning issued by the United Nations to the German people and their leaders that they would be individually and collectively responsible for all Jewish lives, might have acted as a deterrent against further Jewish extermination by the Nazis. After the war, this responsibility must be exacted in full measure of justice. From a moral point of view, and as a safeguard against future excesses, the Nazi murderers must not go unpunished. Otherwise, any law for the safeguarding of Jewish rights in post-war Europe may remain unheeded.

Proposition: That all those who are guilty of murdering Jews or of committing any crime against them, be brought to trial after the war, and justly punished.

This demand is included among the statements issued by many organizations.

D. LEGAL RIGHTS AND GUARANTEES

1. Annulment of Racial Laws

Problem: In order to create a legal ground for their extermination of the Jews, the Nazis enacted legislative measures that are known as racial or Aryan laws. These laws declare that Jews are an inferior race and exclude them from participation in the civil, political, economic and cultural life of the country. With the Nazi conquest of western and eastern Europe and the spread of German domination over Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Slovakia, racial laws were introduced in every country of continental Europe, except the neutral states.

Proposition: That immediately upon the occupation by the Allied Nations of the Nazi held or dominated territories, anti-Jewish laws and any other racial legislation shall be declared null and void.

Several organizations take special cognizance of this proposition, while others imply it in their general statements for equal Jewish rights and guarantees.

2. Outlawing Anti-Semitism

Problem: There have been anti-Jewish laws and persecutions not only in Germany, but also in other European countries, notably in Poland, Ru-

mania and Hungary. These stifled Jewish economic, cultural and religious life. The Nazis have deprived the Jews of all their legal and natural rights, marking them for total annihilation. While there is evidence that sympathy and actual aid has been extended to Jewish victims by their Christian neighbors in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, Poland and other countries, the reaction of the general population to the Jewish tragedy is not known. It has been pointed out that a generation brought up to hate the Jew and blame him for all the ills from which it has had to suffer, will hardly be moved suddenly to adopt a friendly attitude, especially when the suffering is not readily alleviated.

How to curb anti-Semitic feelings and possible excesses, thus making it safe for the Jews of Europe to start rehabilitating themselves, will be one of the major problems to be solved by Allied occupation authorities.

Proposition: A demand for the guarantee and protection of the civic, economic, political and religious rights of the Jews, is made by all the organizations. However, several groups specifically propose to outlaw anti-Semitism as a crime, and suggest certain measures of enforcement. *The American Jewish Congress* seeks "the outlawing of anti-Semitism by international regulations." This statement is also endorsed by the *Progressive Order of the West, Independent Order Brith Abraham, United Galician Jews of America, The Council of Jewish Fraternal Orders and Hapoel Hamizrachi*. *The Jewish Labor Committee* asserts: "Anti-Semitic propaganda or any form of agitation directed against any race or national or religious group is to be decreed an offense against the state, punishable by law." Similarly, *The Labor Zionist Council* desires: "the proclamation that anti-Semitic propaganda will henceforth be treated [as] an incitement to crime and punished as such." *Mizrachi* takes a similar position adding "that all organized and official government means [must] be employed to combat it." *B'nai Brith* advocates "the passage of laws which will make the spreading of anti-Semitic propaganda an offense punishable by law."

3. Rights of Repatriation, Residence and Citizenship

Problem: The great flight and the mass deportations of European Jewry have created a situation in which vast numbers of Jews have been dislocated from original places of habitation. During the transition period, when attempts are made to bring these individuals together again, the question will arise of whether they should have the right to remain in their places of refuge, to return to their former homes, or to find new abodes in other countries. Also involved will be the subject of allowing Jewish refugees

freedom of migration,⁶ providing them with temporary identification documents and establishing their citizenship rights.

Proposition: That the European Jews who are now scattered over the various territories of Europe, in sections of Asiatic Russia, or in any other part of the world, shall have the right to choose their residence during the post-war transition period; that citizenship shall be restored to all Jews who have been deprived of their nationality by the Axis powers, or by any other power before or during the war.

These demands are made by all the organizations that have issued statements on this problem.

On the subject of migration, there are several different formulations. *The American Jewish Committee* states: "To the extent that economic conditions in the war torn lands shall make emigration therefrom of their nationals necessary, we ask the implementation by those who shall frame the terms of peace of a program which shall under international supervision facilitate voluntary settlement elsewhere under the most favorable conditions." Similarly, *The American Jewish Congress* seeks "opportunities for migration and settlement in other lands for Jews who cannot or do not wish to return to their former homes." The same demand is made by the *Zionist Organization of America*, *Hadassah*, *Labor Zionist Council*, *National Council of Young Israel* and the *Progressive Order of the West*. *The Independent Order Brith Avraham* asserts that "the democratic nations should open their doors for more liberal Jewish immigration, to help rehabilitation of refugees," and *The Order Sons of Zion* adds that "no refugee should be forced to return to his original homeland to live in fear and in painful memory of the massacre of loved ones." *The Jewish Labor Committee* states that "Jews are to be guaranteed the right of free emigration and immigration." At the same time it declares: "We are . . . convinced that mass-immigration cannot solve the Jewish question. We categorically reject all projects for forced Jewish emigration or evacuation."

4. Safeguarding Jewish Rights

Problem: Although anti-Semitism may be outlawed and made punishable as a state crime, and the Jews may be accorded full civic equality before the law, many acts of discrimination may be committed by local and central relief and rehabilitation agencies. Guarantees against discrimination will be of great importance at the very start of the transition period when the various states begin to reconstruct their economic life. Jews may be isolated from given economic positions, by being refused employment in

⁶ For detailed discussion on migration see Area Five.

certain industries and government offices, or deprived of free access to professions and business opportunities.

Proposition: That Jewish rights be guaranteed and safeguarded by the United Nations, and that the same assurance be given by National governments, whether these are provisional or permanent.

The Jewish Labor Committee states the proposition in terms of minority rights: "The most effective way in which minority rights can be safeguarded is through the organization of an international Commission endowed with executive powers and a special court with complete jurisdiction in matters pertaining to minority rights." *The Labor Zionist Council* proposes specifically "the insertion of legal guarantees against anti-Jewish discrimination in all regulations providing for the feeding, housing, clothing and medical rehabilitation of the population of Europe."

E. FINANCE AND ORGANIZATION

Problem: While no one is at present able to calculate the financial expenditures that will be required for relief and rehabilitation of European Jewry during the transition period, it is quite conceivable that the amount necessary will be hundreds of millions of dollars. One estimate, based on figures of the first World War and its post-war period, places the figure at 200-250 million dollars a year.⁷ Certainly such financial aid is beyond the means of Jewish relief agencies.⁸ The main task of Jewish relief and rehabilitation will therefore come within the purview of the national and international agencies.

However, the specific Jewish problems in the transition period, as outlined above, will require direct aid, guidance and vigilance on the part of an organized Jewish representation. There will be the task of supplementing financial aid for religious and cultural needs, of helping to organize communal life and educational institutions, of directing the social welfare and recreational agencies of the Jewish population. Furthermore, a Jewish representation will seek to participate in the distribution of international relief and be on guard against possible infractions of Jewish rights. This will also require a qualified personnel especially trained for the purpose and well informed on the life, customs and habits of European Jewry which they will undertake to serve. Another aspect of the problem is the spirit

⁷ "Problems of Economic Reconstruction," by A. Menes, in *Jews After the War* (Yiddish), published by The Jewish Labor Committee, New York, 1943, p. 24.

⁸ In two decades, after the first World War (1919-1939) all American Jewish relief agencies and organizations including landsmanschaften spent an estimated total of \$120,000,000 for European relief, of which some \$100,000,000 was furnished by the J.D.C. See A. Menes, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

in which the relief work will be undertaken. An effort must be made not to make the recipients feel degraded, but rather to raise their self-esteem through allowing them to participate in the dispensation of their relief and leading them toward self-help.

Proposition One: That the United Nations, or any other international authority, in setting up agencies for the relief and rehabilitation of post-war Europe, shall take cognizance of the special needs of the Jews in Europe and shall provide the necessary funds for their relief and rehabilitation.

The American Jewish Congress calls for "the establishment of an appropriate United Nations Agency responsible for the rehabilitation of the Jews." This is supported by *The Progressive Order of the West*, while a similar statement is made by *The Independent Order Brith Abraham* and *The Order Sons of Zion*. *The Union of American Hebrew Congregations* states: "This task will be of such magnitude that it will be capable of solution only by the united effort and with the united aid of the Nations of the World." *The Jewish Labor Committee* declares specifically that "all states are obligated to rebuild Jewish life within the framework of their own program of post-war reconstruction," and that "special international credits are to be extended for the express purpose of rebuilding the economic, social and political life of the Jewish masses in Europe." *The Labor Zionist Council* states: "The principle must be recognized that relief and reconstruction activities for the Jewish population are to be financed out of public funds in the same way as the similar activities for all other parts of the population." It also adds that "the special problems with which the Jewish population will be faced, and for which the public funds may in many cases prove inadequate, make the establishment of a Jewish financial instrument for relief and reconstruction an urgent necessity." *B'nai Brith* asserts: "the Four Freedoms must be implemented by the establishment of a central agency of the United Nations which shall undertake a relief and rehabilitation program for all, regardless of race or creed. In such an agency Jewish interests must be safeguarded by representation."

Proposition Two: That a recognized Jewish representative body be given the opportunity to represent Jewish needs in such international agencies as may be set up for relief and rehabilitation of war victims.

This demand is made by the *Labor Zionist Council*.

AREA THREE

POLITICAL STATUS

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. *Jewish Emancipation in Europe*
2. *After the Versailles Treaty*
3. *Under Nazi Domination*

B. PROBLEM OF ANTI-SEMITISM

C. RIGHTS OF REPATRIATION, RESIDENCE AND CITIZENSHIP

D. INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY RIGHTS

1. *Civil and Political Equality*
2. *Religious Rights*
3. *Cultural and Social Rights*

E. MINORITY RIGHTS

F. GUARANTEE AND ENFORCEMENT OF JEWISH RIGHTS

AREA THREE

POLITICAL STATUS

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Jewish Emancipation in Europe

Political emancipation of western European Jewry which came in the wake of the French Revolution,¹ brought with it on the one hand, equal rights as well as duties, and on the other, a breakdown of Jewish autonomous group life. In Medieval Europe, the Jews had erected a form of self-government, sanctioned by the various States, which allowed Jewish communities to conduct their internal affairs as a body politic, in accordance with their own religious-social precepts. Society as a whole in the Middle Ages was divided into corporations in law, each with its own specific social and political functions. The Jewish group formed such a corporation.

The life of the Medieval Jew in all his pursuits—religious, social, or economic—was directed by the laws, rules, and regulations framed by the authorities of his own community. His relations with the State and the outside world were likewise established largely through community representation. Emancipation, in the political sense, meant the transformation of Jewish communal organization and the surrender of certain fundamental principles by which the community was governed. Thus it freed the individual Jew from direct control by his own group. This surrender of fundamental principles was specifically demanded by Napoleon from the Assembly of Jewish Notables (July, 1806) and later from the Sanhedrin (February, 1807) which he summoned to deliberate on the relations of the Jew with the State and non-Jewish society. The emancipated Jew became an equal citizen of the State in which he lived. As such he was directly subject to national laws on an equal basis with the rest of the population.²

"Jewish rights" prior to emancipation were special group "privileges." Granted by the State to the Jewish Community as a whole, they carried with them restrictions and disabilities. The rights of the Jews after emancipation were individual citizenship rights.

¹ The law granting complete citizenship rights to the Jews in France was passed by the French National Assembly on September 27, 1791.

² *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, by Salo W. Baron. Columbia University Press, New York, 1937, Vol. II, pp. 230-243. See also *History and Destiny of the Jews*, by Joseph Kastein. Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, 1936, Part VI: "Experiments," pp. 375-394; and *Jewish Emancipation Under Attack* by Bernard Dov Weinryb. "Introductory Chapter" by Abraham G. Duker. Published by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee, New York, 1942, pp. 8-50.

Jewish emancipation in central Europe was slower in coming. It was not accomplished until 1867 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, 1871 in Italy and Germany, and 1874 in Switzerland. Eastern European Jewry was fully emancipated in Russia only after the Revolutions of 1917, and in Rumania, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland with the end of the first World War.

2. After the Versailles Treaty

The ill-treatment of racial, linguistic and religious minorities in central and eastern Europe and in Turkey before and during World War I, gave the Allied Powers at the Peace Conference reason to doubt whether the new and enlarged States which they were establishing in these regions would uphold the constitutional rights of minority citizens. The Jewish delegations (*Comité des Délégations Juives*) at the Conference were particularly concerned over the fate of their brethren in these new countries. Remembering especially the experience in Rumania where despite a pledge given by the Rumanian Government at the Berlin Congress (1878) the Jews nevertheless were persistently denied citizenship, the *Comité* sought to gain specific guarantees for minority rights.

The Paris Peace Conference created special international instruments which contained stipulations for the protection of minorities. These instruments are generally known as Minority Treaties. They were enforced upon the newly established or enlarged States as a condition of independence, or of admission to membership in the League of Nations. Some of these States signed special Minority Treaties at the Peace Conference, others had special chapters inserted in their respective peace pacts, while still others made Declarations before the Council of the League of Nations, or incorporated special clauses in Conventions with other States.

In the course of time these obligations were assumed by Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. These countries embraced a total population of 125,000,000, divided into at least twenty different racial, linguistic and religious groups. Of these, nearly 50,000,000 people (including 5½ million Jews) formed large or small minorities in their respective countries.

Each State recognized the obligations in these Minority Treaties as "fundamental law" not to be changed by subsequent legislation or administration. Each State also recognized these obligations as of "international concern," and subject to the supervision of the League of Nations. Changes in the Treaties could be made only with the approval of a majority of the League Council.

Thus, the Jews of east-central Europe, as a minority group, received the same international protection as did all other minorities in that region. Since the Minority Treaties purported to aid the Jews, among other groups, in establishing their rights as equal citizens in each of the enumerated States, it would be well to describe here what these Treaties secured and how they operated under the League of Nations.

In broad terms, the Minority Treaties guaranteed five "General" and a few "Special" rights which may be summarized. *General Rights:* (a) State citizenship to every member of the minority group habitually residing at the time within the State, or born therein; or citizenship in a State of his choice if the latter accepted him; (b) State protection of life, liberty and freedom of worship; (c) equal treatment before the law and full civil and political rights; (d) freedom of use of minority languages in private, in public, in the press, in courts; (e) allocation of State funds for the promotion of minority educational, religious and charitable institutions.

The *Special Rights* were applied to a number of groups in accordance with their particular cultural, religious and territorial demands. Thus, the Muslims in Albania, Greece and Yugoslavia were permitted to use their own laws pertaining to family and personal status. The Jews were guaranteed freedom of Sabbath observance and given the right to form an Educational Committee, to receive the allocation of State funds and to administer Jewish schools in Poland, Lithuania, Turkey and eventually also in Danzig and German Upper Silesia. The Carpatho-Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia were accorded "territorial autonomy," subject to the laws of the State and directed by a governor appointed by the president of the State. Similarly, the Saxon and Szekelir in Rumania were granted religious and educational autonomy, while the non-Greek monastic communities of Mount Athos in Greece were permitted to retain their traditional rights and liberties.

The procedure of settling questions of alleged violations was an important factor in the success or failure of the Minority Treaty in a given State. The minority group was not allowed to plead a case against its government before the League of Nations. Only a member of the League Council had the right of "bringing to the attention" of the Council any infraction or danger of infraction of minority rights. The minority itself, or for that matter, any person was permitted to present a "Petition" (for purposes of information) to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. If the latter considered it "receivable," he submitted it to the Government in question for comment. The Petition, with the comments, was then presented to the Minorities Committee (consisting of the President of the Council and two other members appointed by him) for advice as to whether it should be

brought before the Council for consideration and action. If the Council decided to take action, the question was usually settled through conversations with the Government concerned. If no agreement was reached, the matter could be brought before the Permanent Court of International Justice.

It should be pointed out that in some cases the Minority Treaties were imposed by the Great Powers upon the States of east-central Europe against their will. The latter considered them a limitation on their sovereignty.² They also resented the fact that other nations (Germany and Italy) did not have to sign similar treaties. In certain instances these Treaties became tools in the hands of "irredentist" groups (such as the Germans in Sudeten and Rumania, the Ukrainians and White Russians in Poland) which used them, under the influence of adjacent countries, to keep peoples in constant turmoil or as devices to invite the protection of neighboring States. The latter led, for example, to Germany's meddling in Czechoslovakia.

That the Minority Treaties were flagrantly violated, especially with regard to Jewish citizens, by some of the States who had solemnly accepted them, is now common knowledge. Both individual and group rights of the Jews were curtailed. Anti-Jewish measures were adopted under various disguises, forcing the Jews from their economic positions and stifling their community organizations. Thus, while Jewish rights were never abrogated officially, they were counteracted in States by practical measures.

In contrast with the situation in central-eastern Europe, the emancipation of the Jews in the western European countries remained unchanged. In England, France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, the Jews enjoyed complete civil and political equality. Under the Weimar Republic, Germany, too, provided full civil and political rights for the Jews, which were generally approved by the population, despite anti-Jewish prejudices in many influential circles. The Jews of Italy under Fascist rule retained the same status as the rest of the population until 1938, when Nazi ideology began to make itself felt more strongly in that country. The first anti-Jewish legislation was issued in a Royal Decree-Law on September 5, 1938, excluding the Jews from educational institutions. Subsequently, anti-Jewish measures, similar to the Nazi Nuremberg laws, were enacted in Italy.

3. Under Nazi Domination

The unique case of Jewish disfranchisement in Nazi Germany has no parallel in the entire history of modern civilization. In the first stage of

² Poland repudiated her Minority Treaty before the Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1934.

legislative discrimination (April 1933 to September 1935), the Jews of Germany, while still remaining German citizens, were eliminated from civil service, professions, and cultural life. There were categories of Jews (for example, those who served in battle in the first World War) that were exempt from these laws and permitted to retain civil service positions, or practice professions. During the second stage (September 1935 to November 1938), all German Jews, while remaining State members (*Staatsangehörige*), were deprived of citizenship (as *Staatsbürger*) and hence of political and civil rights. This was the infamous Nuremberg law of September 15, 1935.

Further laws regulated the status of the Jewish community as a private corporation. Prior to this decree, Jewish religious organizations in Germany had the status of public bodies, enjoying certain privileges shared by other religious groups, such as tax exemption. The Nazis placed them in the category of private corporations. Other regulations called for the registration of Jewish property, the limitation of Jewish economic activities, and segregation of Jews from the rest of the population through special Jewish passports and identification cards, marked with a red "J." Another law decreed the change of family and given names.

The third stage, that of total liquidation, was launched in November, 1938, after the assassination of Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, by Herschel Grynszpan, a young Polish Jew. The measures taken by the Nazis spelled the complete elimination of Jews from economic life including the imposition of fines (of one billion Reichsmark, November 12, 1938), the confiscation of property, and the introduction of compulsory labor. These were followed by expulsions, deportations and mass extermination in all the territories occupied by the Nazis since the outbreak of the war. Similar laws, though not accompanied by acts of outright extermination, were introduced by Hitler's satellites in Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Vichy France.²⁶

The problem of Jewish rights in post-war Europe is not a question of modifying or ameliorating existing laws, but of restoring and establishing legislation that will accord the Jews full equality and equity in all countries in the post-war world. It is further a question of guaranteeing that Jewish rights shall not be curtailed or violated.

B. PROBLEM OF ANTI-SEMITISM

A fundamental principle in securing Jewish rights, is the elimination of anti-Semitism. No doubt this will require a long process of education,

²⁶ Many of the documents pertaining to the Nazi anti-Jewish laws have been collected and analyzed by Bernard Dov Weinryb in his booklet, *Jewish Emancipation Under Attack*, cited above.

checks and controls, as well as mutual rapprochement between Jew and non-Jew in everyday life. However, it is well recognized that those who will frame the terms of peace, will have to take the first step in this direction by declaring illegal anti-Semitism, or any form of racial discrimination and persecution. This matter has been dealt with in a previous section. (See Area Two.)

C. RIGHTS OF REPATRIATION, RESIDENCE AND CITIZENSHIP

These problems have been discussed in the Area on Transition Period. The same rights with regard to repatriation, residence and citizenship, that are demanded for the Jews during that period, must apply to all the countries after they shall have established permanent governments and resumed their normal functions.

D. INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY RIGHTS

1. Civil and Political Equality

Problem One: The rights that the Jews will demand when Europe is rebuilt on democratic foundations, are security of life and liberty, and free opportunity to pursue their normal occupations on an equal basis with the rest of the population. In western Europe before the war and in pre-Nazi Germany, Austria and Italy, the Jews enjoyed these rights under state constitutions which automatically applied to all citizens. In those countries, there were no legal or actual curtailments of Jewish individual rights. But in some of the central-eastern States, as pointed out in a previous section (Historical Background), these rights, while recognized legally as valid for all inhabitants without distinction of race or religion, were violated in their practical application to the Jew.

The granting of equal civil status to the Jew is not merely a matter of constitutional law, but also a practical process which has to be carried out in everyday life. It means, among other things, freedom of religion, freedom in all fields of economic endeavor, inviolability of domicile and property, police and court protection. It means equity in the application of state and municipal laws and regulations, such as those of taxation or the granting of licenses, or the receipt of State credits. It includes, too, employment in civil and military service, access to public utilities, a proper share in state and municipal benefits and freedom from threat of boycott.

It means, further, freedom to attend public schools and institutions of higher learning, and uncurtailed practice of professions. Equality of civil rights implies that the Jews shall be free to form societies, associations, educational institutions and community organizations according to their own

choice, and that these organizations shall not be placed under discriminatory government surveillance.

Problem Two: Political rights include the grant of citizenship and the right to vote or to stand for election. They may also involve the question of equity in apportioning election districts (in contrast to minimizing the vote of the Jewish population by special re-districting) and the granting of equal opportunity for the election of Jewish candidates.

Propositions: While the organizations have not as yet formulated detailed propositions on the various phases involved in the problems of civil and political rights, they all demand (in the statements issued by them) that in general such rights be guaranteed to the Jews in post-war Europe.

The American Jewish Committee "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 obligation of complete loyalty to their respective countries, shall be guaranteed the correlative right of complete equality." "Complete civil equality . . . for Jews," as one of the provisions of an enduring peace is asked by *The Union of American Hebrew Congregations* and its affiliates, the *National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods* and the *National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods*.

The American Jewish Congress demands: "the assurance of equal civil rights, such as obtained in the United States and as are set forth in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, for every individual Jew in all countries of the world." This is also demanded by the *Progressive Order of the West* and the *National Council of Young Israel*. A similar demand is made by *The Order Sons of Zion*. *The Jewish Labor Committee* states: "The coming peace Conference is to proclaim full civil, political, economic and social rights for Jews throughout the World." *The Zionist Organization of America* declares: "On behalf of the Jews in European countries, we demand, further, full equality of rights with their fellow countrymen as individuals. In those lands where group rights shall be granted to others and where the Jewish population involved desires such rights for themselves, we urge full equality of status." *The Labor Zionist Council* desires "an international Bill of Rights which should assure the inalienable right of every individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, to freedom of expression, and peaceful association; to equality of economic opportunity and social security." *Hadassah—Women's Zionist Organization of America* seeks "the restitution of fundamental rights to all Jews as individuals everywhere." *B'nai Brith* states: "While guarantees of political and civil rights have been given in the past to Jewish citizens of the various countries, they were observed more in the breach than in practice. Rights for Jews

should be equal to those of other citizens, but it may become necessary for Jewish rights to have protection by adequate Jewish representation in an Agency of the United Nations to be set up for the purpose of implementing guarantees of equal rights for all, so that the practices illegally indulged in not long after the Versailles Treaty (notwithstanding its enunciation of lofty principles) shall not be repeated."

2. Religious Rights

Problem: Religious rights include freedom of worship and free opportunity to exercise the religious ways of life of the Jew at home, in the synagogue, in business and in society. Religious rights mean that the Jew should be free to observe the Sabbath and his dietary laws. Sabbath observers should be allowed to work on Sunday, and there should be no interference with *shehita* (the methods prescribed by Jewish ritual for slaughtering animals for food), or other Jewish dietary laws. Religious rights mean, further, that Synagogues and other sacred places should be protected against desecration and destruction by marauders. They also imply that Jews shall have a right to organize religious communities and maintain contacts with co-religionists abroad; that Jewish religious schools and organizations shall be tax-exempt and shall enjoy other state privileges that may be granted the non-Jewish religious bodies.

Even before the war these religious rights were violated through organized anti-Jewish excesses, both with and without the sanction of governments in many central-eastern states of Europe as well as in Nazi Germany.

Proposition: That the Jews be granted full freedom in the exercise of their religious practices, without restriction on the part of governments, and without interference from any individual or group.

This is sought by all the organizations, directly or indirectly.

The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America states that "full privileges to practice their religion in keeping with traditions of the Torah . . . be protected by law." *The Mizrahi Organization of America* and the *Mizrahi Women's Organization* stipulate the "safeguarding [of] their specific way of life, including observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws." A similar statement is made by the *National Council of Young Israel*. *The Rabbinical Assembly of America* states: "The Jews of the Diaspora should receive the protection of such a federation [of democratic nations] in the exercise of that freedom which the federation should guarantee to all religious and cultural communities." *The United Synagogue of America* specifies "the right of every person, according to his conscience, to worship God, practice his religion and educate his children in that religion." *The*

Union of American Hebrew Congregations and affiliates state this proposition as a "guarantee of the right of worship." Similarly, *The American Jewish Committee* asks for "the complete restoration and safeguarding of equal . . . religious rights . . . of millions of unoffending human beings, especially Jews . . . [who have suffered from the] ruin inflicted [on them] by Axis barbarism." *The Jewish Labor Committee* demands that "the coming peace conference . . . proclaim [among other rights for Jews throughout the world] complete religious freedom." *The Zionist Organization of America*, *Hadassah*, *American Jewish Congress*, and *Progressive Order of the West*, demand religious rights for the Jews as one of the principles set forth in the Four Freedoms. *The Labor Zionist Council* demands the same freedom as part of "an international Bill of Rights." *B'nai B'rith* asks the guarantee of Jewish religious rights in an Agency of the United Nations to be set up for the purpose of implementing equal freedom of religion for all.

3. Cultural and Social Rights

Problem One: The Jews of every country in Europe have developed, in the course of centuries, their respective patterns of cultural life, that have found expression in Yiddish, Hebrew, or in the language of the majority population. They have had their cultural organizations and institutions, a daily press and periodicals, scientific, literary and religious publications, theatres, schools, Yeshivahs, rabbinical academies and scientific institutes.

The right of the Jew to develop his own cultural life implies that no restrictions be placed on the use of his language or languages in public, over the radio, or in assembly. It also means that Jews shall have the right to establish an educational system with Yiddish and or Hebrew as the language of instruction. It implies, further, that the press and other publications in Yiddish, Ladino and or Hebrew should not be subjected to discriminatory governmental scrutiny and that all Jewish cultural and educational institutions should enjoy the same privileges (as, for example, tax exemption and subsidy) as those of the non-Jewish population.

Proposition One: That the Jews be guaranteed full freedom in exercising and developing their particular cultural way of life in their own language, or languages, and through whatever institutions they may choose to establish, in every community and country in which they may live.

These propositions are generally included among the rights demanded for Jews by all the organizations which have made statements on this matter.

The American Jewish Committee asks for "the preservation of the Jewish Community as a spiritual force." *The Jewish Labor Committee* proposes that these rights be guaranteed as part of national-minority rights, including

"full recognition . . . [of] the Yiddish language in the administrative, legal and political institutions of the state." And further, that "State Funds for cultural and educational purposes . . . also be granted to the Jewish population in proportion to its numbers." Similarly, *The Labor Zionist Council* demands that the "minorities [be assured] the proper conditions for the preservation and free development of their culture, [and] . . . that Jewish schools be granted an equitable share of the funds allotted for public education." *The Rabbinical Assembly of America* declares: "Every man . . . should be free to express his personality in his cultural pursuits. He should be free to cultivate any language of his choice in addition to that of the dominant culture, to observe traditional customs and folk-ways, and to associate with others, who share his racial, cultural and religious traditions in appropriate forms of community organization."

Problem Two: Under early Nazi rule, the Jews were subjected to special discriminatory laws. They were ordered to wear yellow badges, carry passports and identification cards marked with a red "J," and to change their names. They were excluded from parks, libraries, theatres and other public places, and were generally placed in a class of inferior social beings.

Proposition Two: That all these laws be declared null and void and that guarantees be given that no other legislation of a similar discriminatory nature be enacted against Jews or any other race or creed.

This is implied in the statements on discrimination.

E. MINORITY RIGHTS

Problem: The Minority Treaties which were created after the first World War were international instruments designed for the protection of the civil, political and religious rights of minority groups. The minorities will no doubt seek the same or similar guarantees after the present war. Whether or not the original concept of minority rights will be revived after this war, is a matter of speculation.⁴ In discussions on post-war reconstruction that have taken place in official and unofficial circles of east-European nationals, the emphasis has been on state federations of large or small regions. However, the minority rights guaranteed by the various treaties after World War I are still legally valid and no State may repudiate them unilaterally. The problem will require a solution in one form or another, and will have to be decided upon by the authorities who will frame the terms of peace after this war.

Propositions: Three organizations have made specific points with

⁴ *Minorities in a Free World*, by Jacob Robinson. Reprinted from *Free World*, Vol. V, No. 5, May 1945.

regard to minority rights for Jews in post-war Europe. *The Jewish Labor Committee* states: "(1) 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. (2) In such countries, too, Jews are to receive the right to organize into autonomous bodies for the purpose of administering their national-cultural affairs. These autonomous Jewish bodies are to have legal status, including the right to tax their membership. (3) 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 population. State funds of cultural and educational purposes should also be granted to the Jewish population in proportion to its numbers." *Mizrachi Organization of America* declares: "In countries where minority rights will be established we demand that the same rights be given the Jews, safeguarding their specific way of life, including observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws, and that full recognition be given their linguistic rights, so that every Jew have not only the opportunity to be the equal of his neighbor, but also that the Jewish group as such shall have the rights of other groups within a particular country." *The Labor Zionist Council* presents the following: "(1) With respect to the Jewish population, we consider as essential the right: (a) to be organized nationally and locally as a public corporation, to belong to, and cooperate with, international bodies; (b) to maintain its own educational system, aiming at the preservation of the Jewish culture. (2) With regard to countries where the Jewish population requests it, and where such provisions are not in contradiction to the structure of the State, we demand: (a) that the Jewish population organized as a public body be empowered to levy taxes on its members; (b) that Jewish schools be granted an equitable share of the funds allotted for public education."

Other organizations have stated their position in terms of group rights. *The Zionist Organization of America* states: "In those lands where group rights shall be granted to others and where the Jewish population involved desires such rights for themselves, we urge full equality of status." Similarly, the *American Jewish Congress* asks "the recognition of Jewish group rights in all lands where such rights are accorded to others." *Mizrachi Women's Organization* calls for safeguarding the rights of the Jews "not only as individuals, but as a national group" in all countries.

Other organizations which may have reservations or different opinions on these questions, have not yet stated their points of view.

F. GUARANTEE AND ENFORCEMENT OF JEWISH RIGHTS

Problem: Past experience has shown that pacts and treaties without the proper instruments for enforcement, have been violated or disregarded by one state or another. This was also the case with regard to treaties that affected Jewish rights in eastern European countries. Even the rights emanating from state constitutions were frequently denied or circumvented when applied to Jewish citizens. What guarantee will there be in post-war Europe that the equal rights accorded to Jews will be observed by the governing authorities in the spirit and letter of the law?

Proposition: That the authorities who will establish the terms of peace in the world, in framing the civil, political, social and religious rights of all minorities including the Jews in post-war Europe, shall provide specific international and state guarantees for the implementation of these rights, and shall create effective instruments for their enforcement.

All the organizations that have issued statements demanding equal rights for Jews, have stipulated the need for guarantees of those rights.

The American Jewish Committee asks for "the complete restoration and safeguarding of their equal civil and religious rights." *The Zionist Organization of America*, in asking equal rights for the Jews, urges that "guarantees to this end be provided by the United Nations." A similar demand is made by the *Order Sons of Zion*, and the *Free Sons of Israel*. *The Jewish Labor Committee* states: "It is of paramount importance that the Jews and other minorities be given guarantees which will definitely fix the obligation of the new International Body of Nations so that Jewish and minority rights will not depend merely upon the whim and good-will of various governments. The most effective way in which minority rights can be safeguarded is through the organization of an international Commission endowed with executive power and a special court with complete jurisdiction in matters pertaining to minority rights." *The Labor Zionist Council* appeals for "an international Bill of Rights which would assure the inalienable rights of every individual." It further demands "the creation of national and international instruments (a) to ensure the protection of all minorities against persecution or discrimination in the field of the above mentioned individual rights and liberties; (b) to assure these minorities the proper conditions for the preservation and free development of their culture." *The Rabbinical Assembly of America* declares: "A world federation of democratic nations should exercise whatever legislative, judicial, and executive powers may be necessary to preserve peace, to regulate international relations, and

to promote international collaboration in the common interests of humanity. . . . The Jews in the Diaspora should receive the protection of such a federation in the exercise of that freedom which the federation should guarantee to all religious and cultural communities." *B'nai B'rith* states: "An agency shall be set up by the United Nations which will be empowered to deal with any infringement of guarantees of equal civil and religious rights."

WRHS



AREA FOUR

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

A. BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATUS

1. *Western Europe*
2. *Central-Eastern Europe*
3. *Occupied Territories in U. S. S. R.*
4. *Germany*

B. GENERAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

1. *Recognition of Special Jewish Needs*
2. *Retraining and Re-employment*
3. *Financial Aid and Organization*

AREA FOUR

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

A. BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATUS

The economic position that the Jews occupied in western and central Europe before the war, and particularly before the Nazi rise to power in Germany, differed greatly from the one they held in central-eastern Europe. It was still further differentiated from their place in the western territories of the Soviet Union.

Reconstruction of European Jewry will, therefore, present entirely different problems in the western countries, in the central-eastern, and in the Soviet territories that are now under Nazi occupation. In addition, as the main source of mass hatred against the Jew, Germany will present a peculiar problem of her own.¹

Despite having special needs that do not prevail among other groups, rehabilitation of Jews in Europe must be conceived as part of the general program of post-war reconstruction. The prerequisites for such a program will be created by those who will frame the terms of lasting peace. It is now almost an accepted axiom that the rebuilding of war-torn Europe must be based on international political cooperation and economic collaboration.

1. Western Europe

In France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy and Norway, the Jews constituted but a small percentage of the total population.² Throughout these lands their combined total was approximately 600,000. Having enjoyed equality of rights and privileges for generations, without legal or practical restrictions, they had become integrated in the economic structure. In these highly industrialized states, the Jews were largely represented in the middle classes, in professional groups and, in smaller numbers, in the upper class. They also enjoyed wide social contacts with the non-Jewish population, participating in the general cultural, political and social movements as citizens of equal status.

It is impossible to predict how many Jews will still be in these countries by the end of the war, or how many of them will survive in the areas to which they have been deported. Nor can one foretell how many of those who

¹ *Economic Reconstruction and Migration*, A Study Course prepared by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee. Unit VII, edited by Abraham G. Duker. New York, 1943.

² See Introduction for the number of Jews in the various countries of Europe.

emigrated or were evacuated to the interior of the Soviet Union, will return to their former domiciles.

For those Jews who will remain in their countries and others who will return from places of refuge or from areas to which they have been deported, the problem of reconstruction may not be beset with unusual difficulties. The attitude of the Christian population toward Jewish suffering has been sympathetic; in many instances non-Jews have been helpful in saving Jewish lives. The return home of Jews will probably be accepted by the populace as part of an all-embracing reconstruction plan.

Furthermore, the Jews may find it easier to readjust themselves in these countries. Their business experience and technical skills will be assets in rebuilding economic life. That Jewish contribution to the general welfare will be recognized has been indicated, for example, by recent efforts made on the part of Belgian authorities to secure the post-war return of their Jewish diamond dealers.

One of the main problems in western Europe will be to gather the Jews from the territories to which they have been sent, and to repatriate them. A more difficult task will be the repatriation of non-citizens who constituted, in many places, a considerable proportion of the pre-war Jewish population. Having resided in these countries for many years prior to the war, they may desire to return to former homes and professions. Further complications will ensue in the process of restoring confiscated Jewish properties.³

2. Central-Eastern Europe

The Jews of central-eastern Europe were concentrated in compact masses in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In most of these countries they constituted a considerable proportion of the total population (in Poland as high as 10%).⁴ Before the war, there were over five and a half million Jews throughout these lands, within a total population of some 100,000,000 (i.e., a ratio of 5.5%).

Economic conditions in central-eastern Europe were on a low level in comparison with those in western states. Countries like Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Yugoslavia, though rich in natural resources, were insufficiently developed industrially and commercially. They were unable by themselves to exploit fully their natural resources, and investments of foreign capital were not large. The bulk of the population (between 65% and 80%) remained agrarian; there were only limited opportunities for gainful urban

³ See Area Two.

⁴ See Introduction, on Jewish population in east-central Europe.

occupations. The index of real income of the gainfully employed during the period 1925-1934, was 359 in Hungary, 352 in Poland, 245 in Rumania, as compared, for example, with 1,069 in Great Britain, 684 in France, or 646 in Germany.² Much needed agrarian reforms (redistribution of land) were slow in coming, especially in Poland and Hungary. Of all the states in this area, Czechoslovakia alone had a well developed Czech middle class.

Under these conditions the Jewish population, which was almost entirely urban, had to face major economic difficulties. In Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece, where the governments pursued a more liberal policy, the Jews were integrated with the rest of the population in the various fields of economic activity. In the other countries—in Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Lithuania—they encountered numerous obstacles in their struggle to maintain their position in the economic structure.

Except for a small number in agricultural occupations, the Jews were engaged in a variety of trades, professions and businesses. They were workers, artisans, small shopkeepers, and professionals. They also made their contribution as commercial and industrial entrepreneurs. The systems of State monopolies and government controls of foreign trade stifled the economic life of the Jews. Their employment was reduced to a minimum in non-Jewish establishments and was practically excluded entirely from civil service.

The policies and administrative practices of the respective Governments, coupled with the fact that the overflow of the non-Jewish agrarian population was constantly streaming into urban occupations and enterprises, made the economic position of the Jews untenable in these countries. Gradually, a large proportion of the Jewish population became impoverished. Having lost their foothold in the economic structure of the land, many Jews were forced to emigrate while a considerable number became dependent on Jewish public subsidies.

Reconstruction of the Jews in central-eastern Europe, especially in Poland, Rumania and Hungary, will be more than a question of restoring pre-war position; it will include rebuilding economic life on new foundations. The legal and political implications of this problem have been discussed in the preceding section. (See Area Three.) Given proper political conditions under a democratic order, the program will entail retraining in new occupations, expansion of opportunities for employment, and financial assistance for commercial and industrial enterprises.

The central-eastern European countries, even more so than western

² See *Economic Reconstruction and Migration*, cited above.

Europe, will need the technical skills of the Jews and their experience in commerce, industrial management and foreign trade, for rebuilding the ruins. For example, the textile industry in Poland, which Jews had developed to a high mark, could be revived by them after the war for the benefit of the country as a whole. Similarly, the Jews of Rumania who constituted at one time a fifth of the entire commercial class, could bring to life again the ebbing domestic and international trade in that nation.

Jews have had some experience in farming in Poland, Rumania and Lithuania, especially during the period between the first World War and the time they were forced off the land by government restrictions.³ Retraining in agricultural occupations may benefit not only them but also agrarian development in these areas.

As pointed out in a previous chapter,⁴ the attitude of Government as well as of the general population toward the rehabilitation of the Jews in their home countries, will play a major role in the process of the latter's adjustment to new post-war conditions. Granted freedom of opportunity on a par with the rest of the population, the Jews will find their rightful place in all fields of economic endeavor, including business, trade, industry, the professions, civil service and agriculture.

3. Occupied Territories in U.S.S.R.

More than two-thirds of Soviet Jewry, or 2,100,000 persons lived before the war in White Russia, the Ukraine and the Crimea—territories that have been occupied by Germany since the summer of 1941. The bulk of the Jewish population was urban. About 80,000 were distributed in various rural sections and another 60,000 were concentrated in five agricultural "National Regions," three in the Ukraine and two in the Crimea.

The economic opportunities that expanded with the continuing industrialization of Soviet Russia, were open to Jews on an equal basis with the rest of the population. They were gainfully employed as officials and white-collar workers (37.2%), laborers (21.5%), artisans (14.3%), professionals (12.8%), agriculturalists (7.1%) and in other capacities (7.1%).⁵

The present condition of these Jews has been described in a previous section.⁶ Those who will survive under Nazi occupation, together with others who will return from their places of refuge after the war, will in all

⁴ After the first World War Jews owned 386,592 acres of farm land in Poland, 50,000 acres in Bessarabia (Rumania) and 20,000 acres in Lithuania. See *Jewish Life in Modern Times*, by Israel Cohen, New York, Dodd Mead & Co., 1929, p. 176.

⁵ Area Three.

⁶ *Das Sovietische Judentum*, by Jacob Lestchinsky, Published by Poale Zion-Zeire Zion, New York, 1941, p. 171. The figures are as of 1939 for the total Jewish population in the Soviet Union, estimated at 3,000,000.

⁷ See Introduction.

probability become established again through the economic opportunities that the Soviet Union may create in these territories for the general population. It is impossible to predict the attitude of the Soviet Government toward foreign aid in rehabilitation. After the first World War, the Soviet Union permitted the American Relief Administration, the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Colonization Association and the Agro-Joint (a subsidiary of the J.D.C.) to operate under government control in aiding Jews in Soviet Russia, particularly in land-settlement projects.

4. Germany

Before the advent of Hitler, the Jews of Germany, like those of western Europe, were well established in the economic, cultural, social and political life of the country. Of the 525,000 Jews living there before 1933, probably none will remain through the end of the war. Repatriation of German Jews who are now scattered over every part of the globe will be extremely difficult. The social-psychological conditions created by the Nazis in Germany during the past decade may remain as a barrier between Jew and non-Jew for a long time to come. As a bitterly disillusioned and vanquished people, the Germans may again seek in the Jew their scapegoat. With this thought in mind, perhaps very few will wish to return to a land that caused them so much suffering. However, there are some who maintain that German Jews must reclaim in that country the positions which they had occupied before the advent of the Nazi regime. Those who will return may need the special protection of an international agency and necessary financial assistance in regaining a foothold in the economic life of Germany.

B. GENERAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Although each region, as indicated above, will have its specific difficulties in post-war reconstruction, there are several general problems and propositions.

1. Recognition of Special Jewish Needs

Problem: The Jews of Europe, unlike any other group, have been singled out by the Nazis for complete extermination. They have been uprooted from their homes, deported to concentration areas, confined in ghettos. Their property has been confiscated and their health undermined through forced labor and starvation. When the war is over, the survivors from this ordeal will be in the most abject condition. Their readjustment will be beset with major difficulties, especially in countries where they suffered economic disabilities even before the war. Their problems will have to be met in the light of the specific conditions which have called forth the present situation.

Proposition: That the special Jewish needs be recognized by the authorities who will be responsible for the reconstruction of Europe.

The Jewish Labor Committee states: "European Jewry suffers horribly in the present war. Against no other people does the Nazi-Fascist Axis carry on such a ruthless war of extermination. There is no doubt that after this war the Jewish masses of Europe will be economically ruined and decimated. It will require gigantic efforts to rehabilitate them and reconstruct Jewish life." *The Labor Zionist Council* asserts: "In creating the instruments for relief and reconstruction . . . the fact must be taken into consideration that the Jewish population was affected by the disaster of the war incomparably more than the other parts of the population both as far as the number of victims and the magnitude of their sufferings are concerned." *The American Jewish Committee* asks for the "repatriation, rehabilitation and the complete restoration . . . [of] millions of unoffending human beings, especially Jews," who have suffered from "the havoc and ruin inflicted [upon them] by Nazi barbarism."

2. Retraining and Re-employment

Problem: Having lost their positions in business and trade in which they had been engaged before the war, many of the Jews in Europe may find it difficult to readjust themselves in former occupations. In addition, the new conditions that will be created by a reconstruction program may call for many industrial skills in which the Jews have had little experience or training. In certain sections there may also be a demand for a large supply of agricultural workers. Whatever opportunities for employment may be opened, the Jews have to be prepared, with the rest of the population, to take advantage of them. Furthermore, if left by themselves to seek employment in the general market—whether in new or old occupations—without the aid of responsible agencies the Jews may be omitted from the main structure of economic rehabilitation in many countries.

Proposition: That a program of retraining be undertaken by an authorized agency, or agencies, in order to prepare Jews for occupations which will be required by the new conditions and for which they may be individually best suited. Further, that an agency, or agencies, be set up to aid Jews in securing employment in all fields of economic endeavor.

In their statements on this question, the organizations have not indicated the specific nature of the above mentioned agency or agencies.

The Labor Zionist Council states: "Opportunities must be provided for European Jews to return to their former occupations or to obtain new positions in the post-war economy." *The Jewish Labor Committee* urges that "in countries ravaged by war . . . in the period of reconstruction, special effort should be exerted to absorb the Jewish masses into all branches

of the state's economy." *B'nai B'rith* calls for "the retraining of war victims, especially young people." Other organizations have not expressed themselves on these matters.

5. Financial Aid and Organization

Problem: The program of reconstruction of Jewish life in post-war Europe, will be even more staggering than that of relief and rehabilitation in the transition period. Such a program can be undertaken only by state and international agencies which will provide the financial means for general reconstruction. A successful solution of the problem of reparations will play a major part in this undertaking.¹⁰ In recognition of the special Jewish needs, proper measures will have to be taken in order to assure that these needs are adequately met. Jewish agencies that may be set up for the purpose of reconstruction will have to be accorded a rightful place in the general program.

Proposition One: That Governments and international authorities who will finance and direct the reconstruction of European countries, include Jewish reconstruction needs as an integral part of their program.

Proposition Two: That a Jewish authoritative body or bodies be established to represent the Jews of Europe in the national and international reconstruction agencies, and to help in meeting the specific needs of the Jewish population.

The American Jewish Congress proposes "the establishment of an appropriate United Nations agency responsible for the rehabilitation of the Jews." It also calls for the "implementation of this program [of reconstruction] by the American Jewish community in cooperation with the accredited representatives of world Jewry." *The American Federation for Polish Jews* asks that "a special department for Jewish affairs [be created] in the Polish Government," and that that government "include [the Jews] in the general repatriation and help them to establish themselves in Poland. . . ." *The Jewish Labor Committee* proposes: "Special international credits are to be extended for the express purpose of rebuilding the economic, social and political life of the Jewish masses in Europe." *The Labor Zionist Council* states: "The principle must be recognized that relief and reconstruction activities for the Jewish population are to be financed out of public funds in the same way as the similar activities for all other parts of the population. The special problems with which the Jewish population will be faced, and for which the public funds may in many cases prove inadequate, make the establishment of a Jewish financial instrument for relief and reconstruction an urgent necessity."

¹⁰ See Area Two.

AREA FIVE

MIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

A. MIGRATION

1. *Extent and Distribution*
2. *Causes of Emigration*

B. COLONIZATION

1. *Compact Settlement*
2. *Distributed Settlement*
3. *Colonization Plans*

C. PROSPECTS FOR IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

1. *Migration Trends After the War*
2. *Planning New Colonization*

AREA FIVE

MIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

A. MIGRATION

1. *Extent and Distribution*

Within the short span of thirty-four years, between 1880 and 1914, one-quarter of the total Jewish population of the world, or 3,000,000 Jews, emigrated from European countries to all parts of the globe.¹ This staggering figure was augmented after the first World War (through 1932) by another 736,000, and continued to increase after the advent of the Nazi regime in Germany and over Europe until 1941. Thus in the course of 60 years, or within two generations (1880-1940), 4,500,000 Jews left their original habitations. While the majority of them have found new homes in the Western Hemisphere, South Africa, England and Palestine, many have lost their lives on their wandering paths; 3,500,000 have perished at the hands of the Nazis, and some 5 million are still without a permanent place of domicile, under Nazi domination, or in temporary asylums.

During the early period of Jewish mass emigration, beginning with the 1880's, the United States had a liberal immigration policy and was able to absorb the great majority of Jewish immigrants. In forty-two years, until Congress passed restrictive immigration laws in 1921, this country admitted 2,200,000 Jews or 9% of the general immigration into the U.S.A. Since then, and particularly after the Quota Law of 1924, Jewish immigration to the United States has grown less with each year. After World War I, and especially after 1921, as the possibilities of immigration into this country diminished, Eastern European Jews who still constituted the bulk of Jewish migration found their way in increasing numbers to other countries, in South Africa, Canada, Australia, Western Europe and Palestine. Thus between 1921 and 1932, Argentina absorbed 79,000 Jewish immigrants, in addition to the 100,000 Jews who had settled there from 1882 to 1921. In the same period, Canada took in 48,000, Brazil admitted 33,000, Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay and other overseas countries attracted a total of 37,000 Jewish immigrants. South Africa admitted 15,000. The United States took in 348,000.² In western Europe, France gave hospitality to 80,000 Jews. The German Republic also admitted about 80,000, Belgium 25,000,

¹ *The Jewish Fate and Future*, by Arthur Ruppin, Macmillan and Co., Ltd. London 1910, Ch. III: Migrations.

² *Ibid.*, p. 46: Table IV.

and Holland, Denmark, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, each took in a small number.

The large influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine after the first World War, was directed as part of the program of Jewish colonization in that country, and is dealt with in another section in this Survey. (See Area Six.)

After Hitler's rise to power in Germany, and the subsequent Nazi occupation of central, eastern and western Europe, Jewish immigration turned again to the Western Hemisphere and to Palestine. From the beginning of 1933 to mid-June, 1942, the United States admitted 204,327 Jews, of whom 42,189 were non-immigrants.³ Other countries on the American continent, north and south, received 85,000, while Palestine took in a total of 280,000.

2. *Causes of Emigration*

This brief description in figures tells the story of Jewish wanderings only in bare outline. It would take us too far afield to analyze all the factors that propelled, in the last six decades, the waves of Jewish mass emigration from country after country of Europe. However, in order to gain an insight into the problems that may confront European Jewry after this war, it will be well to indicate here a few salient features of the background of these mass migrations.

Emigration from Europe was a phenomenon not limited to Jewish life, but was prevalent among every people on that continent. In the course of a century (1820-1925) fifty million people emigrated from Europe to other continents. Although the migrations of other peoples were due primarily to the natural increase of the population in Europe (from 187,000,000 in 1800 to 406,000,000 in 1900), in the case of the Jews additional factors played a decisive role. Furthermore, Jewish migration as distinguished from the population movements of other peoples, assumed a mass character in a brief period of time, and in many instances turned into mass flight. The percentage of Jewish emigrants in relation to the total Jewish population was much higher than for other groups. For example, Jewish emigrants from Europe in 1900-1925 constituted 20.6% of the total Jewish population there, while the Italian emigrants were only 11.3% of their population, the English 3.1% and the Germans 2.3%.⁴

It should be pointed out that until about the middle of the seventeenth

³ *Hebrew Immigration to the United States, January 1, 1933 to June 30, 1942*. Issued by the National Refugee Service, Inc. December 1942 (Mimeographed).

⁴ *Iddische Emigratsie un Iddische Emigratsie Politik* (Jewish Migration and Jewish Migration Policy), by Arish Tartakover, Vilno, 1939, pp. 6-7.

century, Jews migrated from western Europe to the east, where they pioneered in the commercial development of countries like Poland and Lithuania. The turn came in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Jews of Russia, Galicia and Rumania started to migrate westward and to countries over the seas. This movement turned into mass migration after 1881 when life in eastern Europe became less tolerable for Jews. The "Pale of Settlement" to which Russian Jews were restricted, was overpopulated, and the occupations which were open to Russian Jewry hardly offered a means of livelihood. The anti-Semitic policies of the Czarist government, pogroms and persecutions drove the Jews to seek new homes in other lands. In Galicia the Jews did not fare much better, even though they were emancipated under Austro-Hungarian rule. Due to the general poverty of that region, as well as the great natural increase of the Jewish population, economic opportunities were greatly restricted. In Rumania the Jews were even less secure, as they were deprived of citizenship rights.

Jewish migrations after the first World War, while determined to a large extent by unsettled conditions in Europe resulting from the war, revolution and civil strife, could be traced to the economic and political conditions that had previously prevailed in eastern Europe. With the establishment of the new and enlarged States in central-eastern Europe, conditions did not greatly improve as most of these countries were undeveloped industrially. Whatever contribution the Jews could have made toward developing them and at the same time improving their own condition, was stifled by anti-Jewish policies which many of the governments practiced with increasing severity. Again, the Jews had to seek an outlet in emigration. Since 1933 and up to the present, Jewish emigration from Europe has been the direct result of Nazi domination over the continent.

B. COLONIZATION

I. Compact Settlement

Colonization in its broadest sense embraces all phases of economic endeavor undertaken by a group that chooses to settle in a given area or country. In this respect, Palestine is the outstanding example in Jewish history.⁶ On a much smaller scale and under entirely different circumstances, Biro-Bidjan also belongs in this category. However, attempts to colonize Jews in other parts of the world have been limited to agricultural settlements.

Compact agricultural settlement was sponsored by the Czarist government as early as 1804. The Jews who had been deprived by the Russian

⁶ See Area Six.

government of their source of existence—the sale of alcoholic liquors—were encouraged to turn to agriculture. Thus large Jewish settlements developed in the provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav. These continued until the present war, at which time their total population numbered some 40,000 souls.

Beginning in 1924, the Soviet government started to promote Jewish mass settlement on the land in the Ukraine and the Crimea. Subsequently, there developed five national regions in these areas, with a total Jewish population of 60,000. These enterprises also received financial aid from the ICA, J.D.C., Agro-Joint and the American Relief Administration.

Biro-Bidjan, a region in far-eastern Siberia, was launched by the Soviet government as a territorial center for Jewish colonization. In 1928, when it was declared a Jewish autonomous territory, the general population was 33,300 souls. During the first five years of colonization, 19,635 Jews went to Biro-Bidjan from many parts of western and central Soviet Russia. However, only 8,185 (41.6%) of them remained in the territory; the rest returned to the west. The Soviet government spent large sums of money for the development of Biro-Bidjan and tried to encourage more Jews to settle there. At one time it announced that foreign Jews (1,000 families from Poland) would be permitted to enter Biro-Bidjan; but such permission was never granted. In 1938, when the territory was made an administrative unit of the U.S.S.R., there were some 20,000 Jews living there, constituting approximately one-sixth of the total population.⁷ Of this number, 2,000 lived in farms and the rest were in the cities.⁸

Another compact agricultural settlement of Jews was started in 1881 in Argentina by Baron Maurice de Hirsch of Paris. Baron de Hirsch had hoped to transfer there millions of Jews from Russia. The fund which he created for that purpose, administered by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) succeeded in settling, through 1935, some 15,000 souls on Argentine land. This enterprise paved the way for the entrance of a quarter of a million non-agricultural Jewish immigrants into that country. The Baron de Hirsch Fund also sponsored agricultural settlement of Jews in the United States and elsewhere.

In 1940, a project was started for settling Jewish as well as non-Jewish refugees in Sosua. The Dominican Republic Settlement Association, which was formed in the United States for the promotion of the project, has succeeded thus far in establishing 600 persons on farm land there. An area of

⁶ *Das Sovietische Judentum*, by Jacob Lestchinsky. Published by Poale Zion-Zeire Zion, New York, 1941, pp. 220-243.

⁷ *Ruppin, op. cit.*, p. 173.

26,000 acres has been granted for this settlement by the President of the Dominican Republic. Financial aid has been furnished by the Agro-Joint. Though the project is non-sectarian, the majority of the settlers are at present Jewish.

2. Distributed Settlement

During the last century Jews have settled on land in small groups and as individual farmers in many parts of the world. Though living on the land, these settlers have not always tilled the soil. Some of them have engaged in cultivating agrarian by-products, or have combined agriculture with urban enterprises.

In the United States, these various types of Jewish farmers are distributed throughout the country; they comprise a total of 100,000 persons. The majority of them are of the semi-urban type.

In the U.S.S.R., apart from the close settlements in the national regions of the Ukraine, the Crimea and in Biro-Bidjan, Jews were also settled in rural areas in Soviet White Russia.⁸ Other Jewish settlers were found in the Caucasus, Uzbekistan and other sections, where they lived partly or wholly by farming. Before the present war, there were in the Soviet Union a total of 200,000 Jews engaged in agriculture.

A considerable number of Jewish farmers—50,000—were also found before the war (1938) in Poland. In Rumania there were 30,000; in Carpatho-Ukraine and Slovakia—20,000; in Lithuania—15,000. Latvia had 1,000 Jews on farms. A number of Jewish farmers are found in Canada and South Africa—4,000, while Brazil has 500.⁹

3. Colonization Plans

Jewish colonization enterprises may be divided into three categories: (1) State supported, such as those in the Soviet Union; (2) philanthropic, as, for example, the Baron de Hirsch projects in Argentina and the United States; and (3) those originating in a mass movement, as the colonization in Palestine.

In the course of more than a century, there have been numerous plans for colonizing Jews in compact settlement in almost every part of the globe. Starting with Mordecai Emanuel Noah's scheme to establish a Jewish autonomous settlement on Grand Island near Buffalo (1825), the proposed regions have included Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, Madagascar, Southern

⁸ Ruppin, *op. cit.*, p. 173. These settlements in the Ukraine, the Crimea and White Russia have been destroyed by the German invaders.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

California, Alaska, Angola, British Guiana and other places.

Some of these projects were suggested by non-Jews, while others were sponsored by Jewish agencies, territorialist groups or by individuals. More recently, mention has been made of Australia, Argentina and Brazil as possible centers of Jewish colonization. In Australia, official and public opinion has been favorably inclined toward a colonization project in Kimberley, advocated by Dr. Isaac Steinberg's Freeland League.

C. PROSPECTS FOR IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

1. Migration Trends After the War

Problem One: If one may judge from experiences of the first World War, there will be a trend of migration toward overseas countries among the peoples of Europe after the present war. This trend may be even stronger among Jews. Caution must be taken that it does not become a forced movement. Repatriation and reconstruction of European Jewry in former places of residence are considered of primary import, as revealed by the statements analyzed in the previous sections of this survey. (See Areas Two to Four.) But in so far as migration will be voluntary, it will have to be given direction and planned assistance.

Problem Two: Certain countries which Jews or other people may desire to leave, may not permit emigration. Thus, many people may be forced to adjust themselves to conditions which are contrary to their habits of living or to their social, political and religious convictions. In many instances, family members may be compelled to remain separate from each other.

Problem Three: In the past twenty years, opportunities for immigration have diminished. Countries like the United States, Canada and others in South and Central America, which in the past had given hospitality to millions of immigrants, have now greatly restricted immigration. In the post-war world, population movements will undoubtedly become an international problem that may be solved only by the concerted efforts of all the nations. A revision of existing immigration laws and the liberalizing of their administration will be necessary in many a country, in order to give wanderers an opportunity to find suitable living conditions. The disproportionate density of population in various parts of the world will have to be taken into consideration in order to solve this question with equity. Furthermore, financial aid and guidance for immigrants will have to be forthcoming from national and international sources.

Proposition One: To the extent that a voluntary migration movement may develop on the European continent after the war, it is proposed that the right of emigration, without personal loss, be guaranteed by national

and international authorities to every person who may choose to leave a given country; that the same authorities make it possible for such emigrants to find areas and countries of immigration open to them under suitable conditions.

Proposition Two: That the national and international authorities provide measures and regulations which shall prevent any State from imposing forced emigration on given individuals or groups who are established residents in that State.

Proposition Three: That there be established national and international agencies to give financial aid and guidance to immigrants; that a Jewish representative body be given a proper place in the councils of such agencies, in order to serve the special needs of Jewish immigrants.

The American Federation for Polish Jews asks "free access of Jews to countries of immigration, especially to those regions where possibilities exist for establishing concentrated Jewish settlements." *The American Jewish Committee* states: "To the extent that economic conditions in the war torn lands shall make emigration therefrom of their nationals necessary, we ask the implementation by those who shall frame the terms of peace of a program which shall under international supervision facilitate voluntary settlement elsewhere under the most favorable conditions." *The American Jewish Congress* requests "opportunities for migration and settlement in other lands for Jews who cannot or do not wish to return to their former homes." This is supported also by *The Progressive Order of the West*. *Independent Order Brith Abraham* calls upon "the democratic nations of the world [that they] should open their doors for more liberal Jewish immigration. . . ." *B'nai B'rith* "is opposed to any form of forced Jewish emigration but favors voluntary, planned resettlement under some centralized agency of the United Nations where Jewish interests shall be adequately represented. . . . A central Agency of the United Nations should be set up to finance a planned voluntary migration and colonization movement, the means of support to be derived from reparations." *The Jewish Labor Committee* states: "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."

2. Planning New Colonization

Problem: Efforts have been made in the past by a number of organizations and agencies to open areas outside of Palestine for Jewish mass coloni-

zation. Shall such efforts be renewed after the war? The merits of any colonization plan with regard to suitable conditions of a proposed area, can be investigated by experts in the field. But apart from such merits, any proposed colonization will have to pass the test set up by past enterprises. Any plan will have to answer the following questions: Is it based on the spontaneity and driving power of a mass movement; can it gain the sanction and direct aid of the governments concerned; and can it obtain the financial support of public and philanthropic funds?

The constituent organizations of the American Jewish Conference have not expressed themselves on this problem.



WRHS



AREA SIX

PALESTINE

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATUS

1. *Historical Connection*
2. *International Recognition of Jewish Rights*
3. *Development of the Yishub*
4. *Center of Jewish Immigration*
5. *Absorptive Capacity of Palestine*
6. *Jewish-Arab Relations*
7. *Jewish Representation*

B. VARIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF PALESTINE IN JEWISH LIFE

1. *Official Zionist Views*
2. *Views of Other Organized Jewish Bodies*
3. *Opponents of Zionism*

C. IMPLEMENTATION OF JEWISH RIGHTS

1. *Immigration Rights*
2. *Land Purchase and State Grants*
3. *Economic Development of Jewish Colonization*
4. *Majority Status of the Jews in Palestine*
5. *Transjordan*
6. *Jewish Army*

D. FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF PALESTINE

1. *Jewish Status*
2. *The Mandate and International Guarantees*

E. JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS IN PALESTINE AND THE NEAR EAST

1. *Place of the Arabs in Palestine*
2. *Relations with Arab States in the Near East*

AREA SIX

PALESTINE

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND PRESENT STATUS

1. *Historical Connection*

Jewish historical connection with Palestine goes back some 3,700 years to the time when Abraham first entered Canaan, later known as Eretz Israel. According to Jewish, Mohammedan and Christian tradition, Canaan was promised to Abraham and his descendants by God. Centuries later, Israel's religion and nationhood were born and reared in Palestine, reaching maturity and universal stature there during the Second Commonwealth. Throughout the ages, even in the darkest periods of the Crusades, the protracted wars of the Middle Ages and in modern times, the Jews never entirely left the soil of Palestine. In their wanderings through the countries of the earth, they derived spiritual inspiration—through prayers, religious ideals, festivals, laws and customs—from the prophets and sages of Palestine. The yearning for a return to their ancient homeland has been a constant element in the traditional pattern of Jewish aspiration.

In the modern period, the Jewish resettlement of Palestine (which started in 1878), while driven by economic and political exigencies, has also been motivated by the age-old attachment of the people to the land.

2. *International Recognition of Jewish Rights*

The historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to rebuild their national home in that country, were legally recognized in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration (1917), and through the Palestine Mandate, endorsed after the first World War by fifty-two nations of the world, including the United States. After the conquest of Palestine by Lord Allenby in 1918 (in which the Jewish Legion took part), and a brief interim of a military administration, Great Britain accepted in 1922 the Mandate for Palestine from the League of Nations. A civil Palestine Administration was established, headed by a High Commissioner and a staff of British officials. The Mandatory Power, as a trustee for the administration of Palestine, is subject to the supervision of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

The terms of the Mandate charged the Administration with the responsibility of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish National Home in that country. In the course of ensuing events, the British Government

issued several official statements, known as White Papers, which presented its views and policies on the implementation of the Mandate. The first White Paper,¹ issued on June 3, 1922, even before the Mandate was ratified, stated that "the terms of the [Balfour] Declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be founded in Palestine." At the same time, it declared that the Jewish community in Palestine "should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance, that is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection." With regard to Jewish immigration into Palestine, the White Paper further stated that "this immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals."

While discussions were in progress on the framing of the Mandate, the British Government felt that Transjordan ("the territory lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine") should be excluded from the provisions pertaining to the Jewish National Home. Article 25 of the Mandate, empowered the "Mandatory . . . to postpone or withhold application of such provision of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions." Subsequently, Jewish immigration and colonization were excluded from Transjordan.

Following the Arab riots of 1929, the British Government sent a Commission (known as the "Shaw Commission") to Palestine to investigate conditions there. Upon its recommendation the government issued the Passfield White Paper (in October, 1930) declaring that there was no land available for further Jewish colonization. The Paper further sought to regulate Jewish immigration not only on the basis of the economic absorptive capacity of the country, but also on the condition of Arab as well as Jewish unemployment existing at any time.

This statement of policy (the Passfield White Paper) met with protest on the part of Jewish and non-Jewish public opinion. Consequently, Ramsay MacDonald, then British Prime Minister, addressed a public letter to Chaim Weizmann (February, 1931) in which he reaffirmed the intention of his Government to fulfill the obligation assumed in the Mandate. He further gave assurance that there would be no ban on land purchase and that Jewish immigration would continue on the basis of the economic absorptive capacity of the country.

¹ This is known as the "Churchill White Paper" as it was released by Winston Churchill who was then Colonial Secretary.

The latest statement of policy issued by the Mandatory Government with regard to Palestine is known as the MacDonald White Paper of May 17, 1939.² It came at the end of a three-year period of Arab riots and in the shadow of the approaching second World War. This White Paper limited Jewish immigration to 10,000 a year for the ensuing five years. In consideration of the plight of Jewish refugees, it granted a bonus immigration of an additional 25,000. However, after March, 1944 Jewish immigration is to be discontinued entirely "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."

The Paper further granted the High Commissioner "general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land," and provided for the establishment of an independent government by the majority in Palestine at the end of ten years. While it praised Jewish achievements in Palestine, it intimated that the British Government had fulfilled its obligations under the Mandate.

Vigorous protest against the White Paper of 1939 was voiced not only by Jews throughout the world, but by non-Jewish public opinion and statesmen, including members of the British Parliament and of the United States Congress. In June, 1939, Winston Churchill declared in Parliament: "There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration. . . . I should 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. . . ."

The Council of the League of Nations, whose consent was required by the terms of the Mandate, did not approve the 1939 White Paper. The Mandates Commission of the League, after examining the Paper, and after hearing MacDonald's defense of it, decided unanimously that the policy of curtailing Jewish immigration and land purchase "was not in accordance with the interpretation which the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate."

The Jewish Agency for Palestine has demanded the annulment of the White Paper as an illegal abrogation of Jewish rights. The legal rights of the Jews to Palestine, the Agency maintains, are still derived from the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, in accordance with the original intent and true purpose of those documents.

3. Development of the Yishub

The right of the Jews to Palestine has been established not only by historical ties with the land and the legal status accorded by the nations of the world, but also by the energy, labor and enterprise which Jewry has

²Malcolm MacDonald, son of the late Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, was then Colonial Secretary.

devoted toward developing the country. Since 1920, the Jewish Yishub (settlement) in Palestine has made great progress. The Jewish population has grown from 55,000 (or 9.7% of the total) at the close of the first World War, to over 550,000 (or 33% of the total) in 1942. More than 25% of it is now established in 276 rural settlements (cooperative and private colonies) on land acquired by the Jewish National Fund and other public and private agencies.

A large segment of the Jewish population is engaged in industries, both private and cooperative, comprising about 2,300 factories and 4,000 small shops, which produce building materials, machinery, metalware, utensils, textiles, chemicals, electrical supplies and a variety of other commodities. Two large scale enterprises, the Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Potash Company (the latter extracting minerals from the Dead Sea), have added great impetus to the country's general economic development, and have also attracted British and American capital investments. Jewish industrial production increased from \$32,000,000 in 1937 to \$80,000,000 in 1942. The cooperative movement, organized by the Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labor) and private associations, embraces more than a third of the Jewish population among its members, and is engaged in all branches of agriculture, industry, commerce and transportation. While commerce and shipping absorb a small percentage of gainfully occupied Jews (in comparison with Jewish employment in other countries), there is a flourishing domestic trade and a lively exchange with neighboring states and also with distant lands. In the last two decades, the Jews have invested in Palestine an estimated total of \$560,000,000, of which about \$105,000,000 came from national and public funds.³

Along with its economic development, the Jewish Yishub has promoted social, cultural and religious institutions which not only serve the members of its own community, but also are a source of inspiration to Jewry outside Palestine. There is a progressive elementary school system, there are institutions of intermediate and higher education, research and experimental stations, technical and professional schools, Yeshivas and other religious institutes, and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The Hebrew language and culture as well as the arts, literature, social and natural sciences, have been fostered by these institutions. The Yishub has its medical centers which serve Jews and Arabs alike, its social security and unemployment funds, institutions for financial aid and social service agencies.

³*Palestine At War*, by Albert K. Epstein. Published by the Zionist Organization of America, Washington, D. C., 1943; and *Palestine in the New World, A Study Course*, Prepared by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee, edited by Abraham G. Duker, 1943.

In the present war, the Yishub has rendered valuable service to the British armed forces stationed in Palestine, building barracks, supplying a considerable quantity of food, and by developing and expanding war industries which are of great value to the Allied command in the Middle East. About 180 of the new industrial establishments are engaged directly in war work. Without conscription and despite the fact that the Jews have not been permitted to form their own military force in Palestine, 21,000 Jewish men have enlisted in the British fighting forces, and are serving on all fronts. Two thousand Jewish women have volunteered in the Palestine Auxiliary Territorial Service (PATS). In addition, the Yishub has also given many engineers, architects, sailors, airmen, physicians, and nurses, who are serving with valor and distinction in the British and Allied Mediterranean campaigns.

The Jewish community in Palestine is organized on a democratic basis, governed internally by the Asefat Hanivcharim (National Assembly), composed of party representatives elected by popular vote, and which, in turn, elects the Va'ad Leumi, or National Council.

4. Center of Jewish Immigration

In the decade 1933-1942—the most tragic years in Jewish history—Palestine absorbed 280,000 Jewish immigrants, thereby more than doubling its Jewish population. It has been pointed out by those who are engaged in colonizing the country, that every Jew who settles there prepares the ground for another Jew to enter. The entire economy of the Yishub, and the policies of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency, are geared toward the end of expanding opportunities for Jewish immigration. Since the outbreak of the present war, 40,000 Jewish refugees, and some 4,000 children who have escaped extermination by the Nazis, have found a haven and a permanent home in Palestine.

5. Absorptive Capacity of Palestine

While the Yishub may be ready and willing to absorb masses of Jewish immigrants after the war, the question may still be asked: Will Palestine be able to sustain them, or, what is the absorptive capacity of that country? Experts who have studied the agricultural, industrial and commercial possibilities of Palestine, point out the following factors which have to be taken into consideration.⁴

⁴"The Right to Land Use, With Particular Reference to Palestine," by Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Department of Agriculture. *Menorah Journal*, Winter 1941, pp. 108-110. See also *Land and Jewish Reconstruction in Palestine*, by A. Granovsky, Jerusalem, Palestine and Near East Publications, 1931, pp. 38-49.

Palestine (not including Transjordan) has an area of over 10,000 square miles, or 26,000,000 dunams (a little larger than Sicily), only half of which is at present considered cultivable. Of the cultivable portion, only half is cultivated to date and sustains a population of 1,580,000. The Jewish settlement, comprising about 550,000 souls, occupies 1,457,000 dunams, or 5.8% of the entire country. Furthermore, about one-third of the Jewish land possession has been reclaimed from swampy areas. It is therefore maintained that with greater modernization and intensification of farming in compact settlements (especially of the cooperative and communal types), through further reclamation work of swampy tracts, and through irrigation processes of arid lands, the possibilities of agricultural colonization can be greatly increased.

Consideration is also given to the fact that Palestine is lacking in coal, iron and other essential raw materials (though it possesses a considerable quantity of minerals); but these and additional materials, it is pointed out, can be imported. It is stated, furthermore, that the industrial possibilities of the country will be determined mainly by the ingenuity, technical skill and enterprise of the population. The Jews have already given ample proof of ability to build and expand Palestinian industry, which was practically non-existent before they started their colonization. Many refugees from Nazi dominated territories, e.g., have brought their technical knowledge and experience to Palestine where they have reestablished their laboratories, factories and industries. The war has given additional impetus to new enterprises, especially in chemistry, pharmaceuticals, diamond cutting and machine tooling. Some of these promise future expansion. The textile industry has an especially promising future. Cotton is being cultivated in neighboring Egypt and the Jews have had considerable experience in this industry both as promoters and skilled workers.

Commerce and shipping, it is said, will develop with the continued growth of the Yishub and the general advancement of the neighboring countries in the Near East. Earlier in the present war, closer trade relations were established not only with Syria and Egypt, but also with more distant lands such as South Africa, Singapore, and New Zealand. These relations have possibilities for further developments after the war. Lying at the crossroads of three continents, Palestine has vast opportunities for shipping and air transportation, in which fields the Jewish Yishub has made a promising start.

There is yet another factor, namely, the human element—the enterprise, inventiveness and adaptability of the Jewish immigrant—which turns the wheels and turbines of the industrial and commercial machinery, and creates the facilities for expanded colonization. This is the dynamic view of

the absorptive capacity of Palestine. Estimates on the total absorptive capacity of the country vary, ranging from an additional 900,000 souls to a peak estimate of 4,000,000.⁵

6. Jewish-Arab Relations

There are at present over a million Arabs in Palestine (about two-thirds of the total population), the majority of whom are Moslems. About 100,000 are Christians of various denominations. The Moslem Arabs may be divided into six classes, three lower and three upper, the latter forming a small but very strong minority. Of the lower classes there are the *fellaheen*, which constitute the bulk of the population, the Bedouins and the wage laborers. For generations they have lived in dire poverty and ignorance without possessing the economic strength or political power to influence the course of events in the country. The upper classes comprise the *effendis*, or big landowners, the Moslem religious hierarchy, and those who are engaged in the liberal professions or in government employment. To the *effendi* class also belong the rich merchants and money lenders who, in addition to exacting from the farmer exorbitant rent, take a large share of his income in the form of interest on loans. The Christian Arabs belong mostly to the middle class or are engaged in government service.

Before the advent of Jewish colonization, the economic and social life of the country was primitive, with a very low standard of living. The Jews have introduced modern European civilization, technological advancement and democratic ideals of government. The economic, cultural and religious differences between the Jews and the Arabs are thus deeply rooted in their respective historical developments.

In everyday life, Jews and Arabs have frequently found common interests. They have established friendly working relations among neighboring villages, between various labor elements, as well as in trade and commerce. It is commonly known that the Arabs have derived great benefit from Jewish colonization in Palestine.

The Royal Commission Report of 1937, after reviewing the progress

⁵ *The Refugee Problem and the Absorptive Capacity of Palestine*, issued by the United Palestine Appeal, New York (1939). See also *Aide-Memoire on Post-War Emigration Needs of European Jewry and Resettlement Possibilities in Palestine*, submitted in February 1943 to the British Ambassador and to the Department of State, Washington, D. C., paragraph 7: "... taking into consideration known possibilities, Palestine, West of the Jordan (exclusive of the Negev) should be capable of absorbing another three million inhabitants."

Before the destruction of the Second Temple, ancient Palestine, under primitive conditions, sustained a population estimated at 2,500,000. See *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, by Salo W. Baron, New York, 1937, Vol. I, p. 131.

of the Arab population under the Mandate summarizes the evidence of the Jewish contribution as follows:

- (i) The large import of Jewish capital into Palestine has had a general fructifying effect on the economic life of the whole country.
- (ii) The expansion of Arab industry and citriculture has been largely financed by the capital thus obtained.
- (iii) Jewish example has done much to improve Arab cultivation, especially of citrus.
- (iv) Owing to Jewish development and enterprise the employment of Arab labour has increased in urban areas, particularly in the ports.
- (v) The reclamation and anti-malaria work undertaken in Jewish colonies have benefited all Arabs in the neighborhood.
- (vi) Institutions, founded with Jewish funds primarily to serve the National Home, have also served the Arab population. *Hadassah*, for example, treats Arab patients, notably at the Tuberculosis Hospital at Safad and the Radiology Institute at Jerusalem, admits Arab country-folk to the clinics of its Rural Sick Benefit Fund, and does much infant welfare work for Arab mothers.
- (vii) The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development.⁶

The Arab population rose from 664,000 in 1918 to over one million in 1940. The Arab death rate fell from 26.83 per 1,000 in 1925 to 17.38 per 1,000 in 1939. Their industrial establishments grew from \$3,000,000 worth in 1922 to \$12,500,000 in 1937. Arab land cultivation increased from 4,700,000 dunams in 1921 to 7,400,000 in 1937. Their general standard of living has risen and their cultural life, too, has advanced considerably.⁷

But the two peoples are divided in the political arena. During World War I, while the Arabs in the Near East were still under Turkish domination, the British Government made certain territorial promises to Emir Hussein of Hedjaz in return for the latter's revolt against the Turkish Sultan.⁸ Though the British Government later stated that "the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was excluded from Sir H. McMahon's 'pledge,'" the Arabs claimed Palestine as part of their domains.

The will to come to an understanding with the Arabs was expressed by

⁶ *Palestine Royal Commission Report*, Cmd. 5479, London. Printed and published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937, p. 128. (This is known as the Peel Commission Report.)

⁷ *The Refugee Problem and the Absorptive Capacity of Palestine*, issued by the United Palestine Appeal, New York (1939). See also "Jewish Immigration and Arab Population," by M. Nemirovsky, in *Jews and Arabs in Palestine*, edited by Enzo Sereni and R. E. Asher, Hechalutz Press, New York, 1936, pp. 75-90; and *Bulletin of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine*, Jerusalem, Vol. VI, No. 2, p. 32.

⁸ The promise was made in a letter written on October 24, 1915, by Sir H. McMahon, then British High Commissioner in Egypt, to Emir Hussein, and is generally referred to as the "McMahon Letter."

the Zionists as early as December, 1917, in a Declaration which the latter issued to the Arab people. Subsequent conversations between Emir Feisal (son of Hussein), T. E. Lawrence and Chaim Weizmann, indicated that the leader of the Arab nationalist movement was ready for a compromise. From his concession to the Zionists, Feisal hoped to gain a large Arab State. A Treaty of Friendship signed by the Emir and Weizmann (January 3, 1919) declared in its first Article: "The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding, and to this end both Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories." It further stated that "all necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants on the land through close settlement and intensive cultivation of the soil."⁹

However, this pact of friendship did not endure for long. The Arabs were disappointed with the results of the Peace Conference, as they did not attain the independence to which they had aspired even in other territories outside Palestine, particularly in Syria. Extremist elements, notably under the leadership of Auni bey Abdul-Hadi, gained the upper hand in the Arab nationalist movement. These launched an anti-British and anti-Jewish campaign which has continued to this day.

Among their grievances the Arabs include: (a) the failure to develop self-governing institutions; (b) the acquisition of land by the Jews; (c) Jewish immigration; (d) the refusal of Jews to employ Arab laborers; (e) the use of Hebrew and English as official languages. They also allege that Jewish immigration has created a large body of landless Arabs.¹⁰ The Royal Commission of 1937 made the following observation: "Whilst we believe that these grievances are sincerely felt, we are of the opinion that most of them cannot be regarded as legitimate under the terms of the Mandate."¹¹

Zionist leadership has often repeated its desire to come to an agreement with the Arabs. In an address delivered before the Royal Institute of International Affairs, June 9, 1936, Dr. Weizmann stated: "We consider that Palestine is a country common to both Jews and Arabs; both parts of the population are destined to build up a common Fatherland. It is difficult to think in these terms to-day, but in spite of the acuteness of the momentary difficulties, there is much more co-operation beneath the surface between

⁹ Quoted from *Jews and Arabs in Palestine*. Edited by Enzo Sereni and R. E. Asheri, 1936, pp. 44a-45a.

¹⁰ *Palestine Royal Commission Report*, 1937, p. 365.

¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

Jews and Arabs than people are likely to believe. And I believe that when the Arabs realise that they cannot throw the Jews into the Mediterranean, then they will, just as we are anxious to do, sit round a table and try to work out, on the basis of the actual possibilities of the country, a *modus vivendi*."¹²

Nahum Sokolow, stating the program of the newly-elected Zionist Executive at the Seventeenth Zionist Congress (1931), declared part of that program to be: "To take active measures in the economic, social and political spheres with a view to furthering friendly relations and establishing a rapprochement between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, starting from the basic principle that, without reference to numerical strength, neither of the two people shall dominate or be dominated by the other."¹³

Jewish leaders in the Palestine Yishuv have declared on many occasions their readiness to maintain peace and friendship with their Arab neighbors. The Jewish National Assembly passed a resolution at its first meeting (1920) stating: "The Jewish and Arab peoples, akin in race, language and culture, will hasten their renaissance, and the renaissance of the East through common work and mutual assistance."¹⁴ The General Federation of Jewish Labor (Histadrut) declared in 1929: "The Jewish Labour Movement consider the Arab people as an integral element of this country. . . . Jewish immigrants who come to this country to live by their own labour regard the Arab workingmen as their compatriots and fellow-workers, whose needs are their needs, and whose future is their future. The realisation of Zionism is therefore envisaged as the creation of a new economy, not to replace the Arab economy, but to supplement it."¹⁵

In a recent Memorandum of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the position of the Agency with regard to Jewish-Arab relations is summarized as follows: "We are mindful of the difficulties which might arise with the Arabs and everything possible should be done in order to arrive at a settlement with them. That may take a long time and would necessarily be a gradual process. An essential element in reaching an understanding would be the attitude of the democratic nations. If they are ready to make clear to the Arabs that they consider the policy of a Jewish Palestine as just, while at the same time guaranteeing to the Arabs their rights in Palestine, the way to an understanding will be far easier. Certainly under any regime, complete equality must be guaranteed to all the inhabitants of Palestine, Jews and Arabs, and even in the interim period both Jews and Arabs should have

¹² Memorandum submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Published by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, London, November 1936, p. 95.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

a larger measure of self-government in all municipal affairs while educational and religious matters should be left entirely to the respective communities."¹⁸

Arab opposition has continued unabated. There has been little evidence throughout the years of the Mandate, that the Arabs have had any intentions of meeting with the Jews on common ground. Instead, they have organized strikes and caused disturbances which culminated in the riots of 1936-1939.

Shortly before the start of the war, the Jewish Agency consented to participate in a Round Table Conference of Arab and Jewish representatives, called in London in 1939 by the British Government. But the Arab leaders refused to sit at the same table with the Jewish representatives. Following that Conference, the British Government issued the MacDonald White Paper in May, 1939. While the Yishub withstood the Arab onslaughts and continued its colonizing efforts with even greater tempo, the situation remained tense until the outbreak of the war. It still awaits solution which will have to come from the authority of the United Nations.

7. Jewish Representation

The representative body of the Zionist movement which is responsible for the colonization work in Palestine, is the World Zionist Organization (and its Congress); which comprises all Zionist parties, except the Revisionists. According to Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate, the World Zionist Organization is recognized as the "appropriate Jewish agency . . . for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, racial and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine. . . ." This was confirmed by the League of Nations and endorsed by the United States Congress in 1922. The same Article in the Mandate also empowers the WZO "to take steps in consultation with his Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home." Accordingly, the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine was formed in 1929, consisting of a Council in which Zionists and non-Zionists are represented in equal number. The Agency is now the representative "public body" mentioned in the Mandate.

B. VARIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF PALESTINE IN JEWISH LIFE

There are differing views and opinions among Zionists as well as non-Zionists about how the Jewish national home shall be built, on its ultimate

¹⁸ *Aide-Memoire*, see above note 5.

form of social and political order, on methods of colonization, relations with the Arabs and the Mandatory government, and on the place Palestine occupies in the life of world Jewry. *Yet all these views converge on one focal point, namely, that the condition of millions of Jews today and the interests of all Jews imperatively require that the achievements of the Jewish Yishub in Palestine must be preserved and its future growth and development assured.*

The achievements of the Jewish Settlement (Yishub) in Palestine have been recognized by all factions, whether Zionist, non-Zionist or even anti-Zionist. It is commonly agreed that Palestine is destined to play an important role in the life of the Jews and their struggle for survival. *All agree that Palestine can serve as a place of refuge for despoiled and persecuted Jews of devastated Europe. It is also generally accepted (except by left-wing anti-Zionists) that due to the spiritual values created by the Jewish community in Palestine, that country is developing into a cultural-religious center of Judaism.*

However, there are different views as to the possible expansion of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine and the degree of its influence on Diaspora Jewry. It will be best to present the various conceptions of the role of Palestine in Jewish life, from the points of view of the official Zionist parties, other Jewish organized bodies, and the opponents of political Zionism.

1. Official Zionist Views

(a) *General Zionists* (Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah and Order Sons of Zion) look to Palestine as a future Jewish Commonwealth and as the main country to absorb the large masses of Jewish immigrants, wherever they may come from and whatever may be the driving forces of their migration. In Palestine the Jews will have the opportunity to develop a complete and normal life as a people, attain full status of freedom and take their rightful place among the peoples of the world. The General Zionists, although maintaining that the social and economic ideology of the Jewish national home should be determined by Jews who live there and not by those of the Diaspora, hold that Palestine should be built on foundations of social justice and equal opportunity for all.

Without jeopardizing or infringing upon the civic and political status of the Jews in any other country, the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will exert a wholesome influence on the Diaspora, enhancing cultural and spiritual values, and freeing the Jewish people from the anomalous position of a nation without a State.

This view has been summarized by Dr. Chaim Weizmann in the following statement:

"A Jewish state in Palestine would be more than merely the necessary means of securing further Jewish immigration and development. It is a moral need and postulate, and it would be a decisive step toward normality and true emancipation. I believe that after the war Jews everywhere can gain in status and security only through the rise of a Jewish state. . . ."¹⁷

All other Zionist factions concur in the main with this point of view, but each of them adds a concept of its own, which emanates from its specific ideology of Jewish life and the world order.

(b) *Labor Zionists* (Poale Zion-Zeire Zion, Pioneer Women's Organization of America, Jewish National Workers' Alliance) maintain that the Jewish problem can be solved only by an economic restructuration of Jewish life, developing a labor class in all basic industries, as well as a Jewish agrarian population, and by changing the economic and social order of the world on socialist principles.

In Palestine the Jewish people will be able to rebuild their individual and group life on the basis of social and economic justice and equality. In common with the labor movement of the rest of the world, they will help establish a just world order. Palestine is thus the vanguard of the redemption of the Jewish people, not only from the shackles of Galut, but from all the social and economic ills of capitalist society. While Palestine will concentrate the most vital and creative forces of the Jewish people for solving the Jewish problem, the Jews of the Diaspora will also work toward the same end.¹⁸

(c) *Hashomer Hatzair* (a faction of the Labor Zionist movement) "see in Zionism the only way to fight for a new social order for the Jews,"¹⁹ which can be accomplished only in Palestine. "The larger future of Zionism," it declares, "is inseparably tied to the victory of Socialism. . . . As a chalutz movement, [it] concentrates on the upbuilding of Palestine. Though it 'negates' the Diaspora with its social, economic and cultural limitations, it does not alienate itself from the masses living therein. Thereby [it is] fighting for the human and national rights of the masses of Israel not yet able to find a solution in the great national enterprise of Zionism under construction in Palestine."²⁰

In Palestine, Hashomer Hatzair aims to build a "complete cooperative commune," or the Kibbutz, which it describes as the vanguard for a new society, the absorptive medium for Jewish workers' immigration, the

¹⁷ Chaim Weizmann, *Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem*, New York, American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, 17 pp.

¹⁸ *Labor Zionist Handbook*, New York, Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America, 1939.

¹⁹ "What is Hashomer Hatzair," *Hashomer Hatzair*, July 1939, Vol. VII, No. 10, p. 14.

²⁰ Documents.

constructive instrument for the Jewish workers' class and a force in the struggle of the general workers' class.²¹

(d) *Mizrachi* (orthodox religious Zionist organization; and Mizrachi Women's Organization of America) "strives for the upbuilding of the Jewish national home in Palestine on the basis of Israel's religious traditions."²² It "aims to redeem and develop the land of our fathers, where social and economic problems will be solved in the spirit of the Torah, and where the spiritual and cultural wealth of our people, as preserved in the sacred writings, will not only be restored to its pristine glory, but will develop to even greater dignity and splendor."²³ It regards Palestine as "the only real solution to the homelessness of Jewry . . . or the problems facing the Jewish religion."²⁴ Its program for the Diaspora is to strengthen orthodox Judaism in every country where Jews live.

(e) *Hapoel Hamizrachi* (religious labor Zionist pioneer movement, Torah v'Avodah) declares that "the most effective way to realize the religious, national, ethical and social principles of the Torah is to create a religious labor commonwealth in Eretz Israel. . . . For Palestine is not only an excellent haven of refuge for the millions of persecuted Jews but is the complete solution to the Jewish question."²⁵

(f) *Jewish State Party* "believes that the only solution of the age-old Jewish problem, the problem of a stateless minority, is the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth based on a Jewish majority within the historic boundaries of Palestine." Since it believes, further, that the Diaspora is being rapidly liquidated, it has only one ultimate aim, namely, "the reestablishment of the Jewish State."²⁶

(g) *New Zionism* (also called "Revisionism") envisages "Palestine as a Jewish State," on both sides of the Jordan, governed by a "Supreme Council of the Zionist Movement."²⁷ This being its main task, New Zionism embodies "two principles" of world Jewish action: "'evacuation' (of the doomed ghettos) and 'policy of alliances' (with those governments whose interests demand the establishment of the Jewish State)."²⁸

²¹ "Our Zionism," by S. Cohen, *Hashomer Hatzair*, Mar.-Apr., 1934, Vol. I, No. 3-6, pp. 13f.

²² *The Mizrachi Movement*, by Dr. Samuel Rosenblatt, Publ. by Mizrachi Organization of America, 1940, p. 4.

²³ "The Mizrachi Movement" (6 p. folder), Publ. by Mizrachi Organization of America.

²⁴ Documents.

²⁵ *Hapoel Hamizrachi: Ideology and Program*, by Isidor Margolis. Published by Hapoel Hamizrachi of America, New York (no date), pp. 6-7.

²⁶ *Jewish State Zionism; the Jewish State Party and What It Stands For*, Publ. by the Central Committee of Jewish State Zionists of America, New York City (no date).

²⁷ "What New Zionism Stands For," *American Jewish Chronicle*, June 20, 1940, Vol. I, No. 14-15, p. 7. See also *What Revisionism Stands For*, Publ. by the League of Zionist Revisionists, New York Office, p. 14 (no date).

²⁸ "What New Zionism Stands For," *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

2. Views of Other Organized Jewish Bodies on the Role of Palestine

(a) *The Reconstructionists* consider a Jewish national home in Palestine as a prerequisite for the survival of the Jewish group, its complete emancipation and the continued development of its historic civilization. In Palestine "a sufficiently large community of Jews must be permitted to lead a full, normal and creative life. With the resulting enrichment of Judaism's cultural and spiritual content, Jews in the Diaspora will then feel themselves members of a minority group that possesses motivation, idea and purpose."²⁹

(b) *The Rabbinical Assembly of America* (Conservative) maintains that "the right of the Jewish people to Palestine as its national home, [is] indispensable to [its] national existence."³⁰ "The Zionist ideal to establish in Palestine a legally assured and publicly recognized home for the Jewish people, is an integral part of the religious outlook as well as the program of practical activities sponsored by the Rabbinical Assembly of America."

(c) *United Synagogue of America* (Conservative) expresses its "firm belief that the survival of the Jewish people and their religion is linked with the future of Palestine . . . and [believes] that in Palestine the Jewish people can best fulfill their historic destiny."³¹

(d) *The Central Conference of American Rabbis* (Reform) "declares that it discerns no essential incompatibility between Reform Judaism and Zionism, no reason why those of its members who give allegiance to Zionism should not have the right to regard themselves as fully within the spirit and purpose of Reform Judaism."³²

(e) *The Union of American Hebrew Congregations* (Reform) views the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as the fulfillment of "an unprecedented need of finding a permanent haven for so many uprooted Jews of Europe." It also recognizes "the fact that Jews have been bound by historic and spiritual ties to the Holy Land," and "that a large portion of Jewry is desperately in need of a friendly shelter and a home where a spiritual, cultural center may be developed in accordance with Jewish ideals."³³

(f) *The American Jewish Committee* affirms its "deep sympathy for and [the] desire to cooperate with those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine."

²⁹ *Judaism as a Civilization*, by Mordecai M. Kaplan, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935, pp. 273-274.

³⁰ Documents.

³¹ Documents.

³² From Resolutions adopted at New York by CCAR on July 1, 1943. See *Liberal Judaism*, July, 1943, p. 68.

³³ From Resolutions adopted at its 35th Biennial Council in New Orleans in 1937. See Documents.

It recognizes, "that there are now more than half a million Jews in Palestine who have built up a sound and flourishing economic life and a satisfying spiritual and cultural life, and who now constitute substantially one-third of the population, and that while this Palestinian immigration has been a blessed amelioration of the condition of this large number of Jews, and has helped to bring about a great development of the country itself, 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."³⁴

(g) *The American Jewish Congress* endorses the General Zionist view with regard to the role of Palestine in the life of the Jewish people.

(h) *B'nai B'rith* has always regarded Palestine in a practical light, as "a living, vital and productive community."³⁵ In America, it has cooperated with the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund in land purchase, colonization work, and the promotion of cultural institutions in Palestine. *B'nai B'rith* has expressed its "faith in the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, which gives assurance to Jews who choose Palestine as their homeland that they may dwell there and enjoy the blessings of life . . ."³⁶

(i) *A Statement by 826 Rabbis* [including 217 members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform); 253 members of the Rabbinical Assembly of America (Conservative); and 356 members of the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox) and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis] declares that "Zionism is an affirmation of Judaism. . . . [It] is not a secularist movement. It has its origins and roots in the authoritative religious texts of Judaism. . . . Nor is Zionism a denial of the universalistic teachings of Judaism. Universalism is not a contradiction of nationalism." The political action of the Zionist movement, which culminated in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, has made it possible for half a million Jews to settle in Palestine. Effective political action will also be necessary in order to open the gates of Palestine for mass Jewish immigration after the war.³⁷

3. Opposition to Zionism

There has been opposition to the Zionist movement among Jews ever since its earliest proponents started discussing the return of the Jewish people

³⁴ Documents.

³⁵ "We Have Faith," by Henry Monsky, President of B'nai B'rith.

³⁶ Alfred M. Cohen, on dedication of Alfred M. Cohen Colony in Palestine. *Release by B'nai B'rith*, Cincinnati, Oct. 23, 1936.

³⁷ *Zionism An Affirmation of Judaism: A Reply by 757 Orthodox, Conservative and Reform Rabbis to a Statement Issued by Ninety Members of the Reform Rabbinate Charging That Zionism Is Incompatible with the Teachings of Judaism*. Printed in New York City, 1942.

to their ancient homeland by means of organized human effort. Opponents to rebuilding Palestine by "natural" means first were found among orthodox Rabbis who, in arguing against men like Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1861), Rabbi Samuel Mohilever, and other early Zionists, claimed that it was contrary to the will of God to "force" the redemption of the Holy Land before the coming of the Messiah. Later, when the movement started to engage in practical colonization in Palestine (1882) and formed an international political organization—the World Zionist Congress (1897)—the opposition grew in intensity, coming from various groups and for different reasons.

In western Europe, where Jewish emancipation had been completed, some Jewish communal leaders held that the nationalist tendencies of Zionism would jeopardize the status of the Jews in the countries in which they were citizens. They were opposed to designating the Jews as a separate people, nation, or nationality. They felt that such tendencies would give the anti-Semites a pretext for segregating Jewish citizens from the rest of the population. Nor did they consider Palestine as a solution to the problem of refugees fleeing from Russia and Rumania in the wake of anti-Jewish excesses in those countries. Then the gates of the United States and other overseas asylums were wide open, and the mass emigration of Jews was diverted to these lands. Orthodox Rabbis and lay leadership, both in western and eastern Europe, continued their opposition to Zionism not only on the ground that it was contrary to the Messianic hope of Jewish tradition, but also because of the secular political aspect which the movement assumed after the formation of the World Zionist Congress.

Disapprobation came, too, from other groups in eastern Europe. These considered themselves Jewish nationalists, but were against establishing a Jewish national home or State in Palestine. They were Diaspora-Nationalists who, claiming Yiddish as their national language, sought to organize Jewish life in nationality units within the countries of the Diaspora (Jewish People's Party in Czarist Russia), while others (the Yiddish Territorialists) searched for a country other than Palestine where the Jews would build for themselves a territorial center. Other sources of disapproval were elements in the Jewish Socialist movement in Czarist Russia, especially the "General Alliance of Jewish Workers," known as the *Bund* (org. 1897), which considered the Zionist movement to be contrary to the interests of the workers' class. They thought the solution to the Jewish question was in a Socialist revolution.

Out of these developments, present day opposition to the Zionist movement still exists among many elements of orthodox Jewry, notably the Agudath Israel which though favoring now the upbuilding of Palestine along

orthodox traditional lines, refuses to identify itself with the Zionist movement as such. Among the Jewish socialist groups, the Bund has retained its traditional stand against Zionism.

The expressions of opposition by Jewish Communists to the Zionist movement and the Palestine Yishuv, have undergone several changes in form, although the general line has remained the same. Until recently, they opposed Zionism and Zionist settlement in Palestine, on the ground that they were inimical to the interests of the colonial peoples and the Jewish masses. They anticipated the solution of the Jewish problem by the world "social revolution."²⁸ However, since the summer of 1941, the Communists have "recognized the Jewish Community in Palestine as an important part of our people—a community which is building an organized national life in that part of the world."²⁹ But they make no statement with regard to the future expansion of Jewish colonization there.

In the United States, Reform Rabbis and laymen were among the early opponents of the Zionist movement. However, their opposition diminished in the course of time and today there are many of them who are affiliated with Zionist organizations in America, taking a leading part in the movement. Yet, opposition is still maintained by a considerable number of Reform Rabbis who together with certain laymen have recently formed the American Council for Judaism, which aims "to combat nationalistic and secularist trends in Jewish life." Prior to the formation of this Council *Ninety Reform Rabbis* issued a *Statement* presenting their views with regard to Zionism and Palestine as follows: "Realizing how dear Palestine is to the Jewish soul, and how important Palestinian rehabilitation is towards relieving the pressing problems of our distressed people, we stand ready to render unstinted aid to our brethren in their economic, cultural and spiritual endeavors in that country. But in the light of our universalistic interpretation of Jewish history and destiny, and also because of our concern for the welfare and status of the Jewish people living in other parts of the world, 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 and also diverts our own attention from our historic role to live as a religious community wherever we may dwell. Such spiritual role is especially voiced by Reform Judaism in its emphasis upon the eternal prophetic principles of life

²⁸ *Palestine: The Communist Position—The Colonial Question*, by Paul Novick. Published by the Jewish Bureau of the Cultural Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., New York, 1936.

²⁹ *Should Jews Unite*, by Alexander Bittelman. Pamphlet. Published by the Morning Freiheit Publishers, New York (1945), p. 13.

and thought, principles through which alone Judaism and the Jew can hope to endure and bear witness to the universal God."⁴⁰

Opposition to Zionism also comes from many individual Jews who dissociate themselves from organized Jewish life, though some of them are active in Jewish philanthropy. Their opposition, which is not organized, stems either from indifference to Jewish survival or from a denial of the need to perpetuate the Jewish group and its distinctive character.

C. IMPLEMENTATION OF JEWISH RIGHTS

1. Immigration Rights

Problem: The MacDonald White Paper on Palestine issued by the British Government in May, 1939, limits Jewish immigration into that country to a maximum of 10,000 Jews per year, for a period of 5 years after the date of issue. In view of the plight of Jewish refugees, the White Paper also granted a "bonus" immigration of an additional 25,000 Jews within the period, making a total of 75,000 Jewish immigrants to be admitted into Palestine by 1944. After that date, Jewish immigration is to cease entirely, "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it." This plan is being carried out to the letter by the Mandatory Administration and has been repeatedly confirmed by British officials as the accepted policy of their government. The Jewish Agency, however, maintains that this policy is a violation of the Palestine Mandate which provides (in Article 6) that "The Palestine Administration, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions. . . ."

Proposition: To reject the MacDonald White Paper of May, 1939, as being legally and morally invalid, to demand that the gates of Palestine be opened for large-scale Jewish immigration, and to see that the Jewish Agency be vested with the control of such immigration.

This view is maintained by all the official Zionist bodies and is also supported by the American Jewish Congress, Rabbinical Assembly of America, the United Synagogue of America, the National Women's League of the United Synagogues, Progressive Order of the West, National Council of Young Israel, American Federation for Polish Jews and the Order Sons of Zion. The Revisionists seek free immigration to be directed by "a Supreme Council of the Zionist Movement." The Union of American Hebrew Congregations is for "a large scale immigration . . . regulated in cooperation with the Jewish Agency . . . by such a concert of nations as shall

⁴⁰ "U. S. Reform Rabbis State Principles," *New York Times*, Aug. 30, 1942, p. 26.

be established after the war." *The American Jewish Committee* seeks "to safeguard . . . Jewish immigration into Palestine . . . to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country."

2. Land Purchase and State Grants

Problem: The White Paper of 1939 granted the High Commissioner of Palestine "general power to prohibit and regulate transfers of land." In practice, the Palestine Administration has always placed great obstacles in the way of Jewish land purchase, and while granting many State land to the Arabs, it has withheld such grants from the Jews. This kind of discrimination has been practiced in violation of the letter and spirit of the Mandate, which states in Article 6: "The Administration of Palestine . . . shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

Proposition: To demand the removal of all restrictions upon land sale to Jews in Palestine, and to secure liberal grants of State lands, for close settlement and colonization.

This demand is made specifically by all Zionist bodies and is implied in the resolutions of the American Jewish Congress, Rabbinical Assembly of America, National Council of Young Israel, Order Sons of Zion, United Synagogue of America, National Women's League of the United Synagogue, Progressive Order of the West, American Federation for Polish Jews, in so far as all these organizations support the proposition of establishing Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The other organizations have made no statement on the land problem, but since they all favor Jewish immigration into Palestine, it is obvious that freedom for Jews to buy land there is essential.

3. Economic Development of Jewish Colonization

Problem: While the Jewish colonization effort in Palestine has been crowned with remarkable success, it has nevertheless suffered considerable setbacks due to unfavorable tariff regulations and insufficient Government aid in developing the natural resources and other economic advantages of the country.

Proposition: That the Jewish Agency be vested with sufficient authority to utilize the natural resources and economic advantages of Palestine for the purpose of Jewish colonization.⁴¹

⁴¹ This is in accord with the terms of the Palestine Mandate, Article 11, which states: "The Administration may arrange with the Jewish Agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services, and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration."

This proposition is upheld by all Zionist bodies and the other organizations who support the proposition of free land purchase. The Revisionists, on the other hand, demand that such authority be vested in a "Supreme Council of the Zionist Movement." *The American Jewish Committee* seeks "to guarantee adequate scope for [Jewish] future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity" of Palestine. *B'nai B'rith* recognizes "the necessity to rapidly extend the absorptive capacity of Palestine."⁴²

4. Majority Status of the Jews in Palestine

Problem: According to the terms of the White Paper of 1939 the Jews may be reduced to a permanent minority in Palestine, not exceeding one-third of the total population. If Jewish immigration into Palestine is to cease in March, 1944 (as the White Paper decrees), while the Arab birth rate remains comparatively high, the number of Jews in that country will be gradually but steadily reduced in proportion to the rest of the population; thus Jews will remain markedly a minority.

Proposition: To demand a free opportunity for the Jews to reach a majority status in Palestine, without in any way curtailing the rest of the population in its growth and development.

This demand is also made by all the organizations who support the Proposition on unlimited immigration rights. *The American Jewish Committee* makes no direct statement on this question, but its demand for Jewish immigration "to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity" of Palestine, implies that in the course of time the Jews may reach a majority there. A similar view is implied in the statement of the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, which calls for "a large-scale immigration. . . ."

5. Transjordan

Problem: Transjordan (the territory east of the Jordan River, which is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as large with a population about $1/5$ of the rest of Palestine), although originally intended to be part of the Palestine Mandate, was later excluded from its terms pertaining to the Jewish National Home.⁴³ Many attempts were subsequently made by leaders of the Jewish Agency to acquire colonization privileges from the Emir of Transjordan (who is subject to supervision by the High Commissioner for Palestine), but they failed

⁴² Release of *B'nai B'rith*, Cincinnati, October 23, 1936, on occasion of inauguration of Alfred M. Cohen Colony.

⁴³ Palestine Mandate, Article 25.

to gain either British government approval or encouragement. Historically, Jewish Palestine extended on both sides of the Jordan, and in rebuilding their national home, the Jewish people hope to resettle also in the area known as Transjordan.

Proposition: That Transjordan be restored as an integral part of Palestine, and that the Jews be granted equal freedom of opportunity for immigration and colonization on both sides of the Jordan. While no specific statement has been issued recently on this question by any of the organizations, this proposition is regarded as a desideratum by all Zionist parties, since they are not reconciled to the severance of Transjordan from western Palestine. The Revisionists demand a Jewish State on both sides of the Jordan.

6. Jewish Army

Problem: More than 21,000 Palestinian Jews have volunteered in the British armed forces and are fighting on many fronts under the British flag. A great many Palestinian Jews together with thousands of Jewish refugees of military age now scattered in Allied and neutral countries, would prefer to fight for the Allied cause under their own flag, representing the Jewish people. This question has often been discussed in Jewish circles with wide divergence of opinion concerning it.

Proposition: That recognition be given to the right of the Jews of Palestine to play their full part in the defense of their country, through a Jewish military force fighting under their own flag and under the high command of the United Nations.

The *Zionist Organization of America*, *Hadassah*, the *Labor Zionist Council* and *Miztachi* have expressed themselves in favor of this proposition ("Biltmore Resolution") and have also been supported by the *American Jewish Congress*. *B'nai B'rith* urges "that immediate steps be taken by the proper authorities to enable the Jewish population resident in Palestine to defend themselves against Axis aggression and to afford them the opportunity to make a maximum contribution to the United Nations in the achievement of an early victory."⁴⁴ The Revisionists demand "the creation of a Jewish Army which would take its place as co-belligerent in the war alongside the Allied armies."

D. FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF PALESTINE

Problem: The position of the Jews in Palestine and their efforts to further Jewish immigration and colonization there, will be determined by the forces that will control the political destiny of that country. If the White

⁴⁴ Resolution passed by the Central Administrative Board of the *B'nai B'rith*, July 1942.

Paper of 1939, issued by the Mandatory Power, is carried out after this war, as seems to be the intention of the present British Government, the population of the Jewish Yishub will be frozen in its present size. Thus the whole enterprise of building a Jewish national home, as promised by the Balfour Declaration and prescribed by the Mandate, will be stifled, if not nullified altogether. On the other hand, the Mandate of Palestine was accepted by the British Government "on behalf the League of Nations" subject to supervision by the latter's Council, and requiring its "consent . . . for any modifications of the terms of this mandate."⁴² Yet, the League of Nations did not approve the White Paper.

The question of the political status of Palestine and the policies of its present administration will have to be taken, after the war, before the councils of the Allied Nations.

There are several propositions with regard to this problem.

1. On the Jewish Status in Palestine

Proposition One: That Palestine be established as a self-governing and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

This is the demand of all the Zionist organizations (except the Revisionists) and of the American Jewish Congress, Rabbinical Assembly of America, National Council of Young Israel, United Synagogue of America ("demand . . . an autonomous Jewish State in Palestine"), National Women's League of the United Synagogues, Progressive Order of the West, American Federation for Polish Jews, Order Sons of Zion, Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations, Independent Order Brith Abraham, and United Galician Jews of America. On the other hand, The Union of American Hebrew Congregations favors the "establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine," and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America demands the "establishment of Palestine as a Religious Jewish Commonwealth."

Proposition Two: That Palestine, including both sides of the Jordan, be established as the Jewish State.

This is the demand of the Revisionists (New Zionist Organization).

Proposition Three: That Palestine be established as a bi-national state, allowing eventually for a Jewish majority, but according equal political status to both Jews and Arabs, regardless of the proportion of their respective populations.

This is the platform of Hashomer Hatzair.

Proposition Four: That Palestine be established within reasonable time as "a self-governing Commonwealth under a Constitution and bill of

⁴² Palestine Mandate, Article 27.

rights that will . . . (a) safeguard the Jewish settlement in and Jewish immigration into Palestine and guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country; (b) safeguard and protect the fundamental rights of all inhabitants; (c) safeguard and protect the holy places of all faiths."

This position is taken by the American Jewish Committee.

2. On the Mandate and International Guarantees

Proposition One: That "the United Nations pledge themselves and declare their readiness to aid the Jewish people in constituting Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

Endorsed by all the organizations who support the proposition of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

The Zionists and other organizations who express this view, consider the Mandate as the legal basis for Jewish colonization in Palestine, and demand that the terms of the Mandate be carried out in full. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, envisages "the rise of a Jewish State [in Palestine, possibly as] a part of the British Commonwealth."⁴³

Proposition Two: Before the Jews reach a majority in Palestine, the country should be administered by "a Commission of a world federation and not mandated to any national state. Eventually, the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine should be enrolled as a member nation of the Federal Union."

Formulated by the Rabbinical Assembly of America which envisages a "world federation of democratic nations."

Proposition Three: That Palestine be placed under "an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations," until it shall become possible to establish self-government without jeopardizing the rights or status of any group in that country. (No reference to Mandate.)

This expresses the views of the American Jewish Committee and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

E. JEWISH-ARAB RELATIONS IN PALESTINE AND THE NEAR EAST

Problem: The million Arabs who now live in Palestine may be considered as part of the Arab peoples that are settled in states of their own in the Near East. Leaving out Egypt, whose people regard themselves as Egyptians and not as Arabs, the other Arab-governed countries (Saudi-Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Yemen and Oman) occupy a territory 120 times as large as Palestine—or about a third of the size of Europe—with

⁴³ Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem, by Chaim Weizmann. New York, American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, 17 pp.

a combined population (of Arabs and other groups) of only 17,000,000, or 3% of Europe's population. It has been the contention of Zionist leadership and of many serious students of the Near East, that the Arabs in this region need the Jews as much as, if not more than, the Jews need Palestine. It is maintained that through mutual economic and political cooperation between the Jews of Palestine and all the Arab countries, and through effective organization for utilizing the natural resources and industrial and commercial possibilities of the whole region, the Near East could sustain a population five to six times as large as the present one, and on a much higher standard of living.⁴⁷ What Jews request in return, is full recognition on the part of the Arabs (of Palestine and the whole Near East) of the Jewish right to rebuild Palestine as their Commonwealth. This the Arabs have thus far refused to accept. There are several propositions on this problem.

1. *Place of the Arabs in Palestine*

Proposition One: That a policy of friendship and cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine be pursued and that every possible avenue be followed to establish goodwill and active collaboration between them. This proposition is endorsed by all the organizations that have issued statements on Palestine.

Proposition Two: There shall be full economic, cultural and political cooperation between Jews and Arabs, the latter conceding the right of the Jews to build Palestine as their Commonwealth. After the Jewish Commonwealth is established, the civil and religious rights of the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall be assured.

This is the position of the *Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Labor Zionist Council and Mizrahi*.

Proposition Three: That "political parity [be established] between the two peoples, the numerical relations notwithstanding." This is the view of *Hashomer Hatzair*.

2. *Relations with Arab States in the Near East*

Proposition: That the Jewish people welcome "the economic, agricultural and national development of the Arab people and states," and express their "readiness and desire . . . for full cooperation with [their] Arab neighbors" in other States.

Supported by all the organizations that demand the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. While the other organizations have made no specific statements on this question, it is evident from their demands to safeguard the interests of the non-Jewish population in Palestine, that they are in accord with the above proposition.

⁴⁷ "Economic Regionalism in the Near East," by Emanuel Neumann. Reprinted from the *Jewish Frontier*, New York City, March 1945. 15 pp.; and *Jews and Arabs in Palestine*, edited by Enzo Sereni and R. E. Asheri. Hechalutz, New York, 1936.

AREA SEVEN

JEWISH REPRESENTATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. *Early Attempts at Representation*

2. *The Paris Peace Conference, 1919-1920*

B. AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

C. JEWISH REPRESENTATION

AREA SEVEN

JEWISH REPRESENTATION IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. Early Attempts at Representation

The political and civil status of the Jews became a matter of international concern early in the nineteenth century. It was felt that due to their peculiar position the Jews had to be placed, in certain countries, under the protection of the civilized world. Eminent jurists argued that intervention with a state on behalf of its oppressed groups did not constitute a breach of its sovereignty. The Jews, too, gradually came to realize that their local interests could best be served by joining hands with their brethren in other countries for the amelioration of the condition of Jews wherever oppressed.

At first, western leaders were so involved in their struggle for emancipation that they shunned action on behalf of their fellow Jews in other lands. Some of them came to fear that united action might be misinterpreted as an expression of international Jewish solidarity, a reflection upon their patriotism. Thus the Jews in each locality preferred to act independently, without the aid of outside representation. Their spokesmen were generally prominent individuals who intervened on behalf of their fellow Jews with or without the latter's instructions. The members of the Rothschild family, Sir Moses Montefiore and other prominent Jews often lent effective aid to their brethren abroad.¹

The first attempt to send a delegation to a modern international assembly was made when several German Jewish communities were represented at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Hanseatic cities employed the services of C. A. Buchholz, a Christian attorney, who was a champion of Jewish emancipation in the Germanic Confederacy. The Jews of Frankfurt were represented separately by three of their number.

Representations were also made at the Conference of European Powers at Constantinople in 1876, which met to deal with eastern European affairs. A Conference of Israelites held the same year at Paris, in which there participated French, British and American Jews (the latter representing the Board of Delegates of American Israelites), drew up a memorandum asking equal rights for the Jews of the Ottoman Empire and of the Balkan provinces. The

¹ *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, by S. W. Baron, New York, 1937, Vol. II, pp. 316-20.

Conference dispatched Charles Netter to submit this memorandum to the delegates at Constantinople. However, no action was taken by the Powers on the petition.

A memorandum in favor of the Jews in Bulgaria, Servia, Rumelia and Rumania was presented to the Congress of Berlin in 1878, by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, which appointed three members to negotiate with individual delegates of the Congress. The Vienna Allianz also sent a representative. The Congress adopted the now historic Article 44, guaranteeing full equality of rights to the Jews of the newly created Kingdom of Rumania. However, until the Paris Peace Conference, Rumania violated its obligations under this treaty. The repeated protests of various governments, including the United States, proved of no avail.²

In 1906 when an International Conference was held at Algieras, Spain, to discuss the political fate of Morocco, Jacob H. Schiff requested the United States Department of State, which was represented at the Conference, to make efforts to secure the abrogation of anti-Jewish disabilities in that country. In response to Schiff's request, Secretary of State Elihu Root instructed the American representative to "urge upon the Conference the consideration of guarantees of religious and racial tolerance in Morocco." Accordingly, at one of the sessions this representative asked the Conference to express itself in favor of equitable treatment of all non-Musulman—particularly Jewish—subjects of the Sultan of Morocco. A draft of such a statement was submitted on behalf of the United States. All the delegates expressed their approval of this statement and the Moorish representative declared that the Sultan "would be happy to keep up the system inaugurated by his father of treating the Jews with fairness."³

On the occasion of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908, the Great Powers were to hold a conference on Balkan affairs. The London Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association addressed a letter to Sir Edward Grey requesting that the Conference consider the grievances of the Jews of Rumania. However, the proposed conference did not take place. These two bodies made another attempt to bring the Rumanian situation to the attention of the Powers after the Balkan Wars, in 1913. At the instance of the American Jewish Committee, representatives of the United States Government brought up the question of Rumanian Jewry at the Conference in Bucharest. Rumania's persistent violation of her international obligations prompted the statesmen

² *Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States*, by M. J. Kohler and S. Wolf, New York, 1916, pp. 29 f., 45, 102-7; and "The Board of Delegates of American Israelites," by M. J. Kohler in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 29, 1925, p. 109.

³ *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, by Joseph B. Bishop, pp. 467-503.

who drafted the peace treaties after the first World War to strengthen the minority clauses.⁴

In the above instances Jewish interests were represented either by individuals acting on their own responsibility or by local associations. It was not until the Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920 that Jewish communities of entire countries were represented by elected delegations.

2. The Paris Peace Conference, 1919-1920

Shortly after the outbreak of World War I, American Jewish leaders began discussing the need for unified representation of American Jews at the future peace conference. In the course of their discussions two points of view developed. The one—expressed by the American Jewish Committee—held that a conference of national Jewish organizations should act as a united body in presenting demands at the forthcoming peace conference on behalf of Jews living in countries in which they still suffered legal disabilities. This position was supported by the National Workmen's Committee and many other organizations. The other view, sponsored by Zionist organizations, a number of fraternal orders and other groups, proposed the formation of an American Jewish Congress to be elected by popular vote. It was contemplated that this Congress would become a permanent body for Jewish representation not only at the peace conference, but also on all future occasions and on all problems affecting the Jews in any part of the world, including the United States.

✓ After months of negotiations between the two factions, represented respectively by the Jewish Congress Organization Committee and the American Jewish Committee, an agreement was reached under which an American Jewish Congress was to be organized for the sole purpose of representing American Jewry at the Peace Conference.

The agreement provided further that upon the completion of this specific task, the Congress was to be terminated. Delegates were to comprise representatives of national organizations and representatives at large, the latter to be elected by individual voters throughout various Jewish communities. The Congress was not to commit itself to any "general theory or philosophy of Jewish life," or to any principle "which shall involve the perpetuation of such Congress."

The date for the convening of the Congress was changed from time to time. Finally, it was agreed that the Congress should not meet until after the cessation of hostilities. Meanwhile elections were held May 12-14, 1917

⁴ *Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question*, by L. Wolf. London, 1919, pp. 45-54.

in all Jewish communities in the country. By popular vote (133,000 ballots were cast), three hundred delegates were elected; one hundred were appointed by the national organizations.

The Congress convened in Philadelphia on December 15, 1918. The delegation elected by it to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference was given instructions formulated as follows: (1) "To cooperate with 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 that, in accordance with the British Government's declaration, there should be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain acting on behalf of such League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish commonwealth."

(2) "To suggest that the peace conference 'insert in the treaty of peace as conditions precedent to the creation of the new or enlarged states, which it is proposed to call into being,' clauses expressly providing that (a) all inhabitants of the territories of such states, including war refugees who shall return to them, 'shall for all purposes be citizens thereof'; (b) for a period of ten years from the adoption of this Provision no law shall be enacted restricting any former inhabitant of a state from taking up his residence in that state and thereby acquiring citizenship therein; (c) all citizens, without distinction as to race, nationality, or creed, shall enjoy equal civil, political, religious, and national rights, and no laws shall be enacted or enforced which shall abridge such rights on account of race, nationality, or religion, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws; (d) the principle of minority representation shall be provided for by law; (e) the members of the various national as well as religious bodies of the state shall be accorded autonomous management of their own communal institutions, religious, educational, charitable, or otherwise; (f) no law shall be enacted restricting the use of any language, and all existing laws declaring such prohibition are repealed, nor shall any language test be established; (g) those who observe any other than the first day of the week as their Sabbath shall not be prohibited from pursuing their secular affairs on any day other than that which they observe; nor shall they be required to perform any acts on their Sabbath or holy days which they shall regard as a desecration thereof."

The delegation of the American Jewish Congress consisted of Julian W. Mack, chairman, Joseph Baroness, Leopold Benedict (Morris Winchevsky), Harry Cutler, Jacob de Haas, B. L. Levinthal, Louis Marshall, Nachman Syrkin and Stephen S. Wise. Bernard G. Richards was named Secretary of the delegation. It proceeded to Paris early in 1919 and joined with dele-

gations from eastern European countries in the formation of the Comité des Délégations Juives auprès de la Conférence de la Paix. The representatives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and of the Joint Foreign Committee of British Jews declined to become part of this Comité because they disagreed with that part of its platform which sought national or group rights for Jews in those countries in which such rights were granted to other minorities. As a result of the efforts of the Comité and other delegations, clauses guaranteeing political, civil and religious equality to persons belonging to racial, linguistic or religious minorities were included in treaties with the new or enlarged States of central-eastern Europe.

Following the signing of the Versailles Treaty, the Congress was convened again on May 30, 1920, and after hearing a report by Louis Marshall, who headed its delegation, "the Congress was adjourned sine die in accordance with the basic agreement."⁵

The various Jewish organizations which had, even before the Peace Conference, been concerned with the protection of the lives of Jews, gave a great deal of attention to the implementation of the minority treaties. Some of them made efforts to prevail upon the League of Nations to deal firmly with treaty infractions. On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, its President, Louis Marshall, made a study in Geneva of the machinery established by the League and submitted a memorandum of suggestions for facilitating the submission of appeals and for action on them by the Council of the League. The Joint Foreign Committee, representing the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association, together with the Alliance Israélite Universelle, were also very active in representations to the League.

After its establishment in 1922, the present American Jewish Congress concerned itself with this problem, acting through the Comité des Délégations Juives, which had continued to function even though some of its constituent delegations had withdrawn. Efforts to improve the political and civil situation of Jews in countries bound by the minority treaties were made also by the World Jewish Congress, which had been organized in 1936 through the initiative of the American Jewish Congress, following several international conferences held in Switzerland. Since the outbreak of the present war, the growing need for united Jewish representation at future peace discussions has become the concern of all organized Jewish bodies in this country.

⁵ The present "American Jewish Congress" which grew out of the temporary Congress was founded in Philadelphia on May 21-22, 1922 by those organizations that favored its perpetuation.

B. AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

The American Jewish Conference which is now in the process of formation has been called forth by a "recognition of all American Jewish groups . . . of the desirability of establishing a program of common action to deal with the post-war Jewish problems."⁶ A preliminary Conference of delegates representing thirty-two national Jewish organizations was called on the initiative of Henry Monsky, President of B'nai B'rith, and held in Pittsburgh, January 23-24, 1943. Agreement was reached both on the number of delegates and the Agenda for the American Jewish Conference (then called Assembly) to wit: (a) "that the national Jewish membership organizations shall be entitled to representation to the extent of 125 delegates, and that the communities or regions shall be entitled to elect 375 delegates"; (b) "that the Agenda shall be the following:

1. To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and the 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.
3. To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Conference in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world."

The functions and scope of the Conference will be determined by its delegates at the first plenary session to be held in August, 1943 in New York City. There are, however, a few propositions made by various constituent organizations with regard to united representation of American and world Jewry, which are outlined in the following section.

C. JEWISH REPRESENTATION

Problem: The tremendous task of rescue, relief and reconstruction of European Jewry and of the continued upbuilding of Palestine in the post-war period, will require first and foremost unity of purpose as well as concerted effort on the part of the Jewish people as a whole. The effectiveness of Jewish demands before those who will frame the terms of world peace, will depend in great measure upon the unanimity of support that the Jews, individually, communally and through national organizations, will give to their representatives who, in turn, will endeavor to carry out a program of action. The question that arises is: What shall be the scope of Jewish representation?

⁶ Call for the American Jewish Conference, April 23, 1943, issued by the Executive Committee for the Organization of the American Jewish Conference.

Proposition: That an American Jewish representation be established which will "act for the Jews of America in cooperation with the accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world."

This is the agreement reached, without further qualification, by all the organizations that have joined in calling the American Jewish Conference.

The Labor Zionist Council further proposes: (a) That the American Jewish Conference must not be limited to representatives at the peace negotiations alone, but "must remain the central organ of American Jewry in the post-war period"; (b) The establishment of a "World Jewish representation," which "must be a single, world-wide democratic body functioning in the immediate post-war period and thereafter." Other organizations have not yet issued statements with regard to the permanence of the American Jewish Conference, or a world Jewish representation.



DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS ISSUED BY NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

1. American Federation for Polish Jews, Inc.
2. American Jewish Committee
3. American Jewish Congress
4. Central Conference of American Rabbis and Rabbinical Assembly of America
5. Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations
6. Free Sons of Israel
7. Hadassah—Women's Zionist Organization of America
8. Hapoel Hamizrachi of America
9. Hashomer Hatzair
10. Independent Order Brith Abraham
11. Jewish Labor Committee
12. Labor Zionist Council
13. League for Labor Palestine (See Document 12.)
14. National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods (See Document 19.)
15. National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods (See Document 19.)
16. National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America
17. Mizrahi Women's Organization of America
18. Mizrahi Organization of America
19. National Council of Young Israel
20. Order Sons of Zion
21. Pioneer Women's Organization of America (See Document 12.)
22. Poale Zion-Zeire Zion (See Document 12.)
23. Progressive Order of the West (See Document 3.)
24. Rabbinical Assembly of America
25. Union of American Hebrew Congregations
26. United Galician Jews of America
27. Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations
28. United Roumanian Jews of America
29. United Synagogue of America
30. Zionist Organization of America
31. The Biltmore Declaration
32. Rabbinical Council of America

DOCUMENTS

Resolutions and Statements Issued by National Organizations Participating in the American Jewish Conference.

DOCUMENT 1

AMERICAN FEDERATION FOR POLISH JEWS

Post-War Program for Jews in Poland

The American Federation for Polish Jews, in conjunction with the World Federation of Polish Jews (the functions of which have been entrusted to the American Federation for Polish Jews for the duration of the war) has formulated the following post-war program in the interests of the Jews of Poland.

1. Free Jewish immigration into Palestine under the supervision and control of the Jewish Agency; and the creation of conditions favorable to the development of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.
2. Free access of Jews to countries of immigration, especially to those regions where possibilities exist for establishing concentrated Jewish settlements.
3. Outlawing anti-semitism in Poland and in every country.
4. Civic and political emancipation and national cultural rights for the Jews in Poland.
5. There shall be established in Poland a central Jewish body, democratically elected by the Jewish people of Poland, which shall be vested with the right to represent the Jewish community in dealing with the Polish government. Among the first tasks of such a representative body immediately after the war shall be (a) Registration of all damage caused by the war to Jewish individuals, communities, societies, organizations, etc. (b) Collection of compensation for the above. (c) Registration of all Jewish victims of the war, drawing up a list of Polish Jewish refugees all over the world, in order to unite families separated by the war.
6. Guarantees to be obtained from the new independent Poland that the laws on Jewish emancipation in the political and economic life shall be carried out fully by the administrative agencies.
7. The creation of a special department for Jewish affairs in the Polish Government.
8. Jewish refugees from Poland in Soviet Russia shall be free to retain their Polish citizenship and to return to Poland if they so desire.
9. Jewish refugees from Poland in all countries shall have the right to return to Poland if they so choose. The Polish Government shall include them in the general repatriation and help them to establish themselves in Poland, as full-fledged Polish citizens on a par with all others.

DOCUMENT 2

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

*Statement of Views With Respect to the Present Situation in Jewish Life Adopted by the Executive Committee, December 6th, 1942.
(Ratified by the General Committee at Its Annual Meeting, January 31, 1943.)*

At this time when our country is engaged in an epoch-making war, we, who are united with our brethren of all faiths in the common bond of American

citizenship, pledge every effort and every sacrifice to the winning of the war, the achievement for the whole world of the Four Freedoms and the blessings of the Atlantic Charter, and the establishment of a just and enduring peace.

We reaffirm our devotion to our religion and pledge ourselves to maintain and perpetuate the vitality of the Jewish religious community, confident that its teachings have constituted and will continue to constitute a basic contribution to the development of civilization and of democracy.

We join with our brethren of all creeds in the continued fight against those who through bigotry and prejudice endeavor in any way to imperil the rights of any group of American citizens and thus to divide our country and undermine the foundations of American liberty.

We urge upon the United Nations and upon those who shall frame the terms of peace the relief from the havoc and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on millions of unoffending human beings, especially Jews, their repatriation, rehabilitation and the complete restoration and safeguarding of their equal civil and religious rights.

To the extent that economic conditions in the war torn lands shall make emigration therefrom of their nationals necessary, we ask the implementation by those who shall frame the terms of peace of a program which shall under international supervision facilitate voluntary settlement elsewhere under the most favorable conditions.

We ask 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 obligation of complete loyalty to their respective countries, shall be guaranteed the correlative right of complete equality. We applaud the recent statement of the Secretary of State, that we must have a world in which Jews like all others "are free to abide in peace and in honor."

Thus, while associating ourselves fully with all the purposes of human freedom and betterment proclaimed by the President of the United States, we have special concern with the two objectives, salvation of these suffering people and the preservation of the Jewish community as a spiritual force.

We recognize that there are now more than half a million Jews in Palestine who have built up a sound and flourishing economic life and a satisfying spiritual and cultural life, and who now constitute substantially one-third of the population, and that while this Palestinian immigration has been a blessed amelioration of the condition of this large number of Jews, and has helped to bring about a great development of the country itself, 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.

We affirm our deep sympathy with and our desire to cooperate with those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine.

With respect to the government of Palestine, we recognize wide divergence of opinion and that under existing conditions there should be no preconceived formula at this time as to the permanent political structure which shall obtain there. 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.

We endorse the policy of friendship and cooperation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine and urge that every possible avenue be followed to establish good will and active collaboration between them.

We approve for Palestine an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations for the following purposes:

- (a) 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.
- (b) To safeguard and protect the fundamental rights of all inhabitants.
- (c) To safeguard and protect the holy places of all faiths.
- (d) 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.

—Published in the *New York Times*, February 1, 1943, p. 13.

DOCUMENT 3

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Platform of Post-War Jewish Demands

- I. The recognition of the right of the Jewish people to be heard at the peace conference.
- II. The assurances of equal rights, such as obtain in the United States and as are set forth in the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, for every individual Jew in all countries of the World.
- III. The establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth through free immigration under Jewish administration and control.
- IV. The outlawing of anti-Semitism by international regulation.
- V. The recognition of Jewish group rights in all lands where such rights are accorded to others.
- VI. Compensation and reparation for losses suffered by Jews in Germany and Nazi-occupied territories.
- VII. Freedom to return to the lands from which the Jews are driven by the Nazis and opportunities for migration and settlement in other lands for Jews who cannot or do not wish to return to their former homes.
- VIII. The trial and punishment of the criminals responsible for the torture and murder of Jews, as well as others, in Germany and Nazi-occupied territories.
- IX. The establishment of an appropriate United Nations agency responsible for the rehabilitation of the Jews.
- X. The implementation of this program by the American Jewish community in cooperation with the accredited representatives of world Jewry.

—Forwarded by Carl Sherman, Chairman Executive Committee, July 9, 1943.

DOCUMENT 4

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS AND RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA

Resolution Adopted at Joint Session Held in New York City on June 23, 1943

We, the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Rabbinical Assembly of America, unite in expressing our grief and indignation over the barbaric cruelties which have been visited upon our fellow Jews in European lands, and in proclaiming our resolve before God not to rest until healing and deliverance have been brought to those members of the House of

Israel who now sit in darkness, in the shadow of pain and death. In our sorrow we are deeply grateful for the many messages of sympathy which have come to us from men of good will who are not of our faith and for the efforts of the United Nations to alleviate the lot of Jewish victims of Nazi brutality. Nonetheless we must make it clear that expressions of condolence are of avail only when translated into programs of action. The measure of effective relief afforded by the governments of the United Nations has heretofore been unequal either to their historic traditions of humanity or to the vast tragedy which has befallen our people.

Wherefore, in joint session assembled, we appeal to the conscience of the civilized world and to the governments of the democratic nations to come to the rescue of our stricken brethren before it is too late. We ask that bolder and larger scale efforts be undertaken forthwith for the deliverance of Jews from Nazi-dominated lands and for providing havens of asylum for them in neutral and Allied countries. We ask that the doors of Palestine especially be opened wide to homeless Jews, in accordance with the pledged word of the nations of the world. We ask further, that immediate assurances be given by the United Nations of their resolution to restore the disfranchised Jews to full civic and social equality and to religious and cultural freedom in the post-war world.

To all victims of tyranny and oppression, whatever their race or faith, we express our fellowship and our firm determination to do all in our power to bring their emancipation to pass and to hasten its coming. To our Jewish brethren everywhere we speak a word of consolation. We direct their hearts to the faith by which the House of Israel has ever lived—faith in the God of justice and mercy, and in the inevitable triumph of the right under His governance. We recall to them and to ourselves the healing assurance of Scripture that "He that keepeth Israel doth neither slumber nor sleep."

—*Liberal Judaism*, July 1943, pp. 14-15.

DOCUMENT 5

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FRATERNAL FEDERATIONS

At a conference of the Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations, held on Sunday afternoon, June 13, 1943 in Capitol Hotel, New York City, where the societies of eight Fraternal Federations, who are members of the Council, were represented, the following resolutions were adopted with reference to the American Jewish Conference:

1. The United Nations, in establishing peace after victory, shall declare anti-Semitism as a crime in all countries.
2. The United Nations shall guarantee a Jewish State in Palestine.
3. Jews in all countries shall have full and equal political and economic rights.
4. Organized relief and reconstruction work shall be undertaken for Jews in all countries, wherever they live, and the American fraternal organizations who will help create the funds for such work, shall be represented in all institutions which shall have the jurisdiction over the relief and reconstruction work for Jews the world over.

—Forwarded by David L. Meckler, President.

DOCUMENT 6

FREE SONS OF ISRAEL

Platform and Program on Post-War Jewish Problems

This Organization at its last Triennial Convention passed unanimously a resolution demanding the right of a sovereign Jewish commonwealth in Palestine through free immigration under Jewish administration and control.

Another resolution asked for the creation of a Jewish Army, such army to consist of Palestinian and stateless Jews, for the right to fight as a unit side by side with other units of United Nations.

This Organization demands the right of the Jewish people to be heard at a Peace Conference and believes that assurances of equal civic rights, such as obtain in the United States, must be given to every individual Jew in all countries of the world.

We believe that the criminals responsible for the torture and murder of our people in Germany and Nazi-occupied countries must stand trial and receive just punishment. We furthermore believe a recurrence of the present situation can only be eliminated for all times when Anti-Semitism is outlawed by international regulations.

—From a letter by Mr. Herman Stern, Grand Master of the Free Sons of Israel to the office of the American Jewish Conference, dated July 19, 1943.

DOCUMENT 7

HADASSAH, THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Adopted at Convention in Pittsburgh, October 29, 1941

We take our stand with the forces of democracy and freedom in America and throughout the world and pledge our unwavering support to the principles and policies enunciated by President Roosevelt to help defeat the Nazi regime and to lay the foundation for a free and better world. On behalf of 100,000 members of Hadassah, we speak with hope and high determination to the millions of our fellow Jews whose very survival is at stake and to all peoples who are heroically resisting the forces of aggression.

1. We welcome the Atlantic Declaration of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill as a charter that gives hope to all people for a new world order based on freedom, and political, economic and social justice.

2. We declare that a program for a democratic world order designed to ensure the dignity and welfare of man and the freedom and security of peoples must concern itself with a just and adequate solution of the age-old Jewish problem.

3. Such a just and adequate solution requires the restitution of fundamental rights to all Jews as individuals everywhere and the recognition of the right of the Jewish people to freedom, soil, and security in a homeland of its own.

4. We recognize that Jewish homelessness and suffering will not disappear, even after an Allied victory, until the masses of Jews uprooted in the course of this terrible struggle are afforded the opportunity to reestablish themselves under guarantees of freedom in a land of their own.

RESOLUTION ON ZIONIST POLICY

Adopted at Convention in New York City, October 17, 1942

Assembled in convention for the first time since the declaration of war between our country and the Axis, we the delegates of the Zionist Organization of America and of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, pledge to our government our wholehearted support in the great struggle in which we are now engaged. We declare our readiness to make every sacrifice to the end that the principles of freedom and just dealing between man and man shall ultimately prevail.

To the Jews of Nazi-occupied Europe, undergoing an agonizing Martyrdom, as well as to all the other crushed and oppressed peoples of conquered Europe, we send a message of greeting and encouragement and the prayer that their redemption may not be long delayed.

The events of the past decade and more particularly of the past few years have focused public attention on the tragic position of the Jews and emphasized the urgent necessity for a permanent solution of the problem of Jewish homelessness. Such a solution requires that the nations of the world reaffirm the purposes of the Balfour Declaration and the recognition of Palestine as a Jewish Homeland where Jews shall have (unlimited) rights of mass immigration and colonization, free from administrative and political obstacles.

WE THEREFORE SOLEMNLY URGE that in order to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness, the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country including the development of its unoccupied and its uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world towards which the Jewish community has already made a vital contribution and for which it has served as a strongly rooted bastion in the Near East.

The convention reiterates the oft-repeated readiness and desire of the Jewish people to live at peace with their Arab neighbors; to build with them a Palestine that shall offer full civic and cultural equality to all sections of the population; it looks forward to the establishment of relations of good-will and of active collaboration with neighboring Arab lands on the basis of a free self-governing Jewish Commonwealth contributing its share to the progressive development of the Near East and the enrichment of the whole Arab world.

DOCUMENT 8

HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI OF AMERICA

Platform for American Jewish Conference

1. Assurance of Jewish collective and individual rights all over the world and the restoration of Jewish economic life in the Nazi-held countries.

2. Outlawing of antisemitism and the spread of any racial hatred or defamation, through international law.

3. Establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine by Jewish immigration controlled by the representative of the Jewish people.

4. Immediate abrogation of the White Paper which annuls the Jewish rights in Palestine guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate of Palestine.

—Forwarded by Rabbi Judah G. Heller, Executive Secretary.

DOCUMENT 9

HASHOMER HATZAIR

Statement of Policy

The grave situation of world Jewry calls for a decisive, courageous, and radical treatment of the Jewish problem as embodied in Zionism. Anti-Semitism has become a first class international political weapon, manifested here in America as well. With the rise of Nazism and Fascism the conditions of world Jewry have become such that only the auto-emancipatory effort of the Jews themselves and international support can effect a solution.

The remnants of European Jewry who will survive this war will, with few exceptions, be economically shattered and coming out of the ghetto broken and pauperized. Should there occur no radical economic and social change in Europe there is no doubt that the "dominant people" in each country will, in the post-war chaos, care primarily for its own compatriots especially when the latter will be firmly established in the industrial and commercial order of the country, while displaced Jewry will have to struggle to gain even a peripheral economic position.

Political Zionism cannot forget the condition of the Jewish masses and the solution they will seek—immigration to Palestine. Indeed, the chief task of Zionism during and after the war is to prepare a political regime in Palestine and a constructive program that will make possible the immediate and speedy realization of the needs of the masses of Jews—i.e. immigration to Palestine. This is the highest commandment of Zionist politics for the near future.

The fact that Palestinian Jewry lives under the oppressive regime of the British White Paper of 1939, which means nothing less than the strangulation of Jewish hopes and endeavors, stands as the bar to the realization of those primary needs. Therefore, the struggle against the White Paper is the most urgent action which has to be undertaken in behalf of the whole Jewish people.

As Zionists, we shall fight together with all Jews for the acquisition of their full economic, political, and national rights wherever they may wish to live. Zionism will give support and aid in the rebuilding of Jewish life in Europe. Jewish immigration into Palestine, while resulting from the objective needs of Jewry and assuming a mass character, must be founded on a voluntary basis without prejudicing the national and political rights of the individual Jew in each country.

The developments of the past have proven clearly how narrow is the basis upon which the Diaspora depends. As a chalutz movement, Hashomer Hatzair concentrates on the upbuilding of Palestine. Though it "negates" the Diaspora with its social, economic and cultural limitations, it does not alienate itself from the masses living therein. Thereby we are fighting for the human and national rights of the masses of Israel not yet able to find a solution in the great national enterprise of Zionism under construction in Palestine.

The Arab people are our permanent partners in Palestine, as well as in the Near East. Cooperation and understanding between Jews and Arabs are among the basic tenets of progressive Zionist policy. The basic interests of Jewry coming to Palestine and of the Arabs resident in Palestine are reconcilable. It is only imperialist machinations which stand between the rapprochement of the two peoples. The basic political solution of Palestine could be compounded of the following principles:

A. Maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine (Jewish majority in the Palestinian population).

B. Political parity between the two peoples, the numerical relations notwithstanding.

C. Non-domination of one people over the other.

All avenues should be used for the political, social and cultural rapprochement between the Jews and Arabs.

Despite the efforts to prove that the Zionist upbuilding of Palestine was limited in large part because of the complexities of the Arab problem, it is well known that the decisive cause and impediment in this sphere was the imperialist competition among the Great Powers. The interest of Greater Zionism as is the future of Jewry and that of every other oppressed people lies with the forces of progress and world socialism seeking to abolish the cause of all imperialism, the capitalist system. The larger future of Zionism is inseparably tied to the victory of Socialism.

The Zionist movement must concentrate all its strength around the projects of construction in Palestine. This must be the basic path. Zionism must mobilize the masses of Jews and create the living facts to be the base of our struggle for the national and social renaissance of the Jewish people in Eretz Yisrael.

Hashomer Hatzair in the United States dedicated itself to the task of educating Jewish youth here for the arduous task of chalutzim, i.e. personal participation in the upbuilding of Palestine. Zionism and the upbuilding of Palestine are in the interests of all Jews, no matter where they live and what their present or temporary conditions are. We cannot close our eyes to the assimilationist tendencies which eat the heart of our people, or the threatening and increasing signs of anti-Semitism in this country. Zionism as a movement for the national and social renaissance of the Jewish people through the upbuilding of Palestine is universal, and requires the participation of all Jews throughout the world. Therefore, we seek to further Zionist education, based on the principles of chalutzim and personal participation in the national renaissance in Palestine.

The following set of resolutions was introduced by the representative of the Hashomer Hatzair at the meeting of the Smaller Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization on November 12, 1943. At this meeting, the majority of the Smaller Actions Committee accepted the "Biltmore Program" as the basis for Zionist political action. The following resolutions, later accepted by the Hashomer Hatzair of North America, represent the view of Hashomer Hatzair on Zionist policies for the immediate post-war period:

The new world order which is to follow victory cannot be established on the foundations of peace, equality, and justice, unless the problem of Jewish homelessness is solved. It is therefore demanded that:

1. There be large Jewish immigration into Palestine.
2. A system of government under international supervision must be established which will give the Jewish agency the right to direct Jewish immigration in accordance with the full absorptive capacity of the country and in a manner commensurate with the distress of Diaspora Jewry at the end of the war.
3. Necessary rights will have to be granted to the Jewish Agency to promote the development of the country and its upbuilding. These will include the right of settling all State domains and waste lands under a scheme devised with a view to benefit both peoples of the country and which will make possible the close settlement of Jews on the land and the development of Arab farming.
4. After the war a system of government which will make possible the full and unhindered realization of Zionism and which will advance the country

towards political independence along bi-national lines shall be established in Palestine. This system shall be based on political parity for both parties.

5. While being pledged to an unabated effort to bring about the fulfillment of Zionist aspirations as the only solution to the Jewish problem the Zionist movement will have to be the leading force in the struggle of Diaspora Jewry for the full restoration of its civil and economic rights and for the just punishment of the fascist criminals.

—Hanhaga Roshit, Hashomer Hatzair, United States, July 27, 1943.

DOCUMENT 10

INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH ABRAHAM

Statement by the Grand Master on the Post-War World and the Jews, Adopted at Annual Convention Held June 27-29, 1943.

Although the statesmen of the United Nations are busily engaged in carrying the war to a successful conclusion, they are already planning the post-war world. In such plans the future of Jewry must play an important part, for nobody has suffered as much from Nazi-terrorism as have our people. We must therefore make sure that the rehabilitation and reintegration of our fellow Jews in occupied lands, and the fulfillment of the economic, spiritual and physical needs of the Jewish refugee receive adequate consideration. No makeshift or temporary expedient will suffice. The United Nations must recognize the Jewish problem and bring about justice so necessary to strengthen the bonds of a democratic world.

When the victorious Allies sit down at the peace table, it is our fervent hope that the leaders of the United Nations will permit representatives of world Jewry to speak for the Jewish people. I feel confident that the leaders of the United Nations will recognize the urgent need to prevent a repetition of the misery and great tragedies which befell Jewry. We must help in this reconstruction program by giving full cooperation to the Allied statesmen in their plans for a secure future for Jewry.

Reconstruction Program

The rehabilitation of crushed European Jewry may be found in the following program:

1. To make Palestine a post-war haven for homeless Jews. The peace conference should work out a formula which will enable Jew and Arab to live in Palestine peaceably. Such a formula must provide protection and adequate opportunities for both races. The problem of rehabilitation in North Africa, which has followed the Allied victory there, emphasizes the need of a program which will promote better relations between Jew and Moslem.

2. Medical care will be needed for Jews broken by the Nazi lash. In this work of charity the Jews of America will have to play a leading role through contributions to whatever agency is set up for the care of such Jews all over the world.

3. Race persecution should be outlawed by international agreement. Some agency should emerge from the peace conference which will be empowered to exert police authority to protect the rights of minority races in all lands. The history of the current war has shown that persecution of minority races leads to further aggression against the so-called inferior (weaker) nations. This leads to

war. If the nations of the world hope to avoid future conflicts they must outlaw the persecution of racial minorities.

4. The democratic nations of the world should open their doors for more liberal Jewish immigration, to help rehabilitation of refugees.

5. The establishment of an International Refugee Service under the supervision of the United Nations. This service will be charged with the responsibility of integrating as quickly as possible refugees all over the world, possibly through a program of training and production in skilled trades and farming.

6. A central agency under Allied supervision for the feeding of homeless and unfortunate victims of Nazi oppression.

7. Appointment of an United Nations Commission or tribunal to bring to justice the criminals responsible for the world war.

8. To provide work and jobs for all our returning men who have served in the armed forces.

—Grand Master's Message to the delegates of the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, Saratoga Springs, N. Y., June 27th, 28th, and 29th, 1943.

DOCUMENT 11

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Post-War Peace Demands for the Jews of Europe Adopted by the Executive Committee, at a Meeting Held on August 16, 1943 at New York City

I.

1. Following the victory of the United Nations over the Axis Powers, Jewish workers, in common with labor throughout the world, will strive for the realization of a peace of justice and human decency—an order of economic, social and political democracy everywhere, and a guarantee of basic rights and freedoms for all peoples.

Out of the present war-ruins and blood, the Jewish working masses, together with the democratic labor movements, will seek the establishment of a new order which will be akin to labor's socialist ideals 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.

We are confident that the defeat of the Nazi-Fascist Axis will bring about international unity and collaboration among all nations which will result in the subordination and limitation of individual state sovereignty in the common interests of humanity as a whole; thereby will also be assured closer economic, social and cultural cooperation of all peoples.

This new internationally-organized world, we are confident, will guarantee the life and freedom of all smaller and weaker peoples including the life and liberty of our martyred Jewish people.

2. European Jewry suffers horribly in the present war. Against no other people does the Nazi-Fascist Axis carry on such a ruthless war of extermination. There is no doubt that after this war the Jewish masses of Europe will be economically ruined and decimated. It will require gigantic efforts to rehabilitate them and reconstruct Jewish life.

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 just punishment. Out of this solemn promise there logically also arises the obligation of the guilty powers to

recompense their innocent Jewish victims.

However, while demanding compensation and restitution from the Nazi-Fascist states it ought to be unequivocally clear that post-war rehabilitation of Jews and the reconstruction of their economic and social existence becomes the sacred duty of all countries, particularly of the future international body of nations.

3. 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 internal and foreign policies.

4. In many countries of Eastern Europe the Jewish people have developed, over a period of decades and centuries, their own distinct national culture. The new International Body of Nations will be obligated to guarantee the national and cultural needs of the Jewish people in all those lands where there exist compact Jewish communities. Similarly, safeguards will have to be created for the protection of the national-cultural development and existence of all minority nationalities.

5. In the period between World War I and World War II, various international treaties have been signed which contained clauses designed for the protection of national minorities. Unfortunately, all these clauses remained merely on paper and were never respected; minorities whose rights were flagrantly violated did not even have a proper international agency or court where they could present their grievances. It is, therefore, of paramount importance that the Jews and other minorities be given guarantees which will definitely fix the obligation of the new International Body of Nations so that Jewish and minority rights will not depend merely upon the whim and good-will of various governments. The most effective way in which minority rights can be safeguarded is through the organization of an international Commission endowed with executive power and a special court with complete jurisdiction in matters pertaining to minority rights.

II.

In view of the above, we therefore present the following peace-demands on behalf of the Jews of Europe:

Reconstruction of Jewish Life in Europe

1. The International Body of Nations must assume the obligation and responsibility for the reconstruction of Jewish life in post-war Europe.
2. 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: (a) 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; (b) to repatriate the large number of Jewish refugees and deportees. They must be given 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.

3. Properties of individual Jews as well as of communities (Kehiloth) and public institutions confiscated by the enemy, are to be restored to their legal owners. In the event that such properties are no longer in existence, the owners are to receive proper compensation instead. If the victims of the Nazi-Fascist criminals have left no legal heirs, their property or compensation thereof, is to be transferred to the Jewish Communal Organization of the district in which the crime has been perpetrated.

4. All states are obligated to rebuild Jewish life within the framework of their own program of post-war reconstruction.

5. Special international credits are to be extended for the express purpose of rebuilding the economic, social and political life of the Jewish masses in Europe. These credits are to be used for the purpose of building homes for orphans and homeless children, to create funds to pension widows and men incapable of working and also to retrain large sections of the Jewish people into new productive occupations.

6. Jews are to be guaranteed free and complete participation in the state's national economy, industry and agriculture. Particular stress should be laid upon free Jewish participation in state and municipal economies. In countries ravaged by war, already in the period of reconstruction, special effort should be exerted to absorb the Jewish masses into all branches of the state's economy.

General Jewish Demands

1. The coming peace conference is to proclaim full civil, political, economic and social rights for Jews throughout the world, as well as complete national and religious freedom. At the same time all discriminatory anti-Jewish laws introduced before or after the war commenced are to be abrogated at once.
2. Laws and administrative acts which entail discrimination against Jews or other racial minorities are to be forbidden by International Law.
3. Anti-Semitic propaganda or any other form of agitation directed against any race or national or religious group is to be decreed an offense against the state, punishable by law.
4. Jews are to be guaranteed the right of free emigration and immigration. All laws and practices designed to curtail the rights of Jews to free emigration or immigration or to the choice of a profession or trade in the land of settlement are to be revoked and banned.

Demands for National-Minority Rights in European Countries with Large and Compact Jewish Settlements

1. 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.
2. In such countries, too, Jews are to receive the right to organize into autonomous bodies for the purpose of administering their national-cultural affairs. These autonomous Jewish bodies are to have legal status, including the right to tax their membership.
3. 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 population. State funds of cultural and educational purposes should also be granted to the Jewish population in proportion to its numbers.

General Demands to Safeguard Minority Rights

1. The coming International Body of Nations is to create a special agency endowed with executive power to safeguard the rights of national minorities.

2. The same body should also create an international court empowered, upon the request of autonomous bodies or individuals, to render judgment in all matters pertaining to violations of national-minority rights and guarantees. This court is also to be empowered to void laws or administrative acts of states designed to violate the rights of national minorities and also to render material compensation to all those minorities (autonomous bodies or individuals) who suffered loss and damage due to their government's violation of their rights.

—Forwarded by Mr. Jacob Pat, Executive Secretary.

DOCUMENT 12

LABOR ZIONIST COUNCIL

POALE ZION-ZEIRE ZION, PIONEER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA,
JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS ALLIANCE, LEAGUE FOR LABOR PALESTINE, AND HABONIM

*Resolutions Adopted at National Convention, in New York City,
March 26-28, 1943.*

Palestine

I.

Recognizing the historic connection of the Jewish people with Eretz Yisrael and its age-long striving to reconstitute Palestine as its national homeland, and taking cognizance of the achievements of forty years of Jewish pioneering colonization, which has laid the foundation of a renewed Jewish life—the League of Nations, in 1922, entrusted Great Britain with the Mandate over Palestine.

Fifty-two nations, including the United States of America, have accepted the obligation, expressed in the Mandate, for themselves and for the Mandatory Power, to do everything in their power, by means of continuous support of immigration and close settlement of Jews on land, to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home and thus undo a great historic injustice which has been committed against the Jewish people.

The Jewish people, inspired by the age-old striving for its national redemption and fortified by its deep faith in the justice of its cause, has created an advance force in Palestine which has succeeded in overcoming all the difficulties and has carried through, in the period between the two wars, the most successful colonization project of our time.

In the course of twenty years the Jewish settlement in Palestine and its pioneering labor movement have succeeded in absorbing into productive occupations more than half a million Jews, who have created a distinct socio-economic and cultural environment of great political significance.

Despite the insufficient international aid and the continuous obstacles placed in the way of immigration and colonization, the Jewish people has succeeded a) in laying the foundation for a diversified modern agriculture and its own industry and transport, founded on cooperative and collective principles; b) in discovering

new, as yet untapped sources of sustenance; c) in raising the living standard of the entire population of the country, both Jewish and Arab.

The present life-and-death struggle between democracy and tyranny has brought into bold relief the uniqueness of the Jewish tragedy—the pain and suffering of the Jewish people, and the constant dangers which are facing it as a consequence of its homelessness.

It is, therefore, the duty of the United Nations, dictated by a great historic need, to enable the Jewish people to reconstitute its free national life in its own land.

II.

1. We demand from the United Nations that they pledge themselves and declare their readiness to aid the Jewish people in constituting Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth—

a) by carrying out in Palestine an extensive plan of Jewish immigration and colonization; and

b) by utilizing for that purpose the natural resources and economic opportunities of the country to their fullest extent.

2. For this purpose the Jewish Agency for Palestine should be vested with all necessary authority for the regulation of immigration and of such economic, social and other matters as may facilitate Jewish immigration, encourage close settlement by Jews on land, including waste lands, and develop the natural resources of the country.

3. In the Jewish Commonwealth to be established, no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language; there shall be complete freedom of conscience and free exercise of all forms of worship; each community shall have the right to maintain its own system of education and its own religious, social and communal institutions; Hebrew and Arabic shall both be official languages; provision shall be made for self-government in all municipal affairs.

World Jewish Representation

I.

1. The Jewish people need a world organization to represent common interests and defend the rights of Jews of all countries, as well as the specific rights and interests of the Jews of any particular country which they are unable to represent or defend themselves.

2. The World Jewish Representation must be a single, world-wide, democratic body functioning in the immediate post-war period and thereafter.

3. The World Jewish Representation is to have neither the status of a government in exile nor membership among the United Nations.

4. The existence of such a World Jewish Representation implies no renunciation of protection and no attenuation of responsibility due from the States to their Jewish citizens or of the constitutionally prescribed duties of such citizens to their respective countries.

II.

The cardinal objectives of a World Jewish Representation are:

1. To insure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews and to procure for the Jewish people the right

and opportunity to establish their nationhood in Palestine.

2. To introduce into Jewish public affairs democratic responsibility, control by public opinion and adequate organization to meet emergencies.

III.

The World Jewish Representation will be faced with the following immediate tasks:

1. To obtain recognition as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with national and international public bodies in such political, economic, social, cultural and other matters as may affect the right and specific interests of the Jews, it being clearly understood that such recognition does not affect the status enjoyed by Jews as citizens of their respective countries.

2. a) To secure the juridical and economic rehabilitation of Jews in regions now dominated by Axis powers or subject to their coercion and influence.

b) To cooperate in establishing a post-war world order which will guarantee to all men the minimum standards of human rights, decency and individual security, and to the Jewish people in particular the right to preserve its religious and cultural identity.

c) To take steps necessary to safeguard the rights of Jews in any country; to secure effective redress for Jews in all cases of hardship and suffering arising out of a violation or denial of their lawful rights, it being clearly understood that no intervention concerning a free Jewish community be made without its express consent.

3. To cooperate in the economic reconstruction of Jewish life and to represent Jewish needs in such international bodies as may be set up for relief, resettlement, migration, colonization, economic readjustment, etc.

European Jewry: Transitional Period

We demand that any preliminary conference, truce, armistice, treaty or any other process or instrument initiating the period of peace provide from the outset the following:

1. The surrender of those who ordered and those who participated in the persecution of Jews, and the extension of the concept of war crimes to the various preparatory forms of the extermination of Jews, as segregation, internment, denial of food, exposure, as well as acts of confiscation and robbery of Jewish property;

2. The proclamation that anti-Semitic propaganda will henceforth be treated as incitement to crime and punished as such;

3. The nullification of all anti-Jewish measures, direct or indirect, legal or extra-legal, that have been taken before and since the war by the Axis powers or by the states under their domination or subject to their coercion;

4. The nullification of all acts of deprivation of nationality, individual and collective, of native born and naturalized Jewish citizens, enforced before and since the war by the Axis powers or by nations under their domination or subject to their coercion;

5. The unrestricted right of all refugees, deportees and other victims of Axis persecution to return to their places of residence and to the positions or opportunities of which they were deprived;

6. The restoration, restitution, or just compensation for Jewish property expropriated or confiscated from individual Jews as well as from Jewish com-

munities and welfare and educational organizations, and Jewish positions destroyed by Axis or Axis-inspired laws, decrees, or other forms of deprivation, direct or indirect, legal or extra-legal;

7. The granting of adequate pensions to the widows and orphans of Jewish victims of persecution, equal to the pensions to be granted to the families of all other military and civilian war victims;

8. The insertion of legal guarantees against anti-Jewish discrimination in all regulations providing for the feeding, housing, clothing and medical rehabilitation of the population of Europe;

9. The insertion of specific clauses against discrimination in all reconstruction agreements which may be concluded.

Legal Rehabilitation of the Jews

I. We demand an international Bill of Rights which should assure the inalienable right

a) of every individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; to freedom of expression, worship and peaceful association; to equality of economic opportunities and social security;

b) of every minority to maintain its ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity.

2. We demand the creation of national and international instruments

a) to ensure the protection of all minorities against persecution or discrimination in the field of the above mentioned individual rights and liberties;

b) to assure these minorities the proper conditions for the preservation and free development of their culture.

3. With respect to the Jewish population, we consider as essential the right

a) to be organized nationally and locally as a public corporation, and to belong to, and cooperate with, international bodies;

b) to maintain its own educational system, aiming at the preservation of the Jewish culture.

4. With regard to countries where the Jewish population requests it, and where such provisions are not in contradiction to the structure of the State, we demand

a) that the Jewish population organized as a public body be empowered to levy taxes on its members;

b) that Jewish schools be granted an equitable share of the funds allotted for public education.

European Jewry: Relief and Reconstruction

I.

In view of the paramount importance of the problems of relief and reconstruction in Europe after the war, and their special significance for the Jewish population, and in view of the fact that preparations for their solution are already being made, we present the following demands:

a) The principle of full equality of rights and of equity towards the Jewish population must be observed both in the field of immediate relief after the war and in the work of reconstruction which is to follow;

b) In creating the instruments for relief and reconstruction in accordance with this principle, the fact must be taken into consideration that the Jewish population was affected by the disaster of the war incomparably more than the

other parts of the population both as far as the number of victims and the magnitude of their sufferings are concerned.

II.

1. The following is to be secured by the work of relief:

- a) Saving the Jewish population from starvation which will threaten the Jews who have been deprived of all their property, and are not represented in the agricultural economy of their respective countries;
 - b) Efficient combating of diseases and epidemics resulting from the Nazi regime and likely to be particularly menacing to the Jewish population;
 - c) Care of Jewish children of whom a very considerable number will be orphaned or separated from their parents because of war events and mass deportations;
 - d) Aid to deportees in their repatriation or emigration.
2. a) Opportunities must be provided for European Jews to return to their former occupations or to obtain new positions in the post-war economy;
- b) The mass emigration and colonization of Jews in Palestine after the war must be recognized as an integral part of the work of reconstruction.

III.

Relief and reconstruction activities should be carried out in a way safeguarding the self-respect and providing opportunities for the economic initiative of the people concerned. European Jews themselves should be in charge of the relief activities that concern them. A Jewish representation in public agencies for relief and reconstruction should be assured.

IV.

1. The principle must be recognized that relief and reconstruction activities for the Jewish population are to be financed out of public funds in the same way as the similar activities for all other parts of the population.
2. The special problems with which the Jewish population will be faced, and for which the public funds may in many cases prove inadequate, make the establishment of a Jewish financial instrument for relief and reconstruction an urgent necessity. The preparatory work for establishing such an instrument should be begun as soon as possible.

V.

The vast importance and responsibility of the work of relief and reconstruction makes parallel and overlapping activities of different organizations highly undesirable. Coordination must be secured by establishing one central Jewish agency for relief and reconstruction. This agency should function as a section of the World Jewish Representation.

The Organization of American Jewry

1. American Jewry requires a body which shall act in its behalf, in cooperation with the authorized representatives of the Jews throughout the world, upon the problems facing the Jewish people in the post-war period.
2. The Convention therefore recognizes the decision adopted at the Pitts-

burgh Conference to convoke an American Jewish Assembly as the framework for the adoption of a unified program of action by American Jewry in connection with the post-war Jewish demands.

3. The Convention calls upon the Labor Zionist movement to safeguard the application of the democratic principle underlying the Pittsburgh decisions as regards the composition, deliberations and decisions of the Assembly, so that it may gain the fullest moral authority among the organized forces of American Jewry in all matters which fall within its purview.

4. The Convention believes that the competence of the Assembly must not be limited to representation at the peace conference table alone. The Assembly must remain the central organ of American Jewry in the post-war period.

5. The Convention affirms that it is impossible to separate relief activity in behalf of European Jewry from political action, that the two forms of activity must be coordinated in the interest of the Jews affected. It is therefore necessary to establish an organizational link between the American Jewish Assembly and the American Jewish relief agencies.

—*Jewish Frontier*, New York, April, 1943, pp. 31-34.

DOCUMENT 13

NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

Resolution on Palestine

National Women's League of the United Synagogue expresses the hope that the American Jewish Conference will include in its program an urgent appeal to the Allied Nations, that the gates of Palestine remain open to Jewish settlers, that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be vested with the control of Jewish immigration into Palestine; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth where the Jew may live as of right and not on sufferance.

—Forwarded by Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, National President.

DOCUMENT 14

MIZRACHI WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Post-War Plans

The Mizrahi Women's Organization of America recognizes that the solution of the Jewish question lies in the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine, where the people of Israel may attain normal nationhood. It lays particular stress upon the development of the Jewish National Homeland in the spirit of the Torah, and to this end it has given untiring service in the past 18 years.

At the present time, the post-war program of the Mizrahi Women's Organization of America includes the following:

- Palestine:* 1. Intensification of efforts for a speedy rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Homeland.
2. Rehabilitation of European war-stricken Jewry, settling them in Palestine.

3. Preparation for economic independence of refugee and native youth, including their secular and religious education in Palestine.

4. Awakening of national Jewish consciousness and the strengthening of spiritual Jewish life.

Diaspora: 1. All Jews, uprooted by the Nazis, shall be repatriated to their countries and that the democratic countries open their doors now, giving temporary homes and shelter to those who have succeeded in saving themselves from the Nazi scourge.

2. Anti-Semitism, which poisons the consciousness of nations and is the concomitant of Nazism, injustice and lawlessness, be declared unlawful and criminal in nature and that all organized and official government means be employed to combat it.

3. Full equality be granted to all Jews in all countries, safeguarding their way of life, their religion and language, not only as individuals, but as a national group within that country.

In coping with the existing problems for the betterment of human relationship and social progress, Mizrahi Women will take their place in the ranks of all women working for the rehabilitation of mankind.

July 1943.

—Forwarded by Mrs. Molly F. Gotlib, National Secretary.

DOCUMENT 15

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Post-War Program

Preamble:

At this time, when the greatest effort in history is being made to right the wrongs committed against small and weak peoples and to guarantee their protection in the future, we, the Jews of America, demand that the injustice done the Jewish people centuries ago by devastation of their land and dispersal of their people throughout the world be righted. To this end we offer the following considerations:

Palestine:

1.—The demand that Palestine be returned to the Jewish people not only proclaims historic yearning of our people to return to nationhood, but also forms a fundament in the Jewish religion. The prophets have assured us in clearest terms that Palestine will again belong to the Jews. The daily prayers of the Jew are replete with supplications and hopes for the return to Palestine. The Jews have waited 1874 years that God's promise to suffering Israel be fulfilled, and we feel that the opportunity is here now for the establishment of freedom and justice on earth, under the inevitable victory of the United Nations. This is the moment when justice to an ancient people, which has suffered without cause or reason, must be accomplished.

The historic connection between Palestine and the Jewish people was recognized politically, in the Mandate by which the League of Nations gave Palestine to Great Britain. It is through this mandate that the Jews have succeeded in building in Palestine within a quarter of a century a prosperous land with a Jewish population of 600,000, so that it has already become a flourishing miniature of a Jewish state on its own soil.

The Jewish people is ready and determined to proceed further with the upbuilding of their historic home. To achieve this end it is, however, essential that a declaration on the part of the United Nations be made and assurance given that Palestine is to become a Jewish Commonwealth in the post-war period not later than the time when a Jewish majority in Palestine will have been attained. The Jews of the world are waiting for this declaration, and request it in the name of American Jewry as well as their coreligionists throughout the world.

Together with the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth we request free immigration for Jews into their homeland, Palestine, in order to achieve a majority there, and that control of immigration shall be vested wholly in the hands of the Jewish Agency, which is recognized in the Mandate of the League of Nations and which is responsible for all the achievements in Palestine of the last twenty-five years.

We demand the immediate abolition of the White Paper, which is in full contradiction to the Balfour Declaration issued by the Government of Great Britain, as well as totally against the word and spirit of the Mandate of the League of Nations, which has, in fact, declared it illegal. Palestine is the major hope of the persecuted Jews, the bloody victims of Nazism, and represents the only real solution to the homelessness of Jewry, the only people in the world that is not in possession of its own soil. Palestine is also the solution of the problem facing the Jewish religion, because only in its own Commonwealth can the Jewish people properly observe the tenets of its faith. The Jewish Commonwealth is, therefore, the solution to the all-inclusive centuries-old problem of the Jew.

Diaspora:

2.—We demand, as the basic law of justice, that all Jews uprooted by the Nazis shall be repatriated to their countries, their property being returned to them; reparations made for all their losses and full opportunity extended for their return to positions held before the advent of Hitler and his destructive armies.

3.—Full equality shall be granted to all in every country without distinction between Jew and non-Jew.

4.—In countries where minority rights will be established we demand that the same rights be given the Jews, safeguarding their specific way of life, including observance of the Sabbath and the dietary laws, and that full recognition be given their linguistic rights, so that every Jew have not only the opportunity to be the equal of his neighbor, but also that the Jewish group as such shall have the rights of other groups within a particular country.

5.—We request that the democratic countries open their doors now to Jewish refugees, the victims of Hitlerism who have been saved from the sword of the enemy of all mankind. They have a moral right to expect temporary homes and shelter in the countries that have taken up the battle against persecution and injustice.

6.—We demand that anti-Semitism, forerunner and concomitant of Nazism, injustice, and lawlessness, which poisons the consciences of nations and is the most serious hindrance to freedom, democracy, and civilization, be declared unlawful and criminal in nature, and that all organized and official government means be employed to combat it.

—Forwarded by Rabbi Max Kirschblum, Executive Secretary.

DOCUMENT 16

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL

Platform Which It Urges Upon the Forthcoming American Jewish Conference

I. *Eretz Yisrael:*

That Eretz Yisrael be established as a Jewish Commonwealth in accordance with the Torah of Israel.

II. *Fundamental Human Rights:*

a) That the fundamental rights of human beings as defined by the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter be assured to all Jews as well as all others, now and for all time, as inalienable rights.

b) That the right of orthodox Jews to refrain from work on the Jewish Sabbath be recognized as a part of the right to freedom of religion.

III. *Equal Rights:*

That Jews be accorded equal rights of every kind, in each country, with all other people therein.

IV. *Reparations:*

That adequate reparations be made for all deaths, injuries and damage to property, including communal property, as a result of illegal acts or acts in violation of fundamental human rights, that all perpetrators of these acts be punished.

V. *Resettlement:*

That every Jew driven from his home be promptly resettled either in his former homeland or in some other suitable place.

—Forwarded by J. David Delman, President.

DOCUMENT 17

ORDER SONS OF ZION

Post-War Platform to be Submitted to the American Jewish Conference

I.—The immediate establishment of a United Nations Agency to rescue as many Jews as possible from Nazi-occupied countries of Europe.

II.—Such Agency should have the financial means necessary for the sustenance and welfare of such refugees who are to be maintained in neutral countries for the duration.

III.—Immediately after the war, every Jew should be given the opportunity to make one of the following choices: (a) to return to his native land; (b) to migrate to Palestine. The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations should provide these refugees with the wherewithal to settle in the country of their choice. No refugee should be forced to return to his original homeland to live in fear and in painful memory of the massacre of their loved ones.

IV.—The United Nations in the forthcoming peace treaty should guarantee the civil, religious and economic rights of Jews in Europe.

V.—The immediate abolition of the 1939 White Paper which restricts immigration and land purchase in Palestine.

VI.—To re-affirm the historic right of the Jewish people to Palestine and that the proper political steps be taken for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

—Forwarded by Herman Zvi Quittman, Grand Secretary.

PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST

We heartily endorse the . . . program of the American Jewish Congress for adoption by the Conference. [See Document 3.]

DOCUMENT 18

RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA

World Peace and the Jewish Future

. . . The democracies have come to recognize at least religious freedom as an inherent right. They have moreover construed this right as not limited to the practice of religion in private by the individual but as including the pursuit of their religious interests by organized communities. Religion, however, is not the only cultural interest that men should be free to pursue in common. As every man should be at liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience, so he should be free to express his personality in his cultural pursuits. He should be free to cultivate any language of his choice in addition to that of the dominant culture, to observe traditional customs and folk-ways, and to associate with others who share his racial, cultural and religious traditions in appropriate forms of community organization. . . .

No nation is justified in denying to any group within it the right to those additional cultural interests which that group may inherit from its historic past and which are fully compatible with loyalty to the nation as a whole and with due respect to the rights of other groups.

We Jews, as members of the Jewish people, constitute such a religious cultural community with spiritual ties that bind us to Palestine and to our fellow Jews in other lands. Acknowledgment of these ties is fully compatible with undivided political allegiance to America and whole-hearted participation in the nation's defense and in social and cultural movements for the general welfare of its citizens. We, therefore, make common cause with all racial, national, religious and cultural groups in America in affirming the rights of minorities to cultural freedom. We regard this as a contribution to world peace and a necessary prerequisite of human society. . . .

The foregoing principles, on which depends the peace of the world, cannot be implemented unless the essential unity of all mankind is given organized political expression. . . . If nations are not to act as though each of them has an absolute right to determine for itself its relations to other nations, it is clear that some form of international authority must be established. To avoid the weaknesses inherent in the old League of Nations, the agency for exercising that authority must take the form not of a mere league but of a federal union, a body to whom the constituent nations delegate an adequate portion of their sovereignty.

Such an international union should aim eventually to embrace all the nations of the world. . . .

A world federation of democratic nations should exercise whatever legislative, judicial, and executive powers may be necessary to preserve peace, to regu-

late international relations, and to promote international collaboration in the common interests of humanity. . . .

The above are the general aims which we believe should direct our efforts "to order the world after the Kingdom of God." Though they are universal in their application, it is of special concern to us as Jews to see how they specifically affect the status of the Jewish people.

In the first place, the recognition of the right of all nations to whatever is indispensable to their national existence implies the recognition of the right of the Jewish people to Palestine as its national home. That right must be reaffirmed in terms that leave no ambiguity as to the right of all Jews who so desire to migrate to Palestine and, when they constitute a majority of the population, to establish there a Jewish commonwealth. As for the Arabs of Palestine, they should then have the same option that Jews have. They should have the choice of either living in one of their own national states, of which the Arabs have several, or of enjoying full personal and group rights in the Jewish National Home in Palestine or wherever else they may choose to reside.

The administration of Palestine, until such time as it has a Jewish majority and has become *de facto* as well as *de jure* the Jewish National Home, shall be vested in a Commission of a world federation and not mandated to any national state. Eventually, the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine should be enrolled as a member nation of the Federal Union.

The Jews in the Diaspora should receive the protection of such a federation in the exercise of that freedom which the federation should guarantee to all religious and cultural communities.

The solution of the Jewish problem and the solution of the problem of the world-peace are mutually dependent. As long as anti-Semitism can be exploited by arbitrary aggressive powers, the world will know no peace; and as long as nations live in perpetual strife with one another and keep thwarting each other's hopes for security and prosperity, the Jewish people will be among the worst sufferers. Now, as ever, "Zion will be redeemed through justice and those of her that return, through righteousness."

We, therefore, the Rabbinical Assembly of America, dedicate ourselves anew to seeking peace and pursuing it, to repudiating the abuses of nationalism that have provoked the present conflict, and to striving for a just and co-operative international order that shall reflect the sovereignty of God.

—From a statement on postwar reconstruction and peace adopted at its convention in New York, June 29-July 1, 1942.

DOCUMENT 19

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

Declaration of Principles on Post-War European Jewry and Palestine

(Also endorsed by the Executive Board of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, and by the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods)

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has affiliated itself with the American Jewish Conference and joins in its deliberations in the hope that an adequate program in behalf of world Jewry and expressive of the united will of American Jewry will be attained.

I.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations herewith expresses the hope that the American Jewish Conference will attain unity on the following objectives:

1. No peace to follow this war can be just or enduring unless, as for all other men, it provides for Jews complete civic equality, guarantee of the right of worship, and full parity of economic opportunity.

2. In view of the especially tragic condition of the Jews in Europe, exceptional measures need to be taken by a Commission of such a concert of nations as shall be established after the war, to rehabilitate and to restore the Jews of Europe to a full share in European life.

3. Even with this, great masses of Jews in Europe will be in such a deplorable condition after the war that their plight can be alleviated only by resettlement. A world in which persecution and slaughter of large masses of Jews have been possible, owes those remaining alive the right to find a place where they can live in peace. This task will be of such magnitude that it will be capable of solution only by the united effort and with the united aid of the nations of the world.

II.

Because of the fact that Jews have been bound by historic and spiritual ties to the Holy Land, and because of the unprecedented need of finding a permanent haven for so many uprooted Jews of Europe, the Union reaffirms its positive sympathy with an eagerness to cooperate in the upbuilding of Palestine, as stated in its resolution adopted at its 35th Biennial Council in New Orleans, in 1937:

"The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in Council assembled, expresses its satisfaction at the progress made by the Jewish Agency in the upbuilding of Palestine. We see the hand of Providence in the opening of the gates of Palestine for the Jewish people at a time when a large portion of Jewry is so desperately in need of a friendly shelter and a home where a spiritual, cultural center may be developed in accordance with Jewish ideals. The time has now come for Jews, irrespective of ideological differences, to unite in the activities leading to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and we urge our constituency to give their financial and moral support to the work of rebuilding Palestine."

Since the adoption of this resolution, the situation of world Jewry has tragically deteriorated, and the part that Palestine must now play has become correspondingly more significant.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations expresses the hope that the American Jewish Conference will attain agreement also on the following objectives:

1. Provision shall be made for large scale immigration into Palestine regulated, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, by such a concert of nations as shall be established after the war.

2. Palestine shall remain under the stewardship of this concert of nations until it shall become possible to establish self-government without jeopardizing the rights or status of any group in Palestine.

3. Such a government shall be democratic and non-sectarian, modeled upon the governments of the democratic nations. There shall be complete separation of Church and State. The inviolability of the holy places of the various religions shall be guaranteed.

—Forwarded by Rabbi Louis I. Eglon, Administrative Secretary.

DOCUMENT 20

UNITED GALICIAN JEWS OF AMERICA

*Resolutions Adopted at the Sixth Convention**A. A Call to the United Nations to Save European Jewry
And Assure Its Equal Rights After the War*

We, the delegates to the Sixth Convention of the United Galician Jews of America, held Sunday, June 20th, 1943, at the Commodore Hotel, New York, N. Y., are deeply moved by sorrow, because of the destruction of our brethren in Nazi-occupied countries, where millions of them were gruesomely destroyed by the hands of our blood-thirsty enemies, and where those who survived them are being tortured within the ghetto-walls and concentration camps. We are overcome and agonized by the grief over the suffering of our brethren overseas. Assembled at a time when the very foundation of the world is being shaken; at a time when our Jewish people have been doomed to annihilation and millions of them are being slaughtered without mercy, openly before the nations who fight for freedom, when the entire world is waiting impatiently for a Victory of the United Nations, a Victory of Light over Darkness, the United Galician Jews of America, assembled in Convention, as proud, free American citizens, proclaim the following call to the United democratic nations of the world:

1. Save speedily all those that can possibly be saved and find for them a place of refuge in any country, until such time when they may be permanently settled, when the war is over.

2. After the war, Jews should be re-habilitated with full political, economic, and religious rights in the countries where they reside.

3. All free countries should outlaw anti-Semitism, and demand the immediate abolition of all anti-Jewish laws in all territories that will come under the protection of the United Nations.

4. Open the doors of Palestine for free Jewish immigration by abolishing the White Paper issued by the English Government. Make possible the fulfillment of the mandate for the rebuilding of Palestine, as a Jewish commonwealth, in accordance with the sanction of 52 nations at San Remo, in which the United States of America was included.

B. American Jewish Conference:

Imbued with the great responsibility imposed upon the Jews of America in the present eventful time in Jewish life, and being convinced of the importance and expediency of Unity in American Judaism, the Convention of the United Galician Jews of America greets the American Jewish Conference. The Convention instructs the delegates of the United Galician Jews of America to the Assembly, which will convene in the month of August, to fight, together with all Jewish national groups and demand political, economic, and religious rights for our Jews everywhere, including Palestine.

C. Cooperation with Jewish National Organizations:

1. The Sixth Convention of the United Galician Jews of America again expresses its desire to continue its tradition of cooperation in every recognized national Jewish organization in American Jewry, and especially endorses the action of the United Jewish Appeal, American Jewish Congress, B'Nai B'rith, and the Federation of Jewish Charities. The United Galician Jews of America pledges itself to give to all of the above-mentioned institutions its full support.

2. Taking into consideration the desire of the Federation of Polish Jews in America to create a common basis for cooperation between the Federation of Polish Jews and the United Galician Jews of America, it is resolved that this Convention authorizes the new administration to form a special committee for this purpose.

3. This Convention greets the formation of the Council of Jewish Fraternal Federations and expresses its satisfaction with the administration of the United Galician Jews of America, for having taken the initiative in helping in the establishment of the Council of Federations, and wishes the newly-organized Council a successful future.

—Forwarded by Mr. Louis Flashenberg, Executive Vice-President, August 6, 1943.

DOCUMENT 21

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

Platform for the American Jewish Conference

1. We petition all democratic nations to formulate plans for the immediate evacuation and rescue of our stricken brethren in Nazi-occupied Europe to temporary places of refuge until Victory is won.

2. All Jews who have been scattered and their properties confiscated are to be repatriated and their full rights and citizenship restored.

3. In accordance with the four freedoms, the civic rights of Jews as well as full privileges to practice their religion in keeping with the traditions of the Torah should be protected by law.

4. We ask that anti-Semitism be outlawed by official decree which should be implemented by legislation so as to be duly enforced.

5. The establishment of Palestine as a Religious Jewish Commonwealth.

DOCUMENT 22

UNITED ROUMANIAN JEWS OF AMERICA

*Post-War Peace Proposals**Adopted at Emergency Conference, Held in New York City, March 21, 1943*

As blood relations of the Jews in Roumania, whose voices are today silenced, we must speak for them and to obtain for them the restoration of full and equal political, civil, economic and religious rights of which they have been deprived. Detailed suggestions must await the conclusion of the war, but nevertheless there are some cardinal principles and proposals that can be advanced at this time. We submit them for the sympathetic consideration of those groups and bodies whose province it shall be to consider and recommend to the Peace Conference the restoration of the rights of all oppressed people.

1. The establishment of a strong League of Nations or other International Body to whom all the participating countries will surrender a part of their national sovereign rights, and which will have the military and economic power to enforce its covenants and decisions and to effectively compel any recalcitrant government to adhere to its guarantees.

2. The proclamation that anti-Semitic doctrines are counter Democratic—Fascist ideologies—and should be punished as such.

3. The outlawing of anti-Semitic propaganda by the internal laws of all

countries and by a covenant in the League of Nations or any other international body of nations organized at the conclusion of this conflict.

4. The re-establishment of full political, civil, and economic rights for the Jews in Roumania with definite and irrevocable guarantees for their maintenance.

5. The revocation of the Goga Decrees and all other laws which deprive the Jews of their rights as citizens and to earn their livelihood and practice their professions.

6. Indemnification for all loss of life resulting from pogroms, executions, starvation and disease, either instigated or condoned by the Roumanian Government or its officials.

7. Restoration of all Jewish properties both real and tangible, confiscated by laws or decrees or obtained under duress.

8. Indemnification for destruction of Synagogues and Jewish communal property and the re-establishment of the right to free religious worship.

9. Enactment of legislation which will incorporate all of the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.

10. The outlawing of anti-Semitic groups and anti-Semitic propaganda.

—Forwarded by Sol Rosman, Executive Secretary.

DOCUMENT 23

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

Program for Presentation to the American Jewish Conference

Preamble:

While cognizant of the economic and political dislocations facing the world, the problems attending the establishment and enforcement of religious and racial freedom must not be overlooked. Insofar, too, as the solution of these problems depends upon the acceptance of the principles taught by the great religions of the world, they are peculiarly within the province of organizations like ours, and to that aspect of the post-war world we devote our attention and seek the concurrence of like-minded bodies.

In the interests of simplicity, we call our program the "3 R's Program of the United Synagogue of America." The 3 R's are, I—RESCUE, II—REHABILITATION, III—RESETTLEMENT.

I—Rescue

Unless measures be taken speedily to save the remnants of the races and religions now being exterminated in Europe, discussion of their post-war status will obviously be an academic exercise.

We demand that the United Nations take prompt and effective measures looking to the rescue of Europe's persecuted minorities. Since the Jews have been especially singled out for destruction by Hitler and his satellites, the problem of the rescue of the Jewish people is of primary concern.

II—Rehabilitation

Realizing the injustice of religious and racial discrimination and persecution, and believing that it affords fertile ground for the sowing of the seeds of discord by the enemies of freedom, we urge:

A. Recognition in the fundamental law of every state and of any organization of states of the following rights:

1. The right of every person, according to his conscience, to worship

God, practice his religion and educate his children in that religion.

2. The right of every minority group to preserve its own culture, and in those countries where minority groups enjoy political rights, the full and equal enjoyment of those rights by the Jewish people.

3. The right of every person irrespective of race, creed or color, to the equal enjoyment of life, property and the protection of the law.

B. The setting-up of machinery to implement the foregoing guarantees. This would include an international body to receive, investigate and judge complaints of violations of these pledges and suitable instruments to make effective the decisions of such an international body.

C. Restoration of the religious buildings and property of all denominations. The Jews, in common with other religious groups, have been victims of the vandalism of the totalitarian powers, resulting in the destruction of thousands of churches, synagogues, seminaries, libraries, museums, orphanages and similar property. The restoration and rebuilding of these properties should be undertaken promptly and so far as practicable, at the expense of the Axis countries, under the supervision and direction of the United Nations.

III—Resettlement

A. All Jews as well as other exiles who have been driven from their native lands should be afforded an opportunity to return to their homes, with the restoration to them of the property of which they had been deprived.

B. Palestine: In the firm belief that the survival of the Jewish people and their religion is linked with the future of Palestine, and believing "that in Palestine the Jewish people can best fulfill their historic destiny," we demand that the Jews be permitted to establish an autonomous Jewish State in Palestine.

In conformity with our stand on religious freedom and the right of every person to the equal enjoyment of life, liberty and property, such rights of other peoples in Palestine and the preservation and utilization of holy places of all denominations in that land are recognized and guaranteed.

C. Pending establishment of Palestine as an autonomous Jewish State, we demand that unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine be permitted.

IV

To the fulfillment of the foregoing principles, we urge that religious groups be permitted to express their views before, and participate in the deliberations of, the peace-making bodies.

DOCUMENT 24

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Platform for Delegates to the American Jewish Conference

1. The United Nations are engaged in a war for survival. As Americans and as Jews, we seek, first of all, the victory of the forces of democracy, of equality and of freedom over those of tyranny and brutal aggression to the end that men everywhere may enjoy the Four Freedoms—Freedom of Worship, Freedom of Expression, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear.

2. For the uprooted and despoiled Jews of Europe, who were the first victims of the assault against democracy and civilization, we demand that relief and rehabilitation be provided at the earliest possible moment. Those who desire to return to their countries of origin must be enabled to do so; while oppor-

tunities for migration and settlement must be afforded to others who will wish to emigrate and begin life anew elsewhere. On behalf of the Jews in European countries, we demand, further, full equality of rights with their fellow countrymen as individuals. In those lands where group rights shall be granted to others and where the Jewish population involved desires such rights for themselves, we urge full equality of status; and we urge that guarantees to this end be provided by the United Nations.

3. We want an end to Jewish Homelessness. Now more than ever Palestine provides the most practical answer to the desperate need of the multitude of Jews whose rescue from Europe, as soon as possible, is imperative in a physical as well as in a spiritual sense. We ask that the Jewish people, too, shall have the opportunity to live and to develop as a free people in its own historic homeland, in Palestine. We demand that the gates of Palestine be opened wide on a scale commensurate with Jewish need; that all limitations on land settlement by Jews be removed; that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be vested with control of Jewish immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for the upbuilding and development of the country; that Palestine be established as the Jewish Commonwealth, in which Jews will be a majority of the population—a self-governing and democratic commonwealth in which the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities will be assured, and bound only by those reservations which in the post-war world shall apply to all states.

4. We ask, finally, that the Jews, through appropriate representation, shall be accorded the right to place their case directly and officially before any peace conference that may be called, or any authority designated by the United Nations for the reconstruction of the post-war world.

—Folder (4 pp.) published by the Zionist Organization of America, Washington, D. C.

DOCUMENT 25

THE BILTMORE DECLARATION

*Adopted by the Extraordinary Zionist Conference,
May 11th, 1942, Biltmore Hotel, New York City*

1. American Zionists assembled in this Extraordinary Conference reaffirm their unequivocal devotion to the cause of democratic freedom and international justice to which the people of the United States, allied with the other United Nations, have dedicated themselves, and give expression to their faith in the ultimate victory of humanity and justice over lawlessness and brute force.

2. This Conference offers a message of hope and encouragement to their fellow Jews in the Ghettos and concentration camps of Hitler-dominated Europe and prays that their hour of liberation may not be far distant.

3. The Conference sends its warmest greetings to the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem, to the Va'ad Leumi, and to the whole Yishuv in Palestine, and expresses its profound admiration for their steadfastness and achievements in the face of peril and great difficulties. The Jewish men and women in field and factory, and the thousands of Jewish soldiers of Palestine in the Near East who have acquitted themselves with honor and distinction in Greece, Crete, Ethiopia, Syria, Libya and on other battlefields, have shown themselves worthy of their people and ready to assume the rights and responsibilities of nationhood.

4. In our generation, and in particular in the course of the past twenty years, the Jewish people have awakened and transformed their ancient homeland: from 50,000 at the end of the last war their numbers have increased to more than

500,000. They have made the waste places to bear fruit and the desert to blossom. Their pioneering achievements in agriculture and in industry, embodying new patterns of democratic cooperative endeavor, have written a notable page in the history of colonization.

5. In the new values thus created, their Arab neighbors in Palestine have shared. The Jewish people in its own work of national redemption welcomes the economic, agricultural and national development of the Arab peoples and states. The Conference reaffirms the stand previously adopted at Congresses of the World Zionist Organization, expressing the readiness and the desire of the Jewish people for full cooperation with their Arab neighbors.

6. The Conference calls for the fulfillment of the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate which "recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" was to afford them the opportunity, as stated by President Wilson, to found there a Jewish Commonwealth.

The Conference affirms its unalterable rejection of the White Paper of May 1939 and denies its moral or legal validity. The White Paper seeks to limit, and in fact to nullify Jewish rights to immigration and settlement in Palestine, and, as stated by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons in May, 1939, constitutes "a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration." The policy of the White Paper is cruel and indefensible in its denial of sanctuary to Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution; and at a time when Palestine has become a focal point in the war front of the United Nations, and Palestine Jewry must provide all available manpower for farm and factory and camp, it is in direct conflict with the interests of the Allied war effort.

7. In the struggle against the forces of aggression and tyranny, of which Jews were the earliest victims, and which now menace the Jewish National Home, recognition must be given to the right of the Jews of Palestine to play their full part in the war effort and in the defense of their country, through a Jewish military force fighting under their own flag and under the high command of the United Nations.

8. The Conference declares that the new world order that will follow victory cannot be established on foundations of peace, justice and equality unless the problem of Jewish homelessness is finally solved.

The Conference demands that the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world.

Then and only then will the age-old wrong to the Jewish people be righted.

—*New Palestine*, May 15, 1942, Vol. XXXII, No. 14, p. 6.

DOCUMENT 26

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

*Resolutions of War Committee Adopted at Convention in Chicago,
July 24-27, 1945*

1. The Rabbinical Council of America, together with our brethren throughout the world, seeks with the democratic forces of the United Nations complete victory over the totalitarian powers of tyranny and aggression and the full realization on a global scale of the Four Freedoms—Freedom of Worship, Freedom of

Expression, Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear—the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter. As orthodox Rabbis in Israel, we firmly believe that the full enjoyment of human freedom is the God-given inalienable right and prerogative of every person.

2. In recent years, the Jews have not been merely singled out as the first victims of Nazi aggression. They are the most persecuted and the most tortured people against whom the enemy of humanity has implemented a calculated and systematic policy of extermination. The Jews have suffered the greatest loss of life. Inactive sympathy will achieve no purpose. The harrowing reality demands a bold course of immediate action.

For the duration of the war, we therefore request that the United Nations, immediately and unremittently, utilize every measure to obtain the intercession of the neutral nations toward the one supreme end of saving Jewish life wherever it is afflicted and exposed to starvation and brutal annihilation. This may be accomplished by the provision of an adequate food supply through intergovernmental agencies in Nazi-controlled areas of distress and by arranging for a transfer of refugees, wherever possible, to havens of security which shall be set aside for them in the countries of the United Nations or in neutral countries under guarantee of the United Nations.

3. In the reconstructed post-war world, we request for the Jewish people, and for all groups, the guaranteed right to live in freedom and equality with their fellow-men everywhere. For the scattered and disinherited Jews of Europe we request rehabilitation, physical and spiritual, that they be aided to become reintegrated into the economy from which they had been eliminated, that they be allowed free and unhampered participation in the country's social and political life, and that, in their inner life, they be assured complete religious and cultural liberty. Furthermore, facilities should be created, under the aegis of the United Nations, for the dislocated and stateless Jews of Europe, who shall so choose, to return to their countries of origin, or to migrate to other lands where they may begin life anew in an environment of safety, decency and brotherhood.

4. Whereas the ultimate restoration of Jews to Palestine is deeply rooted in Jewish religious belief as God's promise through His prophets to suffering Israel, for the fulfilment of which promise Jews have constantly yearned throughout the ages in prayer and in aspiration, and

Whereas the historic connection between Palestine and the Jewish people has been solemnly and publicly recognized by the nations of the world in the Mandate by which the League of Nations entrusted Palestine to Great Britain to facilitate therein the establishment of a Jewish homeland, on the strength of which recognition and undertaking more than a half million Jews have been settled in the land involving also a huge capital investment, and

Whereas the continuous and devoted efforts of the Jewish people have rendered Palestine capable of absorbing large scale immigration, and

Whereas the influx of Jewish immigrants and capital has led to the enhancement of the agricultural and industrial economy of Palestine, the benefits of which have redounded to the entire population, and

Whereas there are multitudes of Jews who will have to migrate and who will elect to migrate to Palestine and settle there in preference to any other land,

Be it therefore resolved:

That the restrictive White Paper of 1939 be immediately abolished and that no political or artificial barriers be set up to hinder Jewish immigration into Palestine, purchase of land or the development of the country's resources.

That intergovernmental political and financial aid be given by the United Nations to accelerate large scale Jewish immigration into Palestine which will lead quickly to a Jewish majority in the Holy Land and thereby hasten the fulfilment of the Balfour Declaration by the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Thus will the age-old tragic problem of Jewish homelessness receive its historically destined solution.

—Forwarded by Rabbi William Drazin, President, on August 16, 1945—too late for analysis in the text.



C O N F I D E N T I A L

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

HELD ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 27, 1943 at 3:00 P.M.

AT 41 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Dr. Stephen S. Wise, presiding; Mrs. Oscar G. Bender, Herman W. Bernstein, A. B. Cohen, Abraham H. Cohen, Samuel Cooper, Harry P. Fierst, Mendel N. Fisher, Lewis Goldberg, Emanuel Greenberg, Herman Hollander, Max Kirshblum, Abraham Krumbein, Harris J. Levine, Philip W. Lown, Asher Papish, Herman Z. Quittman, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Bernard G. Rudolph, Abba Hillel Silver, Maxwell Silver, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Robert Silverman, Eugene Solow, Rudolph Sonneborn, Theodore Strimling, William H. Sylk, Sigmund Thau;

Juliet Benjamin, Samuel Blitz, Baruch Braunstein, Josef Cohn, J. H. Ettlinger, Mrs. Lewis Goldberg, Nahum Goldmann, Leib Jaffe, Julius Livingston, Mortimer May, Henry Montor, Martin Rosenbluth, Alex Rothenberg, Meyer F. Steinglass, Judah Washer.

Regrets at inattendance were received from: Barney Balaban, Israel Bernstein, Philip S. Bernstein, Robert M. Bernstein, Samuel Berson, Maurice M. Boukstein, Barnett E. Brickner, Eli A. Cohen, Jacob H. Cohen, David Diamond, Harry M. Ehrlich, Daniel Ellison, Joshua S. Epstein, Sol Esfeld, David Freiburger, Daniel Frisch, Leon Gellman, David Glosser, Joseph Goldberg, Abraham Goodman, Sylvan Gotshal, Joel Gross, Isaac Hamlin, Jacob J. Kaplan, Gustave Klausner, Abraham Krasne, Samuel E. Kratzok, Joseph Leonard, Louis E. Levinthal, Abraham L. Liebovitz, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Frederick Margareten, Harry A. Pine, Sol Reiter, Louis Rinsky, Samuel Rothstein, Israel Sachs, Michael Schaap, Albert Schiff, Joseph Schlossberg, Louis Segal, Arthur I. Shain, Archibald Silverman, Jacob Sincoff, Michael A. Stavitsky, Dewey D. Stone, Elihu D. Stone, Mark Sugarman, Leon C. Sunstein, Abe D. Waldauer, Joe Weingarten, Aaron Weiss.

The Chairman expressed pleasure at the participation of a number of members of the Administrative Committee who had not previously been able to attend. He was glad that the sessions of the American Jewish Conference in New York had made possible their attendance at the U.P.A. meeting.

FINANCIAL AND STATUS REPORTS

A report on the status of the 1943 United Palestine Appeal as of August 24th was presented by Mr. Henry Montor (Appendix A). He supplemented the statement of income and expenditure with a brief review of the status of the United Jewish Appeal through which the U.P.A. conducts its campaign. The U.J.A., which always presents its figures on a conservative basis, estimates as of this time that the income from all campaigns during the year 1943 will total approximately \$16,250,000. This will mean that the Allotment Committee of the U.J.A. will have at its disposal for distribution some \$6,400,000, the largest amount ever before an Allotment Committee in the history of the U.J.A. The sessions of the Allotment Committee which begin next Friday are fraught, therefore, with the utmost importance.

Mr. Montor observed that at this meeting of the U.P.A. it is especially appropriate to congratulate the Zionists and the friends of Palestine throughout the United States for the magnificent role they have played in the success of the U.J.A. campaigns this year. One particular community he thought deserved special comment. It was represented at the meeting by Mr. Theodore Strimling. That community of Los Angeles had established in 1943 the finest record of any campaign held in the country. In 1942 Los Angeles did not raise a large sum and it was not satisfied with the results, which totalled some \$630,000. In 1943 Los Angeles will probably reach, if not surpass, its established goal of \$1,200,000 or approximately 100% more than the year before, representing the largest increase in terms of the U.J.A. and total income reached by any community. Insofar as the U.J.A. is concerned, this will mean some \$400,000 more than was allotted in Los Angeles in 1942. The leader of that campaign, Mr. Charles Brown, a member of the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A., is deserving of the utmost praise.

What happened in Los Angeles was also reflected in many other communities in which leadership had been given by many members of the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A. and by other close friends of Palestine. Anticipating the report of Mr. Blitz, Mr. Montor indicated that New York seems to be having the most successful campaign since 1939. He felt that the campaigns had benefited from the leadership given by the Zionists in terms of emphasis on Palestine and the work they have done, the money they have given and the energy they have made available to the entire community. He felt that this factor ought to be kept in mind by Zionists and friends generally of the U.P.A. in considering the effect upon allotments and other issues relevant to forthcoming campaigns.

1944 U.J.A. CAMPAIGN DISCUSSIONS

Dr. Silver reported that the first meeting of the U.P.A. with representatives of the J.D.C. and the N.R.S. had been held on August 25th. This was in the nature of a preliminary discussion about the 1944 U.J.A. campaign. The first matter to be disposed of was that affecting the N.R.S. It had become clear that its scope of activities has narrowed in recent years as a result of the war and the practical stoppage of immigration. The absorption of many of the refugees in the defense plants and into the national economy also affected the budget of the N.R.S. Under the terms of the 1943 agreement, the N.R.S. received \$1,500,000 with the privilege of applying to the Allotment Committee for an additional sum. Messrs. Rosenwald and Riegelman, who represented the N.R.S. at the meeting, stated that they did not intend to apply for additional funds. That would mean that insofar as the more than \$6,000,000 to be allotted is concerned, the two organizations, the J.D.C. and U.P.A., rather than three, will be considered.

As regards 1944, Dr. Silver raised the point that the N.R.S. ought to ask for a substantially smaller sum of money. In fact he had inquired whether it should ask for any sum at all. It was his feeling that certain substantial expenditures now being incurred by the N.R.S. appropriately belonged to the New York Federation. This applies to the material relief being distributed by the N.R.S. to people in New York City. The N.R.S. agreed to submit its demand to the New York Federation to take over the budget for material relief, a sum amounting to between \$400,000 and \$500,000. The question as to whether this plea will succeed is still to be determined. It was Dr. Silver's belief that the N.R.S. at a subsequent meeting would ask for a much smaller sum than the \$1,500,000 which it had obtained from the U.J.A. in 1943.

The negotiations with the J.D.C. have not yet begun. Dr. Silver did not think, however, that there would be many serious questions between the U.P.A. and J.D.C. He pointed out, however, that the U.P.A. intends to ask for a much larger percentage

of the U.J.A. income next year. This will mean negotiations for a number of weeks. The 1943 record of the U.J.A., Dr. Silver stated, was very gratifying. The cities of America rose in magnificent fashion considering the many demands upon them from other quarters in relation to war relief campaigns. He thought that the grand job which the Jews have done this year will also be continued in 1944.

Reporting on the New York U.J.A. campaign, Mr. Blitz stated that as of this day, it is \$1,000,000 ahead of last year. He shared Mr. Montor's view that the Zionists and friends of Palestine in New York have done more than their share in carrying the New York campaign. The big gifts are still conspicuous by their absence and were smaller even this year when a million dollar increase was reported over 1942. The top twenty gifts, he believed, are still below the total for the same gifts last year. The U.J.A. is becoming what it should be, he believed, a general Jewish campaign. He thought that there might be more cash in 1943 than in 1939 because in the latter year, a number of large gifts turned out to be for more than one year. As of this date, \$5,125,000 has been raised in New York City. New York Federation does not raise as much in New York as does the U.J.A., he pointed out. As far as the national U.J.A. is concerned, New York will remit in cash for this year a minimum of between \$4,500,000 and \$4,750,000.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY

On behalf of the joint committee of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, Mr. Mendel Fisher entered into the record the decision of that committee on the request for funds for the Hebrew University. At the request and with the approval of the representatives of the agencies in Jerusalem, it had been agreed by the K.H. and K.K. here to allocate \$30,000 to the Hebrew University with the understanding that the J.D.C. would follow suit. This allocation by the K.H. and K.K. should become part of the U.P.A. record, he stated.

U.P.A. REPRESENTATIVES ON NEW YORK U.J.A.

Dr. Silver made the following statement in connection with the designation of U.P.A. representatives on the New York United Jewish Appeal Inc.:

"In accordance with the decision of the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A. on June 25th, action was taken to name representatives of the U.P.A. on the corporation of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater New York Inc. Account was taken of the absence or death of a number of members who had previously been appointed on behalf of the U.P.A.

"No action has been taken at this time to name other representatives of the U.P.A. on the Executive Committee which controls the affairs of the U.J.A. Inc. It is considered desirable, however, that for 1944 there be a reconsideration of this subject.

"The following have been named as members of the Board of Directors of the New York United Jewish Appeal: Abraham Goodman, Irving Lipkowitz, Boris Margolin, Herman Shulman, Herman L. Weisman and Henry Montor. They have been notified accordingly. I should like to stress at this time that we expect those who have been designated by the U.P.A. to places in the corporation will recognize that they have an important responsibility to the U.P.A. to attend meetings, and where the interests of the U.P.A. are involved, to see that they are safeguarded.

"The corporation is also composed of three classes of members, the U.P.A. class designated as Class B. Mr. Rudolf Sonneborn has been designated as a Class B. member of the corporation in substitution of Mr. Charles Ress.

"This is to become a matter of record for the U.P.A. files."

Mr. Blitz observed that the reading of these names as members of the Board of Directors does not make them members. The Chairman pointed out that these were nominations. Mr. Blitz stated that the constitution of the New York U.J.A. Inc. calls for an election once a year. The U.P.A. members must meet and name them. No doubt they will comply with the instructions given. He expressed regret that Mr. Montor had not conferred with him about some of the names. He did not think that some of the eliminations were in the best interests of the U.P.A. The U.P.A. of New York and the U.J.A. are nothing but fund-raising organizations. Therefore all that should be kept in mind is the effectiveness of the U.P.A. as a fund-raising organization. One name on the list submitted by Dr. Silver is that of a \$100 contributor. He did not think that the elimination of a \$4,000 contributor and his replacement by a \$100 contributor would strengthen the U.P.A. He made observations with respect to several other names.

Mr. Montor said that it is true that the New York U.J.A. is a fund-raising organization, but he did not think that the U.P.A. was as effectively represented in the U.J.A. structure as it ought to be. He did not agree that a theory could be established on the basis of which a man who contributes thousands of dollars becomes automatically the best representative of the U.P.A. on a governing board. There is great reason to be proud of the men in New York, Zionists and friends of Palestine, who contribute substantially to the U.J.A. At the same time it should be kept in mind that because of the influence exercised in the New York U.J.A. by certain non-Zionists and by men travelling all over the country organizing the American Council for Judaism, the New York U.J.A. has become in a sense a political instrument in Jewish life, a political instrument all the more powerful because it raises between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000. In choosing members not merely of the fund-raising mechanism, but of the corporate body which controls policies, emphasis should be placed on those men whose Zionist convictions are unimpeachable. The names included in the list submitted by Dr. Silver are those of men whose Zionism is respected by all. They are good Zionists and potential workers and can do much to add to the strength of the fund-raising organization as well as to the policy-formulating mechanism of the New York U.J.A. Mr. Montor referred, for example, to the question discussed at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee of the U.P.A., when consideration was given to the affiliation by the New York U.J.A. Inc. with the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. It was important that when the New York U.J.A. made its decision, consideration be given to other factors than merely the fund-raising record of the New York U.J.A. The interests of Palestine play an important role in those relationships.

Dr. Maxwell Silver inquired whether the names mentioned by Mr. Blitz might not also be included with the others.

Mr. Montor pointed out that all classes in the corporation, that is, A, B and C, must have an equal number.

Mr. Blitz observed that Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Judge Rothenberg, Dr. Goldstein and others are members of the Board of the U.J.A. and when a major problem comes up, they could be counted upon to exercise their influence.

Mr. Montor pointed out that the men mentioned have a great many responsibilities in the Zionist movement and could not attend meetings as regularly and as frequently as others. It was essential to be realistic about this fact. The important thing in connection with the whole subject is that the U.P.A. needs to be represented on the Board of the New York U.J.A. by men who are experienced and who are prepared to establish and carry out what represents a U.P.A. policy. If there were no

differentiations in policy within the New York U.J.A., there would not be three classes of members. It is because we recognize that there are varying interests represented by the several agencies that the question of who should represent the U.P.A. has arisen. The same policy guides the action of the national Executive Committee and the national Board of the U.J.A. Up to this time, insofar as the national body is concerned, the question as to whether a man gives \$50 or \$100,000 was not the criterion by which he was appointed to represent the U.P.A. It is hoped that each man gives to the maximum of his capacity, but the effort is made to designate people who can attend to the business of the U.P.A.

Mr. Fisher supported the point of view of Mr. Blitz. He did not think that it was possible at this time to consider individual names. He suggested the possibility that some of the national leaders might withdraw from the New York picture if they cannot attend meetings. He himself did not believe that they wanted to be on the boards. There were a number of others who could substitute for them very well. He believed that there is a tendency to duplicate people on all the boards. This ought to be remedied.

Mr. Montor pointed out that the discussion that had been given to the list presented by Dr. Silver might lead to the impression that these were the only names on the New York U.J.A. board representing the U.P.A. Actually, all that was involved in those names was substitutions for deceased or for several who had otherwise been rendered ineligible for active service. In order to get a total picture of the varied elements in New York representing the U.P.A. on the New York U.J.A., he read the following list of the Class B members on the New York U.J.A.:

Louis Altschul	D. Samuel Gottesman	Morris Rothenberg
Herman Chopak	Emanuel Greenberg	Israel Sachs
Sol Cohen	William Klein	Michael Schaap
Sidney Davidson	Abraham L. Liebovitz	Max J. Schneider
Morris Dlugasch	Irving D. Lipkowitz	Herman Shulman
Mark Eisner	Louis Lipsky	Jacob Sincoff
Isidor Fine	Boris Margolin	Rudolf G. Sonneborn
Leonard Ginsberg	Abraham Mazer	Nathan Straus
Moses Ginsberg	George Z. Medalie	Sigmund Thau
Israel Goldstein	Irving Miller	Abraham F. Wechsler
Abraham Goodman	Henry Montor	Harold M. Weinberg
Jacob Goodman	Charles Ress	Herman L. Weisman
Sylvan Gotshal	Bernard A. Rosenblatt	Stephen S. Wise
	Arthur M. Rosenbloom	

Dr. Silver then moved and it was seconded that the list originally submitted should be endorsed and that these men be elected to the several committees of the New York U.J.A. Inc. This motion was unanimously carried.

1944 MIZRACHI CAMPAIGN

A letter addressed to Dr. Silver by Messrs. Leon Gellman and Herman Hollander dated August 6, 1943 was read by Mr. Montor (Appendix B). It indicated that the Mizrahi had expressed the desire to have a minimum of \$300,000 from the 1944 U.P.A. campaign and that since no assurance to this effect had been forthcoming, the Mizrahi would consider at a meeting early in September the authorization and launching of an independent Mizrahi Palestine Fund campaign for 1944.

The question was asked by Dr. Maxwell Silver whether the Mizrahi's action was a fait accompli. Mr. Hollander replied that the only fait accompli in the letter is that the administration of the Mizrahi at a meeting of its national body on

September 5th will suggest an independent campaign. At the present time there are no negotiations on the part of Mizrachi. That gives the gentlemen who want to negotiate an opportunity to make any suggestions they wish by September 5th. A basic question with the Mizrachi, he said, is on the position it occupies within the U.P.A. It does not wish to be merely a beneficiary. Mizrachi feels that it has strength in the United States as well as in Palestine and it wants the words of its leaders to be heard and propagated through the U.P.A. like that of any other agency of the U.P.A. In the past he felt the Mizrachi has not had any recognition of its work in Palestine by way of U.P.A. literature. The Mizrachi, he said, has suffered under a handicap in comparison to Hadassah and Gewerkschaften, for example, who have been able to go out to the country and raise whatever money they could. The Mizrachi had believed that it was in the interest of centralization of fund-raising that it should cooperate with the U.P.A. Since 1936, therefore, it has not engaged in independent campaigns. It has now reached the end of its rope. Mizrachi is now receiving the same amount, he stated, as when the price level in Palestine was less than half of what it is now. Numerically, physically and materially the Mizrachi, he said, is stronger in this country and in Palestine. The Mizrachi is willing to go out to the country and to take chances on its own campaign. Perhaps not the first year or the next year, but eventually it will be able to reach at least that amount which any other group in the Zionist movement can obtain. When Rabbi Berlin came to the United States he made a statement as to what the Mizrachi could accept. Even if the U.P.A. would accept that figure, Mr. Hollander believed that a large part of the Mizrachi movement would not be happy to stay with the U.P.A. because it feels that it has been deprived of its freedom of action by being tied up with a larger body, whereas the Gewerkschaften and Hadassah could go directly to the public. However, since the statement of what the Mizrachi would accept had been made, the Mizrachi would not renege. Asked by the Chairman what Rabbi Berlin's statement had been, Mr. Hollander stated that two changes were involved: first of all, the Mizrachi wanted \$300,000 in 1944; and secondly, to be a partner rather than a silent beneficiary as in the past.

At this point Dr. Wise stated that he had to leave, but before doing so he wished to welcome back Mrs. Ida Silverman who had just done a really grand service for Palestine and the Keren Hayesod by the miracle of helpfulness she had wrought for the K.H. in England. He turned the Chair over to Dr. Silver.

Dr. Silver stated that he was rather embarrassed in having to speak on the subject of the Mizrachi letter addressed to him, because he is always embarrassed when confronted with what amounts to a threat. He did not like it and he did not see why that line had to be adopted by colleagues working in the same field. If the Mizrachi is justified in seeking a larger allocation, its justification is on reasonable grounds and not on the manifestation of strength and force. That form of approach was a certain technique but he did not think it a technique that ought to prevail among Zionists.

In the second place, he did not know that it was the business of the U.P.A. to advertise the Mizrachi any more than it is the business of the U.P.A. to advertise the Z.O.A., for example. The U.P.A. represents only two agencies in which all Zionists are interested - the J.N.F. and the K.H. The U.P.A. has tried to advertise the achievements of these two national institutions which have the support of all of us. In none of the literature of the U.P.A. has reference been made to the work of the Z.O.A. which too has a real interest in the success of the U.P.A. campaign. Surely the Mizrachi is just as much interested in the work of the J.N.F. and K.H. as is the Z.O.A. The Mizrachi has its own organization and its own propaganda as does the Z.O.A. In fact, the U.P.A. gives the Mizrachi \$9,800 especially to carry on its propaganda. It is the kind of service charge also made available to the Z.O.A. and the Poale Zion.

As to the subject matter itself, he believed that the Mizrachi is entitled to more money both on the basis of its work in Palestine and on the basis of the amounts being raised by the U.P.A. in the United States. The Mizrachi opportunities for service have increased, as have its activities. As Chairman of the U.P.A., Dr. Silver would suggest that the K.H. and K.K. joint committees reconsider the problem together with representatives of Mizrachi to see whether an amicable arrangement might be made. He would also suggest that if any increase is allotted to the Mizrachi, as he hoped it would be, it should be clearly understood that there will be no repetition in 1944 of what took place in 1943; namely, some supplementary campaign on the part of the Mizrachi on the ground that a new emergency had arisen. If new emergencies arise, it is the business of the contracting parties to meet and to decide mutually whether the emergency warrants a redefinition of contractual obligations. Unilateral action is inadmissible.

Rabbi Kirshblum reviewed the relationship between the Mizrachi and the U.P.A. going back to 1936. In that year Mizrachi received \$36,000. Within three years this sum had gone to \$125,000. That reflected credit on the leadership of the U.P.A. and its constituent groups who realized that Mizrachi had made progress. Unfortunately, however, there has not been any increase at all for Mizrachi in the past few years, although serious changes had taken place in the world. Palestine, and especially Rabbi Berlin, had been deeply aggrieved by the decision made with respect to Mizrachi for 1943, especially when Mizrachi had special duties to perform in Palestine. Insofar as Palestine is concerned, Rabbi Berlin has stated that its postwar reconstruction period has already begun and Mizrachi must play its proper role in that planning. Meetings were held with the sub-committee of the K.H. and K.K. There was delay from week to week in consideration of the 1944 demands of Mizrachi. It was under these circumstances that the letter addressed to Dr. Silver had been written. Rabbi Kirshblum did not feel that it was correct to interpret the letter as a threat, but merely as a statement of fact. The Mizrachi cannot continue to operate with the same sum. Since the U.P.A. does not seem able to provide a larger amount, the Mizrachi was prepared to take its own chances and go to the country and assume the responsibility of fund-raising. Not all Zionists, he said, are aware of the fact that Mizrachi has an important role to play now for Zionism in America. An element has arisen within orthodoxy that stands parallel to the Bundists in its attitude to Zionism. Both of them are a threat to Zionism, he declared, and will go hand in hand where Zionism is concerned. Mizrachi is prepared to deal with that situation. If the U.P.A. is not in a position to fulfill the minimum demands of Mizrachi, the Mizrachi is prepared to unburden the U.P.A. of this responsibility. This should be done on the best of terms and cordial relations continued. He felt that a committee should be appointed that would submit a proposal to Mizrachi, not in terms of bargaining but in consideration of the real needs.

Insofar as advertising is concerned, it is not for the U.P.A. to advertise the Mizrachi Organization. That is the job of the organization itself. But Mizrachi does contend that the U.P.A. literature has never advertised Mizrachi achievements in Palestine that have been made possible by U.P.A. funds. If the U.P.A. would advertise Mizrachi achievements in Palestine, it would not be possible for anyone else to conduct the campaign on the basis of these achievements, for it could then be said the U.P.A. is taking care of these needs.

Dr. Maxwell Silver moved that the question be referred to the subcommittees representing the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth, with the recommendation that these organizations, together with representatives of Mizrachi endeavor to reach an amicable and sympathetic solution of the problem.

In response to a question by Dr. Levine, the Chairman pointed out that the U.P.A. does not have authority over the allocation of funds; only the J.N.F. and K.H. make such arrangements.

Dr. Silver's motion was seconded and it was unanimously carried.

AGUDAS ISRAEL

There was entered into the record a letter addressed to the U.P.A. by Rabbi S. Eichenstein of the Agudas Israel of America, covering a copy of a letter addressed to the U.J.A. by the Agudas Israel (Appendix C).

Mr. Montor observed that the U.J.A. will probably act on this at its next meeting. He merely wanted to observe that the Agudas Israel has been engaged in a nationwide campaign with which most members were familiar, utilizing the Yiddish and English languages for a campaign against the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in which every derogatory adjective was used.

It was moved, seconded and carried that the letter be tabled.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

Dr. Silver read from a letter addressed to him on June 30th by Mr. Paul Baerwald, Honorary Chairman of the J.D.C., to which was attached a memorandum on the conference between representatives of the J.N.F. and the J.D.C. held on Friday, June 11th (Appendix D).

Dr. Silver inquired whether any further action had been taken by the J.N.F. with respect to the subject matter raised in Mr. Baerwald's letter. Mr. Baerwald on July 28th had again asked for a reply.

Mr. Fisher stated that at the last meeting of the J.D.C., it was felt by the J.N.F. representatives that the area of differences was not very great. It was agreed at that meeting on June 11th, he stated, that matters should be left as they were and developments should be watched in the coming months. Mr. Levy felt that the J.N.F. could raise even more money. The only question was that of methods to eliminate irritations existing between the U.J.A. and J.N.F. It was Mr. Fisher's belief that as a result of the fact that the J.N.F. had taken particular note of the discussions, the J.N.F. has operated since June in such a way as to reduce irritation between the J.N.F. and J.D.C. to a minimum. He felt that in discussing the agreement for 1944 the J.N.F. would wish to have the question of its activities discussed more fully. The J.N.F. wished to make certain observations which he hoped the representatives of the U.P.A. would transmit to our partners during the discussions of the 1944 U.J.A. agreement. This should eliminate once and for all the misunderstandings that have arisen.

Dr. Silver observed that what seemed to be in the minds of the J.N.F. and what was in the minds of the J.D.C. representatives did not seem to coincide. He then read from the memorandum forwarded by Mr. Baerwald. The funds of the J.N.F. have increased year by year. The J.D.C. seems to believe that the large sum to which the J.N.F. has attained has been reached through intensive campaigning, methods of organization, large public dinners and other projects. It is of these things that the J.D.C. complains.

Dr. Maxwell Silver felt that a committee representing the J.N.F. and the U.P.A. ought to meet with the J.D.C. to obtain exact suggestions as to ways of avoiding the difficulty.

Mr. Strimling discussed the attitude of the Los Angeles Jewish community to the J.N.F. He felt that in his community there was no problem and that both the U.J.A. and the J.N.F. interests were conserved. He pointed out that everyone who is active in the J.N.F. in Los Angeles is also active in the Welfare Fund. In fact, this is

a condition exacted from the workers for the J.N.F.

Mr. Sylk discussed the relationship of the J.N.F. to the Philadelphia community. He asked for guidance from the leadership as to how Philadelphia ought to proceed.

Mrs. Silverman stated that it had become very difficult to bring Palestine to the American Jewish community except through the methods used by the J.N.F. in recent times. The U.J.A. has been swallowed up within the Welfare Funds, Mrs. Silverman declared. Zionist propaganda as such has been sidetracked. The J.N.F. through the back-to-the-land movement has brought inspiration to Zionists who have been yearning for it.

The Chairman pointed out that if a contract is entered into with a partner and certain items are specified in that contract, it is vital that those items be lived up to. Otherwise there is no point in entering into a contract. He declared that at no time was it in the minds of any of those who had negotiated a U.J.A. contract that the J.N.F. would go out and conduct campaigns involving the presence of a thousand people at a dinner at which large sums of money would be raised. The J.N.F. is a 50% partner with the Keren Hayesod in the U.J.A. That is where it is supposed to get the bulk of its money. He was not arguing in any way against the interests of the J.N.F. but it was essential to be realistic and fair in viewing the problem.

Mr. Livingston felt that perhaps the J.N.F. could be used as a propaganda instrument through the U.J.A. At the same time living up to the contract entered into with the partners in the U.J.A.

Mr. Silverman believed that a wider question had been opened. The J.N.F. declares that the Jewish community has an extraordinary interest in Palestine. The answer is to conduct a separate Palestine campaign. Then the field will be open for propaganda and money can also be raised. The methods and techniques utilized in the campaign could not under those circumstances be circumscribed or criticized or opposed. That is the line along which the Zionist leaders ought to begin to think. The time had come for the leaders to understand that a stage had been reached when Palestine could be sold on its merits, in all its facets, and get just as much money as at the present time without facing the embarrassment of the charge of violation of a contract.

Dr. Silver pointed out, merely by way of observation, that when the Allotment Committee considers the total available for distribution, account is taken of every dollar raised by the J.N.F. in the United States. The U.J.A. agreement provides that a record of the net income of the J.N.F. must be submitted to the Allotment Committee. Although it is debarred from using these figures as a basis for calculating the U.P.A. in the funds, it happens that the Allotment Committee always take into account the total picture.

Mr. Rudolph felt that the emphasis placed on the Zionist program through the J.N.F. ought not to be lost to the Zionist and Palestine cause. Mr. Rudolph inquired whether it would not be well to proceed with the J.N.F. traditional collections, building up this area of propaganda and having the total deducted from the share due to the U.P.A. Thus no funds would be lost and a spiritual gain would be registered.

Discussing the agreement for 1944, Mr. Fisher suggested that the agreement should specify clearly what traditional collections the J.N.F. is entitled to conduct. If dinners are permissible, it should be so stated in the contract. If dunam land collections are being made, that too should be made a written part of the contract. The J.N.F.'s rights should be clearly and specifically defined insofar as its framework of action is concerned. Mr. Fisher also pointed out that if the total income of the J.N.F. should be \$1,000,000 in 1943, this could not be considered as

amounting to the same sum as in previous years, since the value of the dollar in Palestine had declined.

Mr. Fisher recommended that the matter ought to be referred to the J.N.F. for the appointment of a special committee to study the problem and meet together with a committee of the U.P.A. to find a solution.

Mr. Solow expressed the view that it was essential to preserve the good name of the Zionist movement. The J.N.F. campaigns ought to be considered from that point of view.

YOUTH ALIYAH

Mr. Rudolf Sonneborn reported for the sub-committee which had considered the subject of coordinating Youth Aliyah activities in the United States. He reviewed the relationship of Hadassah to the U.P.A. on this subject. In 1935 the U.P.A. had given a contract to Hadassah whereby the latter became the exclusive agency in the United States for the collection of funds for youth immigration into Palestine. Hadassah had carried on a campaign successfully for a number of years on a scale sufficiently large to cope with the problems as they developed with respect to the children. Some months ago it became apparent that there was likely to be a much greater problem facing Palestine than the 1,000 or 2,000 per year who were coming into the country.

When the problem arose in this form, Mr. Sonneborn stated, not only did Youth Aliyah continue its activities in the United States, but extended them. Its budgetary requirements this year were raised from some \$350,000 to \$860,000. He believed that Hadassah had been successful in collecting some \$1,000,000 on this item. However, a number of other organizations affiliated with the Zionist movement had used the poignant appeal of the children to engage in independent fund-raising. These organizations had not, however, restricted themselves to the face value of the appeal, which is the greatest appeal that could be made to human beings. In some instances several of the organizations had even offered bargains, so to speak, whereas Hadassah had estimated as a result of the experience of years that it cost some \$480 to maintain a child for two years. Other organizations were using such figures as \$350 or \$250 or even \$200. This resulted in an unfortunate situation.

The U.P.A. appointed a sub-committee for the purpose of attempting to create a machinery which would not prohibit these organizations from conducting their activities, but which would coordinate the work of all and mobilize the interest of all. The U.P.A. sub-committee, after considering the problem, had formulated a proposal which had been submitted to Hadassah first for its consideration. The proposal was in the form of a tentative suggestion or draft. It was drafted at a time when it was believed that the entry of some 29,000 children to Palestine was imminent. Mr. Sonneborn then read the draft statement (Appendix E). He pointed out that the memorandum had been submitted to the Hadassah in the latter part of June and in its acknowledgment, Hadassah had said:

"We were all deeply appreciative of the spirit of friendship and co-operation which underlay the proposals which the sub-committee of the U.P.A. presented to us. However, the National Board of Hadassah did not feel that the proposals, in the present form, could serve the best interest of the work and of our organizations."

Hadassah went on to suggest that the matter would have its consideration in due course. Several follow-up letters were written but as of this time, no counter-suggestion had come forth from Hadassah. The question was now one of procedure and he inquired of the Administrative Committee how it wanted its sub-committee on Youth Aliyah to continue.

There were three alternatives. One was to drop the matter entirely, since the question of mass Jewish children's immigration to Palestine had abated in urgency on the time situation. Another is to organize a body concerned with youth immigration with or without Hadassah. A third alternative is to continue to try to prevail upon Hadassah to join in working out a technique to channel the efforts of all in one organized direction. If and when the problem of child immigration develops in full force to the proportions that it may at any time, a machinery will be needed far beyond the scope of any machinery that exists today. If abortive efforts are going to be made by disjointed organizations operating at will, all of them using the same appeal, the total value of the appeal will be disrupted. Taking the experience of Hadassah as a base, it is obvious that when the mass migration starts, what will be needed will be not hundreds of thousands of dollars, but millions of dollars. If the commitment entered into by the Jewish Agency is to be fulfilled, there will be need of every possible agency and organization, non-Zionist and even non-Jewish, to join with the organized forces for Palestine to rescue the children. The question is what shall we do right now. The problem may not seem urgent today. It may be a problem only for tomorrow. Shall matters be allowed to rest as they are or shall some form of action be taken?

The Chairman thanked Mr. Sonneborn for the comprehensive statement he had made as well as for the work which he and his associates had done in the sub-committee. He felt that the work of the sub-committee should be continued and that it should keep in close touch with the problem as it develops. If for the moment the problem does not seem urgent, it should be borne in mind that it may flare up at any moment. He believed that the committee headed by Mr. Sonneborn should continue its work and maintain its contacts with Hadassah and other organizations. Perhaps through such discussion the others may modify their view and decide to meet and arrive at a common formula. From the correspondence with Hadassah it would seem that the Hadassah had not closed its mind on the issue. The committee should be given authority to use its best discretion in the matter. In the meantime the committee should keep itself alive and functioning.

Mrs. Silverman reported on the work done in Youth Aliyah in England. She pointed out that when the report was issued of a large-scale children's immigration program, several new organizations were created to utilize the sympathetic sentiment.

Mr. Papish observed that very often it was possible to obtain more money from the community through several campaigns than through one. He cited his own experience in getting funds for Palestine through appeals on several different occasions.

The Chairman declared that it was necessary for the Youth Aliyah sub-committee of the U.P.A. to get together with a committee of Hadassah. Inquiry should be made as to what Hadassah has in mind and proceed from that point.

Judge Goldberg pointed out that discussion had been given during the meeting to protests by the J.D.C. with respect to the J.N.F. and its method of raising funds. He wondered whether if the U.P.A. undertook some kind of supervisory body, whether precisely the same difficulty might not be created with the J.D.C. The experience in Boston, he said, has been that not one single dollar was diverted from the combined community appeal by reason of J.N.F. collections or campaigns for Youth Aliyah.

The Chairman observed that it is not the intention of the U.P.A. to absorb the money-raising end of the project at this time. It is merely engaged in trying to coordinate the efforts of the various organizations in the field and of many of them which are mushrooming into the field. Each is conducting a campaign of its own for youth immigration, and the actions of some of them are embarrassing the whole Palestine fund-raising situation in the United States. He believed that the Youth Aliyah sub-committee ought to be authorized to proceed. This action was taken.

The meeting was adjourned at 5:20 P.M.

APPENDIX A

1943
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL
August 24, 1943

Bank Balance as of January 1, 1943 \$ 56,942.39

INCOME:

United Palestine Appeal - 1943 (Bequests)	\$ 3,675.51	
Jewish National Fund - 1943 (thru June)	621,032.44	
United Jewish Appeal - 1943 (thru 69th unit)	1,904,400.00	
United Jewish Appeal - 1942	1,568,500.00	
United Jewish Appeal - 1941	40,601.02	
United Jewish Appeal - 1940	7,794.24	
United Jewish Appeal - 1939	2,063.91	
Prior Campaigns	<u>251.76</u>	<u>4,148,318.88</u>
<u>TOTAL CASH RECEIVED</u>		<u>\$4,205,261.27</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Jewish National Fund	-1943	\$1,145,000.00	
	-1942	761,175.00	
	-1941	60,000.00	
	-1940	7,543.02	
	-1938	139.87*	
	-1937	177.11**	
	-1936	<u>140.00</u>	\$1,974,175.00

Palestine Foundation Fund-1943	\$1,145,000.00		
	-1942	761,175.00	
	-1941	60,000.00	
	-1940	7,543.02	
	-1938	139.87*	
	-1937	177.11**	
	-1936	<u>140.00</u>	1,974,175.00

Mizrachi Palestine Fund	-1943	<u>80,000.00</u>	
		\$4,028,350.00	

SERVICE PAYMENTS:

Zionist Organization	- 1943	\$ 36,000.00	
Mizrachi Organization	- 1943	7,000.00	
Poale Zion - Zeire Zion	- 1943	7,000.00	
Hashomer Hatzair	- 1943	<u>600.00</u>	50,600.00

Executive Committee Grant - Mrs. Annie Stone	\$ 1,300.05	
Executive Committee Grant - Isidor Kadis	2,946.67	
National Administrative Expenses	<u>70,331.67</u>	<u>74,578.39</u>

<u>TOTAL CASH DISBURSEMENTS</u>	<u>4,153,528.39</u>
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Bank Balance as of August 24, 1943 \$ 51,732.88

National City Bank	\$46,732.88
Public National Bank	<u>5,000.00</u>
	<u>\$51,732.88</u>

* Includes \$47.62 for 1938 Palestine Emergency Fund

** Includes \$59.04 for 1937 Palestine Emergency Fund

APPENDIX B

MIZRACHI ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
1133 Broadway
New York City #10, N.Y.

August 16, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 43 Street
New York City #17

Dear Dr. Silver:

In June, Rabbi Meyer Berlin and Rabbi Max Kirshblum met with the Allocations Committee of Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth to discuss the problem of the future relationship of the Mizrachi Organization of America with the United Palestine Appeal. They explained to you at that time the expansion of the Mizrachi work in Palestine and the further expansion of that work during the post war era, provision for which must be made now. Rabbi Berlin indicated that a minimum of \$300,000 was necessary during the coming year to take care of these needs.

It was also explained to your Allocations Committee at that conference that the Mizrachi Organization of America cannot continue in its present status as a silent beneficiary of the United Palestine Appeal. The report of our achievements in the Holy Land and the message of our organization are not given an opportunity to appear before the American Jewish community. As a growing movement both here and in Eretz Israel, we are anxious that American Jewry should know of our increasing accomplishments and should become more conversant with our purposes and ideology. All of this we are prevented from doing as long as we are compelled to remain in the category of a recipient of benefactions and are not permitted to become a partner in the total effort and composition of the United Palestine Appeal.

Your Allocations Committee explained to us that it could not make any change in the financial arrangement nor promise such a change because it could not commit the 1944 U.P.A. to any obligations. It further stated that all arrangements made in America would have to receive the endorsement of Palestine. While we recognize the validity of these arguments, we cannot help but consider them as technicalities in the face of the magnitude of our own problems, especially as they involve immediate adjustments on account of a war emergency. We, therefore, asked that our organization be informed no later than by the end of July of any decisions reached in our matter in order that we may have ample time to make the necessary plans for 1944. At this date, we have not yet heard from you.

We have, therefore, assumed that the Allocations Committee of the U.P.A. is not ready to act favorably upon the request that we made.

In the light of that fact, our Administrative Committee decided to convene a meeting of our National Administrative Council (Vaad Harashi) early in September, immediately following the American Jewish Conference, for the purpose of authorizing and initiating an independent Mizrachi Palestine Fund Campaign for 1944. We naturally deem it our duty, in view of our past relationship, to inform you of that decision.

We should like you to know that this decision does not in any way imply an unwillingness on our part to cooperate with and interest ourselves in the United Palestine Appeal. We plan to give to the U.P.A. every measure of assistance as

-2-

we have at all times done as loyal and responsible Zionists.

May we finally say that we are gratified in the knowledge that our eight years of association with the U.P.A. were marked by cooperation, harmony and mutual understanding on the part of all Zionist groups. We hope that that will continue in the future.

Cordially yours,

(Signed)

Leon Gellman
President

(Signed)

Herman Hollander
Chairman, Executive Committee



APPENDIX C

AGUDAS ISRAEL OF AMERICA
1123 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

August 9, 1943

United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42 Street
New York City

Gentlemen:

As a member of the United Jewish Appeal we are enclosing a copy of the letter sent to the United Jewish Appeal. May we ask your kind cooperation in this just cause.

Sincerely yours,

AGUDAS ISRAEL OF AMERICA

(Signed) S. EICHENSTEIN
Rabbi S. Eichenstein
Director

APPENDIX C (Cont'd)

AGUDAS ISRAEL OF AMERICA
1123 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

August 9, 1943

United Jewish Appeal
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

We were informed of the campaign which your organization is running for the rescue of the Jewish refugee children.

Our organization in Palestine has to care for more than 100 of the Teheran children who were brought to Palestine by the Joint Distribution Committee. Our members, rabbis and laymen, were and are helping the efforts of the United Jewish Appeal on account of the Joint Distribution Committee, the only organization which does not discriminate, but helps all needy without distinction of party adherence and religious convictions. As far as the United Palestine Appeal is concerned, the Agudas Israel and all Jewry did not get anything from all the sums which are supposed to be collected for all the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine.

The problem with the refugee children is too sacred for the Agudas Israel and we will see to it that they should get a religious education in a religious environment.

We therefore ask you to include our organization in this emergency campaign for the sake of justice and unity. The Agudas Israel which was always seeking and aiming for unity cannot stand any further discriminations. We ask you to include us in your campaign so that we should not be compelled to take actions which will harm your efforts and the most needed unity.

Sincerely yours,

AGUDAS ISRAEL OF AMERICA

Rabbi S. Eichenstein
Director

P.S. A copy of the above letter was sent to the Joint Distribution Committee, National Refugee Service and United Palestine Appeal.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH
JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE, INC.
100 East 42 Street, New York, N.Y.

June 30, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, National Chairman
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Silver:

In connection with the several discussions that have been held concerning the so-called "traditional collections" of the Jewish National Fund, Mr. Isaac H. Levy, together with Mr. Hyman, representing our organization, has had a meeting recently with Dr. Israel Goldstein and Mr. Mendel Fisher. The gist of the discussion is set forth in a Memorandum of Conference, which, substantially, gives our viewpoint at this time.

I feel that the matter is one which in the final analysis must be determined by yourself and your colleagues in the United Palestine Appeal. I regret that I did not have the chance to see you when you were last in New York, as I was unable to attend the meeting of the United Jewish Appeal Executive Committee.

With greetings,

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Paul Baerwald
Honorary Chairman

PB:nh

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE

between

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN and MR. MENDEL N. FISHER,
Representing the UPA and MR. JOSEPH C. HYMAN and
MR. ISAAC H. LEVY, representing JDC, on Friday,
June 11, 1943.

T o : MR. BAERWALD

On Friday, June 11th, we met with Dr. Israel Goldstein and Mr. Mendel N. Fisher to discuss the matter of campaigns for JNF traditional collections. At the end of the conference, we undertook to formulate the views we had presented and to communicate them to Dr. Goldstein. This memorandum, therefore, does not set forth a resume of what took place at the conference, but is confined to a statement of our position.

At the outset, we stated that the matter under discussion was one between the JDC and the UPA under the terms of their 1943 contract and we asked that our meeting with Dr. Goldstein and Mr. Fisher should not be construed as a direct approach to the JNF. (Dr. Goldstein said that that was also his understanding.)

The following is a statement of our position, in substance as we presented it:

The fact that should dominate all our thinking is that the JDC and the UPA are partners in the United Jewish Appeal. As a constituent of the UPA and one of its two equal beneficiaries, the JNF is bound by the same duties and obligations as the UPA.

The UJA contract for 1943 provides with reference to traditional collections as follows:

"The traditional collections of the Jewish National Fund are not to be included or to be considered a part of the U.J.A. However, a report of its net receipts shall be made available to the Allotment Committee. Any income received by the Jewish National Fund through allotment from Welfare Funds or from joint campaigns conducted by communities where no Welfare Funds exist is to be considered income for the U.J.A."

The contract contains no definition of traditional collections, and, in the nature of things, there can be no definition that is complete and entirely satisfactory. It might theoretically have been possible to agree upon a formula that would limit traditional collections, either in the aggregate or in respect to the amount of the individual contributions. From our experience over the past year or two, however, it is felt that such a limitation of itself would not reach the fundamental difficulty. That difficulty can be met only if regard is had to the primary objective of the United Jewish Appeal, and to the supreme obligation that the parties have to the partnership undertaking as against any independent interest. No specific formula will avail unless there is this background of relationship between the constituent members of the UJA, and if the requirements of this relationship are respected with the utmost good faith, then there is good ground for hope that no specific formula will be necessary. When the contract was originally drawn, it was undoubtedly upon this basis - that there would be such good faith and understanding in the conduct of the joint campaign, that detailed definition of the term "traditional collections" was unnecessary.

In our opinion no limitation would be effective unless there is full acceptance of the principle that there shall be no campaigns and no organizational activity for the collection of funds for the exclusive use of the JNF that do not recognize the dominant rights of the united appeal, and this, not in a confined or literal sense, but with the fullest possible respect for partnership obligations.

But in this connection it must be recognized that there is an inherent difficulty, due to the anomalous situation of the JNF in that it is a beneficiary of the joint appeal, in effect a partner, while at the same time it is permitted to collect independently, and for the same purposes for which it participates in the joint appeal. In the nature of things it is under a strong inducement to use its efforts for its exclusive benefit. This is not to suggest that the JNF has not given a large and devoted service to the common cause. But although inevitably it

may find difficulty in controlling its representatives in the field or in curbing the zeal of the very large number throughout the United States who are intensely interested in the program of acquiring land in Palestine, the manner and method of conducting the so-called traditional collections goes to the very heart of the problem. A very slight impulsion from an active organization operating in these conditions is bound to transfer loyalties from the joint activity to the particular interest.

The result is the numerous complaints that have been received from various sections of the country to the effect that the independent JNF campaigns have interfered with and prejudiced the community program of a single appeal for joint purposes. These complaints arise not alone by reason of the actual results achieved. It is not to be determined in each case whether in fact funds have been diverted from UJA to JNF. It is sufficient that the community funds are disturbed and apprehensive with reference to the trend and the implications of an independent competitive appeal. Even in the case of collections whose traditional nature no one will question, it is possible by intensive campaign methods and by the appeal of an active organization to expand collections to an extent that will cause friction in the local communities, will lead to the conviction that funds are being diverted from the joint appeal, and in some cases will lead to questions as to the integrity of the conduct of a partner who seeks actively for funds in direct competition with the joint agency in whose collections that partner participates.

It is because under normal conditions these things could so easily occur, and because whether or not there is an actual basis in fact, there were frequent complaints that these things did occur, that we had come to the conclusion and pressed our view that no restriction or limitation could avail unless there is acceptance of the fact that the form of campaign and the methods of organizing campaigns are the essential conditions prerequisite, and that unless there is control over these conditions, no other method of control is feasible.

One item that illustrates the problem (although the problem is by no means confined to this matter) is the question of Dunam land contributions. Is this an item of traditional collection, and if so, what are its limitations? The truth is that in essence this expresses the entire scope of the JNF program. If in some restricted sense Dunam land contributions can be said to be traditional, it is obvious that by intensive campaign methods, large public dinners, cooperative projects, zealous solicitation - these collections can be so expanded as to absorb the entire interest of those who are particularly devoted to the acquisition of land in Palestine. It is not only a question of diversion of funds from the joint undertaking, it is also a question of isolating possible sources of future contributions; it also places very large numbers outside the scope and operation of a joint appeal and consolidates them into a completely competitive body of the community.

In the last analysis, therefore, the solution of the problem must rest on a conscientious regard by the parties to the contract for their respective obligations in a joint undertaking.

Finally, under present conditions there is no sense in any activity that attempts to separate the problem that confronts the Jews in the United States. The work of preservation of the remnants of Jews in the Occupied Countries and of relief and rescue is essential to any program of settlement of Jews in Palestine. The acquisition of land has no meaning unless there is the utmost cooperation in the work of preservation and rescue. Any factor that tends to place any emphasis upon any part of this work as competitive with the whole program is utterly without reason.

APPENDIX E

PROPOSAL FOR A UNIFIED AGENCY IN THE UNITED STATES TO SUPERVISE THE RAISING OF FUNDS FOR YOUTH IMMIGRATION

After a survey of the problems arising out of confusion in the field of fund-raising for youth immigration, the Sub-Committee of the United Palestine Appeal has formulated its views in a proposal which it submits for adoption by the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal.

(1) Taking note of the agreement made in December, 1935, between the United Palestine Appeal and Hadassah, and recognizing that the rate of youth immigration to Palestine is assuming a form far beyond the scope contemplated in 1935, it is desirable that there shall be a reconstitution of the form of sponsorship for fund-raising for youth immigration in the United States. It is proposed that the form shall be as follows:

The United Palestine Appeal shall create a Youth Immigration Trust Fund. Its membership shall be composed, in equal numbers, of representatives designated by the United Palestine Appeal and by Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America. In addition, one representative each shall be allowed on the Committee to the Mizrahi Women's Organization and the Pioneer Women, which, through the activities of their parent bodies in Palestine are interested in the youth immigration program, or to any other acceptable organization or agency which is or may be interested in the youth immigration program.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Youth Immigration Trust Fund to determine the manner in which funds for youth immigration shall be raised authoritatively in the United States, in consultation with and under the approval of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Jerusalem. The Youth Immigration Trust Fund shall determine the respective fields in which each or any Jewish body may raise funds for youth immigration purposes in the United States. The Youth Immigration Trust fund shall have supervision and control of the type and nature of publicity, promotion and advertising which any agency, authorized to raise funds for youth immigration purposes in the United States, shall be entitled to use. Any fund-raising activity initiated outside the purview and without the approval of the Youth Immigration Trust Fund shall be declared unauthorized in a statement to be issued to the country by the Youth Immigration Trust Fund.

(3) All funds obtained in the United States for youth immigration purposes in Palestine shall be channeled through the Youth Immigration Trust Fund directly to the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Jerusalem.

(4) The Youth Immigration Trust Fund shall make monthly reports to the United Palestine Appeal and to Hadassah on all of its activities and provide a quarterly audited statement on receipts and disbursements.

(5) Should any new situation arise requiring adjustments and new procedures, the problem shall be referred to the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal.

[Aug 29, 1943]

The
Zionist Position
A Statement

SUBMITTED TO THE DELEGATES

To The

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

AUGUST TWENTY-NINTH

NINETEEN FORTY-THREE

By

THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

The ZIONIST POSITION

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Published by
THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE
FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS
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ADDRESSED TO THE DELEGATES
OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
HELD IN NEW YORK ON
AUGUST TWENTY-NINTH
NINETEEN FORTY-THREE
AT THE
WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS
41 EAST 42ND STREET • NEW YORK

THE ZIONIST POSITION

To The Delegates of The American Jewish Conference

THE American Jewish Conference, which you constitute, is a democratically elected body of men and women entrusted with the task of formulating the outlook and policy of American Jewry in respect of Jewish problems as they now exist and will exist at the close of the war. The circumstances under which you meet are in many ways unprecedented. At no time before has the world stood so clearly at one of the turning points of history. At no time before have such great masses of human beings felt so conscious of the fateful character of the hour, and of the interdependence of human destinies throughout the world. At no time before, therefore, has there been such general receptivity toward proposals and plans for the stabilization and reconstruction of the world. The responsibility which rests on a deliberative, representative body such as yours is correspondingly grave.

But a particular and special responsibility attaches to your deliberations. Meeting as Americans and Jews, you are called upon to express the will of American Jewry in regard to a problem, or set of problems, which has more than the usual degree of interrelation with world conditions. This situation is neither of your making nor your choice; nor is it of the making or choice of Jews anywhere. The Jewish problem has long been one of the world's maladjustments. In recent times it has become the focus of a world conspiracy with far wider objectives than the destruction of the Jewish people itself. It has become the instrument for the mustering and training of forces which aimed at the destruction of our civilization. It has, further, become a test of social morality; there is no surer touchstone of the spirit of men and movements than their attitude toward the Jewish people.

Of this tragic and unsought role of Jewry the civilized world is in a large measure aware. It is prepared

to listen, therefore, more attentively than ever before to the measures you will propose for the remedying of a condition fraught with danger to itself not less than to the Jews. What you will send forth from this conference will be regarded as the official view of American Jewry on the nature and treatment of the Jewish problem.

In this sense you are collaborators with the civilized world in providing direction on a matter of universal importance. We cannot expect even the most benevolent and liberal gentile opinion to understand the Jewish problem, and to prescribe for its treatment, if Jewish opinion on the subject is not formulated with clarity and stated with dignity. If we cannot speak with decisiveness and clarity on the Jewish problem, who can?

These considerations acquire a greater urgency from the fact that we are by far the largest segment of Jewry actively occupied with the Jewish problem. Your decisions will be accepted as the measure of practical support which American Jewry will bring to whatever plans are ultimately adopted. They will be viewed as an expression of intention, as well as of outlook. Last, but not least, they will be eagerly received by millions of Jews throughout the world, who will find in them the encouragement or extinction of their last hopes.

It is with a sober realization of all these implications that the Zionists of America submit for your earnest consideration the following reflections on the Jewish problem.

2.

Conditions of World Jewry

IT is only in democratic countries unconquered by the Nazi-Fascist enemies of mankind that the Jews have retained the status accorded them by the Emancipation. But there too elements are continuously at work to undermine their liberties. The end of the war will

witness the last, desperate attempt of the defeated power-worshippers to retrieve at least part of their position by keeping alive the divisions which served them so well in the past. Among these, none was of greater value to them than anti-Semitism. *Not* to permit the Jewish problem to be solved will be part of the post-war strategy of the surviving Nazi and pro-Nazi groups; *not* to discourage, but rather to intensify the conditions which foster anti-Semitism will be the first point in their program.

While the assault on Jewry in the democratic countries has been relatively unsuccessful, in Axis-dominated countries the Jewish scene is one of indescribable ruin. It may be said that in its Jewish program the Nazi world has had two objectives, an unlimited and a limited. The first entailed the literal, physical destruction of the Jewish people; the second entailed such an intensification of the Jewish problem as to make mankind despair of its solution. The two objectives have been pursued side by side.

It has been established that *four million Jewish civilians*—men, women and children—have been done to death by the Nazi masters of central and eastern Europe. The programmatic slaughter has taken every conceivable form: starvation, exposure, mass shooting, gas poisonings. It has paused only before considerations of practicality or utility. The difficulty of disposing of so many corpses, the fear of epidemics, and the possibility of extracting slave labor from the able-bodied, have kept the physical destruction from completeness. But the condition of the survivors reflects the second, or limited, objective of the Nazis.

The cultural, religious, social and economic institutions of European Jewry have been pulverized and dispersed. Hundreds of ancient and famous Jewish communities, associated with all that was precious in the Jewish past,—Vilna, Warsaw, Lodz, Lublin, Mir, Zhitomir—centres of learning and tradition, have disappeared. On top of this, the Nazis have carried out a demoniacally ingenious policy of populational be-devilment. Hundreds of thousands of Jews have been torn from their homes and sent across Europe in cattle-cars to newly created ghettos and concentration camps. It is the hope of the Nazis that even if they are defeated, it will never be possible to unscramble this pitiful Jewish mass, to reassign its confused elements to their places of origin, or to re-establish any of their previous rights.

In this secondary policy of Nazidom toward the Jews, an appalling degree of success has been achieved. For, side by side with the transportations, separations and imprisonments, there has gone on a physical deterioration of the survivors which was part of the general plan of the Nazi powers. Whatever privations have been cruelly visited on conquered peoples, have been doubly visited on the Jews. Whatever few outlets have been left to the conquered peoples for their energies, skills and psychological needs, have been withheld from the Jews. In every other instance some mitigation of the wretchedness of life under Nazi domination was possible; for the Nazis came to everyone else as the conquerors and exploiters; exploitation implies at least some measure of regard for the physical condition of the exploited. In the case of the Jews they came avowedly and shamelessly as the destroyers. Lust for power and possession actuated the Nazis in their treatment of Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Russians and others. Their policy—if that word is really applicable—toward the Jews was of another order, not commensurate even with the usual concepts of ruthless egotism. It issued from an insane and implacable obsession, a convulsion of sustained hatred not amenable to reason and hardly susceptible of analysis.

Trampling on the rights of defeated nations, the Nazis have consistently preached to their victims the doctrine that the Jew was responsible for their condition. They have sought—and perhaps with some measure of success—to deflect the rage and bitterness of the exploited peoples toward the Jews. It is futile to deny that in many areas of Europe a predisposition toward Judaeophobia was widely prevalent before the outbreak of the war; and there is little evidence that involvement in a common misery with the Jews has done anything toward the removal of that predisposition.

To those whose concern is with the present horror in which European Jewry lives, and with the hopes of a radical change for the better in the near future, the following questions present themselves: What will be the picture when, on the morning after the democratic victory, the walls of the ghettos and the barbed-wire fences of the concentration camps are torn down, and the haggard and tormented survivors emerge? The German Jews who have rotted in Lublin, the Jews of Amsterdam and Paris who have outlived the tortures of Gurs and Dachau, the Jews of Warsaw and Cracow

and Lemberg and Bukarest and Braila, and of a hundred other Jewish communities, uprooted, scattered, weakened, homeless, robbed of their families, of their social connections, of their possessions—what possibilities will exist for them in Europe in the years immediately following the war? What plans can we make for them in full understanding of their plight? And how can these plans be made to fit into the larger aspects of the Jewish problem and of general postwar needs?

3.

The Range of the Practical Problem

FOR every other people temporarily dominated by the Nazis, the problem, after the victory, is in a sense simple and straightforward. It is a problem of liberation, reorganization and reconstruction. For the Jews the problem is complicated by an ancient evil which Nazism intensified and exploited, but did not create. Whatever is undertaken for the rehabilitation of Jewish life, we must ask ourselves: "To what extent shall we run up against anti-Semitism? To what extent will our program encourage or discourage conditions favorable to the propagation of anti-Semitic sentiment?"

We have seen that this question is one with which not we alone are concerned. Anti-Semitism may without exaggeration be called a world calamity. It is a general moral infection against which there is no sanitary cordon. A resurgence of anti-Semitism in Germany or Poland or Roumania activates sympathetic germs dormant in France, America and England. And the disease is the infallible precursor of the political and moral debasement of a part of society. It would be wrong, as well as futile, to base a Jewish policy on the reactions of anti-Semites; it would be equally wrong to ignore the interaction of a given Jewish policy with anti-Semitism, and the general effect on the mind of the public.

What numbers of European Jews surviving the war may we reasonably expect to rehabilitate (1) either in the places where they will be found at the end of the war, or (2) in the places from which they were forcibly removed? No one can hazard a plausible answer today. But we are morally certain that an immense proportion, perhaps the majority, will fall outside those two classifications. We have only to consider some of the con-

ditions which the last two years have created. Mention has been made of the complete pauperization of Jewish individuals, of the complete destruction of all organized forms of Jewish life, of the obliteration of communities and families in one indistinguishable mass of tormented humanity. For varying numbers of years these millions have not been permitted to practice the trades and professions in which they were trained. The setting in which they once made a living has disappeared. If the places they once occupied in the economy of their original countries still exist, they now provide others with livings. The doctor's practice, the lawyer's clientele, the merchant's customers, the workman's job—to whatever extent they have continued under Nazi domination—now belong to non-Jews who, in many cases, do not share the guilt for the change. But even the most innocent beneficiary of the Nazi policy of expropriation of Jews will not easily reconcile himself to the return of the victim and the demand for restitution.

The actual effect of these years of horror on the Jews themselves can only be surmised. There are tens of thousands of young people who have never known, or who no longer remember, what it means to be treated like a human being by the non-Jewish world. For them the badge of shame, the state of segregation, the continuous exposure to maltreatment and humiliation, are normal things. Their elders are in hardly better case. During the period of Nazi domination they have lived in a world whose horizons have never been more than twenty-four hours away. How to find food and shelter for the next day, how to evade, for one day more, the seekers of slave labor, how to prevent, if possible, for one day more, the disruption of the remainder of the family—these have been their preoccupations. It has been one long nightmare of privations, terrors, anxieties, uncertainties and degradations.

These are the men and women who must be returned to a normal life, fitted into the liberated countries which will, however, be marked by the normal features of the competitive struggle, and, in some instances by an all-too-normal touch of anti-Semitism. Undoubtedly there will be many Jews who will issue from the ghetto, the labor camp and the mine prepared to resume the struggle, with some assistance from more fortunate Jewish communities. But just as undoubtedly there will be many—nor need these be regarded as lacking in stamina and character—who will contemplate the resumption of the old life with something akin to

horror. Not the economic uphill fight will deter them, but the memories associated with the old surroundings. There are certain experiences which it is well to forget, but which cannot be forgotten except by removal to a distant place. In such cases the very power of recuperation is paralyzed by compulsory sojourn in the vicinity of the experiences.

Several factors must therefore be borne in mind in considering proposals for the normalization of European Jewry after the war: the difficulty of reintegrating many individuals with the post-war economy; the complete absence of those communal organizations which were the administrative instruments, after the last war, for the help which came from overseas Jewry; the psychological condition of many of the surviving Jews; the danger of a new anti-Semitic infection, encouraged by the presence of an amorphous, locally unabsorbable mass of Jews; the moral revulsion of hundreds of thousands of Jews from the prospect of attempting to rebuild their shattered lives in lands which for them are filled with intolerable memories.

It is clear that no coherent plan of reconstruction for European Jewry can be formulated unless it is taken for granted that arrangements will be made for a simultaneous large-scale emigration. The very manageability of any local plan depends upon the regular siphoning off, for the next ten or fifteen years, of at least a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand Jews annually. This statement must not be taken to imply that any country has the right to consider its Jewish citizens, as such, a superfluous element. If a country is overpopulated, the pressure toward migration applies to the Jewish element neither more nor less than to others. Whatever the peculiar difficulties under which the Jewish population labors, and whatever the help extended to it by world Jewry, the local government can under no circumstances differentiate, in the application of laws, between Jews and non-Jews. The war will have been won in vain by the democracies if the victory is not followed by an international understanding, expressed in international law, that the equality of all men, of all races and religions, before the law, is the foundation of civilization. The American Jewish Conference must express itself on this point with the utmost clarity and vigor. But it would be the height of impracticality for the Conference to fail to take into account the actualities of the European situation. The migration of hundreds of thousands of Jews from

Europe after the war is not a matter of principle. It is a matter of practical inevitability. It is a matter of life and death for the migrants, and not less so for those who remain behind. And it is a practical contribution of the first magnitude to the mitigation of a problem with very wide repercussions; it is a form of collaboration with the world at large in the discouragement of anti-Semitic factors.

The American Jewish Conference cannot evade this issue. It must confront the European reality; and it must confront, as boldly, the reality in the New World: namely, that the prospect of large scale immigration which, for a long time to come, non-existent. Again it is not a question of concurring in a principle. The prevailing sentiment for the maintenance of the closed door against immigrants may be deplored as illiberal, unwise, narrow and, where actuated by patriotism, self-defeating. But to refuse to accept a principle does not mean that we shall not make provision against its application. If we rely, for the easing of the pressure in Europe, on the liberalization of the immigration laws in the Americas and elsewhere, we shall be building our policy on an illusion. The practical consequences will be disastrous. Again, as in the case of European Jewish rehabilitation on the spot, a certain measure of relief may be reasonably looked for in this direction. *But the fundamental fact of the post-war situation for European Jewry is the possibility and feasibility of large scale Jewish resettlement in Palestine.*

Not to make the most of this factor would be to condemn the American Jewish Conference to futility.

4.

Resettlement In Palestine

THE question of Palestine's immigration possibilities, and of the political conditions which must be created to make those possibilities effective, will be treated fully in the sequel. We must concern ourselves first with the features of Jewish resettlement in Palestine which give it its distinctive character.

There is no territory in the world, however liberal and democratic the attitude of its inhabitants toward newcomers, which can offer the same welcome to immigrant Jews as Jewish Palestine. The best that can be expected elsewhere is the generosity of a stranger. Jewish immigration into Palestine is reunion with one's

own. Elsewhere a forward-looking populational policy may keep the doors open to a limited extent; in Palestine the universal cry of the Jewish Homeland is for increase in numbers limited only by the practical considerations. Elsewhere the influx of immigrants—and particularly of Jewish immigrants—narrows the possibilities for those who have been left behind. In Palestine alone, as experience has abundantly shown, the increase in Jewish immigration is followed by a further increase in absorptive capacity. In every other country a possible change of policy on the part of the government, or of mood on the part of the population, makes the privilege of immigration precarious; long range plans for large scale settlement of Jews are pointless; there is a constant shifting of territories; there is a constant and costly process of search, investigation, negotiation and reorganization, and a constant adaptation to new conditions; there is a constant distraction of Jewish energies between various untied possibilities and uncertain hopes. In Palestine alone the unchangeable policy of the Homeland is for the increase of Jewish population; here alone long range planning, based on permanence of purpose, has been and is at work with increasing effect. The territory remains the same, the methods of settlement evolve organically from living conditions, the search and investigation are completed; the possibilities have been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt; and the Jewish Homeland is a unifying and energizing factor for Jewish constructive efforts everywhere.

The immemorial tragedy of its migrations has eaten deeply into the consciousness of the Jewish people; it has been given new poignancy by the events of the last decade. American Jews, secure in their rights, fixed in their loyalties, must make an effort of the imagination to appreciate in what frame of mind even those European Jews who clamor for escape face the future in a new land. They have endured or witnessed such manifestations of cruelty and bigotry as might shake the faith of the strongest. They have experienced, in their own lives, the concentration of thousands of years of Jew-hatred, brought to a climax by the most brutal outbreak of criminal anti-Semitism in all history. They know, of course, that the civilized part of the world has condemned the outrage. They know that better conditions—they could not be worse!—await them elsewhere. But is it any wonder if a deep uncertainty haunts their dreams of the future, and if they enter even the most democratic of new lands with the secret

dread that here, too, they are not permanently secure? This is not something to be argued away; it is a psychological condition which calls for sympathy and understanding.

The Jewish Homeland in Palestine occupies a unique position in regard to this aspect of the problem. Whatever hardships the newcomer must face there, he is at least not haunted by the fear of a new betrayal. He is all the readier to meet privation, and even danger, because he feels secure in the fundamental matter of his relationship to society. He has come into the homeland which his fellow-Jews have been preparing for him. He is to help prepare a place for others who will follow him. From the day of his arrival on, he is a creative element. The paralyzing memories which would haunt him in the land of his origin, the uncertainty which would pursue him to any other country, are absent. The environment, friendly, dynamic, hopeful, reawakens in him the vitality which his experiences have almost destroyed. He is at home.

The recuperative value of these circumstances is apparent to everyone who understands the human factor in the task of reconstruction. An intelligent philanthropy—and this statement frankly urges something more than that—cannot without self-contradiction ignore the special factors represented by the Jewish Homeland and treat Palestine merely as one of a class of possibilities. To urge upon the world the unique significance of Palestine in the solution of the Jewish problem, to organize the Jewish people for the full creative exploitation of its possibilities, is the first condition of Jewish participation in post-war reconstruction. It is a policy which can convert the ghastly consequences of the Hitlerian anti-Semitic fury into material for a creative effort, and restore a great portion of its victims to social usefulness with a minimum of suffering, delay and loss.

5.

The Fruit of Zionist Endeavor

THAT there should exist, at the present juncture of affairs, this opportunity with regard to Palestine, calls for some comment. It is not the result of accident; and not entirely of deliberately planned action. The Zionist movement, which is responsible for the develop-

ment of the Jewish Homeland to a point which makes it the dominating factor in the treatment of the Jewish problem, is not the work of one man, or of any group of men. It is not the product of an excoagulated theory of Jewish life. The sources of its power lie deep in the historic strength of Jewish life; they are the spontaneous expression of a national will, inseparable from the impulse to survival of the Jewish people.

The longing of Jewry to rebuild in Palestine a specifically Jewish civilization, incorporated in a Jewish Homeland, has persisted for two thousand years. It has been independent of the vicissitudes of Jewish fortune. In freedom or oppression, in prosperity or adversity, Jews have felt themselves tied by indissoluble religious, cultural and historical bonds to the concept of a recreated Jewish civilization in the land of Jewish origins. There was nothing artificial in the perpetuation of this sentiment. It flowed naturally from generation to generation, an integral part of the religion, the ritual, the tradition and the folklore of the Jews. At no moment did the Jewish people ever acknowledge that their ejection from Palestine was the final verdict of history. Their appeal was made daily to the Supreme Judge for deliverance from exile. Their prayers echoed and re-echoed the hope of the Restoration. Their worship was interwoven with the commemorative ritual of a rural life on Palestinian soil.

Nor was it in the Jewish people alone that this ideal of restitution was sustained. The whole of Christianity is suffused with this concept. In many Christian sects the Restoration of the Jews is a specific article of faith. In others it is implicit. Since the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine, many nations have occupied the country; but in the mind of the western and Christian world one people is associated with the Holy Land, and that is the Jewish. Had it been otherwise, the Jewish claim to Palestine would have seemed incomprehensible to the western world. But the fact is that, after the lapse of twenty centuries, Christian statesmen, Christian writers, Christian religious leaders and Christian laymen quite naturally acquiesce in the claim: it is to them part of the proper order of the world. This circumstance is in its own way not less remarkable than the persistence of the claim within the Jewish people itself. No one has ever ceased to consider Palestine the Homeland of the Jewish people. There is no point in history of which it can be said that there and then the separation of the Jews from Palestine was accepted as the final

dispensation. On the contrary, that separation was always regarded as something provisional, something to be rectified before the perfection of the world could begin.

The Zionist movement is therefore an expression both of the character of the Jewish people and of the general outlook of the western world. Had it begun, in the nineteenth century, simply as a resurrection of a forgotten claim, it would have been laughed out of court in the Christian world, and would have made no headway among the Jews. That the Christian world was disposed to listen, that the Jewish world responded with practical measures, is proof that Zionism is one of the living forces of the world.

All this is not to say that Zionism as an organized movement could dispense with leadership and explicit formulation, or that it did not meet with opposition or lack of understanding. Among the Jews the very fact that the Restoration had been a belief for so long militated against its becoming a reality. In some Jewish groups the belief itself had died together with the belief in the possibility or desirability of maintaining the identity of the Jewish people. In the Christian world, too, opposition and lack of understanding existed. It would have been unnatural had they not existed. The remarkable and unique feature of the situation is that the predominant sentiment is for a Jewish homeland in Palestine for the Restoration. *A Jewish conference called for the purpose of planning the Jewish future must properly assess the power of the Zionist ideal as the greatest moral asset of the Jewish people, as it must assess the achievements in Palestine as its greatest practical asset.*

6.

Misconceptions Regarding Zionism

THE Zionist movement, like any other force of social significance, has been subject both to honest misunderstanding and malicious misrepresentation. Two misconceptions, in particular, have militated among Jews against a complete acceptance of its program, and must therefore be mentioned in a discussion of a program of Jewish action.

Zionism does not contemplate, and has never contemplated, the withdrawal of all Jewish communities

from their present locations, and their concentration in a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The reconstitution of the Jewish homeland does not imply any need, or moral obligation, on the part of the Jews happily integrated with the countries of their adoption to break the bonds which tie them to their homes. The existence of Jewish communities throughout the world is as consistent with the ideal of a reconstituted Jewish homeland as the existence of any groups of immigrants from any country is consistent with the continued freedom of the land of their origin.

In one important respect the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland is, indeed, an affirmation of the bond between Jewish communities and their lands of adoption. It will clarify and stabilize the position of remaining Jewish communities everywhere. For this reason Zionists are in the forefront of the Jewish struggle for equality of rights for Jews wherever they may live. In so far as the non-existence of a Jewish homeland reacts psychologically on the attitude of non-Jews toward their Jewish neighbors, and inclines them to look down on the latter, Zionists are making a special contribution to the struggle for equality, which is at the same time a contribution toward the solution of the problem of anti-Semitism.

The second misconception has to do with fear of a change in the political status or the allegiance of Jews in the lands of their adoption. There is nothing in the program of the Zionist movement, or in the platform of the Zionist Organization, to justify this view. The creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine in no wise affects or reflects on the loyalties of Jews who are and will remain Americans. Their sympathetic understanding and cooperation are solicited for the support of the movement; but so are the support and understanding of non-Jews. The relation of an American Jew to the Jewish homeland in Palestine does not differ from that of any other American toward the land of his ancestral origin. If it was proper for Irish Americans to exert themselves for the creation of an Irish Free State, if it is proper for American Poles to work for the liberation of Poland, of American Norwegians to organize help for Norway, it is proper for American Jews to take a special interest in the recreation of a Jewish National Home. Public opinion looks with favor on German Americans who are anxious to help the land of their origins re-establish itself in freedom and democracy. Far from being a form of dual al-

legiance, an interest of this kind is an enhancement of allegiance to America; it is the spreading of American principles throughout the world. This explains why every American statesman of note in the last quarter of a century has officially approved the purposes of the Zionist movement. Of the larger evidence of American interest in the Restoration we shall speak again in connection with America's political action in favor of the Jewish Homeland.

In one respect the Jewish National Home does, indeed, differ from all other states. It was said of free democratic France that every civilized man has two homelands, his own and France. This figure of speech expressed the particular regard in which French civilization was held everywhere. In a deeper and more solemn sense, Palestine occupies a special place in the hearts of all liberal Christians. The re-creation of a civilization in Palestine, by the people which made it the cradle of three great religions, is an enterprise which stands in a class by itself. It touches everywhere deep chords of religious and moral sentiment. It is linked with Messianic hopes of the improvement of mankind. Not Jewish participation in this recreation, but abstention from it, is what the Christian world would fail to understand.

7.

Beginnings of Work in Palestine

A PEOPLE which for a period of nearly twenty centuries has nurtured the dream of a reconstituted Homeland does not find overnight the practical instruments for its realization. Until recently Zionism was a religious tenet of Jewish life; the fulfillment of the hope waited on the appearance of the Messiah. Individual Jews, and groups of Jews, did indeed leave the exile for the Holy Land. Occasionally movements gathered round false Messiahs, and large sections of Jewry were filled with the hope that the moment of the Return had come. At no time was the link between scattered Jewry and Palestine broken. But the systematic Jewish resettlement of Palestine did not begin until recently.

It was preceded by purely philanthropic enterprises intended in part for the destitute Jews of Palestine, and in part for a limited number of their co-religionists in other countries. When, a hundred years ago, Sir Moses

Montefiore tried to encourage the settlement of Palestinian and other Jews on the soil of Palestine, and when, thirty years later, the Alliance Israelite founded the agricultural school of Mikveh Israel, neither suspected that they were the forerunners of a great national awakening. Even the contemporaries of that awakening, which came with the release of democratic forces in the life of Jewry, were not wholly aware of its meaning.

Nor was the awakening accompanied by clear plans or by a realistic political vision. The idea of the Restoration was lodged deep in the folk consciousness; the method of the Return was left undefined. Jews in Russia and Roumania said: "We will go to Palestine, we will plough the soil, we will plant vineyards, we will begin industries." The movement known as the *Chibut Zion* (The Love of Zion) arose. Writers and thinkers and Rabbis, Moses Hess, Leon Pinsker, Samuel Mohilever, became its mouthpieces. But the habits of two thousand years of exile had driven their roots deep. A paralysis of self-distrust lay on a great part of the Jewish people, a handicap which has not yet been wholly overcome. Concerted action on a national scale was something unknown to the Jewish people since its dispersion. Separate committees were formed here and there, in Russia, in Austria, in England, to promote Jewish settlement in Palestine. Some colonies were actually founded. But within the Jewish people at large these practical steps were not accompanied by the corresponding organization of forces. Opposition developed. Some of it was religious—there were Jews who still waited for the signal of the Messiah; some of it was political—there were Jews who saw the solution of the Jewish problem in the general advance of humanity; some of it was social—there were Jews in enlightened western countries who feared that their recently won liberties would be jeopardized by the new movement. There were also many Jews who simply did not believe the Jewish people to be capable of a great pioneering effort. Jews had for so long been middlemen, professionals and urban workers that their transformation into a coherent, self-sustaining, self governing community, properly distributed through all occupational levels, on the land and in cities, was considered beyond the range of possibility.

These doubts and denials were further encouraged by the condition of the country toward which the Zionist movement was directed. Palestine was one of the dere-

lict provinces of the clinging Turkish Empire. The population of the country consisted of half a million Arabs and forty thousand Jews, living in Asiatic poverty in a territory which had once sustained in prosperity six times their number. The natural fertility of the land had been destroyed by encroaching swamps and desert sands; the hills were denuded of trees; the cities had dwindled into stagnant townlets. Palestine was a land of past glory and of present decay.

All these circumstances must be recalled in order that we may understand against what internal and external difficulties the Zionist movement had to struggle. They are the measure of the extraordinary vitality of the Jewish will to a National Home in Palestine. The contrast between the pitiful beginnings two generations ago and the impressive achievements thus far registered is evidence of a creative power within the Jewish people which must be made the cornerstone of a Jewish policy.

8. Herzl and Programmatic Zionism

THE Zionist movement acquired modern form under the inspired leadership of Theodor Herzl. In a brief and brilliant Jewish career of seven years, he placed the stamp of his organizing genius upon a movement which until then had been wide-spread and deeply rooted, but amorphous and helpless. Between the first Zionist Congress, called in 1897, and the sixth, in 1904 (the year of Herzl's death at the age of forty-four) the movement had created the most important instruments of its activity. More than that, it had entered upon the stage of modern politics, it had drawn the attention of the world to the will of the Jewish people to re-create its ancient Homeland, and it had given the Jewish people a forum for the expression of its views and a parliament for the formulation of its policies.

Herzl dreamed of a "Charter" of rights, to be obtained by international agreement from the Turkish Government, and guaranteed by international law, for the creation of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. The basic declaration of Zionist policy, known as the Basle platform, remains today as formulated in 1897:

"Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a

publicly recognized legally secured Homeland (*Heimstätte*) in Palestine."

Nothing more was ever expected of the Zionist than the promotion of this object. All special interpretations of Zionism, all accompanying philosophies, are, as it were, private additions to the official policy. *This should be made clear as an answer to various criticisms of the Zionist movement which are in reality aimed not at the movement itself, but at the views held by one Zionist group or another.*

In spite of the heroic efforts which led to his premature death, Herzl did not succeed in obtaining the Charter. Expressions of sympathy with the Zionist idea multiplied; statesmen and leaders of public opinion declared themselves in sympathy with Zionism. In 1903 the British Government offered the Zionists the territory of Uganda for Jewish colonization. But the time was not ripe for the fulfillment of Herzl's dream of a Charter.

While the negotiations for a Charter continued, and after Herzl's death, when they had been temporarily suspended, the actual work of the resettlement of Jews in Palestine was steadily prosecuted. Compared with the great upwelling of the two decades following the first world war, the work accomplished until 1914 appears small. But in Palestine too first forms were being created, first lessons being learned. The types of Jewish colonies were fixed; the labor movement was organized; the beginnings of a unified educational system were taken over by the Zionist Organization; the Gymnasium of Jaffa, the Technical school of Haifa and the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts were opened; the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was projected; the Hebrew language was promoted as a living tongue, and took hold among the colonists; the first groups of land-workers emerged; the tradition of the *Shomrim*, or guards, for self-defense, was established.

The character of the Jewish community in Palestine underwent a significant change. The charity, or *Chesed* system, which had maintained most of the Palestinian Jews until that time, began to yield to self-help, as ever larger numbers were drawn into the creative efforts initiated by the Zionist movement.

The development in Zionism during and after the First World War cannot be understood without reference to the record of those early years. The modern movement must be seen in its continuity of two generations in order that its organic historic character and

its place in the life of the Jewish people may be appreciated. It is proper to say that there would have been no Balfour Declaration, no modernization of Palestine, no rescuing of hundreds of thousands of Jews, without those preliminary developments from 1882 to 1914. The hope which Palestine represents today to hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe was created in the last sixty years by the Jewish people out of the forces it has conserved in its long and unique history.

9. The Balfour Declaration and The Mandate

ON November 2nd, 1917, in the midst of the first World War, the British Government issued to the Zionist Organization the famous document known as the Balfour Declaration. It reads:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood 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 name signed to the document is that of Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; the British Prime Minister was, at the time, Mr. David Lloyd George.

The Balfour Declaration, which represents a turning point in the history of the Jewish people, and the beginning of a new era in the world's attitude toward Jewry, was not, as has sometimes been represented, a purely British formulation of policy. It was for many months the subject of long and earnest negotiation between the principal Allied Powers. In February and March of 1918 the French and Italian governments respectively issued parallel statements in support of the Balfour Declaration. President Wilson had followed the negotiations, and had encouraged the issuance of the Declaration. At a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, held at San Remo in April 1920, the Balfour Declaration was unanimously adopted and embodied in the Mandate for Palestine which was offered to Great Britain. On July 24, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations unanimously ratified the

British Mandate, with the incorporated Declaration as an integral part, and the Congress of the United States adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected." (June 30, 1922.)

Of equal importance with this international unanimity of view with regard to the creation of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine is the preamble to the Mandate, which reads:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty . . . and

"Whereas recognition has hereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country . . ."

A number of inescapable conclusions flow from these declarations made by governments direct, and accepted by the representatives of all the governments on the Council of the League of Nations. The creation, or reconstitution, of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine was accepted as a world policy. It was also regarded as an act of restitution. It was a recognition both of the present need of the Jewish people and of the continuity of its claim to its Homeland, a continuity unbroken by the vicissitudes of two thousand years of history. It was, at the same time, a clear indication that the connection of the Jewish people with Palestine was as explicit in the mind of the civilized world as in the mind of the Jews. It was, finally, the fulfillment, in a more perfect form than he had perhaps dared to anticipate, of Herzl's dream of the Charter.

None of the declarations and enactments which were consummated in the Mandate over Palestine has ever been recalled or abrogated either by the governments concerned, or by the League of Nations. They stand today as the charter of rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, incorporated in international law.

But in the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, repeated attempts have been made to evade the responsibilities which the fulfillment of the Declaration entails. It has even been suggested that the Jewish Homeland is completed today—that is, while Jews in Palestine are in a minority, while the land is capable of absorbing large numbers of immigrants, and while hundreds of thousands of harassed and hunted Jews—the men, women and children for whom the Balfour Declaration was intended—are clamoring for admission to the country. It is on the face of it absurd to assert that all the protracted international negotiations, all the solemn and carefully worded statements, all the demonstrations which led up to the Mandate, had referred simply and solely to the immigration of a few hundred thousand Jews into Palestine, and their formation into a community.

But apart from this general consideration, there also exist explicit utterances on the meaning of the Jewish National Home as it was conceived by the governmental leaders concerned with its promotion. Two of these will suffice: they are by the heads of the two principal English-speaking nations:

In 1918 President Wilson made the following public declarations:

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

Lloyd George, Prime Minister at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, wrote in his memoirs:

"It was not their (the British Cabinet's) idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the head of

anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

While these were the intentions of the leaders and governments responsible for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the framing of the Mandate, and while this was the understanding on which the larger Jewish colonization of Palestine was begun, the subsequent implementation of the promise followed another line.

10.

Deterioration

THE protests which the Jewish people have made repeatedly against the steady defection of British administrative policy from the purposes of the Balfour Declaration have never been animated by a spirit of hostility. The Jewish people recognizes the great spirit which informed the leaders of Great Britain in their formulation of the policy of the Restoration; it recognizes the difficulties which are inherent in every large enterprise. But with regard to the first, it would be dishonest to affect gratitude when the spirit of the policy has failed; and with regard to the second, it may be pointed out that statesmanship exists for the purpose of meeting difficulties by administrative skill, and not for the abandonment of policy.

The administration of Palestine has not been conducted on a plane corresponding to the high intentions of the framers of the Balfour Declaration. Local British officials, though of high integrity, have shown little understanding of the processes involved in the building of a Jewish Homeland. They have not grasped the implications of the organic relationship between the Jewish people outside of Palestine, to whom the Balfour Declaration was issued, and the land which they administered. The facilitation of the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland implies a dynamic outlook. The outlook of British officials has been in the main static, based on the tacit assumption that Palestine alone, and not the integration of large numbers of immigrants with an evolving Jewish Homeland, was their concern.

They have therefore tended to look upon the local difficulties associated with the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland as unnecessary disturbances of the *status quo*, instead of as a natural part of the task assigned to them. No corrective to this attitude was applied by the home

government in London. There, too, a tendency manifested itself to meet difficulties by relinquishing the objectives which a high statesmanship had set. No consistent attempt was made to bring home to the Arabs of Palestine the fact that the Balfour Declaration was an Inter-Allied policy, and, later, that the Mandate was international Law, and the first evidence of recalcitrance on their part—namely the riots of May, 1921—was rewarded by a temporary suspension of Jewish immigration.

Concession led to concession. The White Paper issued in 1922 declared that "the terms of the Balfour Declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be established in Palestine." This was the beginning of "re-interpretation." It introduced an element of ambiguity into what had been quite clear till then. Indeed, in the same statement, it was declared that "immigration (of Jews into Palestine) cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals." What did this mean but that Jews could come in as rapidly as the country could absorb them. Therefore the creation of the Jewish National Home related to all of Palestine, not to a spot in Palestine. The emergence of the Jewish National Home had to do with the capacity of the country, not with definition. The Zionists, confident that Palestine had room enough and possibilities enough to bring about the realization of the Jewish National Home, rested their case on the absorptive capacity of the country.

The Palestine contemplated in the Mandate had consisted of Transjordan and cis-Jordan. In the year 1922 Transjordan—three times the area of cis-Jordan—was closed by administrative decree to Jewish immigration. The Jews concentrated their efforts on cis-Jordan.

Between 1922 and 1929 the upbuilding of Palestine proceeded steadily. In the later year a second outbreak of rioting, instigated by the Arab leadership, and using false religious issues as its cloak, led to further administrative diminution of the force of the Balfour Declaration. A British Commission, headed by Sir Walter Shaw, was sent to investigate the cause of the riots. Its findings were, that Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchases were to blame. A second commission was despatched to Palestine, under the chairmanship of the agricultural expert Sir John Hope Simpson, and Jewish

immigration into Palestine was suspended until he made his report. Sir John Hope Simpson reported (1930) that Palestine could absorb only 20,000 additional settlers. It is relevant to note that since then Palestine has received more than 300,000 new settlers, while the absorptive capacity of the country is greater than ever, in spite of a forty per cent increase in the Arab population. However, the British Government went a step further toward emasculating the Balfour Declaration, by declaring that absorptive capacity of the country should be measured, at any given moment, by the degree of Arab as well as of Jewish unemployment. The same British Government document (the Passfield White Paper) added, irrelevantly, and without justification, that "the Jewish National Home is not meant to be the principal feature of the Mandate." This encouraged Palestine's British officials in the view that they were not primarily concerned with the facilitation of the creation of a Jewish Homeland, but with the administration of the country in its existing condition.

The Passfield White Paper was in a measure repudiated later by the British Government. The Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, in a letter to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, reasserted that Jewish immigration would be based on the economic absorptive capacity of the country.

The outcome of a struggle between the principle of "absorptive capacity," which by the logic of realities was bound to lead to the establishment of a Jewish majority in Palestine, and political concessions to Arab recalcitrance, could only be new outbreaks on the part of the Arabs. The Peel Commission (1936) despatched to investigate once more the cause of Arab disturbances, found that Jewish immigration into Palestine had been of great benefit to the Arabs; in other words, it found that the development of the Jewish Homeland had not been prejudicial to the development of Arab life. It found further that "the primary purpose of the Mandate, as expressed in its preamble and articles, is to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home." Nevertheless, in 1939, the British Government abandoned the formula of "absorptive capacity" and declared that "it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." The final (Macdonald) "White Paper" of that year fixed all future Jewish immigration at a total of 75,000 within the next five years, with total suspension of Jewish immigration thereafter.

This was in effect the repudiation of the Balfour

Declaration, and was so characterized by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which, in its last session, that of June 1939, declared flatly that "the policy set out in the White Paper is not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council (of the League of Nations) the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate."

Thus the successive whittling down in definition and implementation of the Balfour Declaration finally culminated, on the eve of the second World War, in its nullification—and this at a time when its historic and immediate human significance had become more apparent than ever before.

II.

The Saga of Achievement

IN A sense it may be said that the gradual attrition of the force of the Balfour Declaration is a tribute to the seriousness with which it was taken by the Jewish people, and the efforts thrown into the creation of the Jewish Homeland. Had the rate of the rebuilding been insignificant, the Balfour Declaration would have died, as its opponents hoped it would, of inanition. But the growth of the Jewish Palestine in the last two decades has been one of the most remarkable manifestations of creative national will in history.

At the end of the first World War, after Palestine had been devastated by the retreating Turkish armies, the Jewish population of the country had shrunk to 55,000. Today, in 1943, the Jewish population of Palestine is approximately 600,000. The close to 400,000 immigrants have been drawn from every part of world Jewry, central Europe predominating; and each wave of immigration has been a reflection of the pressure on some Jewish community. Unique in the history of migrations and resettlements are the following features of the growth of the Jewish population of Palestine. It is a completely restructured population; that is to say, it has been converted from a highly urbanized, heavily middle-class concentration of occupations into a scientifically redistributed balance of occupations, on the land, in the factory, the office, etc. It is a reintegrated population; originating in a score of countries, speaking a score of languages, it has been welded in less than a generation into a single cultural unit. It is a revitalized population; the communities from which most of Palestine's immigrants are drawn are in decline;

the economic position of European Jewry even before the outbreak of the present war was deteriorating rapidly; Palestine represents a great resurgence of energy and hope for the hundreds of thousands who have made it their homeland.

Three hundred agricultural colonies with a total population of 150,000; two thousand factories and four thousand small workshops employing nearly seventy thousand workers; the electrification of the Jordan; the development of the chemical resources of the Dead Sea; these are the highlights of the physical growth of Palestine. How were the foundations of the Homeland laid? By a combination of public planning and private enterprise, of donated funds and capital investment, of self-sacrificing idealism and hard-headed practicality. The World Zionist Organization acted as the general director of the plan, as the promoter and negotiator, and, through its financial instruments, as the provider of public funds. The pioneers of the nineteen twenties, driven by social, national, and ethical ideals, drained swamps, built roads, cleared away desert sands, and made themselves experimental human material in the difficult early stages of trial and error. Thus the Jewish people throughout the world supplied the men, the money and the policy for the creation of the right conditions for the larger immigration. But the building of the Jewish Homeland would have been impossible without the driving power and directive intelligence of the Zionist movement; for without the Zionist movement the land would never have become receptive for large numbers, and the creative will of the Jewish people would have remained ineffective in the face of insuperable obstacles.

It is, however, the social, ethical and cultural character of the Jewish Homeland, crystallizing parallel with its physical expansion, which is the greatest triumph of the enterprise, and the clearest expression of its historic claim. An undirected, unmotivated flood of refugees, even of the highest individual quality, could not in the course of two decades have moulded from its beginnings a corporate life which, like Palestine's, compares favorably with that of the most advanced and settled democratic countries. The high standard of literacy, the net-work of schools and high schools, completed by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the copious output of newspapers, periodicals and books, the keen interest in music and drama, bespeak, not the panic of hunted masses, but the release of national energies flowing out of a long history. The cooperative

colonies, the labor organization—the largest, in proportion to the population, of any country, in the world, and the most diversified in its social and cultural interests—the voluntary hospital system, unite with the sociological techniques which the Jews brought with them out of the modern west, the moral impulses which they have conserved out of the ancient east. The Jewish Homeland is a center of civilization today, as it was two thousand years ago, by virtue of the particular aptitudes of the Jewish people applied to the development of this particular land.

The renewed possibilities of this combination—the Jewish people and Palestine—have only been indicated; their full development is yet to follow. The old view which condemned Palestine to eternal sterility has disappeared. No expert acquainted with the country, and with the Jewish record in it, believes today that anything like the optimum density of population has been reached. The conclusions reached by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the Soil Conservation Department of the United States Government, after a ten week survey of Palestine in 1939, may be taken as typical.

"The immediately absorptive capacity of the lands of Palestine, . . ." writes Dr. Lowdermilk, "is a subject under lively discussion. The best answer is to be found in the Jewish colonies. There we find far greater productivity of the land than under the primitive methods of Arab farming. . . . It is my opinion, based on the splendid pioneering of the Jewish colonists in reclamation and adjustment of uses to the characteristics of the land, that Palestine will support a considerably larger population. In short, much can be done to bring the land of Palestine up to its full carrying capacity of a human population, apart from industrial development."

That the "much which can be done" should remain undone, when the land cries out for its people, and the people for its land, is inconceivable in a proper post-war ordering of the world.

12.

The Last Barrier

THE vindication of the Jewish Homeland came together with the last attempt to arrest its free development. This coincidence is not accidental. The general deterioration of world statesmanship which gave Nazism and Fascism their opportunity to prepare

the assault on civilization was reflected in many inter-related fields; nowhere was the effect more disastrous, and the warning clearer, than in the Jewish.

The failure, or refusal, of the western world to appreciate the larger destructive purposes of Hitlerian anti-Semitism lowered everywhere the moral tone of political thought. At the same time the position of the Jewish communities was adversely affected in three directions. First, some of them suffered direct assault, most of the others indirect assaults, by the rise of Nazism in Germany and Nazi sympathizers elsewhere. Second, Jewish defense of Jewish rights met with an indifferent response precisely at a time when the need for such defense was greatly increased; Jewish protests counted for less when they should have been heeded most. Third, the enormous extension of the defense front diminished the power of the Jewish people to repel the attacks on its rights on any one particular sector—and particularly the Palestinian.

There was, further, an assault on Jewish rights in Palestine as a part of immediate Nazi-Fascist strategy. German and Italian intervention in Spain and the brutal Italian conquest of Ethiopia, were accompanied by systematic encouragement of unrest in Palestine. While Palestine was absorbing large (but diminishing) numbers of refugees (300,000 between 1933 and 1943, 100,000 from Germany alone) the appeasement policy of England accelerated the process we have already noted of the whittling down of the meaning of the Balfour Declaration. For Palestine became one of the appeasement fronts, and the year which witnessed the abandonment of Czechoslovakia witnessed also the issuance of the (Macdonald) White Paper which abrogated the Balfour Declaration.

Appeasement, the policy of piece-meal cumulative concession to an enemy who cannot be appeased, stopped for Germany and Italy with the outbreak of the war. The concessions made in the days of weakness and error have been repudiated, and total restitution has been proclaimed as one purpose of the war. But appeasement of Arab opposition to the Jewish Homeland has not been repudiated, and restitution of Jewish rights on the basis of the Balfour Declaration still remains to be proclaimed.

In this manner Palestine has become one of the areas of the world which retains the stigmata of the universal retreat from law and international morality. It is wholly in keeping with this picture that the Arab anti-

Zionist leadership of Palestine should have been pro-Axis from the beginning, and that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem should have become, as he still is, an open collaborator of Hitler. The rewards reaped by Germany and Italy in the days of their unopposed despoilment of weaker peoples made a profound impression on Arab agitators and rioters. But the lesson of the ultimate failure of Germany and Italy has yet to be brought home to the Nazi-Fascists of Palestine.

The Jewish people finds itself entangled in an unparalleled tragedy of frustration. By moral instinct and by natural interest it is allied as perhaps no other people is with the democratic cause. It was the first to perceive that the Nazi philosophy was directed toward the destruction of universal values and principles which had their origin and inspiration in Judaism, and it thus interpreted the special fury which Nazism concentrated on the people of the Bible. It understood from the beginning that the triumph of Nazism would mean the eclipse of liberty everywhere, and that in the attempt to make the eclipse permanent the criminal leaders of Nazism would seek to obliterate every trace of Jewish influence on civilization, and therewith the Jewish people itself. Wherever a Jewish community exists in freedom, it participates to the full measure of its strength in the war effort. But a particular source of pride to the Jewish people is the brilliant and disproportionately valuable contributions made to the allied cause by Jewish Palestine.

As if in prophetic foreknowledge of the world crisis, the Jewish people created, at the crossroads of the Near East, a bulwark of democracy. The costly delays which Arab power-politicians in Syria and Iraq created for the United Nations Armies were not repeated in the area of the Jewish Homeland. Out of a population of six hundred thousand, the Jewish Homeland has given thirty thousand volunteer soldiers to the forces which reconquered North Africa and are now invading Italy. Tens of thousands more are enrolled in a Home Guard for Palestine. The skill and industriousness which the Zionist movement concentrated in Palestine are employed without reserve in the service of the world democratic cause. No country can show a more honorable and, in proportion, more effective mobilization of all forces in the war for the preservation of civilization.

But Palestine's sacrifice, ungrudging and uncalculating, is made in the teeth of the profoundest moral discouragement. World democracy accepts the devoted

cooperation of Palestine, and fails to apply to the Jewish Homeland the principles which have evoked that cooperation. It is as though, relying on the fact that the Jewish people must in any case make the cause of democracy its own, the democratic peoples would exact from it the relinquishment of its supreme modern achievement—the Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

It is a situation which cannot endure. The injustice to the Jewish people involves a contradiction of the total significance of democratic victory. And on these grounds we believe that the time has come for the repudiation of this last surviving error of appeasement, and the reaffirmation of the decision once reached in concert by the civilized nations of mankind to permit the Jewish people to reconstitute its Homeland in Palestine.

13.

The Arab Question

There is an erroneous impression that the Zionist movement failed to take the Arabs of Palestine into account until compelled to do so by an Arab show of force. The records show, however, that from the beginning a considerate and conciliatory policy was preached at the Zionist Congresses, and applied in Palestine. Nor is it credible that the far-sightedness which has marked the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland as a whole should have fallen short in this vital matter.

It was foreseen that the modernization of Palestine by Jewish effort would automatically improve the condition of every part of the population. Fears that the contrary effect would be produced, such as were expressed in the Hope Simpson report, have been proved groundless. The last thorough impartial survey of Palestine, by the Peel Commission (1937), contains the following statements:

"It is difficult to detect any deterioration in the economic position of the Arab upper class. . . . We are also of the opinion that until now the Arab cultivator has benefited on the whole from the work of the British Administration and from the presence of the Jews in the country. Wages have gone up; the standard of living has improved. . . . The large import of Jewish capital into Palestine has had a general fructifying

effect on the economic life of the whole country. . . . The reclamation and anti-malaria works undertaken in the Jewish colonies have benefited all the Arabs in the neighborhood. . . . Broadly speaking, the Arabs have shared to a considerable degree in the material benefits which Jewish immigration has brought to Palestine. The obligation of the Mandate in this respect has been observed. The economic position of the Arabs, regarded as a whole, has not so far been prejudiced by the establishment of the National Home. . . . The Arab charge that the Jews have obtained too large a proportion of good land cannot be maintained. Much of the land now carrying orange groves was sand dunes or swamps and uncultivated when it was purchased."

These automatic benefits which the Jewish National Home conferred on the Arabs were augmented by the policy of active cooperation which the Jews applied in their relations to their Arab neighbors. The labor movement, in particular, did its best to extend the advantages of organization to Arab workers. The medical and hygienic institutions created by the Jews, largely through the instrumentality of Hadassah, were made available to the Arabs. The educational facilities of the Hebrew University were placed at their disposal. It was felt that the total improvement of conditions would contribute to the welfare of the Jewish National Home; but this consideration was accompanied by others which were part of the moral and social character of the Zionist movement.

The nature of the Arab opposition to the building of the Jewish Homeland can be understood only by an analysis of the complex of forces in Arab life. The demand for suspension of Jewish development comes chiefly from the minority class which, in the general improvement of the country, is losing its relative position of ancient mastery. Lust for power, not love of freedom, actuates the group of landowners, muftis, money-lenders and professionals which is the backbone of Arab resistance. The ninety per cent of Arab farm-tenants, shepherds (Bedouin) and city workers, illiterate and unorganized, would lose, with the abandonment of the Jewish Homeland, both the sources of their economic improvement and the hope of their political liberation.

This is not to deny that a genuine Arab nationalist movement exists in Palestine; but the contradiction between its creative possibilities and the trend given to it by its present masters (rather than leaders) is indi-

cated by one simple fact: the outstanding Arab Nationalists have declared for the Axis, have collaborated with it, have done whatever lies in their power to obstruct the victory of the democratic peoples. What they aim at, then, is not national liberation and development, but the creation of conditions which would ensure their perpetuation in power, whatever the consequences to the Arabs and Arab nationalism.

The development of a free Arab nationalism is not inconsistent with the parallel development of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine; but it is impossible without the collaboration of those world democratic forces which accepted the idea of the Jewish National Home as part of their program. It was the democratic alliance of the first World War which liberated Arabia from the rule of the Turks empire. The first liberation had the assistance of a volunteer Jewish legion in Palestine. One of the conditions of that liberation was the creation of the Jewish National Home. In the second liberation, for so it may be called, Jews have again contributed, over and above their general participation in the war, to the defense of the Arab countries. This special contribution was made possible by the partial fulfillment of the promise of a Jewish National Home; as against this the Arab peoples, distracted by a vicious leadership, have either been supine in the face of danger, or have in some instances even assisted the enemies of all liberty—including their own.

The Jewish Homeland has proved itself to be the only democratic factor in the Near East, a circumstance which must also be considered in relation to the time of world reconstruction. This democratizing and mediating role of the Jewish Homeland was understood, at the end of the first World War, by the leader of the Arabs, the Emir Feisal, who for that reason welcomed the fulfillment of the Zionist program. In his treaty with Dr. Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, under date of January 3, 1919, Feisal specifically acknowledged the creative value for Arab life of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. He regarded the setting apart of Palestine for the Jews as a uniquely constructive measure within the framework of a liberated and federated Arabia. Time has proved Feisal's wisdom. Jewish Palestine alone has represented the Near East in the war against universal Nazi-Fascist domination.

The territories which the first and second World Wars have made available to Arab freedom are enormous.

They comprise a million square miles, much of it desert, it is true, but a great part of it habitable and capable of great development. A present population of ten or eleven millions represents a tenth of the number which the Near East is capable of sustaining. Within that area Palestine is a tiny enclave. The prospects of Arab growth, in freedom and prosperity, are wholly undiminished by the territorial exclusion of Palestine; but they are considerably enhanced by the proximity of the energizing and modernizing influences of the Jewish Homeland. Within Palestine itself the development of a high Arab culture and national consciousness, linked to and sustained by the great hinterland of the Arab world, can proceed peaceably side by side with the development of the Jewish National Home.

The vast rewards which the Arab world will reap from the democratic victory completely overshadow the modest claim which the Jewish people has put forward, and has supported with its blood and its labor. For the first, conditions have been created under which it can freely apply its abilities to the exploitation of great territories of enormous potential wealth. For the second, conditions must be created permitting it to complete, in the time of its most desperate need, the task so brilliantly begun, of the rebuilding of the Homeland.

14.

Palestine in the Post War World

THE war for world freedom has served to highlight the position of the Jewish Homeland among the progressive forces of our civilization, and to clarify its value in any plan of democratic post-war reconstruction.

It was not the result of accident, or of a fortuitous alignment of political interests, that the Arab leadership of Palestine should have chosen to throw in its lot with the Axis. Its power is rooted in a medieval feudal economy; its future is threatened by the development of modern forms of life. Palestine is not the only country in the world in which an entrenched class found itself in natural sympathy with the Nazi-Fascist counter-revolution against democracy; nor is it the only country where a nationalist slogan is being used to cover resistance to the advance of world democracy.

No program of post-war reconstruction can ignore the danger represented by backward and derelict populations which can be used by a local pro-Nazi and pro-

Fascist ruling class. World peace can be preserved by international authority only for a limited period of time; unless that authority is gradually reinforced by the extension of the democratic way of life to hitherto neglected areas, it will decline into impotence. There is no area which needs such modernization more than Palestine; and there is no agency better adapted to the task than the Jewish Homeland.

For, just as it was in the nature of things that the reactionary Arab leadership should feel its kinship with the Nazi-Fascist philosophy, so it was equally in the nature of things that the Jewish Homeland should distinguish itself by the volume of its services—on the battlefield and on the home front—to the armies of the democracies. It is true that the hope of Jewish survival might have perished with the victory of Nazism. But it is also true that many other peoples which would have lost their independence with a Nazi victory have preferred to remain neutral, leaving world democracy to fight for them, and hoping to retain their freedom without having made a contribution to the common cause. It was not in the nature of Jewish Palestine to take advantage of the absence of conscription, and to withhold its young men from the struggle. What the law did not exact was offered as a voluntary sacrifice; nothing else could have issued from the character of the Jewish Homeland.

By the same token, the character of the Jewish Homeland is the guarantee of its unique value in the creation of the network of democracy which must be woven about the world. Jewish Palestine belongs naturally to the brotherhood of progressive communities which must become the guarantors of our civilization. In this all-important respect the creation of the Jewish Homeland unites the need of the Jewish people with the need of the world.

15.

The Jewish Commonwealth

ON ALL these grounds, the Extraordinary Conference of American Zionists, held on May 11, 1942, at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, adopted an official platform which reads in part as follows:

"The Conference calls for the fulfillment of the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. . . . The Conference demands that the gates

of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world."

Nothing more is here demanded than the restoration of the rights declared by the civilized world as inalienable from the Jewish people, and now denied it, not by a reversal of world opinion, but by administrative act. The reasons which impelled the fifty-one governments of the League of Nations, and the Congress of the United States, to call for the creation of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, are today as valid as they were a quarter of a century ago; the conditions which make that Homeland a necessity are infinitely more urgent. It would be a monstrous perversion of justice if, in the hour of democracy's triumph, and amidst the liberation of the victims of Nazism-Fascism, the great act of historic restitution begun with the Balfour Declaration were not to be reaffirmed and sped toward complete fulfillment.

The administrative negation of the principles set forth in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate over Palestine has resulted from an anomaly which must be permanently removed from the relationship of the Jewish people to Palestine. If the Jewish Homeland is an inalienable right of the Jewish people, it is the Jewish people which, through its democratically elected representatives, must be vested with control of immigration into Palestine. The experience of more than two decades has proved that non-Jewish control of immigration into Palestine is open to political abuse. It has become a pawn in manoeuvres which have had no reference whatsoever to the rights and needs of the Jewish people. The inevitable consequence of this anomalous situation is that today the gates of Palestine remain closed, while the right to a Jewish Homeland is still admitted. The minimum guarantee of the Jewish Homeland lies in entrusting to the Jewish Agency the control of immigration and the authority to develop the country; for the Jewish Agency, elected by the Jewish people, has no other interest than the orderly and peaceable upbuilding of the country through the introduction of Jewish labor, Jewish capital and Jewish democracy.

In the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, the dominating ideal, since the days of the

first Zionist Congresses, has been the promotion of a community of interests between the Jewish and Arab populations of the country, and the establishment of a social order designed to encourage the creative faculties of both peoples. The spirit which informs the development of the Jewish community in Palestine is drawn from ancient prophetic ideals; it is manifest in the Land Policy, in the rural and urban cooperatives, in the relations between worker and employer. It is equally manifest in the intentions of the Jews toward the Arab people. With the long and bitter memory of twenty centuries of exile and persecution behind them, the returning Jews have no desire to dominate the life of the Arab community; the theories of a master race are—with sufficient reason—more abhorrent to them than perhaps to any other people in the world. It is their desire to see Arab life in Palestine unfold in economic, cultural and religious freedom, drawing in the future—as it has done in the past—assistance and encouragement from the Jewish example. But it is also

their determination that in one area of the world, that of the Jewish Homeland, they shall enjoy the security which is guaranteed by a majority status. It is the fundamental distinction between the condition of the Jewish community in Palestine, and Jewish communities elsewhere; it is a right inherent in the very conception of the word Homeland; and it is the implicit purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

The Zionist Movement does not presume to instruct you, the delegates to the American Jewish Conference, on the issues which confront you. But the record of the Zionist movement shows that it has acted, throughout its history, on behalf of the Jewish people. The Balfour Declaration was addressed to the Zionist Organization; it was intended for Jewry as a whole. The Jewish Homeland is the heritage of Israel. It is for all Israel to conduct the struggle for its recreation. Today American Jewry must speak out clearly on this issue, in the knowledge that all the elements of justice, statesmanship and religion in the world are on its side.



MINUTES OF MEETING

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

October 18, 1943.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency was held Monday, October 18th, 1943, at 4:00 p.m., at 41 East 42nd Street, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Silver (presiding), Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Neumann, Mrs. Pool, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Shetzer, Mr. Shulman, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Feuer, Mr. Isreeli, Mr. Kenen, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Montor.

Mr. Gross, Mr. Rocker, Judge Rosenblatt, Mr. Rosenbloom, Mr. Silverman, Mr. Weisgal.

Dr. Silver introduced Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, who had joined the executive staff that week and would direct the work of the Community Contacts Committee. Rabbi Feuer said that he had taken leave of absence from his congregation in order to do a job for the Emergency Council and he intended to do it with all the enthusiasm and energy he possessed.

Dr. Silver also introduced to the Executive Mr. Joel Gross, the chairman of the newly constituted Community Contacts Committee, and Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, chairman of the Finance and Personnel Committee, who, although not members of the Executive would henceforth, as chairmen of committees, attend its meetings.

PLAN OF ACTIVITIES

Mr. Montor made a brief introductory statement on the plan of activities, indicating that proposals which had been drawn up for the work of the various committees would be presented by their respective chairmen. Mr. Montor was, he said, proceeding on the assumption that the fourteen Committees which had been appointed are to be active units in the efforts of the Emergency Council to deepen and expand Zionist sentiment in this country.

Mr. Montor also made a personal statement, in which he stressed the fact that he had left his work at the United Palestine Appeal and had accepted the duties of Executive Director of the Emergency Council in the belief that the Zionists of America are determined that whatever failings there may have been in the past in mobilizing the strength of American Jewry there must now be a new conception of the efforts to be made in order to achieve our political objectives. His concern was, he stated, that every avenue of approach to the American Jew and the American Christian shall be explored, whether it involves radio, publications, press contacts, the mobilization of local Jewish and

Statement
of the
American Jewish Conference
on the
Withdrawal of the
American Jewish Committee

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Adopted by the
INTERIM COMMITTEE
of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 7TH, 1943



Statement
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WRHS



STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE
IN REPLY TO THE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

I.

ON OCTOBER 24TH the American Jewish Committee withdrew from the American Jewish Conference, the democratically constituted organization representing the American Jewish Community and comprising 502 delegates from communities in 46 states and 65 national Jewish organizations.

Through its action, the American Jewish Committee has isolated itself from the American Jewish Community at the most perilous hour in the history of our people.

Its action will be deeply deplored and resented by millions of Jews, concerned with the need for organized collaboration in this desperate moment, united through the American Jewish Conference in a program looking to the rescue of the Jewish people from destruction and to the assurance of their continued existence as a free people in a free world.

This act of withdrawal is the more unjustifiable in that, prior to the sessions of the American Jewish Conference, the conditions of the American Jewish Committee for its entry were accepted, without, however, infringing on the central principle of seeking, through democratic processes, to secure agreement on a program of action in the area of post-war rehabilitation and the implementation of the Jewish rights with reference to Palestine.

A National Conference, democratically constituted, in which the American Jewish Committee participated fully, was held in New York

City, August 29 to September 2, 1943. A three-fold program was adopted by the Conference dealing with

1. Immediate action for the rescue of the Jews of Europe from extermination by the Nazis.
2. Post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction.
3. The implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine.

Underlying these objectives was the desire, shared by all groups, however divergent their opinions, to create an organized form of collaboration capable of meeting the grave problems of our day.

Seven resolutions with respect to Rehabilitation and three resolutions with respect to Rescue were adopted without dissent. The program with respect to Palestine was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Recognizing the large area of accord in which cooperation was possible, the President of the American Jewish Committee, following the adoption of the Palestine resolution, ended his statement of dissent from the terms in part of that resolution alone by declaring:

"We express the devout hope that we can still cooperate for the cause of Jewry within the great area in which we found accord and agreement." This statement was accepted by the American Jewish Conference as an assurance that the American Jewish Committee would remain within the Conference and help to maintain intact the unity created by the Conference.

As such it received enthusiastic approval from the entire Conference in token of the right of a minority, however, small, to dissent from any of the resolutions and so dissenting, nevertheless, to remain part of the Conference, in accord with democratic procedure.

In the light of this record, it is apparent that the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee, almost two months later, could not have been dictated by its differences with respect to the resolution on the ultimate establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, however real these differences may be. The American Jewish Committee's decision to withdraw would appear to have been dictated by its determination to maintain an independent course of action without public responsibility to the organized American Jewish Community.

Conceding the legal right of any organization within the American Jewish Conference to withdraw, the exercise of that right is morally indefensible when it involves the arbitrary disrupting of unity, only newly achieved, too long deferred and imperatively needed.

Thus the American Jewish Committee has introduced divisiveness in the Councils of American Jewry, which is calculated to impair the effectiveness of the efforts on behalf of the Jewish people in the hour of its greatest need.

Unworthy of denial is the charge of the Committee that the action of the American Jewish Conference, in seeking to save its fellow Jews from destruction, to secure for them freedom and equality, involves diminution of loyalty to our country. On the contrary, the action of the American Jewish Conference in seeking to unite the Jews of America in a common program of action on behalf of its persecuted people, is wholly in the American tradition and in line with the procedures which the United Nations themselves are adopting in order to rebuild the world of tomorrow on the basis of freedom and security.

The American Jewish Committee has chosen the path of separatism, a course which it is still not too late for it to abandon.

The several million Jews represented in the American Jewish Conference have chosen the path of common council and united action. In line with its mandate, the American Jewish Conference is proceeding to implement the resolutions adopted in collaboration with the organizations which are a part of it, utilizing the machinery of these organizations wherever feasible. Progress, in particular, can be reported in the direction of the tragic and immediate problem of rescuing the remnants of European Jewry from destruction at the hands of Hitler. Other Commissions are being established with respect to Post-war Rehabilitation and Reconstruction and the implementation of Jewish rights with respect to Palestine.

History has placed upon the Jews of this country the gravest responsibility. By their active association in the American Jewish Conference and their willingness to subordinate differences of opinion to the necessities of the hour, the Jews of this country have accepted that responsibility in a manner worthy of its seriousness and the traditions of a democratic, and therefore, self-revering people.

II.

FOR THE RECORD, the American Jewish Conference sets forth its detailed reply to the various allegations made by the American Jewish Committee. These are:

- (1) That the American Jewish Conference was designed as a consultative body, and is now moving forward to "permanence" and "functioning";
- (2) That the Conference as constituted was unrepresentative;
- (3) That the delegates elected were committed in advance to specific Zionist programs, and that there was no opportunity, therefore, for conciliation of divergent points of view;
- (4) That the resolution on Palestine was untimely, unrealistic, and exposed the Jews of America to the charge of divided loyalties.

The Conference as a Functioning Body

1. *The American Jewish Committee states that the American Jewish Conference was designed as a "consultative body" and not "an authoritative, or permanent body superimposed upon the structure of Jewish life in America."*

a. The American Jewish Committee joined the Executive Committee for the Organization of the American Jewish Conference April 10, 1943, several months after the Pittsburgh meeting, where the purposes of the Conference were defined. Before the American Jewish Committee entered the American Jewish Conference it knew precisely what was intended to be its nature and character. When the Executive Committee for the Conference, constituted by the representatives of forty-five national organizations, representing virtually every point of view in Jewish life, agreed to change the name from Assembly to Conference as a condition for the entry of the Committee, no change in the program for the Conference was made.

When the American Jewish Committee joined the Executive Committee its representatives assisted in the preparation of the official Call for the organization of the American Jewish Conference and affixed its signature to it. That Call made the agenda of the American Jewish Conference explicit, i.e.:

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 toward the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

With the consent of all organizations within the Executive Committee for the Conference there was later added to this program the urgent problem of the rescue of European Jewry from extermination.

It was clear that machinery would have to be set up to implement the resolutions adopted by the American Jewish Conference, and it was therefore agreed, with the American Jewish Committee concurring, "to elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Conference, in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world."

Again, by unanimous decision, with the American Jewish Committee concurring, the election of the delegation was left to a subsequent session of the American Jewish Conference.

At the American Jewish Conference, with the consent of all groups, including the delegation of the American Jewish Committee, the establishment was authorized of an Interim Committee, with the express purpose,

- (a) "to implement the resolutions and decisions adopted by the American Jewish Conference at its session of August 29th to September 2nd, 1943; in so doing to 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."

At no time was it envisaged that the American Jewish Conference should meet, merely express opinions in resolutions, and adjourn. Its specific purpose was to *formulate and carry out a program of action* in the three areas above cited.

The first meeting of the Interim Committee was held on September 2, immediately following the formal adjournment of the American Jewish Conference. The leading representatives of the American Jewish Committee attended this meeting and participated fully in the discussions. No intimation was given by them, explicitly or implicitly, that it was the intention of the American Jewish Committee to withdraw at a subsequent time.

The Issue of "Permanence"

b. At no time did the convenors of the American Jewish Conference project the idea that the Conference should become a permanent body.

At the sessions, however, a group of some fifty delegates within the Conference, exercising their right to freedom of opinion, sought to bring about a discussion on the advisability of transforming the American Jewish Conference into a permanent body.

Without touching on the advisability of such a permanent body, all the other groups within the Conference, through their leaders, in the appropriate committee of the Conference, expressed the view that the introduction of such a resolution was contrary to the understandings reached at Pittsburgh and, therefore, should not be brought to the floor of the Conference.

As a result, the movers of the resolution with respect to establishing the Conference as a permanent body, withdrew their motion. A substitute motion, introduced by them, calling for the appointment of a Commission to examine the advisability of establishing the Conference as a permanent body was vetoed in the General Committee, on which representatives of the American Jewish Committee served, and as a result the resolution was not even brought out of Committee to the floor of the Conference.

The group sponsoring this resolution, however, did read a statement at one of the Plenary Sessions indicating that they regarded themselves as free to bring this matter up again at a future session of the American Jewish Conference.

It is clear, therefore, that the allegation of the Committee with respect to the transforming of the Conference into a permanent body, has no validity whatsoever.

The Representative Character of the Conference

2. *The American Jewish Committee now claims that the American Jewish Conference was unrepresentative, excluded large local and national agencies, and significant segments of the Jewish population.*

The American Jewish Conference was composed of 377 delegates elected by electoral conference in 80 communities and 54 regions covering 46 states throughout the United States, and by 123 delegates appointed by 65 national membership organizations. The rules of election were modeled after the recognized election rules governing American institutions, and sought to apply to the fullest extent possible the procedures of traditional American democracy, both with respect to the election of the delegates and to the rules governing the Conference itself.

Large groups within the Executive Committee for the Organization of the Conference would have preferred the method of direct elections, whereby every individual would have had the right to cast a vote for candidates nominated in local communities. In deference to those who could not agree to this procedure, a modified form of democratic procedure was adopted, namely, the election of delegates through electoral conferences.

The 377 delegates elected by the Jewish communities were chosen by 23,432 electors representing 8,437 local groups, on the basis of 1 elector for each 50 members in a local organization. These represented 2,250,000 Jews. This is without reference to the large membership of the 65 national organizations, represented by 123 delegates.

Every local Jewish membership organization of 50 or more members was invited to participate in these elections.

A system of proportional representation to insure minority participation was introduced in the basic rules for the election, later supplanted by the method called "cumulative voting," which was proposed by a representative of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The American Jewish Committee had full knowledge of the rules of election. After entering the Conference a representative of the American Jewish Committee served on the National Board of Elections, participated in the modification and interpretation of the rules, submitted the names of local conveners who took part in arranging the elections, and shared in the administration of the election machinery.

Only two organizations desiring participation in the American Jewish Conference as national organizations were refused admission by the Executive Committee by a *unanimous* vote, in which the *American Jewish Committee joined*: (1) The International Workers' Order, and (2) The Jewish People's Committee. Even with respect to these organizations, however, freedom of action was allowed to the local boards of election, who had full authority to decide whether or not representatives of both these organizations might be admitted to local participation in the elections, under the rules.

Three organizations chose to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference, not on issues of principle, but solely because of alleged inadequate allocation of delegates, namely: the Agudas Israel, and the New Zionist Organization and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis. Nonetheless, the Orthodox Rabbinate was very adequately represented through a substantial delegation of its members elected in the communities, who joined the Orthodox bloc of 62 at the Conference.

During the entire period preceding the session of the Conference, only one question arose in which there was a divergence of opinion, and even that question was adjudicated with the approval of the American Jewish Committee. That question was the extent of the participation of local Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. Under the rules, national Jewish membership organizations were made the basis of representation in the Conference, and fund-raising agencies were therefore not included. The reason for this ruling was to prevent an inevitable overlapping, since it is common knowledge that the contributors to fund-raising organizations are co-extensive with the list of Jewish membership organizations. A corollary reason was the predominant view that whereas the issues before the Conference might possibly be of a controversial nature, and the functions of Federations are to unite the communities in common fund-raising

causes, it was advisable that the local Federations and Welfare Funds should not be involved. With this point of view many of the local Federations concurred.

However, because the question with respect to their participation was raised by the American Jewish Committee, a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference was called to consider the problem. At this meeting a sub-committee was appointed to recommend a course of action after a full discussion of the problem. The President of the American Jewish Committee was a member of the sub-committee and in its behalf reported the unanimous recommendation that the local Federations and Welfare Funds should be given corporate representation in the local electoral conferences. This was voted.

An examination of the record will show that the American Jewish Conference was the most representative assemblage of the American Jewish community ever held. Scarcely a group in Jewish life representative either of large sections of the community, or of an active point of view or program respecting Jewish affairs was unrepresented.

Commitments of the Delegates

3. *The American Jewish Committee alleges that the delegates elected by the communities were committed in advance to basic Zionist programs, and that, therefore, no conciliation of divergent points of view was possible.*

a. The 377 delegates elected by the Jewish community were committed only to those programs on which they chose to run. The electors of the communities were free to repudiate these programs by not voting for candidates who espoused Zionist programs.

The projection of a platform by a candidate is an essential and accepted part of basic democratic procedure, as is the freedom and opportunity of the elector to vote for the candidate, and therefore the program, of his choice.

That a large number of delegates were elected who believed in the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth was possible because it expressed the will of the electors in the communities that such a program should be presented to the consideration of the Conference.

The fact is that the delegation of the American Jewish Committee entered the Conference committed to a basic platform with respect to Palestine. In January of 1943, the President of the American Jewish Committee made the adoption of that platform a condition for his acceptance of that office.

When the American Jewish Committee entered the American Jewish Conference it was aware that its greatest point of divergence would revolve around the issue of the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

b. In order to insure ample opportunity for full deliberation on the grave issues before the Conference, an arrangement was effected whereby virtually every delegate to the Conference was assigned to one of the committees set up to deliberate upon the various problems. Under these rules, which the American Jewish Committee was among the first to accept, each ten delegates could be represented by one person on every committee, and were so represented in the committees set up by the Conference. The members of the committees were named by the groups themselves.

The Palestine Resolution

c. With respect to the Palestine Resolution, a committee of sixty-five met for two days. Three resolutions were presented: (1) a resolution of the Zionist and pro-Zionist bodies; (2) a resolution of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; and (3) a resolution of members of the Non-Partisan group.

The Palestine Committee represented every group within the Conference, and was, in miniature, a duplicate of the composition of the Conference itself.

The President of the American Jewish Committee was a member of the Palestine Committee. The resolution adopted by the Conference was a composite resolution, incorporating the views of the Zionist bodies and of the representatives within other groups. Concessions were made by the delegates of Zionist groups and by delegates within various non-Zionist groups. The Committee alone made *no concessions*. The resolution was

voted out of the Palestine Committee by a vote of 61 to 2. The two dissenting votes were cast by representatives of the American Jewish Committee.

Although there had been the fullest discussion of the Palestine Resolution in the Palestine Committee by the representatives of every divergent point of view, it was agreed that this discussion should be continued in the Plenary Session, if so desired by the dissenters to the resolution. A full opportunity was presented to the President of the American Jewish Committee to express his dissenting point of view. No other representatives of a dissenting group chose to present their points of view.

The Palestine Resolution was adopted at the Plenary Session by an overwhelming vote.

Two organizations, through their spokesmen, indicated that their representatives would abstain from voting, (1) the Jewish Labor Committee with a delegation of 16 in the Conference, and (2) the Council of Jewish Women, with a delegation of three.

The Jewish Labor Committee explained that its membership was divided on this question, and that it had reached no definitive point of view thereon. But it proclaimed its solidarity with Jewish labor in Palestine.

The Council of Jewish Women explained that the issue of Palestine was not within the normal program of the Council, and that the question therefore would have to be brought back for action to the authoritative bodies of the Council.

The American Jewish Committee, represented by three delegates, expressed its dissent from the Palestine Resolution through its President. This dissent was further reflected in the dissenting vote cast by a very small minority of the Conference.

It was notable, however, that the final word of the President of the American Jewish Committee was the indication that this dissent did not mean withdrawal, and that there were large areas of cooperation in which the American Jewish Committee would participate.

The Issue of "Timeliness"

4. In dissenting from the Palestine Resolution the President of the American Jewish Committee made clear at the Conference that the essential objection of the American Jewish Committee was on the *issue of timeliness only*. He stated, "It is inadvisable to bring to the foreground of public attention political matters which may divide the peoples of the United Nations and create added difficulties," and urged deferring action on this matter, "until some subsequent session of the Conference, to be called."

What was not evident to the American Jewish Committee then, and what is not evident to the American Jewish Committee now, is that in effect, peace conferences are already being held among the United Nations and that every day brings new agreements on fundamental problems with respect to the solution of world problems.

The timeliness, therefore, of projecting solutions of fundamental Jewish problems at this time, is indisputable to those who are following world affairs. If the demands of the Jewish people with respect to this fundamental problem are not put forward now, when should they be put forward?

"Divided Loyalties"

5. The fears expressed by the American Jewish Committee that there will be political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with a government to be established there are too fantastic to require a reply. At no time has any group anywhere believed or advanced the theory that any, except the citizens of Palestine, should be required to give their allegiance to the government of Palestine. This point of view has been made explicit on numerous occasions by Zionist leaders. At no time has any responsible body, private or public, Jewish or non-Jewish, advanced the theory that support of Palestine represents any division of loyalties. The historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine was recognized during the last war, when the Balfour Declaration was issued in November of 1917. That relationship received international recognition when 51 nations within the League of Nations accorded the mandate for Palestine to Great Britain in 1922. It was given unanimous approval by the Congress of the United States when it endorsed the Balfour Declaration

in 1922. This approval has been reaffirmed through the years by successive Presidents of the United States, beginning with the late President Wilson and including President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The American Jewish Committee itself recognized that the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine implied no divided loyalties when it endorsed the Balfour Declaration in 1918, and when it joined in the establishment of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in 1929.

Conclusion

6. *And finally, the excuse of the American Jewish Committee that its withdrawal was dictated by its desire not to embarrass the Conference is neither candid nor relevant to the issue.*

Every indication was offered to the American Jewish Committee that full opportunity would be extended to them to continue their dissent on the Palestine Resolution within the framework of the American Jewish Conference, while securing their cooperation in the large area of other programs on which accord had been reached.

The world is standing at the crossroads of history. In unison with democrats everywhere, we are seeking to establish a new world of freedom and security for all mankind in which the Jewish people may take their rightful place on a basis of equality.

Through the American Jewish Conference, the expression of the democratic will of the American Jewish community, the Jews of this country have pledged themselves to united counsel and action in order to rescue our tortured people and to rehabilitate the Jewish position. From this course we shall not depart.

[Dec. 30, 1943]

Let There Be Light

By

HYMAN JUDAH SCHACHTEL

Rabbi of Congregation Beth Israel

Houston, Texas

Without knowing all the facts, many have criticized the Basic Principles of Reform Judaism adopted Nov. 23, 1943, by an overwhelming majority of Congregation Beth Israel of Houston, Texas. That there may be light and understanding is my purpose in writing the following.

Congregation Beth Israel is almost ninety years old. It is one of the oldest and one of the largest Reform congregations in the country. It is in a part of the United States which, for half a century, has enjoyed the vigorous Reform leadership of such well-known rabbis as Dr. Henry Cohen, Dr. Henry Barnston, and Dr. David Lefkowitz. Without any intervention on my part, the leaders of my congregation have culminated a three year period of study and thinking and planning by drawing up seven Basic Principles of Reform Judaism to be recognized as the spiritual platform of their congregation. These men saw clearly how, in the past decade, Reform Judaism has been pushed from one position to another and was gradually surrendering its unique character. They wished to avoid falling into a nondescript status. They were disturbed by the increasing power over the future of Reform Judaism exercised by leaders in Political Zionism. After careful study of the history of Reform Judaism and its development, they wrote their principles, presented them to the congregation, and saw them accepted, by an overwhelming majority, at the largest congregational membership meeting in the history of Beth Israel. Hence, when violent critics have assailed me as the "arch priest" of these principles, as the one who forced them upon the congregation (at this time of writing, I have been here about seven weeks; and the principles were adopted four weeks ago) the truth of the matter is that I had nothing to do with either the formulation or the adoption of the principles as submitted. This is clearly and inspiringly a layman's movement to revitalize and reaffirm the principles of American Reform Judaism as these laymen, after careful research, understand them.

The ferocity of the attacks have been, for the most part, aimed at Principle No. 4. This principle reads as follows:

"We accept as binding only the moral laws of Mosaic legislation and prophetic teaching. While respecting the convictions of our Orthodox and Conservative brethren concerning the rabbinical and Mosaic laws which regulate diet, priestly purity, dress, and similar laws, we, however, as an American Reform Congregation, reject the religious obligatory nature of the same, as having originated in ages and under influences of ideas and conditions which today are entirely unsuited, unnecessary and foreign to the beliefs and observances of progressive Judaism in modern America. We shall maintain and use in connection with our religious services only such ritual and ceremonies as may be approved by the Congregation from time to time and which may symbolize, in effective and beautiful form, the principles of our faith, and which are adapted to the progressive and liberal spirit of our times."

The critics claim that this means that a Jew who observes the traditional dietary rules is barred from membership in the congregation. This is untrue. The fact is that individuals in this congregation are free to do as they like. They may or may not observe the traditional dietary laws; but this congregation, as a Reform Jewish congregation, affirms what has been common knowledge about Reform Judaism for years, namely, that, as a Reform congregation, it does not regard the observance of the traditional dietary laws as religiously obligatory. The congregation says that if a member does not observe the traditional dietary regulations, he is not sinning against God.

Principle No. 2 is another favorite target of critics. That principle reads as follows:

"We are Jews by virtue of our acceptance of Judaism. We consider ourselves no longer a nation. We are a religious community, and neither pray for nor anticipate a return to Palestine nor a restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state. Our religion is Judaism. Our nation is the United States of America. Our nationality is American. Our flag is the 'Stars and Stripes'. Our race is Caucasian. With regard to the Jewish settlement in Palestine we consider it our sacred privilege to promote the spiritual, cultural and social welfare of our co-religionists there."

The particular idea in this Principle No. 2 which has aroused the greatest ire is the statement, "Our race is Caucasian." Now these laymen here know that there are also Ethiopian Jews and Chinese Jews and Jews in India. But—they were writing principles for their congregation in Houston, Texas, and in their congregation the membership and the potential members in the city belong to the Caucasian race. Remember that they were not writing principles for Reform Judaism throughout the world; they were writing them for Houston. They were writing them for their own congregation. Webster's New International Dictionary defines "Caucasian" as follows: "Designating or pertaining to the division of mankind comprising the chief races of Europe, North Africa and Southwestern Asia . . . The typical peoples of the race are comprised of the speakers of the Indo-European, Semitic and Hamitic languages."

Another charge has been hurled against this congregation—which is, that in establishing an associate-membership for those who do not accept these principles but wish to, nonetheless, be associated with this congregation, a "second-class" membership has been instituted. This, too, is a charge without foundation. The associate-membership, and other categories of special memberships, are to be found in many Temples. In each case, specific rules govern the kind of membership that an applicant for Temple affiliation may be granted. Most frequently, it involves financial considerations. The applicant must be able to afford a full membership. Here at Congregation Beth Israel, however, everything possible has been done to eliminate the financial barrier to full membership. Young single people, to the age of twenty-eight, pay twelve dollars a year. For widows and single persons who can pay no more, the cost is eighteen dollars per year. Whole families may pay as low as twenty-four dollars a year. (Almost 40% of the congregation pay between eighteen and twenty-four dollars a year.) This includes everything—voting rights for husband and wife, High Holyday seating for the entire family, religious school instruction, free burial permits, the purchase of a cemetery plot at a rate which is 20% lower than that charged to non-members, and the service of the rabbi for special occasions like weddings and funerals. Furthermore, the unassigned pew system prevails so that on the Holydays, there are no reserved seats.

Anyone can choose the kind of affiliation he wants and to which he is entitled within the generous regulations just described. Those who do not accept the principles of Reform Judaism as the congregation sees them may, if they wish, be associate-members with all the

aforementioned privileges save that of voting. The privilege of voting is reserved for those who believe in the "Basic Principles" which are now the religious platform of this congregation. Thus, the doors are open to all Jewry, while, at the same time, the congregation is maintaining itself as an American Reform Congregation, and is assuring its survival as such.

Finally, the critics of these principles declare, on the basis of Principle No. 6, that we are banishing Hebrew from our services. Let me quote you Principle No. 6:

"The treasures of Divine revelation were given in the Hebrew language and in such language are preserved the immortal remains of a literature that influences all civilized nations. As the fulfillment of a sacred duty, therefore, the cultivation of the Hebrew language must always be urgently desired by us. However, the Hebrew language has become unintelligible to the vast majority of our co-religionists; therefore, while a measurable content of Hebrew is essential and desirable in our rituals and services, it must be used wisely as is advisable under existing circumstances."

The nonpartisan reader of this principle must see what is quite obvious—that this principle, as in the case of the traditional dietary laws, is merely reaffirming what Reform Judaism has declared since its inception—that the service should be as intelligible as possible to the worshippers. But "a measurable content of Hebrew is essential and desirable in our rituals and services." Also, "as the fulfillment of a sacred duty, therefore, the cultivation of the Hebrew language must always be urgently desired by us." Only a biased critic can charge that this congregation seeks to drive Hebrew out of the Temple.

The perilous practice of name-calling indulged in by the critics of Congregation Beth Israel is a sickening affair. Let us have fair play. Let there be light.

NOTE: The above statement released for publication to the Independent Jewish Press Service, Inc., Dec. 30, 1943.

1943

THOUGHTS of a LAYMAN

by DANIEL FRISCH

THE INDIANAPOLIS DELEGATE TO THE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

What Happened to the American Jewish Conference?

WRH *****
The Second Session of the Conference

The American Jewish Conference to be

Without the slightest degree of truculence or acrimony and with malice towards absolutely no one, I set down these thoughts in the spirit of salutary self criticism in the hope that they may contribute in some measure to resurrect the American Jewish Conference and its magnificent potentialities.

D. F.

What Happened To The American Jewish Conference?

by DANIEL FRISCH

The Jews of the United States have long yearned for and sought to establish a comprehensive, effective organization for the advancement of the general weal of our people. The awareness of this great need was accentuated by the growth of our community, both in numbers and importance, and especially as, in rapid succession, harrowing persecutions were visited upon our fellow Jews in different lands of the old world, the cities and towns of our former sojourn.

A veritable devil's brew of injustice and cruelty, of tyranny and lingering mediaeval superstitions directed in European lands, against our people, naturally resulted in an enlargement of our sense of responsibility, a deeper recognition of our obligations, and a genuine desire to meet the challenge hurled into our lap by a gruesome destiny.

This is not a new phenomenon in the maze of Jewish history. Every crisis in our past laid new burdens and obligations upon the Jewish communities which flourished outside the belt of persecution. This truth was palpably demonstrated at the outbreak of World War I, about a quarter of a century ago, when great relief funds had to be raised for the Jewish war sufferers abroad, and when a memorable, yea, historic attempt was made to organize American Jewry on a broad base to deal with our national strivings for a restored Jewish Palestine and with the full enfranchisement of our people in post-war Europe. History repeated itself in almost every detail with the outbreak of World War II in 1939—with one notable difference. This time we had an intelligent American-born generation with the benefit of twenty-five years of experience in organizing and representing our people to the outside world; twenty-five years of strenuous labors for a Jewish Palestine; two and one-half decades of liberal giving for the welfare of all Israel. Indeed, the present effort to organize and prepare for post-war eventualities did not have the same obstacles as confronted the movement for the first American Jewish Congress in 1915 and 16. The new effort for an American Jewish Assembly, which was to represent and speak for all of American Israel (later changed to the American Jewish Conference which began with a group of 32 national Jewish organizations called to Pittsburgh in January, 1943) had very easy sailing in comparison with the innumerable difficulties and

obstructions which marked the earlier episode. In fact, the new organization looked like a winner from the very beginning. It raised very high hopes for real unity on the part of American Jewry and effective action in time of the greatest crisis in the life of our people. For this reason, the morass of disillusionment and disappointment into which the whole idea has since fallen, is so keenly and bitterly felt by large numbers of our people in the different communities throughout the country.

Lately a number of writers in the Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press have endeavored to diagnose the malady of paralyzing sloth and sleeping-sickness which seems to have overtaken the Conference only a few months after the historic and exciting sessions of September last. Among other writers, S. Dingol devoted more than half a page of "The Day" to the quandary of the congealment of the new movement. Mr. Dingol contrasts the stubborn and unyielding opposition to the movement of the American Jewish Congress, which was voiced by outstanding Jewish leaders a quarter of a century ago, with the friendly and enthusiastic welcome which was accorded to the Conference project in the present instance, when, after certain hesitations in some quarters, there was almost a unanimous attitude of welcome to the plan propounded in 1943. He says: "I do not know of any other organization which was born under such favorable auspices as the American Jewish Conference, and I do not know of any other organization on which such high hopes were raised as those which were placed on this undertaking."

He then describes the bitter attacks which the original Congress movement had to overcome and goes on to an analysis of the vexing circumstances which attend the blind alley that was struck by this promising enterprise, at first heralded in such glowing terms.

The question is being asked again and again: "What has really happened to the American Jewish Conference?" The national Jewish organizations, fraternal orders, as well as the *Landmannschaften*, synagogues and temples, responded with alacrity and unprecedented unanimity to the first call for a preliminary conference. Even the portly and ponderous central organizations, generally unyielding and self-willed, came through after a while. The American Jewish Committee, for example, hemmed and hawed and then entered the Conference with reservations which later snowballed into an ideological impasse—the only sour note in the Conference. But even this note of discord was drowned out by general clamor for unity and co-operation on the part of the rank and file. The elections were carried through with zeal, effectiveness and enthusiasm. While here and

there the election assumed unhealthy competitive aspects, most of the communities sent, as representatives, men and women of genuine interest in the cause of Jewish welfare and survival. What is more, the American Jewish community supplied sufficient funds wherewith to launch the new organization, thus avoiding a handicap which almost crippled the first American Jewish Congress. The soul-stirring, never-to-be-forgotten sessions at the Waldorf-Astoria, which took an entire week, are now part of history. The Conference, in spite of the regrettable fact that it steered clear of such burning issues as the combatting of anti-Semitism in America and the quest for permanency, left a favorable impression and there was every expectation that it would lead to the desired effort and achievements for the welfare of our sorely tired people.

True, some of the participants did not measure up to the call of the hour. The American Jewish Committee, apparently dissatisfied with its lack of larger representation, used the adoption of the Commonwealth Resolution as an excuse to prove its lack of good faith and withdrew from the Conference, thus striking against the greatest principle of democracy—the decision of the majority. (Over 90% of the delegates to the Conference decided in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.) Yet, even this betrayal need not have shaken or weakened the authority or influence of the Conference. What really happened, then, to thwart and frustrate the aspirations of the Jews in America in connection with the formation of this new authoritative and all embracing agency?

The people, the masses, the majority of workers, givers and doers, responded magnificently. They were ready to go on with the task to the end of the road; they were ready to be guided and led. But were they led? "Ay," says a celebrated character in a famous play, "there's the rub". "Ameho" (the people) was let down. The persons with willing hands, open hearts, faith and confidence, perhaps lacking only in sophistication, did not reckon with our forensic officialdom, whose hobby appears to be collecting spokesmanships of every description. While a goodly number amongst these leaders are no doubt sincere and well-meaning, far too many of them are adversely affected by the adulation lavished upon them by the oratory-loving yokels. These celebrities have undoubtedly rendered invaluable services to our people. The habit of a lifetime, however, seems to make them feel uncomfortable any place outside of a platform and has permanently fixed their eyes on headlines so that they see little elsewhere. Life amidst the constant acclaim, din and excitement, has somehow affected their hearing so that they are by and large the worst listeners in the world. A new movement, a new organization, a new demonstration, is, with many amongst them, but

little more than just a new opportunity for delivering platitudinous speeches and the dividing of the honors within a charmed circle. As to the enterprise itself, upon which masses of people have reposed high hope and expectation, well—where is the next platform on the agenda?

Twenty-five years of labor under difficult conditions; campaigns, drives, undertakings of every kind in behalf of Palestine and the protection of Jewish rights everywhere, have served to enrich the experience of our people, have developed new capacities, skills, understanding and resourcefulness, as well as an intelligent local leadership. Unfortunately, with very few exceptions, the same does not seem to hold true of the national leadership. It is monopolized by a few and represents chiefly vested organizational interests with a small number of individuals possessing undisputed life tenure as leaders.

There is no doubt that these celebrities, who master the ceremonies and dispense with everything else, are not entirely to blame for the chaos, inertia and intellectual confusion which characterizes the business of the American Jewish community. They surely had, however, a large share in setting up false standards and in building up stage settings and fanfare instead of actualities and accomplishments. They have created a tyranny of speechmaking as a substitute for true greatness and inner humility. They are also, to a large extent, responsible for failing to provide opportunities for the inclusion of younger men and women in the management of our affairs.

The American Jewish Conference demonstrated among other things that, while the people have grown, the leaders have not kept pace, failing to realize that new conditions have arisen and that new lieutenants and officers from amongst the leading workers had to be brought into the circle of important activities and leadership.

Why did not the perennial leaders show good faith by helping the sovereign body—the American Jewish Conference—to choose a set of regular and constitutional officers? Was there no one present among the 500 delegates deserving and capable of becoming its president? If there was no one there of that caliber, then this entire discussion and the whole effort to organize democratically is quite futile. But it will be very hard to convince the Jews of America that with full freedom of action and with the absence of a dominant clique they could not have organized a conference in a regular, legitimate way, with an authorized spokesman and a full set of officers in charge, a set of men, fresh to the task, vigorous and uncommitted to other claimant and competing organizations. Five million souls of at least average intelligence and integrity and no less than half a century of

significant organizational history, and no one to head and no set of people to man the enterprise! The Conference almost collapsed there and then, when in order to please a select few, it failed to elect a President and compromised on several chairmen and several everything else. It was everybody's business and, of course, nobody's business.

There was some hope left that the Interim Committee, of which this writer is a member, would apply itself to some of the pressing tasks like the fight against the British White Paper and for the Commonwealth, or the urgent task of rescuing our people from the continuous onslaughts and atrocities of the Nazis and their satellites in the occupied countries. But here the various associated chairmen and members of the committee turned out to be the heads of other organizations which would not yield their prerogatives to the supreme body of American Jewry, the American Jewish Conference. It became most difficult for one to discern what is what and who is who. There ensued a period of semi-inactivity, doubt and perplexity. While the Interim Committee had some nominal share in several of the activities that were in progress, other organizations claimed and received the largest share of attention and credit. Worst of all, the unauthorized free-lancers of the "Emergency Committee to save the Jewish People of Europe", in the midst of the chaos and confusion, grabbed the lion's share of public interest in connection with the woes and sorrows of our people through the medium of the full page advertisement.

The antics of this sensation seeking group have already been fully described and excoriated in the statements of a number of recognized organizations and in the Jewish press in general. It remains only to be added to this phase of the situation that the failure of the American Jewish Conference to take an aggressive and compelling attitude towards the problem of rescuing our people from extermination was largely, if not chiefly, responsible for the continuance and intensification of the loud, misleading propaganda of these errant, pseudo-Messiahs. This served to increase the prevailing sense of disappointment and to arouse resentment and bitterness amounting to despair of any hope in the future.

The Second Session

The announcement of the contemplated holding of a second session of the Conference did not serve to dissipate fully the accumulated feeling of disillusionment. The news of this attempt to give the organization a shot in the arm was received with a mingled sense of indifference and surprise by the Jewish public. A good portion of the Jewish press is equally dubious and quizzical.

cal. "The Reconstructionist", a survivalist periodical issued by the "Society for the Advancement of Judaism", said: "In contrast with the interest and excitement which greeted the original convocation of the Conference, the call to its delegates to reconvene has been received for the most part with apathy and indifference. There is widespread skepticism as to the usefulness of the Conference. In many circles, its leadership has been severely criticized for having let the public down by not taking vigorous action in the name of the Conference and demonstrating its authority in Jewish life. The charge has been made that the sole interest of the leaders in the movement was to secure from organized Jewry the public endorsement of the Zionist point of view with reference to Palestine and that, once this was accomplished, they lost interest in the Conference."

The blame that is heaped upon the Zionists is least justified. It can be said to be true only in the sense that the leaders of the movement as heads of cooperating organizations, may have been, with others, equally remiss in failing to press vigorously enough for the advancement of an effective programme of overseas activities in behalf of our people, especially since the adoption of the Palestine Resolution made this obligation all the stronger and more binding. I know that the Zionists would have been perfectly willing to have the Palestine Commission of the Conference speak for American Jewry in matters American, relating to the Commonwealth Resolution. However, witnessing the *competitive* spirit which prevailed in the Interim Committee and seeing that non-Zionists and pseudo-Zionists in the Conference used the support of the Commonwealth Resolution as a perpetual bargaining point, they *wisely* carried on chiefly under the auspices of the Emergency Council for Zionist Affairs. All of the dominant central and national organizations, having taken a leading part in the creation of the Conference, should have—notwithstanding the opposition of the Joint Distribution Committee—combined on a program of urgent and immediate tasks abroad, very much as the Jews of England in former years cooperated in the Joint Foreign Committee. Activities at home could, for the time being have been left to existing organizations here and there, with the possibility of future co-ordination. But the definite obligations which were assumed by all participants and especially by the prime movers in the Conference compelled the taking of immediate, concrete and effective steps to carry out the resolutions relating to places of refuge, in which Palestine looms so large, to the urgent task of rescue and post-war planning and preparations in behalf of the whole of Israel. Were these duties fulfilled wholeheartedly with the vigor and zeal that the circumstances required? Well, there are explanations and apologies put forward, it must be admitted, with considerable skill and astuteness.

Mr. Louis Lipsky, a veteran in the service of our people, who worked earnestly and arduously in carrying through the elections to the Conference, was probably not very happy at the outcome of the latest venture in organizing and unifying American Jewry. But, with the characteristic devotion with which he always responds to a new call, he accepted, upon the insistence of the President of the Z. O.A., the appointment as Chairman of a new Administrative Committee, set up preparatory to the second session of the Conference. In his new capacity, there has devolved upon him the apparently joyless duty of explaining and rectifying the position of the Conference. In a bulletin issued by his new Committee, he makes a statement which is significantly headed "Let's Face the Situation." Here is part of his statement: "Certain aspects of political development involving fundamental Jewish interests were bound to come up for discussion and it would be necessary for someone to speak and act on behalf of the Conference. It was therefore agreed to elect an Interim Committee, which was authorized to proceed 'to implement the resolutions and decisions of the first session' and to call a second session of the Conference not later than twelve months following the adjournment of the first session.

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

"For if, by implication, the Conference was intended to be not only limited in program but also in time, the assumption of function by the Conference would inevitably create a conflict of jurisdiction and an interference on its part, with the continuing responsibilities of established organizations and agencies. It was not to be expected that long-established organizations, pursuing well-defined purposes, could suspend their activities during the life of the Conference. *Precisely because of the tragic circumstances of Jewish life, the established organizations were facing greater demands, laboring under greater excitement and strain, and more jealous than ever before of their organizational traditions and prestige. They were not prepared to quit the scene temporarily in the face of a great crisis and to resume their interrupted existence after the passing of the emergency.*

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

The first reaction to this statement will be one of complete astonishment. Imagine all the outstanding Jewish men and women from the entire country, scholars and thinkers and spokesmen of different communities, who labored for a whole week in committees on all the different resolutions, not knowing what it was all about! Then think of all the chiefs, heads and topnotchers who dominated the proceedings, not understanding the meaning of the word *implementation*. Then there was another word which proved to be the undoing of the whole undertaking, namely the word "jurisdiction"! None of the eminent men and exponents of Jewish purposes, needs and obligations, understood what "jurisdiction" meant; and they just stumbled into a big assembly to discover later that they did not know the object which had brought them together. Apparently all the previous negotiations and discussions, all the laborious preparations, and not even the call to the Conference, made these aims and purposes clear.

The "twinkle of an eye," Mr. Lipsky? Even by the most generous burst of metaphor, can you call more than twelve months of innumerable conferences, discussions and conversations of every description, "the twinkle of an eye"? Mr. Lipsky, an outstanding leader for many a decade, of course, knows from experience how many big undertakings of an earlier day were organized, advanced and accomplished in a shorter period. But worse than all the labored excuses and extenuations which he presents, are the references to the organizations which he names in connection with the negotiations and attempted adjustments. By implication he unwittingly indicts them with lack of sincerity, interference and a propensity to meddle in everything. Such indictment naturally carries with it a condemnation of all the participants in the Conference—groups as well as individuals—and illustrates how the authority and prerogatives of the Conference were ignored and even flouted right after its establishment; right after the solemn dedication of every organization to the common cause.

The reader of this astonishing statement will note with special surprise and consternation the lines which I have italicized which assert that "because of tragic circumstances" created by the war, the established organizations were "more jealous than ever before of their organizational traditions and prestige" and they were not prepared to quit the scene temporarily in the face of a great crisis." Again and again will the question occur as to what motives and intentions these organizations had when they participated in the creation of the American Jewish Conference. The very painful knowledge that they failed to "meet the great crisis" on account of which they would not yield any of their prerogatives, will only heighten the sense of astonishment and indignation.

Then there comes a final paragraph in which the author attains the very acme of paradox.

Please note carefully how the Conference was emasculated and reduced to "one among a group of organizations!"

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

The most charitable attitude towards this unconvincing apology is that the distinguished author makes the best of an uncomfortable and humiliating situation. But this and any other statement which may be made hereafter can bring neither comfort nor consolation to any of us who are deeply concerned with the objectives of this undertaking. All pronouncements of this character will only be read as the ornamented "finis" to an ill-fated enterprise.

The American Jewish Conference To Be

Whatever of confidence, faith, hope and courage is left within the individuals and groups inspired by the idea of an American Jewish Conference will now center about the hope of reviving and restoring the original project. If the projected second session will find a way to salvage the soul-stirring idea from the wreck, then there may be some justification for the gathering. But the delegates, the representatives from the communities, the plain hardworking people in our communal enterprises will have to go there with a new determination and deeper understanding of what they now have at stake. Perhaps the disappointments, the disillusionments, the pain and anguish which they have recently experienced will have sobered their minds, steadied their hands and steelled their hearts against all easy assurances and florid oratorical blandishments so that with a sterner sense of reality and firmer decision on their part, actually to

participate and not merely to furnish the applause or approval, we may ultimately attain the goal of a united American Jewry with the American Jewish Conference as its vital and all-inclusive agency.

First the men and women throughout the country who have hitherto labored earnestly and zealously will have to put their shoulders to the wheel. Then all the groups and organizations that are unfettered by the deadweight of their own importance will have to exert all their effort, means and influence to build anew—and this time not on shifting sands—the structure of American Jewish unity for action.

The communities as such, the scattered settlements throughout the country, will have to play a more active and intensive role in the recreation of the American Jewish Conference to be, and that means that democratically elected Community Councils all over the land will have to multiply and assume larger responsibilities and wield a stronger hand in shaping the new all-inclusive organization which will speak and act for Jewry without regard to the "organizational traditions and prestige" of the present organizations with their limited scope.

The individuals and groups whose interest and devotion are free of any and all reservations and limitations, will also have to see to it that the deliberations of delegates are unhampered by any complicated machinery which creates insurmountable barriers between the assembly hall and the platform and leaves to the elected representatives the role of mere on-lookers.

As a sovereign body the delegates will have to exercise their prerogatives and utilize to the fullest their freedom to choose their leadership and direction. As a matter of sincerity, good faith and devotion to the cause of Israel, delegates should not assume office without possessing the time and energy to devote to the necessary tasks, nor should men with multiple engagements and obligations take such duties upon themselves. It cannot be that an evolving and advancing American Jewry, with communal organizations operating in some four hundred different cities, is so lacking in mature manpower and leadership that it must continually thrust the same tasks upon an already overburdened and weary set of men whose passion for Jewish life always makes them willing to accept new responsibilities.

The woes and tribulations of Israel are almost without end. Yet, it seems to be our destiny to learn how to cope with them only from repeated failures and misfortunes of our own making.

For the history of our corporate American Jewish life, alas, is strewn with innumerable fiascos.

If a new and redoubled effort leads to ultimate success in creating a reborn American Jewish Conference of tomorrow, then the body which by the very limitations of the Pittsburgh call and by the unwillingness of some organizations to subordinate their own prestige to the weal of Israel was destined to impotency, will have served a good purpose.



In 1941 Dr. Weizmann approached Mr. Sol Stroom, President of the American Jewish Committee "to see whether common ground for united action could not be found." Mr. Stroom invited a number of his associates to serve as individuals in conference with Zionists. Later on, these negotiations were adopted as official by the American Jewish Committee. Quite a number of meetings were held, and following the death of Mr. Stroom, Mr. Maurice Wertheim continued these meetings. In 1942, Mr. Wertheim reported: "I am happy to tell you that the spirit of good will which has thus far been manifested on both sides augurs well."

Mr. Ben Gurion came to participate in these negotiations when he visited the United States, and on June 4, 1942, the following agreement was actually initialed by Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Wertheim, which was approved by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee:

- "1. To act in common
 - "a. For the maintenance of Jewish rights under the Mandate in Palestine for the immediate future;
 - "b. For the fulfillment of the original purposes of the Balfour Declaration, whereby through unrestricted Jewish immigration and large-scale colonization under a regime designed for this purpose, Jews may constitute a majority in Palestine and establish an autonomous commonwealth, it being clearly understood that
 - "(1) In such a commonwealth, all the inhabitants, without regard to race or religion, shall enjoy complete equality of rights;
 - "(2) The establishment of this commonwealth will in no way affect the political or civil status and allegiance of Jews who are citizens of any other country."

Mr. Proskauer threatened to bolt the Committee along with his followers if this agreement were adopted by the American Jewish Committee. In order to avoid a split, Mr. Wertheim had the agreement shelved.

On January 31, 1943, Mr. Proskauer was elected President. He made his election contingent upon the acceptance of a statement of views on Palestine which he presented. The statement ignores the Jewish National Home, the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate, the Jewish Agency completely. It was a complete reversal of the former attitude of the American Jewish Committee as represented in the adherence of its leaders to the Jewish Agency.

When Judge Proskauer's statement adopted, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, as a member of the American Jewish Committee did not vote against it nor did he resign from the Committee in protest. He simply requested that he be recorded as not voting. Judge Levinthal was at that time President of the ZOA. Draw your own conclusions as to the character of a man who refrains from voting on a crucial issue such as this when as head of the Zionist Organization of America he is officially obligated to represent the Zionist viewpoint.

You will recall that Judge Proskauer advocated that the Zionists forget their ideologies for the time being and join with the American Jewish Committee in what he called "practical work" for Palestine -- the program which the same Judge Proskauer presented to the American Jewish Conference, and which the Conference overwhelmingly voted down.

