

THE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT



OBJECTS OF THE COMMITTEE

“The objects of this corporation shall be, to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur; and to compass these ends to administer any relief fund which shall come into its possession or which may be received by it, in trust or otherwise, for any of the aforesaid objects or for purposes comprehended therein.”

—*Extract from the Charter.*

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Officers

Chairman, LOUIS E. KIRSTEIN

President, SOL M. STROOCK

Honorary Vice-Presidents { IRVING LEHMAN
ABRAM I. ELKUS

Vice-Presidents { LESSING J. ROSENWALD
CARL J. AUSTRIAN

Treasurer, SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF

Executive Committee

CARL J. AUSTRIAN (1942)* New York, N. Y.	JAMES MARSHALL (1942) New York, N. Y.
GEORGE BACKER (1943) New York, N. Y.	LOUIS B. MAYER (1943) Culver City, Cal.
JAMES H. BECKER (1943) Chicago, Ill.	GEORGE Z. MEDALIE (1944) New York, N. Y.
JOHN L. BERNSTEIN (1943) New York, N. Y.	LOUIS J. MOSS (1943) Brooklyn, N. Y.
DAVID M. BRESSLER (1943) New York, N. Y.	MRS DAVID de SOLA POOL (1943) New York, N. Y.
FRED M. BÜTZEL (1944) Detroit, Mich.	JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER (1942) New York, N. Y.
LEO M. BÜTZEL (1942) Detroit, Mich.	JAMES N. ROSENBERG (1942) New York, N. Y.
JAMES DAVIS (1944) Chicago, Ill.	SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN (1942) New York, N. Y.
ABRAM I. ELKUS (1943) New York, N. Y.	WILLIAM ROSENWALD (1942) Greenwich, Conn.
LEON FALK, Jr. (1942) Pittsburgh, Pa.	WALTER N. ROTHSCILD (1944) Brooklyn, N. Y.
LOUIS FINKELSTEIN (1943) New York, N. Y.	MURRAY SEASONGOOD (1942) Cincinnati, Ohio
PHILLIP FORMAN (1942) Trenton, N. J.	JESE H. STEINHART (1942) San Francisco, Cal.
ELI FRANK (1943) Baltimore, Md.	EDGAR B. STERN (1942) New Orleans, La.
MRS. M. L. GOLDMAN (1943) San Francisco, Cal.	HORACE STERN (1943) Philadelphia, Pa.
HAROLD K. GUINZBURG (1944) New York, N. Y.	ROGER W. STRAUS (1942) New York, N. Y.
HENRY ITTLESON (1943) New York, N. Y.	LEWIS L. STRAUSS (1942) New York, N. Y.
MILTON W. KING (1943) Washington, D. C.	SOL M. STROOCK (1943) New York, N. Y.
LOUIS E. KIRSTEIN (1944) Boston, Mass.	DAVID H. SULZBERGER (1942) New York, N. Y.
SIDNEY LANSBURGH (1942) Baltimore, Md.	WILLIAM B. THALHIMER (1943) Richmond, Va.
ALBERT D. LASKER (1943) Chicago, Ill.	FREDERICK M. WARBURG (1944) New York, N. Y.
EDWARD LAZANSKY (1942) Brooklyn, N. Y.	SIDNEY J. WEINBERG (1942) New York, N. Y.
FRED LAZARUS, Jr. (1944) Columbus, Ohio	WILLIAM WEISS (1944) New York, N. Y.
IRVING LEHMAN (1943) New York, N. Y.	MAURICE WERTHEIM (1943) New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF (1944) New York, N. Y.	JOSEPH WILEN (1942) New York, N. Y.
SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN (1944) New York, N. Y.	HENRY WINEMAN (1942) Detroit, Mich.

MORRIS WOLF (1942)
Philadelphia, Pa.

Secretary

MORRIS D. WALDMAN

Assistant Secretary

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN

Director, Educational Department

SIDNEY WALLACH

386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Cable Address, "WISHCOM, New York."

*The year given after each name is the date on which member's term expires.

THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

January 12, 1941

The Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on January 12, 1941. Sol M. Stroock, Chairman of the Executive Committee, called the meeting to order.

The following Corporate Members were present:

*Community Representatives***CONNECTICUT**

Hartford: Isidore Wise

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington: Milton W. King

ILLINOIS

Chicago: B. Horwich

MARYLAND

Baltimore: Sidney Lansburgh

NEW JERSEY

Jersey City: Harry Goldowsky

New Brunswick: Abraham Jelin

Paterson: Mendon Morrill

Trenton: Phillip Forman

NEW YORK

Albany: Robert C. Poskanzer

New York City: Carl J. Austrian; David M. Bressler; David A. Brown; Morris R. Cohen; William Fischman; Arthur J. Goldsmith; Leo Gottlieb; Henry S. Hendricks; Stanley M. Isaacs; Joseph J. Klein; Arthur K. Kuhn; William Liebermann; Edward A. Norman; Carl H. Pforzheimer; Joseph M. Proskauer; Harold Riegelman; A. J. Rongy; Samuel Schulman; Bernard Semel; Lewis L. Strauss; Alan M. Stroock; Sol M. Stroock; Nathan Sweedler

Syracuse: David M. Holstein
 Utica: S. Joshua Kohn
 White Plains: P. Irving Grinberg

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia: Justin P. Allman; Jacob Billikopf; Al.
 Paul Lefton; Horace Stern; Morris Wolf
 Scranton: A. B. Cohen
 Wilkes-Barre: Reuben H. Levy

Members-at-Large

Louis Bamberger, South Orange, N. J.; Louis E. Kir-
 stein, Boston, Mass.; S. D. Leidesdorf, New York
 City; William Rosenwald, New York City; William
 B. Thalhimer, Richmond, Va.; Joseph Willen, New
 York City.

Delegates from Affiliated Organizations

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL JEWISH WOMEN'S
 ORGANIZATIONS: Mrs. Herbert S. Goldstein
 BRITH SHOLOM: Michael Seelig
 FREE SONS OF ISRAEL: Isaac G. Simon
 HADASSAH: Mrs. David de Sola Pool
 HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF
 AMERICA: Abraham Herman; John L. Bernstein; Solo-
 mon Dingol; Harry Fischel; Jacob Massel; Albert
 Rosenblatt
 INDEPENDENT ORDER B'RITH ABRAHAM: Max L. Hol-
 lander; Max Silverstein
 JEWISH WELFARE BOARD: Joseph Rosenzweig
 NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN: Mrs. Karl J.
 Kaufmann; Mrs. Sophia M. Robison
 ORDER OF UNITED HEBREW BROTHERS: Max E. Greenberg
 RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY, JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
 OF AMERICA: Max Arzt
 UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA:
 Benjamin Koenigsberg; William Weiss
 UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA: Louis J. Moss

WOMEN'S BRANCH OF THE UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA: Mrs. Joseph M. Asher
WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA:
Mrs. David Kass; Miss Sarah Kussy; Mrs. Samuel
Spiegel

There were also present the following guests:

Louis Azrael, Baltimore, Md.; Jacob Blaustein, Baltimore, Md.; Rudolph I. Coffee, San Francisco, Calif.; Benjamin Friedman, Syracuse, N. Y.; Sidney Goldmann, Trenton, N. J.; Mrs. Abraham Jelin, New Brunswick, N. J.; Mr. and Mrs. John J. Kislak, Jersey City, N. J.; Mrs. Reuben H. Levy, Kingston, Pa.; Louis Rudner, Trenton, N. J.; Charles M. Siegfried, Syracuse, N. Y., and the following from New York City: Paul Baerwald, S. Bardin, Salo W. Baron, Edward M. Benton, Henry J. Bernheim, Mrs. Sidney C. Borg, J. George Fredman, Max Gottschalk, Fred Harris, Adolph Held, Edward Herbert, Bernard Kahn, I. L. Kandel, Mrs. Benjamin Koenigsberg, Jacob Landau, Isaac Landman, Horace S. Manges, Walter Mendelsohn, Maximilian Moss, David de Sola Pool, Victor S. Riesenfeld, Joseph Schlossberg, Max M. Warburg, Morton S. Webster, Mrs. Joseph Willen, and Miss Ethel H. Wise.

MORNING SESSION

Memorial Address on Dr. Cyrus Adler

The Chairman announced that, following the death of Dr. Adler on April 7 last, a special meeting of the Executive Committee was called to adopt a resolution expressing the Committee's sense of loss at the passing of its beloved President. The text of this resolution, unanimously adopted on April 8, is embodied in the Annual Report of the Executive Committee.

The Chairman also announced that, following the death of Dr. Adler, the various organizations with which Dr. Adler was affiliated had considered the holding of a joint memorial service but had decided against it in deference to the wishes of Dr. Adler's family. Instead the officers had decided to devote part of this annual meeting, the first general meeting since Dr. Adler's death, to commemorate the services which he had rendered the Committee. In accordance with this decision, the Chairman reported, the Secretary had been requested to deliver an appropriate address at this meeting. (For the text of this address, delivered by Morris D. Waldman, Executive Secretary, *see* p. 728.)

Presentation of Annual Report

At the request of the Chairman, who was prevented from doing so himself because of a cold, Judge Horace Stern read the Annual Report of the Executive Committee. (For text of report, *see* p. 714.)

Report of Survey Committee

Mr. Victor S. Riesenfeld, Chairman, presented a talk on the work of the Survey Committee. At the present time, the Survey Committee consists of: Carl J. Austrian, Robert M. Benjamin, Alfred L. Bernheim, Mrs. Sidney C. Borg, Joseph E. Brill, Jacques Coleman, Phillip Forman, Arthur J. Goldsmith, Harold K. Guinzburg, Adolph Held, Mrs. William de Young Kay, Samuel D. Leidesdorf, Henry A. Loeb, Solomon Lowenstein, Horace S. Manges, Walter Mendelsohn, Samuel I. Rosenman, William Rosenwald,

Ralph E. Samuel, Roger W. Straus, Alan M. Stroock, David H. Sulzberger, Paul Felix Warburg, Morton S. Webster, Maurice Wertheim, Joseph Willen and Ethel H. Wise; with Morris D. Waldman, *ex-officio*, and Sidney Wallach, as director of the Educational Department of the Committee.

Report of the Committee on Peace Studies

Professor Morris R. Cohen, Chairman, presented a report of the Committee on Peace Studies. Professor Cohen's report was discussed by those present. (For text of the report, *see* p. 736.)

At the present time the Committee on Peace Studies consists of: Dr. Schlomo Bardin, Dr. Salo W. Baron, Dr. Morris R. Cohen, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Dr. Louis Finkelstein, Mr. Max Gottschalk, Mr. Adolph Held, Dr. Maurice Hexter, Mr. Alexander Kahn, Dr. Bernhard Kahn, Dr. I. L. Kandel, Dr. Maurice J. Karpf, Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn, Mr. Jacob Landau, Mr. Henry Monsky, Mr. Edward A. Norman, Dr. A. L. Sachar, Mr. Joseph Schlossberg, Mr. Alan M. Stroock and Mr. Max Warburg; with Mr. Harry Schneiderman and Mr. Morris D. Waldman, *ex officio*.

Corporate Membership

It was reported that the Committee suffered the loss of the following Corporate Members in 1940, since the last Annual Meeting:

- Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa., April 7.
- Benjamin Evarts, Holyoke, Mass., Aug. 3.
- Jacob H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md., July 9.
- Arthur M. Lamport, New York City, Nov. 8.
- Victor Rosewater, Philadelphia, Pa., July 12.

Minutes expressing the Committee's grief and sense of loss were adopted by the Executive Committee.

It was announced that, in accordance with the provisions of the by-laws, the following Nominating Committee, empowered to name candidates to succeed those members whose terms expire today, and fill existing vacancies, had

been appointed: David M. Bressler, Chairman, Edmund H. Abrahams, Edward Adaskin, Mortimer Adler, Jacob Billikopf, James Davis, A. B. Freyer, William P. Haas, Eugene Mannheimer, Joseph H. Schanfeld, Michael A. Stavitsky, Nathan Sweedler, Felix Vorenberg.

Following is a list of the nominees of the Nominating Committee:

STATE	CITY	NOMINEES
CONNECTICUT	New Britain	Samuel M. Davidson
ILLINOIS	Chicago	Frank L. Sulzberger
	Springfield	Herman E. Snyder
INDIANA	Hammond	Samuel D. Seifer
IOWA	Mason City	Sam Raizes
MAINE	Bangor	Michael Pilot
	Portland	Israel Bernstein
MARYLAND	Baltimore	Jacob Blaustein
		Sidney Lansburgh
MASSACHUSETTS	Holyoke	Samuel Resnic
MICHIGAN	Grand Rapids	Harry Shulsky
NEW JERSEY	Hoboken	Julius Lichtenstein
	New Brunswick	Abraham Jelin
NEW MEXICO	Las Vegas	Louis C. Iffeld
NEW YORK	New Rochelle	Oscar Heyman
	New York	Edward L. Bernays
		David M. Bressler
		Emanuel Celler
		Morris R. Cohen
		Harold K. Guinzburg
		Joseph C. Hyman
		Henry Ittleson
		Arthur K. Kuhn
		Herbert H. Lehman
		Alexander Marx
		Maximilian Moss
		Walter N. Rothschild
		Samuel Salzman
		Hugh Grant Straus
		Roger W. Straus
		Sol M. Stroock
		Ralph Wolf
	Poughkeepsie	Albert D. Kahn
	Yonkers	Irving Schneider
NORTH CAROLINA	Goldsboro	Lionel Weil
OHIO	Steubenville	Joseph Fredman
PENNSYLVANIA	Braddock	Malcolm Goldsmith
	Hazleton	Nat Landau
SOUTH CAROLINA	Charleston	Sidney Rittenberg
VIRGINIA	Norfolk	Charles L. Kaufman

Though opportunity was afforded to the sustaining members to make independent nominations, no such noninations were offered.

In the following communities, in which the Committee receives its support from local federations and welfare funds, the nominations were made by the Boards of those organizations:

STATE	CITY	NOMINEES
CALIFORNIA	Los Angeles	Isaac Pacht Mendel B. Silberberg
	Oakland	Leonard J. Meltzer
	San Diego	Jacob Weinberger
	San Francisco	Max C. Sloss
COLORADO	Denver	Lewis I. Miller
CONNECTICUT	Stamford	Abraham Wofsey
FLORIDA	Miami	D. J. Apte
	Tampa	Ernest Maas
ILLINOIS	Peoria	Arthur Lehmann
INDIANA	Terre Haute	Marshall Taxay
KANSAS	Kansas City	Joseph Cohen
KENTUCKY	Louisville	Stuart G. Levy
MASSACHUSETTS	Boston	R. B. Gryzmish Milton Kahn
	Lynn	Eli A. Cohen
	Worcester	George W. Farber
MICHIGAN	Detroit	Julian H. Krolik
MINNESOTA	Minneapolis	Arthur Brin
MISSISSIPPI	Vicksburg	Louis L. Switzer
MISSOURI	St. Louis	Charles M. Rice Ernest W. Stix
	Atlantic City	Harry Cassman
NEW JERSEY	Bayonne	William Rubin
	Passaic	Victor Greenberg
NEW YORK	Elmira	Benjamin F. Levy
	Newburgh	Bertram A. Stroock
	Niagara Falls	Morton J. Cohn
	Rochester	Henry M. Stern
	Syracuse	David M. Holstein
	Troy	Joseph Goodman
OHIO	Utica	S. Joshua Kohn
	Cincinnati	Murray Seansongood
	Cleveland	Edward M. Baker
	Columbus	Fred Lazarus, Jr.
OREGON	Youngstown	Herman C. Ritter
	Portland	Max S. Hirsch

STATE	CITY	NOMINEES	
PENNSYLVANIA	Philadelphia	J. C. Gutman	
		Al. Paul Lefton	
		Horace Stern	
		Leon C. Sunstein	
		Morris Wolf	
RHODE ISLAND	Reading	Sam R. Lurio	
	Scranton	A. B. Cohen	
	Woonsocket	Arthur I. Darman	
TENNESSEE	Chattanooga	Sidney Marks	
	Knoxville	Ben R. Winick	
		Max Wolf	
		Eric D. Hirsch	
		Nathan Cohn	
TEXAS	Galveston	Isaac H. Kempner	
	San Antonio	Jake Karotkin	
	Waco	Melvin H. Adams	
	VIRGINIA	Richmond	J. Irving Kaufmann
		WASHINGTON	Spokane
WISCONSIN	Milwaukee	Joseph L. Baron	

The Chairman of the Executive Committee reported that it had agreed to nominate the following persons for Membership-at-Large, to serve for one year:

George Backer, New York
Louis Bamberger, Newark
John L. Bernstein, New York
Leo M. Brown, Mobile
Fred M. Butzel, Detroit
Leo M. Butzel, Detroit
Solomon Elsner, Hartford
Jacob Epstein, Baltimore
Leon Falk, Jr., Pittsburgh
Eli Frank, Baltimore
Edward S. Greenbaum, New York
Hiram J. Halle, New York
Herbert J. Hannoeh, Newark
Walter S. Hilborn, Los Angeles
William L. Holzman, Omaha
J. J. Kaplan, Boston
Louis E. Kirstein, Boston
Samuel D. Leidesdorf, New York
Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans
Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia
Chas. J. Liebman, New York
Solomon Lowenstein, New York
Julian W. Mack, New York

Louis B. Mayer, Culver City, Cal.
 George Z. Medalie, New York
 Henry Morgenthau, Sr., New York
 Reuben Oppenheimer, Baltimore
 Milton J. Rosenau, Chapel Hill, No. Car.
 Lessing J. Rosenwald, Philadelphia
 William Rosenwald, Greenwich, Conn.
 Morris Rothenberg, New York
 Henry Sachs, Colorado Springs
 David H. Sulzberger, New York
 William B. Thalhimer, Richmond
 F. Frank Vorenberg, Boston
 Frederick M. Warburg, New York
 Max M. Warburg, New York
 Sidney J. Weinberg, New York
 Maurice Wertheim, New York
 Joseph Willen, New York
 Henry Wineman, Detroit

Upon motion, the Secretary was requested to cast one ballot for the nominees for Community Representatives whose terms expired, as presented by the Nominating Committee, and also for the nominees for Members-at-Large presented by the Executive Committee. He so did, and announced the election of the several nominees.

Executive Committee and Officers

Mr. Lewis L. Strauss submitted the following joint report of the two Nominating Committees, which had been appointed by the Chairman of the Executive Committee to nominate successors to the officers and those members of the Executive Committee whose terms expire at this meeting, as well as additional members of the Executive Committee:

"The Nominating Committee has been faced this year with a sad task, selection of a successor to our late beloved President.

"Due to world events, the work of the American Jewish Committee as all of us know has expanded rapidly and as a result, a considerable number of able and devoted younger men and women have been brought into the organization,

upon whom have devolved heavy duties. In addition, older members of the Committee have been obliged to become more active.

"Certain changes in our structure such as the election of regional vice presidents and methods for sharing responsibility would very greatly facilitate our work but your Committee is limited to the structure provided in our by-laws. We feel that the times, the increased work and the growth of the community all point to the need of a review and revision of our by-laws to those ends. Our charter provides that our by-laws may be amended only after a thirty day notice to our membership before an annual or special meeting and your Nominating Committee, exceeding its particular authority in this connection, urgently recommends the appointment of a small committee to immediately undertake the study and preparation of amendments to the by-laws to accomplish these purposes. The meeting which would follow the thirty day notice could be formal and need not summon our membership from a distance, as a quorum of 21 only is required.

"Within our present corporate structure therefore your Committee presents the following slate: For Chairman, The Hon. Louis E. Kirstein; for President, Mr. Sol M. Stroock; for Honorary Vice Presidents, The Hon. Abram I. Elkus and Hon. Irving Lehman; for Vice Presidents, only two being authorized by our by-laws, Lessing J. Rosenwald and Carl J. Austrian; for Treasurer, Samuel D. Leidesdorf.

"For membership in the Executive Committee, we recommend the re-election of the following, whose terms expire at this meeting:

"Fred M. Butzel, Detroit; James Davis, Chicago; Louis E. Kirstein, Boston; Fred Lazarus, Jr., Columbus; S. D. Leidesdorf, Solomon Lowenstein, George Z. Medalie, Frederick M. Warburg and William Weiss, of New York City.

"Furthermore, we recommend election of the following to fill vacancies on the Executive Committee:

Milton W. King, of Washington, D. C.; Walter N. Rothschild, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Harold K. Guinzburg and David H. Sulzberger, of New York City.

“Respectfully submitted,

HAROLD K. GUINZBURG
 S. D. LEIDESDORF
 SOLOMON LOWENSTEIN
 MAURICE WERTHEIM
 MORRIS D. WALDMAN, *ex officio*
Committee to Nominate Officers

CARL J. AUSTRIAN
 JAMES H. BECKER
 J. J. KAPLAN
 HORACE STERN
 LEWIS L. STRAUSS
 WILLIAM B. THALHIMER
 HENRY WINEMAN
 MORRIS D. WALDMAN, *ex officio*
*Committee to Nominate Suc-
 cessors to Members of the Exec-
 utive Committee*

Upon motion, the report of the Nominating Committees was adopted and the Secretary was requested to cast one ballot for the nominees of the Nominating Committees, which he did, and announced the election of the several nominees.

LUNCHEON SESSION

Mr. Jacob Landau, Director of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the Overseas News Agency, presented a report of his observations during an extended tour of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay. Mr. Landau touched on the two major problems affecting the position of the Jews in South America. Anti-Semitism, he reported, was assuming serious proportions in the countries which he visited, largely as a direct result of a well-organized, well-financed and concentrated Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Mr. Landau said that the masses of the people were basically liberty-loving, democratic and devoid of prejudice toward Jews but, being unorganized and inarticulate, they were unable to give effective resistance to the strong Nazi agitation.

Mr. Landau disclosed that the Nazi propaganda campaign was having unfavorable effects on the official attitude toward immigration, especially on prospects for large-scale Jewish settlement in South America. Despite the fact that the vast resources of these countries require large populations for their full exploitation and for the economic development of the continent, Mr. Landau reported that many of the governments had increased their immigration restrictions.

Mr. Landau also stressed the importance of furnishing guidance to the Jewish inhabitants of South America, especially the refugees, in their adjustment to the general community.

Upon motion, adjourned.

MORRIS D. WALDMAN,

Secretary

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

To the Members of the Executive Committee:

We meet today in the shadow of a great loss. Cyrus Adler, our President from 1929 to the day of his death, is no longer with us. In the words in which he preferred to describe the passing of great men in Israel, he has been translated to the Academy on High. For several years before his death, Dr. Adler's health was poor, but he continued nevertheless to carry on his work as a leader of this Committee and other important communal activities. Eventually, however, he was compelled to suspend much of his work. He passed away on April 7, 1940.

At an extraordinary meeting held on April 8th your Executive Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution expressive of its keen sense of loss:

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, at a special meeting held today, records its profound grief at the passing of its beloved President, Dr. Cyrus Adler.

Dr. Adler was one of the founders of the American Jewish Committee in 1906 and one of its outstanding leaders during the thirty-four years of its existence. He was a vice-president of the Committee and chairman of its Executive Committee from 1915; upon the death of Louis Marshall in 1929, he became its President, a post which he filled with distinction to his dying day.

Dr. Adler was peculiarly fitted to head an organization whose purpose is to protect the civil and religious rights of Jews throughout the world. Possessed of encyclopedic knowledge of history, imbued with broad sympathies, gifted with profound insight into human nature, and filled with abiding love for his fellow men, Dr. Adler's outlook and understanding were worldwide in scope. An outstanding Semitic scholar, he was thoroughly acquainted with the culture and traditions of Judaism, and held in deep reverence and love everything associated with it. Although he placed his notable scholarly and administrative abilities at the service of his country and the general community, he devoted himself especially, at great personal sacrifice, to the advancement of the religious and cultural welfare of Jews in this country and abroad.

As President of the American Jewish Committee, he gave unstintingly of his time, energies, wise counsel and deep wisdom. Modest and retiring, he shunned publicity, but those who had the privilege of being associated with him know of his constant devotion to the interests of his people and his unflinching industry on their behalf.

Although he held positions of leadership and responsibility in innumerable and diversified civic and communal organizations, he was always approachable to officers and members of the Committee, in fact to Jews everywhere. Patient and tolerant of differences of opinion as to methods and procedure, he was uncompromising in his convictions where principle was concerned.

There was scarcely any step taken by the Committee during the past thirty-four years that did not benefit by his guidance. In 1919 he was one of the representatives of the Committee to the Peace Conference at Versailles which labored with marked success to secure for Jews in countries involved in the peace settlement civil, political and religious rights. Shocked at the deplorable plight of the Jews of Eastern Europe during and after the World War, he led in mobilizing American Jewish resources for the relief and rehabilitation of overseas communities.

After the rise of the Nazi regime and the tragic destruction of the Jewish communities in Germany and neighboring countries, he led the Committee's efforts in calling world attention to the false Nazi propaganda, especially its spurious racial dogmas, and to its inhumanity and brutality. Profoundly stirred by injustice, he spoke out unequivocally wherever it appeared; yet he never lost his sense of dignity and proportion and never resorted to any form of demagoguery.

As a preeminent religious leader, he was a defender of the spiritual life and an uncompromising foe of materialism and irreligion. In his last official address as President of the Committee he called again for a strengthening of Jewish religious institutions and Jewish education in America. It was with deep gratification that the Committee noted his selection by President Roosevelt as the spokesman of the Jews of America in his efforts to mobilize the resources of religion for world peace.

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee deeply mourns his passing. We shall sadly miss his able and inspiring leadership. On behalf of the entire membership of the Committee we record our abiding affection for him and we extend to his beloved wife and daughter our deepest sympathy in their bereavement.

Deferring to the wishes of Dr. Adler's family, the many organizations with which he was affiliated in positions of leadership agreed not to arrange for a joint memorial service which was suggested by many friends and admirers of our departed President. These organizations decided, instead, to devote part of the time of their regular general meetings to some form of recognition of the services which Dr. Adler had rendered to them. In accordance with that decision, Mr. Waldman, the Secretary, has been requested to deliver at this meeting an address commemorating the services which Dr. Adler rendered the American Jewish Committee, of which he was one of the founders and an

active officer from the day of its inception, in November 1906, to the day of his death.

There is no doubt that the tragic events overseas which were so violently destructive of European civilization and at the same time had such devastating effects upon the Jewish population, aggravated Dr. Adler's illness and impeded his recovery. He was spared, however, the sight of the collapse of the continental democracies. Although these disasters would not have shaken his faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and right, he would have been profoundly saddened by the ruthless invasion of neutral countries, followed by the total subjection of France and the then imminent threat to the survival of Great Britain.

Though dismayed, the outside world was not surprised by the imposition upon the peoples of the conquered lands of Nazi ideas and practices which these peoples profoundly abhorred, beginning with the attack upon the Jewish populations. No more surprising was the adoption of these ideas and practices by governments which saw in adherence to Nazi Germany their only chance for national survival. The world has not been deceived regarding the significance of these, at times sudden, conversions. Except for Roumania, in which the Jews have always been a pawn in the game of domestic as well as foreign politics, all the countries concerned regarded the adoption of the Nazi way of life, with its merciless attempt to destroy an innocent and defenseless minority, as a measure taken unwillingly in the hope of appeasing the aggressor. Not even excepting Roumania were these measures desired or approved by the populations as a whole. Certainly not in Italy, whose rulers are accomplices in the crimes perpetrated by the rulers of Nazi Germany, did the senseless adoption of anti-Semitism as a government policy meet with the approval of the populace who could not see why the small number of Jews who had been an integral part of the nation since its inception had suddenly become, as they were asked to believe, an undesirable alien element. In Hungary which, since 1920, had gone backward insofar as liberalism was concerned, the greatest single factor underlying the increasingly drastic anti-Jewish legislation of the past few years was the desire to appease the German war monster.

Only fear of punishment can explain the compromises with Nazism by Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The populations of these countries are losing their susceptibility to Nazi propaganda as reports of the true meaning of Nazi rule filter through from the occupied countries. Complete degradation and enslavement of the conquered peoples by their Nazi masters, coupled with the ruthless suppression of any signs of independent expression, have resulted in widespread unrest in the conquered countries. Despite censorship, reports from Nazi-dominated regions show signs of increasing resistance. Anti-German sentiment is growing in France, which is being stripped of its food supplies and despoiled of manufactured goods, machinery, scientific treasures and works of art; the Netherlanders, with the memories of four centuries of independence, engage in a campaign of passive resistance; Norway is pervaded by a spirit of defiant independence which terror cannot put down; Poland, hardest hit of all, is experiencing unremitting and merciless Nazi enslavement. As resistance to Nazi rule grows, susceptibility to Nazi propaganda declines.

How abhorrent Nazi doctrines are to people raised in the democratic tradition is shown by the resistance bravely offered by large sections of the populations of territories overrun by German might — Bohemia-Moravia, Denmark and Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands. Unusually heartening was the report brought to our shores several months ago of the noble action of the people of Antwerp. When the conquerors ordered all Jews of that city not to appear in public without a distinguishing arm-band, the order was made ridiculous when all the people of the city appeared on its streets wearing the arm-band required of Jews. This silent but effective protest forced the Nazi authorities to rescind the order.

We may be sure that the people of France just as intensely abhor and execrate Nazi barbarism. The outside world knows that so-called unoccupied France is just as firmly under Nazi domination as the rest of the country, and that, although the anti-Jewish measures recently adopted by the Vichy Government may have had the support of an influential faction, we are confident that they do not reflect the ideas or wishes of the people of France

whose forbears, one hundred and fifty years ago, led Western Europe in emancipating Jews from political and civil disabilities, and followed the founders of our own country in enunciating principles of self-government based upon the sanctity of the individual which won universal acceptance.

Encouraged as we may properly be by the fact that the tyrannical measures now in effect in the whole of Continental Europe, west of Russia, have been imposed directly or indirectly by Nazi dictation and will undoubtedly be quickly expunged when Nazi domination is ended, we should not lose sight of the fact that the physical and moral effects of these measures will endure long after. Especially disastrous will be the situation of the five million Jews who live in the subjugated or vassal states—deprived of political, civil and social equality with their compatriots and thus set apart as an inferior people. The recent completion of an eight-foot concrete wall in Warsaw enclosing an area in which a half million Jews must live under indescribably wretched conditions, and the establishment of virtual ghettos in other large cities of Poland, are an earnest of Nazi plans for all Jews who come within reach of Nazi control. The Jews within these territories are also being systematically robbed of their possessions, and, what is even more cruel and portentous, their right to earn a livelihood in almost every field of human endeavor is being ruthlessly taken away. At the same time, tens of thousands of them are being forcibly removed from places in Western Germany in which they and their ancestors have lived for generations, even centuries, and without preparations for their care, are being deported en masse to the south of France where they swell the number of refugees from other parts of France and from Belgium and the Netherlands, rendering many-fold more difficult the task of the Joint Distribution Committee and other relief agencies.

That the Nazi Gestapo has formulated plans for a mass expulsion of European Jews to Madagascar in the event of an Axis victory, has been rumored during the past year. Although the existence of this plan was referred to as an established fact in the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* last summer, and reliable persons coming from Germany to this

country have alleged having heard of the scheme in official quarters, no official pronouncement has yet been made. Such a cruel, wicked, inhuman plot to banish millions to an island known to be virtually entirely unsuited as an abode for Europeans would be wholly in keeping with the Nazi record for fiendish frightfulness.

In Eastern Europe, also, developments during the past year have profoundly altered the position of a large number of our brethren. The incorporation of Bessarabia, northern Bukowina, and the Baltic states into the Soviet Union has seriously affected the destinies of over 600,000 Jews, bringing the total number under Soviet rule to close to five million. There has been no physical molestation of Jews, as such, in the newly-acquired territories, nor any special infringement of their civil rights, but Jews are suffering, along with other groups, from the extension to these seized territories of the Soviet anti-religious policy. As a consequence of Communist hostility to religion, Jewish religious, communal and religio-cultural activities are undergoing rapid liquidation. The Hebrew school system has been replaced by Yiddish and Russian secular schools. Many Jews in these regions are suffering economically because of suspected opposition to Communism or former anti-communist activities. There are also reports of mass deportations into the interior of Jews and others who are regarded as politically unreliable.

The overseas situation, however, is not entirely black. Recent events in the Near East give ground for the hope that Palestine will not, as was feared, become part of the theatre of active war operations and thus be cut off as a refuge, which it has continued to be during the past year for some thousands of refugees, despite restriction of land purchase and the continuance of a narrow immigration policy. Palestine's possibilities as a haven for oppressed Jews were temporarily reduced by the refusal of the British government to allow refugees from enemy countries to enter Palestine. It is gratifying, however, to note that there has been a marked improvement in Arab-Jewish relations stimulated by the common emergency of war. During the year, Palestine entered into the active sphere of military activity, with the Jewish settlement being

particularly hard hit by the ruthless bombing of the open city of Tel Aviv which resulted in many casualties. The Jews there have now satisfactorily organized a complete Air Raid Precautions system and have been insistent in their desire to serve in the British forces. Jewish contingents have, upon the urgent request of the settlement, been admitted to active military participation.

As a result of these events and conditions, the problems which will confront those who will seek to bring about the reconstruction of Europe after the present conflict are bound to be more numerous, more complicated and far more difficult of solution than those which obtained after the World War of 1914-1918. But the problems involved in dealing with the Jewish situation will be even more complex and far more acute.

Having faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness, we believe that the restoration to all inhabitants of Europe of the "inalienable rights" with which all men have been endowed by the Divine Creator is certain to come about. But the struggle for human equality will not end with the formal recognition of these rights. An arduous and long-sustained effort will be required to undo the evil which has been wrought by the spread of false dehumanizing Nazi teachings. The temporarily interrupted onward march of the forces of public education and enlightenment, before which the legions of ignorance and bigotry were retreating, before the Nazi attack on civilization, must be resumed. At the same time, the oppressed and the dispossessed will require immediate aid if they are to survive, help will have to be extended for the repatriation of the deported, and those forced to begin new existence in foreign lands will need the sympathetic assistance of all.

Keenly realizing that these problems would be unprecedented in number and magnitude, your Executive Committee decided, shortly after the outbreak of the present war, to institute studies of these post-war problems with the object of placing the results of such researches at the disposal of such bodies, public and private, as would

engage in efforts for post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation of the plundered and uprooted Jewish victims of Nazi tyranny.

A special committee has formulated detailed plans for these studies, and a small staff of experts has been at work for several months. You will receive from its chairman, Professor Morris R. Cohen, a comprehensive report of the plans and activities of this special committee, which consists not only of members of the American Jewish Committee, but also of many other persons representative of various shades of Jewish thought; the peace studies committee is also in touch with various groups which are studying general post-war problems, and enjoys the whole-hearted cooperation of several important Jewish organizations. Your Executive Committee wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to express to Professor Cohen and the other members of the Committee on Post War Problems its grateful appreciation of the time and unselfish devotion they have given to the difficult task assigned to them.

Events abroad during 1940 continued to prove that those observers were correct who had warned the American people that the anti-Jewish drive in Germany was the spear-head of an assault on civilization. The realization of this was made more vivid by the fact that in all the countries which fell before the German onslaught it was the leading anti-Jewish agitators who composed the elements which, by their divisive activities, weakened the internal unity of the people, spread a spirit of defeatism and, in some cases, even engaged in outright treasonable acts which helped to pave the way and make easy the task of the invaders. This spectacle and reports of the alarming inroads made by Nazi and Fascist elements in Central and South America have awakened our fellow-citizens to the dangers to the American way of the invasion of Nazi-Fascist ideologies, and at the same time have brought a keener awareness of the precious nature of their democratic heritage and a more conscious determination to cherish and preserve it. Mr. Jacob Landau, the Managing Director of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and the

Overseas News Agency, a keen and reliable student of international affairs, just returned from a five months' visit to a number of South American countries, has submitted a report of his findings, the essentials of which will be presented at this meeting. Never before in the history of our country has there been so much discussion in books, newspapers and other periodicals, from platform, from the pulpit and from the radio microphone, of the significance and value of democracy, and the perils which lurk in our falling prey to the machinations of those who seek to weaken our national unity by stirring up latent, or creating new, hostility between groups of different religions, national origins, or cultural backgrounds.

As a result, anti-Jewish agitation struck a new low of disrepute during the past year. As we pointed out at your last annual meeting, even at its height this agitation, though ominous, never succeeded in making serious inroads on American public opinion but always remained an underworld movement, disapproved and condemned by all decent Americans. The expressions of disapproval and condemnation of this movement were more frequent and more outspoken during the past year than in preceding years. At the same time, there was a perceptible falling off of interest among those sections of the population which had formerly listened to the mouthings or read the scribblings of mischief-making rabble-rousers and misguided fanatics. There was a slight temporary upsurge in the maleficent activities of these elements in the months preceding the recent general elections, when attempts were made by them and even by a few candidates for office to appeal to anti-Jewish prejudice. At the same time, over-zealous partisans of one side or the other endeavored to influence public attitudes by efforts to convince voters of specific religious sects, racial or national origins that their interests would be affected in one way or another by the outcome of the elections. In line with the consistent policy of the American Jewish Committee since its inception, your Executive Committee condemns all such appeals to group prejudices and interests and reiterates its firm belief that, in

casting their ballots, all American citizens should be, and the overwhelming majority are, guided solely by their convictions as to what is best for our country.

It is encouraging to note that the few candidates for office who, in one way or another, were associated with anti-Jewish activities were defeated. Another cause for satisfaction is the fact that, following the elections, several of the agencies which had exploited the occasion for spreading their anti-Jewish lies suspended their activities. It would be an error, however, to conclude from these encouraging incidents that the danger from this source has passed. The bitter lesson of the past seven years should be ever in our minds, namely, that there exists in our country economic and social factors which, in times of crisis, can be exploited by unscrupulous persons to create division in the ranks of American citizens by whipping up latent intergroup prejudices. Nor must it be forgotten that, although the influence of Nazi propaganda in this country has undoubtedly been reduced, efforts to promote it are continuing. The need for continuous and unremitting vigilance and for effective steps to forestall and counteract anti-Jewish attacks from whatever source is as great as it ever was. Insofar as the American Jewish Committee is concerned, this need is being met by the Survey Committee, a special sub-committee set up four years ago to perform this specific task. A report of this Committee will be submitted to you in the course of this meeting.

Cooperation with other organizations having aims and objectives parallel to our own is one of the most important features of the work of the Committee. In its report a year ago, your Committee informed you that since the outbreak of the war, the General Jewish Council, in which the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League, the Jewish Labor Committee, and the American Jewish Committee are represented, had been giving earnest study to the possibilities of closer cooperation among the constituent bodies and more intensive coordination of their work. This study and negotiations looking to a practical basis are still in progress, and a full report regarding them

will be submitted to you later. In the meantime, community leaders have been kept informed of the background of, and factors involved in, these negotiations by the Committee's secretary who has reported on these and other subjects at regional conferences of the Council of Federations and Welfare Funds during the past year in Birmingham, Salt Lake City, St. Paul, Milwaukee, and Atlanta. Although a formal agreement has not yet been reached, efforts to secure closer cooperation have by no means been delayed, and you will be gratified to learn that overlapping and duplication in the specific area of counteracting anti-Jewish agitation have been considerably reduced.

Not the least important of the activities conducted by the Committee, under the supervision of the Survey Committee, is the work of the Community Service Unit whose function it is to maintain contact with local Jewish communities in all parts of the country with a view to aiding them, with advice and materials, in coping with their problems. At the same time, the local community organizations render our office valuable service in keeping us informed of significant occurrences which may be helpful to our Committee in dealing with the situations which come within its scope. Contact with the local communities is maintained not only by correspondence but also through visits paid to the communities by members of the Committee and of the professional staff including a Community Consultant who devotes the major part of his time to this phase of the work. During the past year, the practice of holding Seminars at the office of the Committee was continued. In addition to these seminars, the Committee held a two-day conference last month at which fifty-seven leaders from thirty-three communities were given detailed information of the techniques and procedures being employed and of the work being done in the United States and an opportunity to discuss the problems which confront them in their communities.

Underlying and supporting the work of the various departments is the Committee's Library of Jewish Information. This, you will recall, is the special department under which the library, research, and publication facilities of the office have been integrated. This department offers

its service to clergymen, writers, editors and other individuals and to organizations interested in obtaining authentic and objective information on Jews and facts concerning them. The Library of Jewish Information includes a specialized library of about 5,000 volumes, dealing with contemporary Jewish and related matters, to which from 150 to 200 books and pamphlets are added each month. The library also contains about 10,000 pamphlets and receives more than 600 periodicals regularly from all parts of the world. Of these about 400 are kept on file in the library. Several hundred newspaper clippings are made daily.

The Research Staff of the Library of Jewish Information is composed of experts in their various fields, who prepare reports, memoranda, lists and occasional publications on factual information of interest. The Research Staff is responsible for the compilation and editing of the *Contemporary Jewish Record* and the American Jewish Year Book.

These two publications of which the latter is issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America, are becoming increasingly valuable for the dissemination of important facts and interesting viewpoints. Among the noteworthy articles which were published in the six 1940 issues of the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, the following have been found of special interest: The Future of European Jews by Dr. Salo W. Baron; Religious Education in Schools by Dr. F. Ernest Johnson; Jews in the U. S. S. R. by Jacob Lestchinsky; Culture Against Barbarism by Thomas Mann; Are American Jews Falling Into the Nazi Trap? by Richard C. Rothschild; Psychology of the Refugee by Gerhart Saenger; In Nazi Warsaw by Abraham Weiss; Exclusionary Immigration Laws by Felix S. Cohen; Canada's Fifth Column by Albert Miller.

In the current volume of the American Jewish Year Book is published a summary of the results of the 1937 census of Jewish congregations and estimates of the Jewish population of the United States. This study, you will recall, was made in cooperation with the United States Bureau of the Census, under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee which financed the undertaking and rendered technical supervision through a committee of

experts consisting of Dr. Morris R. Cohen, Chairman, Doctors Louis I. Dublin, Harry G. Friedman, and Alvin Johnson, and the Assistant Secretary of the Committee. The work was directed by Dr. H. S. Linfield.

Following the completion of this study, your Committee was convinced that it is desirable that work along these lines should be carried on continuously instead of being concentrated in two or three years, and that such work would most appropriately be conducted under the auspices of the Synagogue Council of America, a body which consists of the delegates from national rabbinical and congregational bodies, which represent the religious interests of the Jewish community. At the suggestion of your Committee, the Synagogue Council agreed to set up a Statistical Department for this purpose, the Committee agreeing to contribute toward the budget of that Department.

The acceleration of momentous events in Europe, with their far-reaching repercussions, make more vital than ever the need for the work of the Committee and kindred organizations. The European tragedy confronts us all, without exception, with a responsibility and a challenge. We cannot discharge the one unless we meet the other. The challenge is not only to our sympathies but also to our resources. Along with other Jewish organizations with whom it is cooperating, your Committee is exerting every effort to shoulder the added burden which has been placed upon it. It must feel, however, that it has behind it in this colossal task the full faith and strength of the community and the active interest of all who recognize in our work one facet of a common human duty. For the rights of Jews as of other human beings are dependent upon the survival of democracy, and efforts to safeguard those rights cannot succeed unless they are integrated with efforts to preserve the democratic way of life.

Your Committee, therefore, has looked upon its work in the broader light of the maintenance of democratic and religious values in the present crisis. Its efforts for better understanding, for national unity, for the support of the basic principles of justice and freedom have been

impregnated with a sterling faith in the survival of the American tradition despite the constant attack by the forces of evil. We look forward to a world in which peace is assured by the reestablishment of the rule of law and by the universal acceptance of the ethical premises which underlie the prophetic ideals of our faith and the democratic ideals of American society. We are dedicated to the high resolve that these ideals shall not perish.

Respectfully submitted,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MEMORIAL ADDRESS ON DR. CYRUS ADLER

By Morris D. Waldman

Thirty days is the traditional period of mourning in Israel. That period has long since ended and our tears have long since dried. Yet today at the first meeting of the Corporate Members since the passing of Cyrus Adler, we are especially conscious of his absence. Time has allayed the anguish of his departure so that we can review his association with us free from the deep melancholy of a recent bereavement, yet governed by a reverent affection that will never diminish. Therefore, I shall take advantage of the great privilege accorded to me to speak of that association, not by delivering a funeral oration, but by recounting, without rhetoric, a number of episodes in the history of the Committee which reflect the qualities that characterized him and his leadership.

You know the story of the establishment of the American Jewish Committee following the Kishineff, Homel, and other pogroms in Russia from 1903 to 1905. Dr. Adler himself recounted that story at the 25th Annual Meeting of the Committee. It was at the meetings of the Committee for the Relief of Victims of Russian Massacres, where I served as secretary, that I first got to know him. Though then only in his early forties, he had already attained a position of distinction in the Jewish community. He had made a most valuable contribution to an understanding of the Russo-Jewish situation at that time in the form of a volume published under the title "The Voice of America on Kishineff," which was a painstaking record of official and public protests, addresses and resolutions evoked by those shocking events.

Though I had occasional contact with him in communal matters in subsequent years, my continuous association with him began in the early part of 1928 when I was called to the American Jewish Committee. Louis Marshall was still alive and vigorous. The Executive Committee was very small, and nine of its seventeen members resided outside of New York City. I vividly recall the regular

monthly meetings of the Committee at the home of Mr. Marshall, which were usually well attended. Dr. Adler, Judge Lehman, Cyrus Sulzberger, Judge Elkus, Max J. Kohler, David Bressler, Lewis Strauss and Judge Stern were generally on hand, and Julius Rosenwald, Judge Eli Frank and Dr. Milton Rosenau would attend frequently. The office of chairman of the Executive Committee was not provided for in the By-laws of the Committee. It was created, I am reliably informed, to honor Dr. Adler and to formalize the recognition of the devoted service he had been rendering for many years. It was evident to me then that he was the Elisha upon whose shoulders the mantle of authority would eventually fall. So when Mr. Marshall passed away, it was natural that Dr. Adler should be elected his successor. It was at that time that Benjamin N. Cardozo, Herbert H. Lehman, and Felix M. Warburg became members of the Executive Committee.

Marshall and Adler, both observant Jews, both distinguished scholars, both men of stature, differed in many of their traits. I shall only refer to one difference in qualities between these two late presidents. Though Mr. Marshall had the highest respect for the judgment of his colleagues, he had, as you know a dynamic personality so that, in between meetings of the Executive Committee, he rarely hesitated to take action on his own responsibility. I could not but gain the impression that the meetings of the Executive Committee mirrored in large measure his own dominant personality. Dr. Adler, despite a strong will of his own, was, on the contrary, meticulous in consulting the other members of the Committee before taking action. This policy was followed not because he lacked confidence in his own judgment; he was no "yes" man. He had the courage of his convictions and some of us may recall a number of occasions when he stood out alone against the opinions of all his other colleagues; and in some of those cases I believe the minority of one was right. It was this policy of always consulting his colleagues that helped to develop the American Jewish Committee into a genuine working democracy, at least so far as the Executive Committee and sub-committees are concerned.

Dr. Adler's knowledge of international affairs, acquired

over many years, was both deep and extensive. It had its beginning with his visit to the Orient in 1891 and 1892 and served him well on many occasions. In connection with the campaign conducted by the Committee which resulted in the abrogation of the Treaty with Russia to which he referred as "the most signal act of justice ever undertaken by a great state," his compilation of American diplomatic correspondence involving Jews, made a number of years earlier, was a veritable text-book. With the help of Dr. A. M. Margalith of Yeshiva College, he was busy revising a comprehensive work on the same subject nearly up to the time of his death. His knowledge of American diplomatic precedents again came into play in 1913 after the Balkan wars which were followed by the transfer of several hundred thousand Jews from Turkish sovereignty to countries under the domination of the Greek Orthodox Church, when he prepared a brief for presentation to the President of the United States, to prove that it was wholly in line with the traditional policy of the United States of America to intercede and even intervene with other governments to assure freedom from oppression for religious or racial minorities. His most noteworthy service in the field of international relations was rendered at great personal inconvenience to himself when in 1919 he accompanied Louis Marshall to the Paris Peace Conference on behalf of the Committee. This experience further equipped him for the leadership he was later to assume. With characteristic diligence and foresight he kept a diary of the proceedings at Paris which is one of the chief treasures in the archives of the Committee and which contains invaluable historical material concerning those successful efforts to secure equality of rights for people belonging to all minorities in the eastern and southeastern states of Europe.

These are merely illustrations of the active part he took in international matters but I stress them because such knowledge and experience were an indispensable quality in the person of the president of the American Jewish Committee, especially as, up to 1933, the interest of the Committee virtually centered on situations overseas. And though of late years our attention has been concentrated on the domestic scene, we all realize that the situation here

is largely the effect of events abroad, and that the problems with which we are concerned cannot be solved by isolating the Jews of America from their fellow-Jews in other parts of the world, any more than we can fully safeguard the welfare of America if we isolate America from the world at large. Dr. Adler was one of the first in the United States to sense that Nazism was not only a peril to Jews in Germany and elsewhere, but also a potential danger to civilization as a whole. So when in September, 1930, after spending some weeks in observation of Nazi agitation in Germany, I submitted a report at the Annual Meeting of the Committee,—a special occasion to which others, not members of the Committee, were invited,—and I pressed for attention to this situation, Dr. Adler, in spite of skeptical reactions from some of those present who were thoroughly convinced “that it could not happen” there or elsewhere, endorsed my findings and warnings and authorized the setting up in the Committee office of a special department to deal with the German situation. That was the nucleus of what has now evolved into the imposing Library of Information.

The work done by this department in gathering every bit of available information in that territory of interest made it possible for us, within a very few weeks after Hitler's accession to power, to publish what we always refer to as our White Book, “The Jews in Nazi Germany,” a complete and invulnerably accurate account, based on official German sources, of the economic, social, and political situation of the Jews of Germany and of the criminal acts perpetrated by the new regime. In the opinion of those who are in a position to know the value of such publications, this White Book was in a great measure responsible for spreading information which showed the falsity of Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda, and for the beginnings of that awareness of the danger of Nazism not only to civilization in Europe but to the American way of life, the extent and intensity of which is reflected in present American foreign policy. Dr. Adler gave close attention to the preparation of this important book, read the proofs, and gave invaluable advice.

His active cooperation in this connection was char-

acteristic of his personality. He always gave close attention to the details of the Committee's work, assuring us over and over again that he had no desire to be spared administrative burdens, but that, on the contrary, he wished to be consulted on all but routine matters. He was prompt in replying to letters, punctual in attendance at meetings and conferences, and industrious in carrying out any special tasks. These qualities made administrative operation, in the matters under his attention, smooth and efficient.

Dr. Adler was a religious man. Religion to him was the very cornerstone of life, Judaism the warp and woof of the fabric of Jewry. Born in the United States, long before the great influx of Europeans which began in the eighteen eighties, he was in the position, in his formative years, to absorb American traditions and ideals free from those influences that affect natives of large cosmopolitan centers. Perhaps it is because of this environment that Dr. Adler's Judaism was fortified and that he realized, more clearly than he otherwise would have, the harmony of Judaism with Americanism, and recognized more profoundly the impress of the Jewish prophetic traditions on early American Puritan life and the Hebrew influence on the spiritual foundations of American democracy. He was therefore among the first to recognize that the Nazi movement which purported to be, and appeared to many liberal people to be, an idealistic resurgence of Germany, marred only by what they conceded to be deplorable discrimination against its Jewish population, was in reality what everyone *now* sees, a hideous repudiation of Christianity and the Judaeo-Christian ideals and principles and the destruction of the civilization built upon those ideals and principles.

In his anguish over the threatened destruction by brute force of all that makes life worthwhile to free men—assault upon the dignity of human personality, the suppression of the free search for knowledge, especially precious to him as a scholar, the constriction of human liberty in its other aspects—freedom to speak and write one's thoughts, freedom of conscience, freedom to labor and move about—Dr. Adler exhibited a quality that was particularly characteristic, namely, his utter detestation of humbug and

insincerity. You will probably recall his frequent emphatic private and public allusions to what all intelligent men now recognize are the incredibly puerile and burlesque moral defenses set up by the Nazis for the brutalities which they have been perpetrating. You will recall with what clear and convincing logic he demolished, long before the Nazi pact with Stalin opened the eyes of the whole world, one of the earliest of those Nazi moral defenses, namely, that Nazi Germany had saved the western world from Bolshevism, by pointing out that it was this same country that had sent Lenin in a sealed car through Germany into Russia to launch the first Bolshevist state.

I said that Dr. Adler was a religious man. To him Judaism, the religion of the Jew, was the fundamental basis for the preservation of the Jewish people; without it there was no valid reason for their existence. Though not a nationalist Jew, he at the same time believed that the preservation of the Jewish people was necessary for the perpetuation of Judaism. He deeply felt the bond of kinship with all Jews regardless of their lesser religious or secular differences. Neither that Jewish bond nor that Jewish faith could, in his view, conceivably conflict with loyalty and devotion to America. On the contrary they could only strengthen those qualities. Cyrus Adler was not a Jew by unfortunate accident. He gloried in being a Jew. Early in his life he defined his position in the world in the following words:

I will continue to hold my banner aloft. I find myself born—ay, born—into a people and a religion. The preservation of my people must be for a purpose, for God does nothing without a purpose. His reasons are unfathomable to me, but on my own reason I place little dependence; test it where I will it fails me. The simple, the ultimate in every direction is sealed to me. It is as difficult to understand matter as mind. The courses of the planets are no harder to explain than the growth of a blade of grass. Therefore am I willing to remain a link in the great chain. What has been preserved for four thousand years was not saved that I should overthrow it. My people have survived the prehistoric paganism, the Babylonian polytheism, the aesthetic Hellenism, the sagacious Romanism, at once the blandishments and persecutions of the Church and it will survive the modern dilettantism and the current materialism, holding aloft the traditional Jewish ideals inflexibly until the world shall become capable of recognizing their worth.

Nothing, therefore, that was Jewish was alien to him and, though not a Zionist, he had an abiding interest in the development of Palestine and joined with Louis Marshall and Felix Warburg to promote the enlarged Agency for Palestine, and with Mr. Marshall formulated in connection with this notable undertaking the policy of the American Jewish Committee reflected in its pledge "to aid in the realization of the British Declaration . . . and . . . to cooperate with those who, attracted by religious or historic associations, shall seek to establish in Palestine a center for Judaism, for the stimulation of our faith, for the pursuit and development of literature, science and art in a Jewish environment, and for the rehabilitation of the land."

Dr. Adler received many well merited honors in his life, academic honors for his scholarship, high office in theological and educational institutions, and in learned societies, and in communal organizations of a secular character. The last, if not the crowning tribute of his life, was the call that came to him from the President of the United States to be one of three American citizens to confer with him, and through his representative, with the revered head of the Catholic church, the present Pope, with respect to the means of bringing about a righteous and lasting peace in the world. His fellow-Jews everywhere hailed this appointment with pride and satisfaction, recognizing that Cyrus Adler was the most qualified representative for this task because his personality was the very synthesis of religion, scholarship and civic responsibility.

Realizing the great possibility of service to humanity in the call from the President he subjected himself to the strain of a journey to the White House and when I saw him a few days later I realized the great spiritual satisfaction this had given him and I prayed that he might be spared to carry on the task that had been laid upon him.

I was afforded the opportunity of visiting Dr. Adler during his last illness. I saw him several times, and despite his condition, solicitously watched over by his gracious and devoted wife, he continued to exercise the charming social amenities and exhibit the human qualities that endeared him to those who were vouchsafed his friendship.

He was rapidly losing his physical powers but his mind was as clear as ever, and the vigor of his soul was undimmed. His interest in the problems of the Committee remained so keen that despite his doctor's orders and my concern not to subject him to a strain, he insisted upon my over-staying the allotted time in the desire still to keep informed so that he might continue to serve the great cause which occupied so cherished a place in his heart.

For the initiative he often displayed; for his boundless courage; for his sympathetic support of every proposal that he was convinced could be useful; for his ripe wisdom; for his broad-gauged spirit that regarded the Committee only as an instrument for service and not as an end in itself; for his catholicity of interests not compromised or weakened by any yielding of his convictions; for his high moral and intellectual integrity that would brook no betrayal for reasons of expediency, the Committee and the Jews of this country and of the world are under an everlasting debt of gratitude. The memory of the righteous is a blessing, say our Sages. As his memory will be for us a lasting blessing, so will the institutions which he helped to create be a long-standing monument for the benefit of future generations. He belongs eminently with those ancient leaders of whom Ecclesiasticus speaks:

“Leaders of the people by their counsel and by their knowledge of learning suitable for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions . . . Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore. The people will tell of their wisdom, and the congregation will show forth praise.”

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PEACE STUDIES

To the Members of the American Jewish Committee:

Throughout our country as well as in the free British Commonwealth thoughtful men and women with a sense of responsibility for the future are individually and in groups studying the problems of an enduring and endurable peace. As indicative of the variety of these groups I may mention the Federal Council of Churches, the Catholic Association for International Peace, The American Association of University Women, The League of Nations Association, The Foreign Policy Association, The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, The Institute of International Education, and The National Policy Association at Washington. Clearly we have not only a vital interest but an imperative duty to see that the Jewish element in these world problems receives due consideration.

Since the days of Jeremiah, Jews have recognized that their welfare cannot be independent of that of the city or country in which they live. Even if all of us were citizens of a separate commonwealth in Palestine or anywhere else, we could not set up a Chinese Wall around us and remain indifferent to the conditions outside of our own territory. It is not possible for any group, no more than for any individual, to live in complete isolation or rightly to expect to prosper in an unjust or miserably organized world. No one today can have real peace when his neighbors are at war. Moreover, in view of Hitler's repeated public declarations, which his practice has cruelly confirmed, that he means to exterminate the Jews of Europe, and in view of his persistent effort to make life unbearable for us even beyond the lands which he directly controls, we have no alternative but to line up with the democratic forces fighting for a world-order in which every individual, no matter of what race or creed, can expect his rights as a human being to be respected. In this regard our basic interest is entirely identical with that of our fellow American citizens who wish to maintain the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and in the concluding sentence of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

The Need for Jewish Studies of Peace and Post-War Problems

But our duty not only to ourselves and to our children but to our fellow citizens and to all who are struggling for a just world-order, requires of us a more specific undertaking in addition to joining our countrymen in the general struggle. This necessary task grows out of two circumstances.

1. Wherever we find anti-democratic forces arrayed against liberal civilization and against its conception of human freedom and of the rights of every individual, we find anti-Jewish measures a major part of their program. This is no accident. Those opposed to the modern movement of liberation which led to the American and French Revolutions must oppose the emancipation of the Jews which was one of the consequences of the liberal regime. As we have more opportunity to become aware of the various anti-Semitic movements, we have the greater obligation to keep our fellow citizens informed of the danger which these movements have in store for our traditional American way of life.

2. As those who are not Jews do not as a rule study the Jewish problem, they do not realize the various peculiar factors that enter into it. This neglect is well illustrated in the last July issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Devoted especially to a comprehensive survey of the conditions of a lasting world-peace, it never even mentions the Jews. When I called this to the attention of a colleague who is justly regarded as one of the best informed specialists in international affairs, he quite naively remarked that the Jewish problem would solve itself if the democratic powers win the war and equal rights are extended to all citizens. While this answer states a consummation devoutly to be wished for, it utterly neglects our actual past experience in countries like Poland and Roumania. After the last World War, they did solemnly pledge themselves to that ideal, and still managed to degrade their Jewish citizens and to deprive them of many necessary means of subsistence. In Poland this occurred with hardly a single law on the statute-book

avowedly discriminating against the Jews. It was all brought about by administrative measures with the cooperation of private non-Jewish organizations. Clearly it is impossible to understand the actual conditions under which human beings live if we rely only on legal documents on paper.

Nor can we reasonably expect many of our fellow citizens to be acquainted with the actual conditions under which Jews are living abroad if we do not provide them with adequate and thoroughly authenticated and reliable information. It is sad, and for us humiliating, to note that the largest library on the Jewish question is at Munich, and is used to give the false appearance of scholarship to the venomous propaganda with which the Nazis are poisoning the minds of the unwary throughout the world. Unless we can convince those open to conviction of the misleading or utterly false character of the Nazi contentions, this pseudo-scientific "literature" is bound to influence world opinion and thus the conditions under which we shall live even after the present active hostilities end. Indeed, even many of our own people need to be enlightened as to the basic falsity of such current charges as the supposed "bad manners" of the Jews, their peculiarly "unassimilable" character or their economically "unproductive" role.

Today we have a special psychologically compelling reason for an intensive study of the Jewish situation abroad as well as at home. The defeat of France, the precarious condition of Great Britain and the spread of anti-Jewish legislation even in regions not yet invaded by Hitler, has produced amongst many of us a deplorable feeling of utter helplessness, culminating at times in panicky hysteria. But "if hopes were dupes, fears may be liars." Under no condition must we fall into Hitler's deliberate trap of paralyzing us by inducing feelings of terror or else benumbing uncertainty. Our problem is thus: How can we escape this trap without falling into the opposite one of deluding ourselves with vain and baseless hopes? Obviously only by fearless and painstaking study of the actual condition and drift of world affairs, and by such preparation for the different eventualities that only a well informed understanding can foresee. And since we cannot hope to change the

world situation all alone without the cooperation of our fellow citizens, we must keep the latter informed too. The duty to undertake this is all the more imperative because the horrible destruction in Europe leaves us in America the only ones in a position to do so.

In accordance with the fundamental aim of defending our rights in the free forum of the world's conscience, for which the American Jewish Committee established its Library of Information, our Committee on Peace and Post-War Problems was instituted. Its membership is not restricted to those who have been connected with the American Jewish Committee, and it is, I believe, fairly representative of the diverse elements of the Jewish population of America. From the beginning we have understood our function to be limited to ascertaining and making generally available those facts that will promote a better understanding of the actual situation and of the possible effects of various proposals or plans for dealing with our problems. As the value of our work depends entirely on the reliability of our results, on their scholarly or scientific rectitude, we cannot commit ourselves in advance to any political or partisan program. But it is reasonable to expect that reliable information and proper integration of past experience will prevent serious mistakes and be positively helpful to those who will have to deal in a practical way with the terms of any peace treaty and with the problems that will face us when active hostilities terminate.

In this connection it is well to remember that as the war against the Jews began long before the present European conflict, it is likely to continue after peace between Germany and England is declared. It is not likely that the torrents of hatred let loose against the Jews by the powerfully organized Nazi propaganda will at once completely disappear on the signing of any treaty.

At the outset we are faced with the difficulty of the great uncertainty as to the outcome of the present war and as to the kind of world situation that will follow it. But not only are the possible alternative results limited in number, but we can be fairly certain that whether one or the other side "wins" and imposes a Carthaginian peace, or whether there is a stalemate and a negotiated compromise truce,

Europe will emerge terribly impoverished because of the fearful destruction that has been wrought. And besides the general distress there will be special suffering for the Jewish people. The Jews will be in a worse plight than the rest of the population, not only because, even before the present war, they lost a major part of their means of subsistence but also because they have become the object of intense nationalist suspicion and hatred that will take more than a generation to dissolve. War always leaves wounds and suffering which are not conducive to good will.

Thus, three groups of problems are certain to confront us on the day any formal peace is declared:

1. The problems of immediate relief preparatory to rehabilitation; what to do for the millions of our brethren in unprecedented distress;

2. The problems of migration; how to help those who cannot possibly remain in Europe but must emigrate; and

3. The more general problems of keeping up the perennial fight to which not only we, as Jews, but all civilization, must devote themselves, and that is, the maintenance of the fundamental rights of human beings irrespective of their race or creed. There is no safety for anyone in a world in which such rights are ignored.

Although various Jewish organizations and scholars have in past years accumulated a great mass of information regarding these problems, there is nevertheless a crying need not only for additional knowledge but also for better integration of what we already have, if we wish to be prepared to act promptly and with adequate intelligence. We are opposed by an enemy that has secured unexpected triumphs because his action has been based on thorough knowledge. Let us not fail through insufficient attention to the lessons of experience.

The Problems To Be Studied

1. Relief and Rehabilitation

Those who have followed the work of the J.D.C. and other relief agencies know how terrifically complicated and distracting was the task of helping the Jews of Eastern Europe to get on their feet after the first World War. But

when the present one ends, the problem of relief will be one of a magnitude and complexity far beyond anything we have ever thought of before. At the end of the last war only the Jews of one section of Eastern Europe were in critical need of help, principally to start their own agencies of reconstruction. The resources of the Jews of Russia and Poland were not completely wiped out, and other countries joined us in extending the helping hand. When the present hostilities end, over 5,000,000 Jews in Europe and possibly more in Northern Africa and the Near East, will be in unprecedented heart-rending distress, and we in America are likely to be the only ones in a position to be of help. We cannot, therefore, expect any of our existing agencies using present methods, to deal adequately with the problems that will then face us. We do not, in fact, as yet know how the war will affect our own resources. But even if by superhuman efforts we should be able to raise as much as \$100,000,000 a year, it would still be pitifully inadequate to bring permanent relief to over 5,000,000 people. And yet we cannot, we dare not, give up all effort. We must, therefore, make conscientious, intensive studies of how our very limited means can bring about a maximum good in this overwhelming catastrophe which has befallen our people. Though it is obviously impossible to formulate definite plans at present, we must give our serious thought to the matter and be prepared with the necessary knowledge of the political, economic and social conditions in the countries where relief is to be administered. Needless to add, this cannot be done without taking into account the long experience of the J.D.C. and of the relief and rehabilitation agencies that the Jews of Europe have themselves developed.

2. Migration and Colonization

In regard to the problems of migration we face even more grave difficulties which we dare not evade. Under no circumstances can we admit in principle that the Jews are a surplus population in Europe, any more than Mohammedans and Christians. We must insist that Jews have been natives in Germany, Roumania, Poland or Hungary

for so many centuries that no non-Jew is in a position to say that his own family has been there for a longer time. Jewish labor and intelligence have contributed to the building up of these countries and Jewish lives have been sacrificed in their defense.

If, therefore, there are any human rights at all, the Jews of Europe not only have a clear right to remain in the countries which they have thus helped to build up, but are entitled to the same protection of their lives and their means of earning a livelihood as are all other inhabitants. It would be an unpardonable sin to give up that basic claim.

Nevertheless, we must face the fact that hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of Jews will want, or be compelled, to leave Europe as soon as peace is declared. Even if Hitler be completely defeated and all antagonism to the Jews were to disappear, it would hardly be possible to return the many homeless refugees to their former habitation and economic position. For the vast reshuffling of population which has already taken place, and the impoverished conditions of Europe will offer most serious obstacles to any such restoration.

We shall, therefore, have to face the inescapable task of helping a large number, not only to leave Europe and transport themselves to other countries, but also to help them adjust themselves to make a living in their new homes.

To meet this situation we have to be prepared to study every country in the world where there is any opportunity for Jews to come in either as individuals in what is known as infiltration, or as groups in the process known as colonization. This requires:

- (1) A study of the natural resources, climatic and health conditions, economic opportunities, legal, political and social affairs of the countries of immigration;
- (2) How the Jews in the countries of emigration can be properly trained and prepared for their new life, and how they can be aided to wind up their affairs in their old homes in the most advantageous way; and finally
- (3) How to arrange adequate transportation to their new ones. The last must include not only the obtaining of proper visas, economic shipping and railroad facilities, but also provisions for stops in countries of transit.

We must also consider the contingency of a German-dominated Europe, in which case some measures will have to be taken by us to counteract the well-known Nazi plans for the expulsion of Jews to uncivilized territories, without regard to habitability. We must have a knowledge of these territories in order to expose the possible attempts of the Nazis to disguise their hideous plans under the form of a totalitarian "solution" of the Jewish question.

Thus, we are reliably informed that Hitler plans to dump the 5,000,000 Jews of Europe into Madagascar, to promise them local autonomy, and to demand that the rest of the Jews of the world support his plan or else see it carried out in a more brutal way. We have made a careful study of the opportunities of Madagascar and are prepared to show what horrors are involved in the plan.

The transplanting of human beings to radically different climatic and social conditions is always a grave and perilous undertaking. The record of many failures at colonization, e.g., by the British in the West Indies, shows the necessity of taking all factors into account, the economic and ethnographic as well as the geographic. On the other hand, the record of Jewish colonization in Palestine, in Argentine and in Southeastern Europe shows that with proper selection and training, Jews can make excellent colonizers. It is important that American Jews, as well as men of good will everywhere, should get rid of the myth that Jews have always been traders or in the professions and entirely unfit for pioneer labor.

It is also important to show the economic fallacy which, especially in time of large unemployment, has in many lands served to shut the gates against immigration, viz., that the newcomers will take away jobs from the natives. This, like the old wage fund theory, is based on the false assumption that there is a fixed and unchangeable number of positions, so that an increase of population means a larger number of unemployed. This ignores the fact that a larger number of people can create a larger market or demand for goods, and that the principal wealth of a nation is in its human resources. History shows unmistakably that countries like Holland, England and America have been made great by the immigration of vigorous people.

The obvious remark may be added that the problems of migration are not exclusively Jewish. Similar questions certainly arise for other people. For this reason cooperation with non-Jewish bodies, scientific and philanthropic, is indispensable. We must not only consult geographers, public health officials and the like, but avail ourselves of the knowledge gathered by the International Labor Office as to the economic, political and social conditions in the different countries of immigration and emigration. And while the Coordinating Foundation and the Intergovernmental Committee (Evian Conference) have not as yet been able to do much practical work, they have amassed considerable useful information.

A number of Jewish organizations have been interested in various phases of the foregoing problems. The Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) has been in the field of colonization for over fifty years, and the Hebrew Immigrant Society (HIAS) has for a similar period been giving necessary aid and protection to immigrants. An agency of these two, the HICEM, has been especially concerned with the transportation of refugees and migrants. They have all accumulated a body of information based on their experience and study of the situation in different countries.

The same is true of the ORT and the National Refugee Service, and to a larger extent of the Joint Distribution Committee and the American Jewish Committee. The Refugee Economic Corporation has specialized in studying lands of possible large scale settlement.

In this situation it is natural to find both a large amount of overlapping and a deplorable lack of needed information on certain important issues, due to the absence of any central agency to coordinate or integrate the various fact-finding activities.

3. Political, Economic and Cultural Status

The problems of relief are concerned with temporary or transitional situations, and migration or colonization can directly affect only a fraction of the Jewish people. The vast majority of our fifteen or sixteen millions will

perforce have to remain in the lands where they now are. Our main problem is therefore :

What kind of a world will result from the war and what, if anything, are we to do about it? We need not overlook the element of uncertainty as to the outcome of the struggle. It will indeed be a tragically different world if the Attila of our day prevails. But a British victory even as complete as that of the last war will not necessarily bring about the messianic kingdom or stop the process of social change which always involves an element of uncertainty as to the future. No treaty between the nations now at war will entirely solve the problems of our political rights, economic opportunities or cultural status. We shall have to continue our age-long struggle for existence, and the result will depend, in part at least, on our vigilance and our ability to understand the difficulties ahead of us.

(a) Let us begin at home and see how these problems appear in the United States. It is safe to assume that one of the questions about which a majority of the Jews of this country are most concerned is that of their future economic status, and more specifically how their children will find proper opportunity to earn a living. Quite apart from the effect of anti-Semitic discrimination the Jews, like the Irish, Scotch, Norwegian and other elements of the American population, differ from the general or statistically "normal" occupational distribution. Rather few of us are engaged in heavy industry, and a very high proportion of us are found in retail trade and in the middle-class or white-collar occupations. Now it is well to remember that there is nothing inherently evil or disadvantageous to any country if, in a free economy, various groups show special aptitudes which enable them to prevail in certain economic fields. The health, the future intelligence or sound public works in any community depend on engaging the best doctors, teachers or engineers regardless of their descent. Still in times of radical economic changes it is dangerous to have too many of our people in any one field in which employment may be rapidly contracting. By and large the economic welfare of Jews as of any other group depends, of course, most of all on the general prosperity of our country. But our "abnormal" occupational dis-

tribution, and the fact that we are practically excluded from certain fields such as the public utilities, make it necessary for us to study how the post-war economic situation will affect us.

Recent years have witnessed not only a deplorable increase of social and economic discrimination against us, but the rise of sinister un-American efforts to arouse hatred against us and even — in its extremist form — to threaten us with Czarist or Nazi pogroms. As a result many of our own people have been seized with panicky fear, and have supported efforts to fight anti-Semitism that show more heat than wisdom. The European war and the practical alliance of Hitler's Germany with Stalin's Russia have visibly decreased the power of such men as Father Coughlin. Yet it would be inexcusable folly to believe that anti-Semitism is entirely dead in this country, never to revive again. Much obviously depends on future developments of our political and economic conditions, on the possible growth of militarism and efforts at appeasement with Germany (to sell our surplus cotton, foodstuffs, oil, automobiles, etc.).

The Survey Committee, whose report you have just heard, has rightly called attention to the fact that to fight anti-Semitism effectively, we must not be satisfied with answering false charges against us. We must join our truly patriotic fellow-citizens in repelling the forces that would overthrow the traditional American democratic spirit of equal opportunity for all. But a comprehensive understanding of the genesis and causes of anti-Semitism is essential for developing sound relations between Jews and their neighbors. There is much evidence to show that anti-Semitism is a symptom of social, economic and political deterioration, and so long as the sources of the infection are not understood, we cannot hope to deal effectively with its manifestations.

But when all is said about strengthening our economic position and minimizing as far as we can the menace of anti-Semitism, there still remain the problems of morale: how can we develop the inner strength to face the difficulties which, lacking omnipotence, we cannot evade. Before the Emancipation, when Jews were all perforce members of a

unified community, this was largely a task of strengthening the traditional faith. But in view of the present-day differences amongst us as to religion as well as to economics and politics, it seems hopeless to expect all Jews to agree on any one ideology. Indeed, it may well be maintained that any attempt to ignore our conscientious differences would be not only actually impossible, but ethically undesirable as an interference with freedom of conscience. Still, while we do not want to organize Jews on a totalitarian basis, greater cooperation among our divergent groups may be possible on the basis of a common desire to know what are our real dangers and how we may be best prepared to weather the storms ahead of us. I may refer to the experience of the Conference on Jewish Relations as showing that cordial intellectual cooperation between most diverse elements of our people is possible if we restrict ourselves to the ascertaining of objective truth. And while such studies will not bring about unanimity as to our ultimate objectives, they can certainly promote better mutual understanding and thus remove the baneful acerbity of internecine quarrels which have at times wrought more harm to us than the blows of our enemies.

(b) The problems of the Jews in other parts of the Western Hemisphere are bound to affect us so intimately that very close attention to them is urgent. In any possible struggle between the United States and the Axis powers for influence in Latin-America the position of the Jews is bound to become crucial. While as citizens of the United States we wish to avoid all kinds of political partisanship, we must remember the precarious condition in which the Jews now find themselves in many of the Latin-American countries. Any studies of ours which will enable our brethren to adjust themselves to the rest of the population in these countries will not only render an indispensable service to people who have not yet established themselves, but are bound in the long run to be helpful to the Jews of the United States. Recent visits to South America by Messrs. Borchardt and Landau confirm this.

(c) In regard to the part of Europe now under German control, the first post-war problem that naturally arises is the economic one: How will the Jews be able to support

themselves? Let us begin with the assumption of a complete British victory. Will it be possible for those whose property has been confiscated or who have been deprived of their business or professional calling, to be restored to the position that they occupied before the advent of the Hitler regime? Natural economic movements in recent years as well as the deliberate governmental policies have relentlessly driven the Jews from their traditional occupations. Where shall they turn to to be able to earn their living?

No exploration, however, of the economic possibilities of post-war Europe can ignore the political and social factors which have led to the rise of Nazism and other forms of intense intolerant nationalism. Will a Poland, for instance, restored by an Allied victory, treat its Jews more liberally than it did after 1919? To answer this crucial question, we must understand the roots and the strength of the liberal and of the reactionary forces, and be able to distinguish between the relatively permanent and the transitory elements in the European situation.

In this connection we must not, in our enthusiasm, ignore the economic, military and various historic-psychologic difficulties in the way of any European regime dedicated to the liberal ideal of the American Bill of Rights, or the French Declaration of the Rights of Man. Few Europeans now seem to believe in it firmly, and large sections of the Jewish population have thus given up faith in the ideal of the Emancipation, and demand rather a regime in which the Jews will be treated as a national minority with a certain amount of local autonomy in regard to education and various other cultural affairs. In view of this situation, it is of the utmost importance that we study not only the actual working of the minority treaties but also the social and psychological factors which have prevented the fruition of the hopes in which they were conceived.

There are those who think that if Hitler is victorious all the Jews that he can reach will be either killed outright or at once dumped into some pesthole in Africa. But reflection shows that while the amount of harm that he can thus effect is unfortunately enormous, large numbers of human beings cannot be so easily wiped out or readily

disposed of. And if the history of the Jews since the Hadri-
anic persecutions be any guide, it is reasonable to assume
that there will be Jews in Europe after Hitler's days are
over. It is thus, in any case, necessary to study the precise
position of the Jews in the Nazi plans for the new economic
order. This is not as difficult to do as it might at first
appear. For a thorough examination of Hitler's general
policies shows that they have little originality, that they
are all but a brutal intensification of plans and measures
previously discussed or even in part carried out in Germany
since the reaction that followed the Napoleonic wars. We
must know these plans and measures if we are to do any-
thing about them before it is too late.

(d) If I say little about the problems of Palestine, it is
not because I do not think they are important but because
they have already received a relatively great deal of atten-
tion from the Jewish Agency, the various Zionist organi-
zations, The Palestine Economic Corporation and various
Jewish scholars in all lands. There is, however, one aspect
of the situation which has not been as yet duly considered
because it seems too horrible to contemplate, and that is
the possibility that the Axis powers may capture Palestine.
No matter how remote that may seem today, we must not
fail to consider it.

We must therefore investigate the Nazi and Fascist
attitude on the problem of Palestine and also the attitude
of the Catholic Church which has always regarded itself
as the proper guardian of the Holy Places. In any case, the
future of Palestine and the problem of Arab-Jewish relations
must be viewed from a long-range point of view, if we are
to be prepared for the various situations which may
develop.

(e) Nor must we forget that the problem of five million
Jews in Soviet Russia may become a burning one in the
very near future. It will certainly be so if war breaks out
between Germany and the Soviet Union; and it may also
develop into an acute form if German influence in Russia
should increase as it may do in certain contingencies. At
present we have inadequate knowledge of Jewish condi-
tions in Russia, not only because of the general attitude of
its government in discouraging the sending out of news,

but also because we have not established sufficient means of contact to enable us to gather available information.

The magnitude and diversity of the foregoing problems seems staggering and it would, indeed, be quixotic to pretend that the resources of our Committee or of any other single organization are adequate to deal satisfactorily with all these issues. But as I pointed out before, ours is not the only effort in this direction. Nor is it necessary that all institutes devoted to this work be consolidated into one. What is necessary is that all workers cooperate freely, and not only avoid duplication but make their information readily available to those in a position to make good use of it, to those who can weld the iron facts into swords or ploughshares.

The Institute On Peace And Post-War Problems

The foregoing considerations have led to the organization of our Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems to gather the necessary information from all possible sources and make it available to all who are vitally interested or can be helpful in meeting our problems as best we can. By keeping in touch with what other organizations have done and are planning to do, it can serve as a coordinating agency, to promote cooperation and a more productive division of labor among those working in this field.

Its own research work will aim to fill the gaps in our most urgently needed knowledge and to keep the latter as up-to-date as is possible in these rapidly changing times. It may take for its motto the saying of Hillel: "If I do not look after myself who will? But if I look after myself alone, what do I amount to?" And we may add the saying of Rabbi Tarphon: "The day is short and the task is great—. It is not incumbent on thee to complete the whole work, but neither art thou free to neglect it."

The program of its studies may be exhibited in the following tables:*

While the foregoing indicate the general plan, the order

*At this point Professor Cohen exhibited a number of charts.

of studies will naturally be influenced by the actual development of the world-situation.

We have been fortunate to secure the services of Dr. Max Gottschalk as the Director of the Division of Migration and Colonization, and for the time being, as Acting Director of the whole Institute. Dr. Gottschalk's presidency of HICEM and his long and honorable connection with the ICA are well known to the Jewish public. Not so well known but almost equally valuable for our purpose is his experience in the International Labor Office of the League of Nations. His staff already includes: Dr. Eugene Hevesi, formerly commercial attaché of the Hungarian Legation in Roumania and in the United States; Dr. Simon Segal, a specialist on Polish affairs and formerly on the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association; Mr. Moses Moskowitz, for some time on the research staff of the American Jewish Committee and the helpful secretary of our Committee since its beginning; and Dr. Theodor Gaster, a worthy son of a great father. Not only is it planned to enlarge this staff, but also to engage a number of experts to prepare special reports for us. It is also planned to organize a body of advisers of the leading scholars in the various fields of our interest whom we can consult.

In closing I wish to express my personal thanks which I am sure will also be your thanks to my colleagues on the Peace Committee; and I trust no one will think that I am making any invidious discrimination when I refer especially to the contributions of Professor Baron, Dr. Kahn and Mr. Max Warburg. We have, of course, been guided by the statesmanlike vision of Mr. Waldman and the ever hard-working Harry Schneiderman, and it is needless to add that this report would not have been possible without the loyal services of Dr. Gottschalk and his devoted staff.

Respectfully submitted,

MORRIS R. COHEN,

Chairman

LIST OF CORPORATE MEMBERS BY CLASSES

Class A.—Community Representatives

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
ALABAMA			
BIRMINGHAM	1	Leo K. Steiner, Sr.	1942
MOBILE	1		
MONTGOMERY	1	Lucien Loeb	1943
ARIZONA			
PHOENIX	1	Barnett E. Marks	1943
ARKANSAS			
LITTLE ROCK	1	C. C. Rubenstein	1943
CALIFORNIA			
FRESNO	1	Leon I. Diamond	1943
LONG BEACH	1		
LOS ANGELES	2	Harry A. Hollzer	1942
		Isaac Pacht	1944
		Mendel B. Silberberg	1944
		Leonard J. Meltzer	1944
OAKLAND	1		
PASADENA	1		
SACRAMENTO	1	Oliver Goldblatt	1943
SAN DIEGO	1	Jacob Weinberger	1944
SAN FRANCISCO	2	Max C. Sloss	1944
		Jesse H. Steinhart	1942
STOCKTON	1	Fillmore C. Marks	1942
COLORADO			
DENVER	1	Lewis I. Miller	1944
CONNECTICUT			
ANSONIA	1		
BRIDGEPORT	1		
HARTFORD	2	William P. Haas	1942
		Isidore Wise	1943
MERIDEN	1		
NEW BRITAIN	1	Samuel M. Davidson	1944
NEW HAVEN	2		
NEW LONDON	1		
NORWALK	1		
NORWICH	1	Abner Schwartz	1943
STAMFORD	1	Abraham Wofsey	1944
WATERBURY	1	Philip N. Bernstein	1943
DELAWARE			
WILMINGTON	1	Aaron Finger	1942

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
DIST. OF COLUMBIA			
WASHINGTON	1	Joseph D. Kaufman Milton W. King	1943 1943
FLORIDA			
JACKSONVILLE	1		
MIAMI	1	D. J. Apte	1944
PENSACOLA	1	J. M. Edrehi	1943
TAMPA	1	Ernest Maas	1944
GEORGIA			
ATLANTA	1	Leonard Haas	1943
AUGUSTA	1		
SAVANNAH	1	Edmund H. Abrahams	1942
IDAHO			
BOISE	1	Leo J. Falk	1943
ILLINOIS			
CHICAGO	13	James H. Becker Joseph L. Block James Davis Samuel A. Goldsmith Bernard Horwich Sol Kline Albert D. Lasker Herbert M. Lautmann Frank L. Sulzberger	1942 1942 1942 1942 1943 1942 1943 1942 1944
EAST ST. LOUIS	1		
OAK PARK	1		
PEORIA	1	Arthur Lehmann	1944
ROCKFORD	1	George Seidler	1943
ROCK ISLAND (Tri-Cities*)	1	Abraham W. Gellman	1942
SPRINGFIELD	1	Herman E. Snyder	1944
WAUKEGAN	1		
INDIANA			
EVANSVILLE	1	A. A. Brentano	1942
FORT WAYNE	1	Nathan L. Salon	1942
GARY	1	H. Rosenbloom	1942
HAMMOND	1	Samuel D. Seifer	1944
INDIANAPOLIS	1	J. J. Kiser	1943
SOUTH BEND	1	Will Welber	1943
TERRE HAUTE	1	Marshall Taxay	1944

*Includes Rock Island and Moline, Ill., and Davenport, Iowa.

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
IOWA			
DAVENPORT (see Rock Island, Ill.)			
DES MOINES	1	Eugene Mannheimer	1943
MASON CITY	1	Sam Raizes	1944
SIoux CITY	1	Adolph M. Davis	1943
KANSAS			
KANSAS CITY	1	Joseph Cohen	1944
WICHITA	1		
KENTUCKY			
LOUISVILLE	1	Fred Levy	1942
		Stuart G. Levy	1944
LOUISIANA			
NEW ORLEANS	1	Edgar B. Stern	1942
SHREVEPORT	1	A. B. Freyer	1942
MAINE			
BANGOR	1	Michael Pilot	1944
LEWISTON	1		
PORTLAND	1	Israel Bernstein	1944
MARYLAND			
BALTIMORE	2	Jacob Blaustein	1944
		Sidney Lansburgh	1944
MASSACHUSETTS			
BOSTON	3	R. B. Gryzmish	1944
		Milton Kahn	1944
		Felix Vorenberg	1942
BROCKTON	1		
BROOKLINE	1	Harry Levi	1943
CHELSEA	2		
FALL RIVER	1	Edward Adaskin	1942
HAVERHILL	1	Louis Hartman	1942
HOLYOKE	1	Samuel Resnic	1944
LAWRENCE	1	Alexander L. Siskind	1942
LOWELL	1	Maurice Barlofsky	1942
LYNN	1	Eli A. Cohen	1944
MALDEN	1		
NEW BEDFORD	1	C. S. Lipsitt	1943
PEABODY	1	Elihu A. Hershenson	1942
PITTSFIELD	1	George A. Newman	1943
QUINCY	1	Joseph B. Grossman	1942
REVERE	1		
SALEM	1	Barton I. Goldberg	1943
SOMERVILLE	1	Hyman J. Routtenberg	1942
SPRINGFIELD	1	Harry M. Ehrlich	1943
WINTHROP	1		
WORCESTER	1	George W. Farber	1944

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
MICHIGAN			
DETROIT	2	Julian H. Krolik Isadore Levin Abraham Srere	1944 1942 1942
FLINT	1		
GRAND RAPIDS	1	Harry Shulsky	1944
KALAMAZOO	1	Julius H. Isenberg	1943
MINNESOTA			
DULUTH	1	A. B. Polinsky	1943
MINNEAPOLIS	2	Arthur Brin Joseph H. Schanfeld	1944 1943
ST. PAUL	1	Milton P. Firestone	1942
MISSISSIPPI			
VICKSBURG	1	Louis L. Switzer	1944
MISSOURI			
KANSAS CITY	2	Sig. Harzfeld George Oppenheimer	1943 1942
ST. JOSEPH	1	Harry Block	1943
ST. LOUIS	2	Charles M. Rice Ernest W. Stix	1944 1944
MONTANA			
BUTTE	1		
NEBRASKA			
LINCOLN	1	Nathan J. Gold	1943
OMAHA	1	Harry A. Wolf	1943
NEVADA			
RENO	1	Samuel Platt	1943
NEW HAMPSHIRE			
MANCHESTER	1		
NEW JERSEY			
ASBURY PARK	1	Jonas Tumen	1943
ATLANTIC CITY	1	Harry Cassman	1944
BAYONNE	1	William Rubin	1944
BLOOMFIELD	1		
CAMDEN	1	Benjamin F. Friedman	1943
EAST ORANGE	1		
ELIZABETH	1		
HOBOKEN	1	Julius Lichtenstein	1944
IRVINGTON	1		
JERSEY CITY	1	Harry Goldowsky	1942
LINDEN	1		
LONG BRANCH	1		
NEW BRUNSWICK	1	Abraham Jelin	1944

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
NEW JERSEY (Cont.)			
NEWARK	2	Michael A. Stavitsky	1943
ORANGE	1		
PASSAIC	1	Victor Greenburg	1944
PATERSON	2	Mendon Morrill	1943
PERTH AMBOY	1	Isaac Alpern	1943
PLAINFIELD	1	William Newcorn	1942
SOUTH ORANGE	1	Julius H. Cohn	1942
TRENTON	1	Phillip Forman	1942
UNION	1		
WEST NEW YORK	1		
WOODBINE	1		
NEW MEXICO			
ALBUQUERQUE	1	S. E. Starrels	1943
LAS VEGAS	1	Louis C. Ilfeld	1944
NEW YORK			
ALBANY	1	Robert C. Poskanzer	1943
BINGHAMTON	1	C. R. Rosenthal	1942
BUFFALO	2	Eugene Warner	1942
CEDARHURST	1		
ELMIRA	1	Benjamin F. Levy	1944
FALLSBURGH	1		
GLOVERSVILLE	1		
GREAT NECK	1		
HEMPSTEAD	1		
KINGSTON	1	Arthur B. Ewig	1943
LAWRENCE	1		
LONG BEACH	1		
LYNBROOK	1		
MONTICELLO	1		
MOUNT VERNON	1	Leon Mann	1943
NEWBURGH	1	Bertram A. Stroock	1944
NEW ROCHELLE	1	Oscar Heyman	1944
NEW YORK	49	Carl J. Austrian	1942
		Edward L. Bernays	1944
		G. M. Bernknopf	1943
		David M. Bressler	1944
		David A. Brown	1942
		Emanuel Celler	1944
		Morris R. Cohen	1944
		Abram I. Elkus	1943
		Louis Finkelstein	1942
		William Fischman	1943
		Norman S. Goetz	1943
		Samuel H. Goldenson	1943
		Leo Gottlieb	1942

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STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TEMRs
NEW YORK (Cont.)			
		Harold K. Guinzburg	1944
		Henry S. Hendricks	1943
		Maurice B. Hexter	1942
		Joseph C. Hyman	1944
		Stanley M. Isaacs	1942
		Henry Ittleson	1944
		Joseph J. Klein	1942
		Abraham Krasne	1942
		Arthur K. Kuhn	1944
		Edward Lazansky	1943
		Herbert H. Lehman	1944
		Irving Lehman	1943
		Arthur I. LeVine	1943
		Samuel M. Levy	1942
		Oscar A. Lewis	1943
		Wm. Liebermann	1942
		James Marshall	1942
		Alexander Marx	1944
		Mitchell May	1942
		Maximilian Moss	1944
		George W. Naumburg	1942
		Edward A. Norman	1943
		Algernon I. Nova	1942
		Carl H. Pforzheimer	1943
		Joseph M. Proskauer	1943
		Harold Riegelman	1942
		A. J. Rongy	1943
		James N. Rosenberg	1943
		Samuel I. Rosenman	1943
		Walter N. Rothschild	1944
		Samuel Salzman	1944
		Samuel Schulman	1942
		Wolfgang Schwabacher	1943
		Bernard Semel	1942
		Fred M. Stein	1943
		I. M. Stettenheim	1943
		Hugh Grant Straus	1944
		Roger W. Straus	1944
		Lewis L. Strauss	1943
		Alan M. Stroock	1942
		Sol M. Stroock	1944
		Nathan Sweedler	1942
		Ralph Wolf	1944
NIAGARA FALLS	1	Morton J. Cohn	1944
PEEKSKILL	1	Bernard R. Loewy	1943
PORTCHESTER	1		
POUGHKEEPSIE	1	Albert D. Kahn	1944

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
NEW YORK (Cont.)			
ROCHESTER	2	Mortimer Adler Henry M. Stern	1942 1944
ROCKVILLE CENTER	1		
SCHENECTADY	1	Lewis Lurie	1942
SYRACUSE	1	David M. Holstein	1944
TROY	1	Joseph Goodman	1944
UTICA	1	S. Joshua Kohn	1944
WHITE PLAINS	1	P. Irving Grinberg	1943
YONKERS	1	Irving Schneider	1944
NORTH CAROLINA			
GOLDSBORO	1	Lionel Weil	1944
NORTH DAKOTA			
FARGO	1	D. M. Naftalin	1942
OHIO			
AKRON	1		
CANTON	1	Edward M. Feiman	1943
CINCINNATI	2	Samuel Ach David Philipson Murray Seansongood	1942 1942 1944
CLEVELAND	1	Edward M. Baker E. S. Halle	1944 1943
CLEVELAND HEIGHTS	1	Max Freedman	1942
COLUMBUS	1	Fred Lazarus, Jr.	1944
DAYTON	1	Milton C. Stern	1943
STEUBENVILLE	1	Joseph Freedman	1944
TOLEDO	1		
YOUNGSTOWN	1	Herman C. Ritter	1944
OKLAHOMA			
OKLAHOMA CITY	1	S. K. Bernstein	1943
TULSA	1		
OREGON			
PORTLAND	1	Max S. Hirsch	1944
PENNSYLVANIA			
ALLENTOWN	1		
ALTOONA	1	Isaiah Scheeline	1942
BETHLEHEM	1		
BRADDOCK	1	Malcolm Goldsmith	1944
Chester	1		
EASTON	1		
ERIE	1	Max C. Currick	1943
HARRISBURG	1	Philip D. Bookstaber	1943
HAZLETON	1	Nat Landau	1944
HOMESTEAD	1		

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
PENNSYLVANIA (Cont.)			
JOHNSTOWN	1	David Glosser	1943
LANCASTER	1		
MCKEESPORT	1		
PHILADELPHIA	10	Justin P. Allman	1942
		Jacob Billikopf	1943
		J. C. Gutman	1944
		Joseph L. Kun	1943
		Al. Paul Lefton	1944
		B. L. Levinthal	1943
		Howard A. Loeb	1943
		Horace Stern	1944
		Leon C. Sunstein	1944
		Morris Wolf	1944
PITTSBURGH	2	William K. Frank	1943
		Edgar J. Kaufmann	1942
POTTSVILLE	1		
READING	1	Sam R. Lurio	1944
SCRANTON	1	A. B. Cohen	1944
UNIONTOWN	1	Ben F. Bortz	1943
WILKES-BARRE	1	Reuben H. Levy	1942
RHODE ISLAND			
PAWTUCKET	1		
PROVIDENCE	2	Saul Abrams	1943
		Archibald Silverman	1943
WOONSOCKET	1	Arthur I. Darman	1944
SOUTH CAROLINA			
CHARLESTON	1	Sidney Rittenberg	1944
SOUTH DAKOTA			
SIoux FALLS	1	Louis R. Hurwitz	1943
TENNESSEE			
CHATTANOOGA	1	Sidney Marks	1944
KNOXVILLE	1	Ben R. Winick	1944
		Max Wolf	1944
MEMPHIS	1	Eric D. Hirsch	1944
NASHVILLE	1	Nathan Cohn	1944
TEXAS			
BEAUMONT	1	Benjamin Blum	1943
DALLAS	1	Victor H. Hexter	1943
EL PASO	1	Maurice Schwartz	1943
FORT WORTH	1		
GALVESTON	1	Isaac H. Kempner	1944
HOUSTON	1	Max H. Nathan	1942
SAN ANTONIO	1	Jake Karotkin	1944
WACO	1	Melvin H. Adams	1944

STATES AND CITIES	NO. OF REP'S	REPRESENTATIVES	TERMS
UTAH			
SALT LAKE CITY	1	James L. White	1943
VERMONT			
BURLINGTON	1	Samuel Lisman	1942
MONTPELIER	1	E. L. Segel	1942
VIRGINIA			
NEWPORT NEWS	1	Robert D. Binder	1943
NORFOLK	1	Charles L. Kaufman	1944
PORTSMOUTH	1		
RICHMOND	1	Edward N. Calisch J. Irving Kaufmann	1943 1944
WASHINGTON			
SEATTLE	1	Leo T. Kreielsheimer	1942
SPOKANE	1	Joe Rubens	1944
TACOMA	1	Baruch I. Treiger	1943
WEST VIRGINIA			
CHARLESTON	1		
HUNTINGTON	1	David Gideon	1942
WHEELING	1		
WISCONSIN			
MADISON	1	S. B. Schein	1942
MILWAUKEE	2	Joseph L. Baron Nathan M. Stein	1944 1943
SHEBOYGAN	1		

Class B.—Delegates from National Jewish Organizations*

- AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, A. S. W. Rosenbach
 BRITH SHOLOM, Louis I Gilgor, Louis Levine
 CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL JEWISH WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, Mrs. Leon Watters
 FREE SONS OF ISRAEL, Max Ogust
 HADASSAH, Miss Sylvia Brody, Mrs. Benjamin Gottesman, Mrs. David B. Greenberg, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Mrs. Robert Szold
 HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY OF AMERICA, Solomon Dingol, Harry Fischel, Abraham Herman, Jacob Massel, Albert Rosenblatt, Samuel A. Telsey
 INDEPENDENT ORDER B'RITH ABRAHAM, Herman Hoffman, Max L. Hollander, Max Silverstein

*The term of Delegates is one year, or until their successors are chosen

JEWISH WELFARE BOARD, Joseph Rosenzweig
 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOCIAL WELFARE, Maurice J. Karpf
 NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman,
 Mrs. Karl J. Kaufmann
 ORDER OF THE UNITED HEBREW BROTHERS, Max E. Greenberg
 PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST, H. L. Brody
 RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY, JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA,
 Leon S. Lang
 UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA, Benjamin
 Koenigsberg, William Weiss
 UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA, Louis J. Moss
 WOMEN'S BRANCH, UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS,
 Mrs. Joseph M. Asher, Mrs. Isidor Freedman, Mrs. Herbert S.
 Goldstein
 WOMEN'S LEAGUE, UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA, Mrs. David Kass,
 Miss Sarah Kussy, Mrs. Samuel Spiegel
 YOUNG PEOPLE'S LEAGUE OF THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE, Morris V.
 Dembowitz

Class C.—Members-at-Large*

George Backer, New York
 Louis Bamberger, Newark
 John L. Bernstein, New York
 Leo M. Brown, Mobile
 Fred M. Butzel, Detroit
 Leo M. Butzel, Detroit
 Solomon Elsner, Hartford
 Jacob Epstein, Baltimore
 Leon Falk, Jr., Pittsburgh
 Eli Frank, Baltimore
 Edward S. Greenbaum, New York
 Hiram J. Halle, New York
 Herbert J. Hannoeh, Newark
 Walter S. Hilborn, Los Angeles
 William L. Holzman, Omaha
 J. J. Kaplan, Boston
 Louis E. Kirstein, Boston
 Samuel D. Leidesdorf, New York
 Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans
 Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia
 Chas. J. Liebman, New York
 Solomon Lowenstein, New York
 Julian W. Mack, New York
 Louis B. Mayer, Culver City, Cal.
 George Z. Medalie, New York
 Henry Morgenthau, Sr., New York
 Reuben Oppenheimer, Baltimore

*The term of Members-at Large is one year

Milton J. Rosenau, Chapel Hill, No. Car.
Lessing J. Rosenwald, Philadelphia
William Rosenwald, Greenwich, Conn.
Morris Rothenberg, New York
Henry Sachs, Colorado Springs
David H. Sulzberger, New York
William B. Thalhimer, Richmond, Va.
F. Frank Vorenberg, Boston
Frederick M. Warburg, New York
Max Warburg, New York
Sidney J. Weinberg, New York
Maurice Wertheim, New York
Joseph Willen, New York
Henry Wineman, Detroit