

to attain victory. Many will die in the attempt. Others will return bearing the scars of battle. They are prepared to do their part. They are not certain how long it will be before they are reunited with their families. They are looking forward to the day. This is the critical period for all—soldier and civilian. We can do but little to sustain the spirit and to make brighter the hopes of those in the service. The work of the J.W.B. is symbolic of the minimum that civilians can do to strengthen the hands of those who fight. That service is being maintained and expanded to meet new needs—those of the able-bodied fighting men, the wounded, the discharged veteran. It is the least a grateful Jewish community can do for the noblest and bravest of its cherished representatives—the Jews in the armed forces of the country.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

By ELLEN H. POSNER*

THE upsurge of “super-nationalism” accompanied by sporadic organized anti-Semitism in the United States during the period under review can be attributed to the feeling that the war will soon be over and to the approach of the 1944 Presidential election campaign. Seeing victory for the allies close at hand, the nationalist network seems to have become convinced that it could be bolder and more outspoken with less danger of criticism or imprisonment. Its energies were largely directed toward the political scene.

An important event of this period was the return of a third indictment by a Federal Grand Jury on January 3, 1944, in which the Department of Justice, under the direction of Special Prosecutor O. John Rogge, charged thirty individuals with “unlawful and willful” conspiracy with the Nazis for the purpose of establishing a national socialist form of government in the United States, and with a nationwide conspiracy to impair the morale of, and cause insubordination among the armed forces of the nation. The previous

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two indictments based some of their contentions upon the manifestation of anti-Semitism. This indictment was considered stronger in that it charged the alleged seditious with conspiracy with an enemy nation rather than with native Americans alone.

Of the thirty listed in the new indictment, the twenty-two individuals who were reindicted included the well-known names of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, Gerald B. Winrod, George E. Deatherage, Edward James Smythe, James True, George Sylvester Viereck, Eugene Nelson Sanctuary and William Dudley Pelley. Named for the first time were Joseph E. McWilliams, one-time organizer of the Christian Mobilizers and the American Destiny Party, who served a short sentence in New York City, in October 1940, for "violently violating freedom of speech and freedom of assembly in making anti-Semitic and anti-American speeches"; Lawrence Dennis, often described as the "intellectual leader" of American fascism; E. J. Parker Sage and Garland L. Alderman, indicted in Detroit in 1940 for inciting to riot, who were officers of the National Workers League, which is the alleged successor to the notorious Black Legion, and which, it is charged, has openly cheered Japanese victories and preached fascism since the United States' entry into the war; Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze and August Klapprott, respectively national leader and deputy national leader of the German American Bund, who were sentenced in 1943; Ernest Frederick Elmhurst who was honored during his attendance, in August, 1937, at the international anti-Semitic congress of *Welt Dienst* (Nazi propaganda agency) in Germany; and Peter Stahrenberg, publisher of *The National American*, official organ of the American National Socialist Party.

The trial was scheduled to begin on April 17, 1944, in Washington, D. C., but one month elapsed before a jury could be chosen. Encouraged by widespread publicity, the defense used every tactic of obstructionism to delay, hamper and impede the trial.

Another group indictment returned by a Federal Grand Jury in Newark on October 5, 1943, engaged the attention of the Department of Justice. This indictment charged the German American Vocational League, one of its subsidiary corporations, and a number of its officers and members with

illegally conspiring to act as agents of the German Reich without proper "notification" to the government of the United States. Nine defendants, including the German American Vocational League, were found guilty in May, 1944.

Of those agitators who have not been reindicted, the following are continuing along the old familiar pattern: Court Asher is still publishing his hysterically anti-Semitic *X-Ray* from Muncie, Indiana. C. Leon de Aryan, publisher and editor of *The Broom*, San Diego, California, a mystic depending on numerology and astrology for self-confidence and inspiration also continues his anti-Semitic diatribes. As his adopted name indicates, he considers himself "an official representative of the Aryan clan."

The term "nationalist" has replaced "isolationist" in the terminology of the native fascist movement. Chicago, in which many seditious organizations have their headquarters, is recognized as the center of "nationalism." From it radiate streams of scurrilous publications and scores of lecturers, to it are drawn individuals of like mind. Ostensibly, these groups are independent, but their membership is overlapping; their energies are all directed to the 1944 Presidential election. The Citizens U. S. A. Committee is by far the largest and most active organization of this kind in Chicago. Led by William J. Grace, it was called, before Pearl Harbor, the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee. Except for the name, Grace's group has not changed. It busily continues its disruptive activities, preaching hate of our allies, vehemently opposing the lend-lease policy and advocating disobedience to the war-time measures, opposing international collaboration, pathologically attacking the Administration and viciously preaching racial hatred. Earl Southard, an organizer for Gerald L. K. Smith, is secretary of this organization. Most prominent amongst the speakers at its meetings have been Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, now under indictment; Carl H. Mote, anti-Semitic telephone magnate from Indiana; and Gerald L. K. Smith with whom the group is closely collaborating.

An out-and-out political organization, at whose first big meeting on May 20, 1943, Senator Gerald P. Nye (R., N. D.) was the principal speaker, was launched by William J. Grace, with headquarters in Chicago. With this Republican

Nationalist Revival Committee were associated Earl Southard and Roger Faherty—the latter a prominent “nationalist.” It appeared to be a well-financed campaign to build a strong isolationist bloc and was directed to the prevention of the Republican Party’s nominating a candidate pledged to post-war international cooperation with the United Nations. The Committee launched a campaign for the nomination of Colonel Robert C. McCormick, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, for president, but on February 11, 1944, McCormick withdrew his name from the Illinois preference primary. Associated with the Committee were isolationist pressure groups such as Gerald L. K. Smith and his America First Party. With such a platform and leaders, it was not surprising that the Committee attracted the support of anti-Semites, obstructionists and suspected secessionists. Ex-Congressman P. H. Moynihan was president of the Revival Committee. Representative Paul W. Shafer (R., Mich.) was a featured speaker, and delegates from We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, one of the largest super-patriotic “mothers” groups which has demanded a negotiated peace, were in the audience at its meetings.

Holding wild demonstrations in Chicago every Friday night was the Constitutional Americans under the leadership of George T. Foster and of Mary Leach; the latter was one of Mrs. Dilling’s former lieutenants. In July, 1943 Mrs. Dilling, whose *Patriotic Research Bureau Newsletter* emanates from Chicago, was the principal speaker at one of the meetings of this organization.

Ralph Frank Keeling ran his Institute of American Economics in conjunction with Willis Overholser in Chicago. Another “nationalist” outfit, the Institute was once called the Midwest Monetary Federation and, before Pearl Harbor, engaged the now indicted Joseph E. McWilliams as a lecturer. Merwin K. Hart opened a branch office of his National Economic Council in Chicago.

Not far from Chicago, is the important munitions center of Detroit where race riots occurred in the middle of 1943 and where racial tensions still exist. Detroit is the home of Father Charles E. Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, Mrs. Beatrice Knowles’ American Mothers, the Christocrats, the National

Workers League, the United Sons of America and the Roseville Rifle Club Southern Society of Michigan and their Michigan Patriots—regroupings of the Ku Klux Klan. In the November, 1943 Detroit mayoralty elections, Edward A. Carey ran on an openly anti-Semitic platform.

Long active in the Midwest, the America First Party, personal organ of Gerald L. K. Smith, launched an organizing campaign, holding rallies from St. Louis to Baltimore. Smith has allied himself with Coughlinites and isolationist congressmen. At a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 9, 1943, he warned Jews to quit attacking "Gerald Smith, Father Coughlin, Senator Wheeler, Senator Nye and other true Americans." Writing in his *Cross and the Flag*, November, 1943, of the then recent outburst of anti-Semitic hoodlumism in Boston, Smith said: "What has taken place in Boston is just a pimple on the skin of our body politic. Similar outbreaks can be expected in every great center." He threatened to organize a party which would nominate a true "nationalist" if neither of the major parties chose an America Firster for President, and advocated the nomination of such men as Colonel Charles E. Lindbergh, Senators Robert Rice Reynolds (D., N. C.), Burton K. Wheeler (D., Mont.) and Nye.

Associated with Smith have been the Reverend Harvey H. Springer, "authoritarian fundamentalist" preacher from Englewood, Colorado, editor of the anti-democratic weekly *Western Voice*, who organized a committee for the defense of Christian Americans from persecution; Earl Southard of the Citizens U. S. A. Committee; Carl H. Mote; and Mrs. Ernest Lundeen, widow of Senator Lundeen, who has frequently spoken at America First Party meetings. Representative Clare Hoffman (R., Mich.) was a speaker at the Party's rallies.

Father Charles E. Coughlin has avoided the limelight until recently, but his friends and followers have kept his name alive by continuing to pay tribute to him. Urging loyalty to Father Coughlin in the *Gaelic American* of July 3, 1943, Father Edward Lodge Curran of Brooklyn, N. Y., expressed faith in his Detroit colleague, and stated "that we shall continue to pray for his return to the microphone and the press and the public platform of America." Similarly, Gerald L. K. Smith's *Cross and the Flag*, in its July, 1943

issue, looked forward to the day when Father Coughlin could speak again over the radio and before public gatherings. In August, 1943 some two thousand people attended a celebration in Coughlin's honor in Brooklyn. In Boston, on October 26, 1943, the revived Christian Front under the auspices of a group called Friends of Father Coughlin, sponsored a banquet celebrating his fifty-second birthday. In the spring of 1944, Curran made many speeches in various cities of the East and Midwest lauding Father Coughlin and promising him support. On April 30, 1944, at a meeting sponsored by The American Citizens Committee in Brooklyn, Curran launched a new organization called the National Committee for the Preservation of Americanism. His demand that Father Coughlin be allowed to resume his former role was seconded by William B. Gallagher, leader of the Christian Front in Boston. Another speaker was William J. Grace, before whose Citizen's U. S. A. Committee on February 2, 1944, Father Curran was introduced as the "successor to Father Coughlin who was liquidated." Late in February, 1944, Father Coughlin launched a series of weekly political talks in his Church of Royal Oak, which were defeatist in tone. They seemed to be directed at courting Midwest isolationist and labor support. On March 15, he asserted, before a large audience: "it matters not what military force wins this war" and charged that "we are fighting this war for a lost cause." After having received widespread publicity, Father Coughlin's speeches were abruptly discontinued. Archbishop Edward Mooney, his superior, in what was interpreted as a public rebuke of the priest, denounced anti-Semitism in June, 1944 as "directly opposed to Christian teaching" and bitterly assailed professional anti-Semites.

Closely allied to the "nationalist" network are the so-called mothers groups, which are front organizations for the dissemination of fanatically anti-Semitic and subversive propaganda through the exploitation of the sincere anxiety of women for their loved ones in the American armed forces. The most active of the "mothers" organizations were found in Chicago, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and Cleveland. The largest national group was We, The Mothers Mobilize for America, located in Chicago and led by Mrs. Lyril Clark Van Hyning,

a former active member of the America First Committee and frequent visitor of German nationalist groups. This group held a convention of "mothers clubs" in Chicago on January 31, 1944, at which Donald Shea, former head of the National Gentile League, who had been excluded from three defense areas as dangerous to national defense, spoke. The convention's purpose was to call for an immediate armistice and a negotiated peace with Germany. A national convention was called by We, the Mothers Mobilize for America, for June 12-13, 1944, in Chicago. The meeting was held behind closed doors. Resolutions were passed opposing cooperation with other nations, demanding suspension of immigration for ten years, deploring the current sedition trial at Washington, and accusing America's "moneycrats" of having started the war. *Women's Voice*, the monthly organ of We, the Mothers charged that the Administration "provoked and precipitated" the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania, which was organized by Father Coughlin's followers in Philadelphia, was the most active of these groups in the East. They were old hands at "nationalism" and anti-Semitism; such anti-Semitic speakers as Elizabeth Dilling have addressed them, and the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion have been distributed at their meetings. On November 12, 1943, Gerald L. K. Smith was brought to Philadelphia to address a meeting sponsored by the Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania and the Blue Star Mothers of Philadelphia, not to be confused with the Blue Star Mothers of America, a loyal and patriotic organization. Again on March 2, 1944, Smith spoke at a Blue Star Mothers' meeting. Mrs. Catherine V. Brown, who led both groups, used to work with Social Justice units and was associated with the thirteen Christian Fronters who were arrested in Philadelphia a few years ago. She was reported to have been working with H. L. Smith, a liaison between the Nazis and American fascists. Mrs. Lillian Parks, secretary of the Blue Star Mothers, had a well-stocked library of "literature," distributed by the "mothers" and other groups.

The meetings of the Mothers of Sons Forum, Cincinnati, Ohio, of which Mrs. Lucinda E. Bengé was president,

as well as the United Mothers of America, a Cleveland, Ohio, group, led by Mrs. David K. Stanley, which has been frequent host to Gerald L. K. Smith were viciously anti-Semitic.

A movement has been afoot for some time to organize the "mothers" groups on a national scale. So far, it has been unsuccessful.

Still another reactionary organization has entered the political arena under the chairmanship of former secretary of war Harry H. Woodring—the American Democratic National Committee. Although not avowedly anti-Semitic the records of some of its leaders indicate its potential influence. William J. Goodwin, Christian Fronter and leader of the American Rock Party of Queens County, New York, was chosen New York representative. Robert M. Harriss, Father Coughlin's financial adviser, ex-Senator Edward R. Burke who praised the Nazi regime on his return from a visit to Germany in 1938, and Mrs. Lyril Van Hying of We, the Mothers Mobilize for America—all were invited to join Woodring's conferences in Chicago. Admitting defeat in mustering anti-New Deal support, Woodring resigned as chairman and withdrew as a member of the Committee on April 2, 1944. Dr. Gleason L. Archer, president of Suffolk University, Boston, was elected to succeed him as chairman. The key position of treasurer is held by William J. Goodwin.

Simultaneously, on January 20, 1944, two "Gentile" associations were incorporated in the Midwest,—the Gentile League, in Watertown, Wisconsin, and the Gentile Co-operative Association, in Chicago, Illinois. The programs of both were insidiously anti-Semitic.

Governor Walter S. Goodland of Wisconsin directed the Attorney General on February 21, 1944, to institute proceedings against the charter of the League, on the ground that the group "seeks to foster racial prejudice and deprive the Jewish people of rights which are guaranteed to all persons under the state constitution." The Attorney General filed a suit in the courts on March 17 to revoke the League's charter. The Circuit Court revoked the charter.

The stronger of these two anti-Jewish groups was the Gentile Co-operative Association of Chicago. The purpose of this group, as disclosed in its application for a charter, was to pro-

mote various "gentile objectives," including the compilation of a "gentile directory" of business for each of the forty-eight states of the Union. Eugene R. Flitcraft, the organizer, stated that he started the movement "to halt growing Jewish power." *Gentile News*, the organ of this group, is filled with negative anti-Semitism. It is alleged to be written in the style and tone of the Coughlinites' "buy Christian" pre-war propaganda which provoked street corner riots. The State of Illinois, through its Attorney General, secured an order, which must still be sustained by the courts, revoking the charter of the Association, on the ground that its purposes are "subversive and directed against racial and religious groups or faiths."

Widely publicized in the "nationalist" press were the charges of associating with anti-Semites made against James LeRoy Drew, a New York City policeman. Despite strong protests by civic groups and in the City Council, Commissioner of Police Lewis J. Valentine acquitted and reinstated Drew. The case caused Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia to issue orders to all city departments making association with active anti-Semites ground for removal.

During the year under review anti-Semitic disturbances by young hoodlums were reported in the suburbs of Boston, in Hartford, Bridgeport, and New York City. Only in Boston where the incidents were not isolated, was there a suspicion of adult organization. Governor Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, acted quickly to institute a statewide investigation. Widespread dissemination of anti-Semitic printed matter was also reported in Boston. At Boston Navy Yard, scurrilous doggerel verses and parodies, printed on official Navy paper, were found in November, 1943. Anti-Jewish verses appeared also in newspapers and magazines published by and for the personnel of at least fifteen army and navy camps throughout the United States. In addition, pro-Nazi leaflets have been distributed in thousands of war factories. The late Secretary of the Navy Knox and Secretary of War Stimson issued orders to Navy and Army officers throughout the country to halt circulation of anti-Semitic publications in all military and naval posts.

The race riots, in Detroit and Southern cities, gave rise to much spirited debate in the halls of Congress. Repre-

sentative John Rankin (D., Miss.), to whom anti-Semitic slanders are second nature, blamed the Detroit bloodshed on the "Communistic Jews."

Another time consuming subject, Walter Winchell, was considered in the House. There, Representatives Dies, Rankin, and Hoffman vied with each other in attacking the commentator and columnist. The debates on the Fair Employment Practices Commission, the C. I. O. Political Actions Committee, the Soldiers' vote bill, and the poll-tax, were also occasions for anti-Semitic diatribes in the House.

Senator Reynolds, who was proposed by Gerald L. K. Smith as a "nationalist" candidate for President, has announced his intention not to seek re-election to the Senate. Ardent advocate of anti-labor, anti-alien, and anti-immigration legislation, the Senator publishes *The National Record*, a monthly periodical which does not differ from other "nationalist" sheets. The March, 1944 issue of *The National Record* announced the formation of a new group, the American Nationalist Committee of Independent Voters, of which Reynolds is temporary national chairman. In a letter to Gerald B. Winrod on October 9, 1943, Reynolds warned that "a day of reckoning will arrive" for those who have attacked Winrod.

With the beginning of the last phase of the war, various "nationalists" have begun to bid for the support of war veterans. Joseph E. McWilliams had started the movement with his *Serviceman's Reconstruction Plan* which promised a \$7,500 bonus to each returning soldier in addition to other lavish benefits; Gerald L. K. Smith announced early in 1944 the creation of a special veteran's division of the America First Party and invited present members to enroll service men, promising \$1,000 in cash to each veteran as he is mustered out, plus a "rehabilitation bonus." The Gentile Co-operative Association has set up a Gentile Servicemen's Bureau as part of its drive for veterans. Similar plans have been reported in the process of organization in many parts of the country.

In addition to those periodicals already mentioned, the following were still being sent through the mails: Charles B. Hudson's *America In Danger*, which dwells continuously on the alleged control of the world by the Jews; *The Defender*,

which has been very subdued since the indictment of its editor, Gerald B. Winrod; *The Constitutionalist*, mouthpiece of the Constitutional Government League which has been recommending the impeachment of President Roosevelt; Edward A. Koch's *Guildsman* which frankly and implicitly advocates fascism as a cure for America's "ills"; and *Destiny*, the organ of the anti-Semitic Anglo-Saxon Federation.

Interfaith Activities

By LOUIS MINSKY

Highlight in a year of intensified interfaith activity was the seven-point Declaration on World Peace sponsored in October, 1943, by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America. The first interfaith statement of its kind in this country, the manifesto, signed by 146 top-ranking religious leaders, was intended to codify the more than 100 declarations of peace essentials issued by Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious bodies during the present war. Defining political, moral, social, and economic fundamentals, the declaration stressed as essential to world peace the repudiation of racial and religious discrimination in nations everywhere.

The impact of the declaration was attested by widespread publicity in the secular and religious press, and the holding of mass civic meetings under religious auspices in Syracuse, N. Y., Gary, Ind., San Antonio, Tex., Detroit, Mich., and elsewhere, for discussion of its principles. The Roman Catholic hierarchy, at its annual meeting in November, urged that the interfaith peace pattern "be carefully studied by all men of goodwill," while a similar appeal addressed to constituent Protestant churches, was made on behalf of the Federal Council of Churches by its president, the Rt. Rev. Henry St. George Tucker. Meeting at Milwaukee in May, the Catholic Press Association pledged itself to make the peace points better known among readers of Catholic newspapers.

A significant development was the statement issued in June by seven Roman Catholic bishops of Texas and Oklahoma, headed by the Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, commending the objectives of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and other "wholesome" goodwill movements. The declaration appealed to the nearly one million Catholics in the area to cooperate with men of various faiths "to overcome bigotry, to draw all citizens together in the bonds of fraternal charity," and "to hasten the day of enduring peace . . . and goodwill."

War tensions, combined with outbreaks of racial violence and juvenile delinquency manifested in anti-Jewish hooliganism in several cities, gave unusual emphasis to the eleventh annual observance of Brotherhood Week, sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews during February, 1944. Ushered in with a message by President Roosevelt, which was read in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives and beamed by the Office of War Information to all parts of the world, the observance was given nationwide promotion through goodwill committees in 3,000 communities.

The concentration of large forces of men in military training camps continued to provide opportunity to stress brotherhood among men of different races and creeds both now and in the post-war years. The Army and Navy Commission of the National Conference of Christians and Jews reported that up to last May goodwill programs had been presented in 517 military establishments before audiences totaling 4,500,000 men by volunteer trios of priests, ministers, and rabbis, or laymen.

A plan was announced by the National Conference under which some 60 prominent clergymen of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths will devote from one to four months addressing military units in this country and overseas during the post-war demobilization period. A similar plan of formulating a transitional psychology among war workers is also being stressed. New offices have been opened by the Conference in San Francisco, Boston, Providence, Baltimore, Miami, Atlanta, Birmingham, Pittsburgh, Denver, and Portland, Ore. In addition, scores of part-time

officers have been appointed who soon may become full-time.

Church bodies, spurred by anti-Jewish manifestations in Boston and other centers, adopted resolutions or statements condemning anti-Semitism. The Northern Baptist Convention called for use of all possible means "to encourage the spirit of brotherhood and goodwill," and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. urged local churches "to cultivate understanding and friendly relations with rabbis and members of synagogues." Similar resolutions were adopted by the Church Peace Union in New York, the American Unitarian Association, the Southern Ohio Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, the Northeastern Jurisdictional Conference of the Methodist Church, and the Congregational Conference of Minnesota. A recommendation for "greater emphasis throughout the educational program of the church in understanding of the Jewish people" was made by the quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Church at Kansas City in May, while the Universalist Church of America called on members to unite in a "great and consecrated movement" to "combat racial and religious prejudice."

In January, 1944, William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Boston area of the Methodist Church, jointly condemned anti-Jewish outrages and racial discrimination in Boston. Subsequently, a committee representing 300 ministers in the area launched a campaign of preaching and lecturing to combat anti-Jewish propaganda.

A statement denouncing discriminations against racial minorities as "grave and cruel abuses" was adopted by the National Council of Catholic Women in Washington, D. C. In New York, Archbishop Francis J. Spellman endorsed a four-point program to combat racial disunity written by the Hon. Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee. Further expressing his uncompromising disapproval of racial and religious intolerance the Archbishop, in an article entitled, "Bigotry is un-American," published in the March issue of the *American Magazine*, declared that "if we are real Americans, we must cooperate in checking the spread of bigotry, which is a contagious,

virulent disease." Copies of the article were distributed in Manhattan and Bronx churches, and circulated by the New York Chapter of the Knights of Columbus, as well as by other organizations all over the nation.

The Most Rev. Edward Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit, chairman of the administrative board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, denounced anti-Semitism at a civic mass meeting sponsored by the Jewish Community Council of Detroit during June, to honor the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto. Archbishop Mooney stressed particularly the point that "the Catholic prophylaxis against anti-Semitism" is to be found in "a better understanding of the Church's teaching, and a better observance of the moral precepts she inculcates."

Following the formation, by Governor Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, of an interfaith committee to study the anti-Semitic disorders in Boston, a similar group was set up in New York City by Mayor F. H. La Guardia as an outcome of the report by Investigation Commissioner William B. Herlands on hooliganism in certain metropolitan areas. In Hartford, Conn., Governor Raymond H. Baldwin named a group of clergymen of the three faiths to map a program of action in the field of interfaith understanding. Representatives of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths in Lansing, Mich., were reported planning a permanent interracial committee. A Council for Civic Unity was launched in Los Angeles to promote interfaith and interracial cooperation among citizens during the war and post-war years. In April, Professor Emmanuel Chapman, of Fordham University, pointing to a resurgence of intolerance, announced the revival of the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, which suspended activities at the outbreak of the war. Portland, Ore., leaders announced a plan for a non-denominational religious civic center to house under one roof chapels and offices for the three faiths.

Among interfaith developments during the year were: the inauguration of the Chicago Institute as the first extension outside New York of the Institute for Religious Studies, of the Jewish Theological Seminary which brings different religious organizations together for the discussion of common problems; the formation of an Interfaith Council at the

University of North Carolina to promote cooperation and goodwill among religious and secular groups; the organization of an Interreligious Council at Yale University to foster understanding among undergraduates of different faiths; a series of interfaith meetings at Kansas City, Mo., last May, in which the entire clergy of the city joined in the study of the Judeo-Christian origins of democracy; the attendance by nearly 150 Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen at the first Institute for Ministers held at San Antonio, Tex.; the participation by 65 clergymen of the three faiths and high ranking Army and Navy chaplains in a clergy institute in Miami, Fla.; the holding of an Institute for Post-war Planning at Philadelphia attended by educational leaders of all faiths; and the establishment of permanent interfaith fellowships by the Hillel Foundation at the Universities of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Maryland, and Kansas.

Religious leaders of all faiths sent congratulatory messages when the Sara Delano Roosevelt Memorial House in New York was dedicated as an interfaith center for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish students attending Hunter College.

The movement for interfaith amity was dramatized by the conferment of awards for services in promoting it. Among the recipients of such awards were Professor Arthur H. Compton, noted physicist, co-chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, honored by the Jewish Education Committee of New York City; Bernard M. Baruch, special advisor to the Office of War Mobilization, who received the sixth annual Churchman Award; Franz Werfel, author of "The Song of Bernadette," cited by the National Conference of Christians and Jews; Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee, named by the New York Round Table of the N. C. C. J.; Justice Meier Steinbrink, of the New York State Supreme Court, given the annual scroll award of the Interfaith Movement, Inc.; and the Rev. Father Thomas F. Hayes, honored by the Hartford, Conn., Post of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. In Freeport, N. Y., citizens awarded silver badges to members of the Interfaith Clergy Council at a testimonial dinner.

Recipients of honorary degrees at a special interfaith convocation at Columbia University last February were

Dr. George A. Buttrick, pastor of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; and Dr. Louis Finkelstein, president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

Reaction to Overseas Events

By MARTHA JELENKO*

As THE position of the Nazis became increasingly precarious due to sharp reverses on all battlefronts, their hope for victory waned. However, their campaign of terror and destruction continued unabated. Consequently, efforts of Jews and non-Jews in the United States were bent upon finding methods and means for the rescue of Europe's destitute Jews, and to formulate a practical program for post-war peace.

Through vigorous and repeated protests, Jews and liberal groups generally attempted to awaken the conscience of the world. These expressions of indignation and sympathy were then followed by concrete proposals, ranging from feeding these unfortunates to facilitating their admission to the United States and other havens of refuge. As a result, a great number of suggestions were offered and discussed by government officials, political parties, labor groups, non-Jewish and Jewish organizations, and echoed by the press of the country.

Rescue Programs

One of the first proposals was made at the final session of the American Jewish Conference, held in New York City from August 29 to September 2, 1943. Its six-point rescue program for immediate action was to be as follows: The democracies were to issue warnings that crimes perpetrated against the Jews would be punished after the war; to this end, the Allied Commission on War Crimes was to be con-

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voked; temporary asylum was to be given at once to Jews able to escape; those fortunate enough to reach Palestine were to be guaranteed the right of permanent sojourn; neutral nations bordering Axis countries were to receive financial aid and guarantees of the ultimate disposition of refugees to prevent prohibition of further entry; the United Nations were to create a special intergovernmental agency to work with Jewish organizations in sending arms and supplies for self-defense to Jews in Axis-occupied countries.

Subsequently, the Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe was called in New York from July 20 to 25, 1943, by a group of Revisionist leaders who had gained the support of many well-meaning non-Jews, moved by the apparently humanitarian considerations of this conference. The Conference proposed the removal of as many Jews as possible to neutral countries and to havens under United Nations' control. To achieve this goal, the United States Government was asked to co-operate with the other United Nations in creating an official agency to deal with this problem, to demand guarantees from Axis countries for the safety and the release of Jews, and to institute some form of relief for them.

In a message to the Conference on July 25, President Roosevelt expressed the interest of the Government "in the terrible condition of the European Jews, and of our repeated endeavors to save those who could be saved . . ." "These endeavors," he stated, "will not cease until the Nazi Power is crushed." Secretary of State Cordell Hull added that the governments of Great Britain and of the United States had agreed on practical measures for rescue which were being put into effect.

Another campaign for the salvage of Nazi victims was instituted by a number of eminent non-Jews who, on the eleventh anniversary of Hitler's rise to power (January 30, 1944) established the National Committee Against Nazi Persecution and Extermination of the Jews. Associate Justice Frank Murphy of the Supreme Court is chairman of this Committee, whose officers include distinguished officials of the Federal government, several governors, and leaders of both Catholic and Protestant churches.

Asserting that "while many peoples in many lands have

suffered there is no more shocking violation of human conscience than the persecution and threatened extermination of the Jews in Europe," Justice Murphy outlined the purpose of the committee as: 1) to obtain the full support of American public opinion in condemnation of the Nazi persecution and extermination of the Jews in Europe, and in backing vigorous action on the part of our Government and the United Nations to rescue those still alive; 2) to expose and combat anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States as a powerful secret weapon of the enemy; 3) to bring public opinion to bear in cases where officials either "condone, commit or fail to oppose the persecution of Jews, old and young;" 4) to cooperate with similar organizations elsewhere, such as the National Committee for Rescue from the Nazi Terror, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury is a member, in mobilizing the United Nations in support of a rescue program and in warn-Hitler and his pawns in Axis and satellite countries that they would be punished for their crimes. It is noteworthy that in addition to its life-saving tasks, this Committee pledged itself to fight domestic anti-Semitism as well, which it recognized as a historically known spearhead of an attack upon democracy.

A fourth comprehensive blueprint for rescue was prepared by the International Labor Organization at its conference in Philadelphia in May, 1944, attended by labor delegates from twenty-four countries. Calling for a strong stand by the United Nations with regard to aid to Hitler victims, the ILO adopted a resolution which requested the Allied governments to repeat the warnings to the Nazis that they would be held strictly accountable for their crimes against innocent people. The resolution also urged that Jews still alive in Nazi-held territories be recognized as prisoners of war; that Palestine be kept open for Jewish immigration; and that "free ports" be established in democratic countries for refugees from Nazi terror.

The British White Paper

Pleas for the abrogation of the British White Paper which closed Palestine to Jewish immigration after May 31, 1944, came from many other groups, both non-Zionist and Zion-

ist, all of whom considered the closing of this frontier a major calamity for European Jews. Memoranda were presented to British diplomatic representatives and resolutions were submitted to the United States State Department, asking our Government to use its good offices to bring about the unrestricted entry of Jews into Palestine. Resolutions advocating full opportunity for colonization and the ultimate reconstruction of Palestine as a "free and democratic Jewish commonwealth," were introduced in the House of Representatives on January 27, 1944 by James Wright (D., Pa.) and Ranulf Compton (R., Conn.) A similar resolution was introduced in the Senate on February 1, by Senators Robert Wagner (D., N. Y.) and Robert Taft (R., Ohio). After a number of hearings the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted on March 17 to defer action on the Wright-Compton resolution upon the recommendation of Gen. George C. Marshall who urged postponement for military reasons, and the opinion of Secretary of War Stimson that further action on the Palestine resolutions at this time "would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."*)

War Refugee Board

Upon the recommendation of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, identical resolutions were introduced on November 9, 1943, by Will Rogers, Jr. (D., Cal.) in the House of Representatives, and Guy M. Gillette in the Senate, providing that the President establish a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts charged with the responsibility of effecting "the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe." During the hearings on the resolutions before the House Foreign Affairs Committee the proposal was approved by Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York City; Dean Alfange, the American Labor Party leader; Wendell L. Willkie; and spokesmen of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and of the American Federation of Labor. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise criticized the resolution as "inadequate in its failure to recommend the opening of Palestine

*For details, see article "Zionist and Pro-Palestine Activities" in this volume.

to unrestricted Jewish immigration." The climax of the hearings was secret testimony given by Assistant Secretary of State Breckenridge Long on November 26, but not made public until December 10, in which he incorrectly stated that during the decade 1933-1943, 580,000 refugees from Europe, the majority of them Jews, had been admitted to the United States. Mr. Long also asserted equally erroneously that the Anglo-American Bermuda Conference had ceded increased powers to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees at London to work "within and without Germany and the occupied territories," so that there no longer seemed to be need for a new commission. His statements, however, were rejected by the Intergovernmental Committee, as well as by a number of Jewish organizations which issued statements correcting Mr. Long's figures and their implications.¹

After approval of the resolution by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, numerous messages urging its adoption were received. Simultaneously, resolutions urging the government to rescue the Jews and to give them full immigration opportunities were adopted by the C. I. O. convention, United Automobile Workers, Aircraft and Agricultural Implements Workers, the Women's League of the United Synagogue of America and the HIAS convention.

These resolutions were withdrawn when, on January 22, 1944, President Roosevelt set up by Executive Order a War Refugee Board composed of the Secretaries of State, War and Treasury "to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe, racial, religious or political, all civilian victims of enemy savagery." The preamble of the Order discussed the policy of our Government toward the refugee problem in the following words:

"It is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war."

¹ For details, see article on "The Refugee Problem" in this volume.

In co-operation with the United Nations and neutral governments, with the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and with "other interested international organizations," the Board was to prepare plans and to inaugurate effective measures for "the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression and the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims." President Roosevelt, to whom the Board is directly responsible, was quoted in a White House statement as stressing the urgency for immediate action "to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe."

This step, so urgently needed, was received with expressions of enthusiastic appreciation by a number of organizations and civic leaders. The HIAS accompanied its statement of "profound appreciation" with a check for \$100,000 "as a contribution for furthering your efforts to save the victims of enemy oppression and the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims."

Several weeks after the founding of the War Refugee Board, John W. Pehle, its executive director, reported that his agency had enlisted the aid of all United States diplomatic, fiscal and military agencies, as well as the facilities of the Office of War Information and of the War Shipping Administration. The Board also stressed the importance of co-operation from private agencies.¹

Free Ports

An important step toward the rapid rescue of some of these unfortunates was the acceptance and implementation of the "free port" suggestion by President Roosevelt and the War Refugee Board. The idea was first suggested by Samuel Grafton, the newspaper and radio commentator, in April, 1944, when he wrote: "A free port is a place where you can put things down for a while without having to make a final decision about them . . . Why couldn't we have a system of free ports for refugees fleeing the Hitler terror?"

¹ For further details, see article "The Refugee Problem" in this volume.

At a press conference held jointly by John W. Pehle and Ira Hirschmann, the War Refugee Board's special representative at Ankara, Turkey, it was announced that serious consideration was given to such a plan. It calls for the creation of reserved areas near Eastern ports where refugees, having no other place to go, could be kept until arrangements had been made for their permanent disposition. The area would be fenced, and refugees residing there would not be considered as legal residents of the country and, for this reason, would not be subject to immigration quota restrictions. The importance of this procedure, it was pointed out, lies not only in affording asylum in the United States to a number of refugees, but also in encouraging other countries to take similar action.

Public reaction to this idea was favorable; in some quarters, enthusiastic. The major newspapers championed it vigorously, citing arguments in refutation of expected opposition on the premise that it is a circumvention of the United States immigration laws. The objection of those, moved by humanitarian attitudes, that "free ports" would be tantamount to concentration camps, was countered with assertions that refugees would be only too happy to accept a safe haven where they would be well cared for and out of Nazi reach.

Appeals from numerous organizations and groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, for the immediate establishment of "free ports" were received by the President. In addition, many distinguished publicists, including a group of seventy-two Christian leaders, gave unequivocal approval to the plan. A mass meeting at Carnegie Hall in New York, on April 19, called by the American Jewish Conference in observance of the first anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto battle, joined in urging among other things the creation of "free ports" and refugee rescue camps. Other meetings, commemorating the same event, expressed similar views.

Public opinion was so strongly in favor of the scheme that action on it was proposed in Congress. Resolutions favoring the immediate establishment of such free ports were introduced in both Houses by members of both major parties and of the American Labor Party.

On June 9, however, President Roosevelt announced that

the United States would accept a total of one thousand refugees from Italy who should immediately be brought to this country, outside of regular immigration procedure, and placed in an "emergency refugee shelter" to be established at Fort Ontario near Oswego, New York, where they would remain for the duration of the war. Preference was to be given to those refugees for whom no other havens are at present available, and the selection and procedure of bringing them here is to be as simple and expeditious as possible, and unhampered by the usual immigration procedure. Responsibility for the execution of the program was vested in the War and Navy Departments, and in the War Relocation Authority which is to handle the actual administration of the camp; the Bureau of the Budget is to make arrangements for financing the project.

President Roosevelt formally notified Congress of his action three days later. Stressing the need to help Hitler's victims by citing as example the "insane desire" of the Nazis "to wipe out the Jewish race in Europe," he stated that the War Refugee Board was "entrusted with the solemn duty of translating this Government's humanitarian policy into prompt action." He made it quite clear that, "upon the termination of the war, they [the refugees in question] will be sent back to their homelands."

All well-meaning people admitted that a start had been made, but many, including members of Congress, criticized the small number to be admitted. But no action for expansion of the plan could be taken by Congress because hearings on the various resolutions scheduled for June 21, were postponed when Congress recessed on June 23, in order to give members the opportunity to attend the national political conventions.

Punishment of War Criminals

While headway was being made in finding methods to save the surviving victims of Hitlerism, Axis and satellite countries were being warned to desist from further cruelty because the perpetrators of the crimes would be punished at the conclusion of hostilities. President Roosevelt, on July 30, 1943, reiterated his statement on this point of a year ago

and simultaneously warned neutral nations to refuse asylum to leaders of these countries. He stated unequivocally that the Government of the United States would regard such action "as inconsistent with the principles for which the United Nations are fighting, and that the United States Government hopes that no neutral government will permit its territory to be used as a place of refuge or otherwise assist such persons in any effort to escape their just deserts." A second warning by President Roosevelt followed on August 29. Again, at the Moscow Conference on November 1, 1943, a joint statement signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin warned that those responsible for crimes would be "sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein."

When the nearly one million Jews of Hungary suddenly fell prey to the Nazis in March, 1944, the American Jewish Committee in a telegram to Secretary of State Hull on March 23, urged the leaders of the United Nations to issue a joint statement reaffirming previous pledges of punishment of "those guilty of initiating or participating in inhuman treatment of civilians" in order to prevent or lessen the persecution of these new victims. A day later, President Roosevelt, referring particularly to Hungary and the Balkans, appealed to the peoples of Nazi Europe to assist the escape of Jews and other persecuted. While pledging continued rescue efforts by the United States, and again stressing the determination of the United Nations "that none who participate in these acts of savagery shall go unpunished"—a statement that had the approval of Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin,—he called upon "the free peoples of Europe and Asia temporarily to open their frontiers to all victims of oppression."

Public approval and commendation of this statement were followed by highly unusual action in Congress. In a statement condemning the threatened extermination of Hungary's Jews; the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 3, suggested to Hungarians that "they can hide the Jews until

such time as they may help them to safety across the borders." This appeal went on to say: "They can refuse to purchase property stolen from the Jews. They can obstruct the Nazis and those Hungarians who are in league with the Nazis. They can keep watch and remember those who are accessories to murder and those who extend mercy, until the time when guilt and innocence will weigh heavily in the balance." The text of the statement was broadcast by the Office of War Information in a number of foreign languages for relay to the Continent. On June 21, the House Foreign Affairs Committee too, called upon Hungary to "stem the tide of inhumanity" toward the helpless Jews, and a resolution embodying this appeal was formally introduced in the House, a day later, by Sol Bloom (Dem. N. Y.), the chairman of the Committee. Commenting upon the House Resolution, Secretary of State Hull, on June 26, said that he felt that there can never be too many persons, officials or groups joining in such strong and indignant protest. He took this occasion to repeat in part the warning issued to war criminals at the Moscow conference.

Christian religious leaders, too, joined in the general appeal. In a broadcast beamed to Hungary on June 27, Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York emphasized that the persecution of the Jews in Hungary "is in direct contradiction of the doctrines of the Catholic faith professed by the vast majority of the Hungarian people." Similarly, two days later, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its general secretary, Samuel McCrea Cavert, urged American Christians to pray for Hungary's persecuted Jews and appealed to "our Christian brethren in Hungary to refuse to be silent in the presence of this crime and to do everything possible to aid and comfort the Jewish victims."

Post-War Planning

In spite of the fact that the energies of Jewish groups and the general public were concentrated largely on the immediate task of saving as many Jews as possible from destruction, much thought was given also to the reconstruction of Jewish

life in the post-war period. Numerous plans dealing with the restitution of the rights of the Jews as citizens, and their economic rehabilitation in the liberated countries, as well as with the administration of immediate relief, were forwarded to government officials and agencies.

Among the major pronouncements were the resolutions adopted at the American Jewish Conference at the end of last summer, asking for "a world order based on the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter"; calling the United Nations' attention to the needs of Jews in liberated areas; demanding the immediate scrapping of all discriminatory legislation "including all acts of denaturalization"; and asking the outlawing of anti-Semitism by international action. In what was hailed as "the first American inter-faith pronouncement on world order," 144 leaders of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths issued, on October 7, a "declaration on world peace" which asked equal rights for minorities, the oppressed, weak, or colonial people, and suggested the establishment of an international organization to preserve peace. The American Jewish Committee, at its 37th annual meeting, on January 30, 1944, proposed a program for the solution of the post-war Jewish problem which includes guarantees for the complete equality of Jews in their respective countries, and in the administration of relief, repatriation and rehabilitation, the facilitation of their emigration wherever necessary under the most favorable conditions, and the development of Palestine as an economic, religious and cultural center for Jews who desire to settle there. As part of this program, the Committee, in March, 1944, addressed letters to the Adjutant General of the U. S. Army and to the various governments-in-exile, asking that complete equality of rationing be immediately instituted for Jews in the liberated areas. The Adjutant General's answer indicated that Government policy calls for the prompt elimination of Nazi discriminatory practices in the liberated countries.

A hopeful augury for the prompt reestablishment of democracy in all Nazi-occupied territories upon their liberation from the Hitler yoke was the revocation of the abrogation of the Cremieux Decree on October 21, 1943, thus restoring

to the native Jews of Algeria the full French citizenship which they had enjoyed since 1870. This action was greeted with satisfaction by American Jewish organizations as well as by liberal groups in general.

UNRRA

Of special interest to the Jews in this country was the work mapped out by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), for the relief of victims of war in areas liberated from Axis control. Although some Jewish groups demanded that the needs of Jewish war victims be given special consideration, no such provisions were made at the first session of the UNRRA Council, at Atlantic City, November 10 to 29, 1943. However, promise of action was given by Sir George Rendel, member of the British delegation to the conference, who stated that UNRRA would do everything in its power to repatriate Jews driven out of their homelands by the war. It should be the responsibility of this agency, he asserted, to assist, for a reasonable period, those refugees who cannot return to their countries of origin, until such a time as the Inter-Governmental Committee can remove them to new places of settlement. Under UNRRA agreement, private charity can work in liberated areas only under UNRRA direction, and the agency has announced its intention to "enlist the cooperation of any . . . voluntary relief agencies and seek their participation in relief and rehabilitation measures which they have the competence, personnel and other resources to administer . . ." It is therefore, to be expected that the activities of the Joint Distribution Committee, the HIAS, ORT and other Jewish organizations will be integrated with the UNRRA program as a whole. According to an interpretation by Assistant Secretary of State, Dean Acheson of an UNRRA resolution which provides that "in determining the relative needs of the population there may be taken into account the diverse needs caused by discriminatory treatment by the enemy during its occupation of the area," these Jewish welfare agencies will be able to specify that their funds be used specifically to help Jewish war victims in liberated regions.

Overseas Relief

By GERALDINE ROSENFELD*

IN NOVEMBER, 1942 allied armies made the first breach in Nazi lines, setting on its way the process of the liberation of Nazi-enslaved countries. The liberation of North Africa and parts of Italy was immediately followed by steps by governments and private agencies to bring relief to the populations left destitute after years of Nazi enslavement and months of military action.

As the Allied armies continue on their eastward push toward Berlin, the millions of impoverished inhabitants released from Nazi tyranny will look, to an increasingly greater extent, to America for emergency relief and for aid in rehabilitation and reconstruction.

A large share of the work of rehabilitation of the Jewish victims of Nazi oppression has fallen and will continue to fall on the communally supported agencies in the United States and in the British Commonwealth. This may be considered the most important overseas task facing these organizations and the communities supporting them for a number of years. Pending the arrival of the opportunity to perform the huge tasks which lie ahead, these organizations are continuing to afford aid to refugees living in neutral and even in occupied areas, and to assist as many as possible to emigrate.

These functions are performed in conjunction with the United States War Refugee Board, the International Red Cross, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees,—agencies dealing with the problem of refugees but not equipped to give attention to special Jewish needs.

Recognizing the urgent needs of Jews remaining in Europe and the many and difficult problems of those who emigrated, American Jews contributed generously during the past year to the various relief funds. Thus they expressed wholehearted agreement with the endorsement of the United Jewish Appeal for 1944 by President Roosevelt, in which he characterized

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the U.J.A. as "one of the agencies through which the American people can make their contribution to the fight for decency, human dignity and freedom for all to live."

The United Jewish Appeal has, since January, 1939, been the single fund-raising instrument for far-flung rescue and reconstruction programs, including war relief and rehabilitation in overseas lands, the upbuilding of Palestine, and assistance and adjustment aid for refugees in the United States. In a summary of its activities during the five years of its existence the U.J.A. announced, in December, 1943, that since its inception it had raised approximately \$75,000,000 which benefitted almost 2,000,000 Jews in many parts of the world. As in the past, receipts for 1943 were distributed among the three organizations active in the various phases of relief work, the Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal, and the National Refugee Service. The total funds raised during the 1943 U.J.A. campaign in a record number of 4,500 communities was approximately \$18,000,000.

According to prior agreement, \$9,100,000 of this sum was divided as follows: \$4,840,000 to the J.D.C., \$2,760,000 to the U.P.A., and \$1,500,000 to the N.R.S. According to the decision of the allotment committee, announced on December 17, 1943, the \$6,400,000 receipts in excess of \$9,100,000 were distributed between the J.D.C. and the U.P.A., the former receiving \$3,520,000, and the latter, \$2,880,000. The N.R.S. made no application for funds to supplement its initial allocation.

Due to the pressing demands created by developing war conditions the U.J.A. set its quota for 1944 at the sum of \$32,000,000, the highest figure ever sought in any drive carried on by American Jews. Of the first \$15,000,000 raised, the J.D.C. is to receive \$8,640,000; the U.P.A., \$5,360,000; and the N.R.S., \$1,000,000.

A statement issued by the executive committee of the U.J.A. said: "In 1944, the Jews in the United States will be confronted with a dual challenge—that of saving from destruction large numbers of victims still in the grip of oppression and enlarging the tasks of reconstruction for those who have already been liberated by the allied armies." Responding generously to the appeal, 3,250 Jewish communi-

ties throughout the country raised more than half of the \$32,000,000 quota during the first five months of the year.

During the first six months of 1944 the record sum of \$20,600,000 was disbursed by the three constituent organizations of the U.J.A.

The Joint Distribution Committee, largest unified overseas relief agency of American Jews, embarked in 1944 on its thirtieth year of uninterrupted service to distressed Jews abroad. Since its formation in 1914, the J.D.C. has disbursed a total of \$142,000,000 for overseas relief, rescue and rehabilitation. At the 29th annual meeting held in New York City in December, 1943, nearly 6,000 members unanimously approved the largest budget in the history of the J.D.C., \$17,000,000 for 1944.

For the period under review, the total expenditures of the J.D.C. were \$16,853,571, almost double those of the preceding twelve months. In recognition of the greatly expanded needs resulting from the changing situation was the allotment of \$10,459,477 to the J.D.C. by the U.J.A. for the first six months of 1944, an amount exceeding the total expenditures of the J.D.C. for the entire year 1943. Seventy per cent of the \$10,459,477, over seven million dollars, went for the rescue of Jews from war-torn Europe and for the feeding and maintenance of destitute Jews in occupied territories or in allied or neutral countries without local relief sources.

Working closely with the War Refugee Board, with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and with the UNRRA, the J.D.C. has accomplished a multitude of tasks. In January, 1944, the J.D.C. chartered the *S. S. Nyassa* and transported 750 refugees from Spain and Portugal to Palestine. In addition several hundred children were brought by the J.D.C. to the Western Hemisphere; refugees, numbering several hundred, were emigrated to Central and South America; others were transported from Spain and Portugal to Canada; and additional groups in Tangiers and Spain are now being assembled for a Canadian immigration project.

Despite the fact that the J.D.C. cannot directly enter occupied countries, Jews in those countries have not been abandoned. Cooperating committees in the occupied areas were authorized to borrow funds or facilities from local sources in the name of the J.D.C. and to administer aid with

these borrowed funds or equipment. In France, some 6,500 children have been fed through all the months of Nazi occupation. Laura Margolis, J.D.C.'s Shanghai representative, who returned on the *S. S. Gripsholm* in December, 1943, reported that from December 7, 1941 to October, 1943, she had committed the J.D.C. to the extent of \$500,000 on the basis of borrowing in Shanghai. Such loans will be repaid after the war.

Another phase of the J.D.C. program in occupied countries consists of sending food through international relief agencies. During the first six months of 1944, \$21,000 was spent on food packages sent from Portugal and Switzerland to Holland and Poland, as well as into Transnistria and the concentration camps in Theresienstadt. During the first six months of 1944, a total of \$748,000 was allotted to the care of refugees in Switzerland and Spain.

Relief in the form of food, medicine and clothing was sent from Teheran by the J.D.C. to Jewish refugees who had fled before the Nazi armies, from Poland, Lithuania and Latvia, into Russia. By June, 1944, the rate of parcel shipments had reached 10,000 a month and the total expenditure for the first half of 1944, was \$300,000. Five hundred thousand dollars worth of food and clothing has also been made available by the J.D.C. to the Russian Red Cross for distribution in areas of the Soviet Union where the Jewish population is large.

The J.D.C. also provided medical care, food, shelter and clothing for 3,000 Yemenite Jews stranded in Aden, and for local Jewish communities in the Near East, Tunisia, Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, and Tangier.

From July, 1943 to June, 1944 the J.D.C. spent \$510,000 for the care of refugees and rehabilitation work in Latin America.

In many cases sums were allocated for cultural and religious purposes as well as for physical relief. Between July 1, 1943 and June 30, 1944 a total of \$331,200 was contributed to the support of schools, yeshivoth, hospitals and old-age homes overseas.

As soon as Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Tangier were liberated by the allied armies, the J.D.C. engaged in programs of immediate assistance. Communities were helped

to reestablish their schools, other cultural institutions, and economic life. As soon as they were freed from internment, Jews who, during the Vichy rule had lived in concentration camps, were cared for until they could join the allied forces or find employment.

In liberated southern Italy, the J.D.C. operates under the Inter-governmental Committee for Refugees, with the approval of the Allied Control Commission. Since the allied invasion, the J.D.C. has allocated \$66,300 for immediate emergency relief of Jews in that area. The J.D.C. budget allocation for occupied Italy was \$120,000 for the first six months of 1944.

J.D.C. representatives are now stationed in Lisbon, Barcelona, Madrid, southern Italy, Rome, Cairo, Teheran, Algiers, Istanbul, Jerusalem, London, Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Havana. One member of the overseas staff is interned in Shanghai.

In May, 1944, the J.D.C. and six other prominent overseas relief agencies pooled their overseas facilities to establish a Central Location Index which will accelerate the location of persons displaced by war. The Index will serve as a central channel for the registration, clearance and identification of thousands of displaced Europeans, in whose whereabouts relatives and friends may be interested. In this project the J.D.C. works with the American Friends Service Committee, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the National Refugee Service, the American Committee for Christian Refugees, the National Council of Jewish Women and the International Migration Service.

The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), pioneer American Jewish organization in the field of emigrant and immigrant aid service, expended during the year 1943 a sum of \$990,253.62 for the rescue and immigration of refugees. Its income during the same period, derived from dues by its nationwide membership, contributions by cooperating organizations, and allocations from Jewish federations and welfare funds, amounted to \$971,241.90.

At its annual convention, held on March 5, 1944, in New York City, HIAS voted a budget of \$1,500,000 for the year 1944 to enable the organization and its European adjunct, the HIAS-ICA Emigration Association (HICEM) to carry on

their rescue work in accordance with the program of the United States War Refugee Board. A detailed report of the activities of the Society was submitted by Abraham Herman, president, and Isaac L. Asofsky, executive director. Summarizing Jewish immigration figures for the first four years of World War II, the report showed that 117,205 Jewish refugees from Europe had succeeded in finding asylum in other parts of the world from 1940 to 1943. The report pointed out that 1944 is witnessing the lowest ebb of Jewish emigration from Europe during the war period.

Additional activities of the HICEM, cited in the annual report, revealed that through its European affiliate, the Society continued during the year 1943 to engage in the complex and difficult tasks of the "Rescue Through Immigration" program in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and South and Central America. The refugee population in Portugal, numbering at the present time 1,450 persons, receives the services of the HICEM office in Lisbon. During 1943 this office aided more than 1,500 refugees to emigrate overseas, at a cost of \$298,550 for transportation; it also answered 13,500 personal inquiries on migration, handled 18,104 mailed requests for information, service and assistance, arranged for 2,400 navicerts, and acted on 6,000 requests to locate relatives.

In North Africa, the HICEM affiliate in Casablanca was the only Jewish organization operating in that area when it was liberated. A small group of refugees was helped to emigrate from North Africa during 1943. The South American HICEM committees concentrated, in 1943, on achieving two objectives: legalization of the residence of persons who entered in previous years as non-immigrants, and investigation of means for enlarging the absorptive capacity of the interior of the continent for post-war Jewish immigration. South American countries in which the HICEM carried on its activities are Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Colombia; the organization also aided about 3,000 refugees in Mexico, Cuba and Jamaica (the majority in Cuba).

At the request of the Government Committee for War Refugees in Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, HIAS made a special contribution of \$10,000 to cover the travelling expenses of about 200 non-Dutch Jewish refugees from Lisbon

who are to remain in Paramaribo for the duration of the war.

In the latter part of 1943, the United States Treasury Department granted the HIAS a license to transmit funds to Switzerland to provide guarantees of maintenance for refugees interned in labor camps, thus making possible the release of such refugees. In March, 1944, in cooperation with the J.D.C. the HIAS resumed its service of sending food and clothing packages to refugees in the Soviet Union. In April, 1944, an office of the HICEM was established in Turkey to aid the emigration of Jews from Balkan countries.

Rescue work of emigrants also entailed the meeting of 308 ships which docked in the United States, the feeding and temporary shelter of immigrants, action upon legal difficulties concerning entry into the United States, and the investigation of lost or separated relatives. In connection with the latter work, the HIAS initiated a Refugee Relatives Registration Program to ascertain and keep records of the whereabouts of refugees, to enable them to establish contact with relatives and friends in other lands.

The American ORT Federation, an affiliate of the World ORT Union founded in Russia in 1880, is pursuing its policy of "organization and rehabilitation through training" and devoting itself to the creation of a new occupational existence for refugees from Europe. Before World War II, the ORT maintained training institutions in industry and agriculture for Jews in several European Countries. Since 1940, the ORT has consistently and continuously spread its centers over the Western Hemisphere.

In a report of activities for 1944, Louis B. Boudin, chairman of the board of directors of the American ORT Federation, announced that the World ORT financial requirements for the year 1944 would total \$653,000; of this sum \$166,500 will be sought outside the United States. The quota for the American ORT, \$486,500, represents an increase of \$141,000 over the American ORT budget of 1943.

In 1943, the ORT enlarged the program of work in South America initiated, in 1941, by the Latin-American Confederation of ORT with headquarters in Buenos Aires. A total of

231 applicants were admitted to the Buenos Aires ORT School of metal work, mechanics, electricity, and welding. Plans were set under way to establish an agricultural school for the children of Jewish colonists who wish to study scientific farming. In July, 1943, the Technical ORT School was opened in São Paulo, Brazil, offering courses in mechanics and electrical engineering for boys, and dressmaking, for girls. Trade schools in Uruguay and Chile have recently been opened; others are in the process of organization at La Paz, Bolivia, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

The Mexican ORT Committee provides skilled refugees with tools, equipment, and loans of money to enable them to become self-supporting. The school in Havana, Cuba, during the first half of 1943, opened two new courses in technical drawing and bookbinding.

Schools in Montreal, Canada, and in New York City provide training in various types of machine work.

In Switzerland, ORT maintains 14 workshops in Zurich and in Basle. During 1943, these ORT shops repaired clothes and shoes for 5,000 refugees. Plans are under way for the establishment of 17 additional workshops in internment camps and children's homes. In occupied countries, local ORT committees are continuing their work, using borrowed funds which will be reimbursed by the ORT Union after the war.

The American OSE (Organization for the protection of the health of Jews) Committee has, since the Nazi occupation of most European countries, been serving as the Central Committee of the World Union OSE, and has channeled its activities along two main directions: physical aid to the Jewish population of Europe, and organization of medical institutions in areas where there is need for Jewish health service.

The first task was accomplished mainly by the National Committee of OSE in Switzerland, where, because of Switzerland's neutral status, the OSE is able to extend aid to Jews in occupied countries. In its work, the Committee has received substantial support from the Union of Jewish Communities in Switzerland. Under the supervision of the Red

Cross the OSE has purchased and shipped medicines, vaccines, vitamins, milk, and other needed products to Jewish community councils in Cracow, Theresienstadt, Belgrade, Bucharest, Zagreb, Czernowitz, Lyon, Marseilles, Montpellier, Limoges and other European cities.

Wherever it was possible to reach the Jewish population, aid was organized for the setting up of medical mobile units and first aid centers. Large quantities of medical equipment and nutritive products were sent to needy communities. In 1943 shipments valued at more than three hundred thousand Swiss francs (\$75,000), were sent by the OSE to various countries. A report from Cracow confirmed the receipt, in March, 1944, of 67 transports of drugs and 23 parcels of nutritive products which were distributed among the Jews in labor camps in Poland.

In recent months the OSE in Switzerland has been concerned with the problem of 6,500 homeless children in southern France. Deportations of children made it necessary to close 16 OSE children's homes and to place the children with private families, removing them from exposed locations. The OSE has succeeded, with the help of other interested organizations, in saving 700 children by bringing them over the French border into Switzerland, where there is a children's home maintained by OSE. The Committee regularly supplies medical and sanitary aid to the Jewish inmates of Swiss internment camps.

During the period under review new medical institutions were opened by the OSE in Buenos Aires and in Montevideo. New branches of the OSE were established in Palestine, Chile, and Panama. The Jewish Nurses School was founded in Buenos Aires to help relieve the scarcity of trained nurses in Argentina and neighboring countries. The policlinic in Montevideo provides assistance for expectant mothers, babies, school children, and patients with chronic ailments. The Mexican OSE continues operation of its medical center in Mexico City.

During the year 1943-44, the American OSE Committee allocated \$72,000 to its several affiliates throughout the world.

Zionist and Pro-Palestine Activities

By SAMUEL DININ

THE year 1943-4 was a critical and fateful year for the Zionist movement in the United States. It was a year which witnessed a number of significant events,— the adoption by the American Jewish Conference, a body representing 64 national Jewish organizations and many local communities, of a resolution urging the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine; a vigorous campaign to get Great Britain to abrogate the White Paper; the introduction of a resolution in Congress which would have put the United States on record in favor of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine; the unprecedented growth in Zionist membership; the launching of a Jordan Valley Authority project which would do for Palestine what the TVA has done for the Tennessee Valley in the United States. It was a year during which Palestine was in the forefront of Jewish affairs and controversies, marked by clashes between Zionists and anti-Zionists on the one hand, and Zionists and “new” Zionists on the other.

Palestine at the American Jewish Conference

The American Jewish Conference, convened August 31-September 2, 1943 in New York City, adopted by an overwhelming vote a resolution on Palestine. The resolution called for 1) the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, “whose intent and underlying purpose . . . was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth”; 2) demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Palestine White Paper of 1939; and 3) demanded that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be vested with authority to direct and regulate Jewish immigration into Palestine and to develop, to the maximum, the agricultural and industrial possibilities of the country.

The Jewish Labor Committee abstained from voting on the grounds that there was no unanimity among its members in regard to the ultimate constitutional status of Palestine. However, it too favored the abrogation of the White Paper.

The American Jewish Committee dissented from the resolution on the ground that "when the gravest and most delicate military and world-wide political questions are involved, the present issuance of these proposals contained in the resolution is unwise because it may carry with it embarrassment to the governments of the United Nations, and is calculated to jeopardize the status of Jews and even prejudice the fullest development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine itself. At this time it is our duty to concentrate on victory for the United Nations." However, the dissenting statement of the American Jewish Committee also asked for the abrogation of the White Paper.

The Jewish Commonwealth resolution was responsible for the decision reached by a majority of the executive members of the American Jewish Committee, at a meeting held in New York City on October 24, 1943, to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference. The withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the Conference let loose a torrent of comment, some of it bitterly adverse, and some of it favorable. Several prominent leaders and some of the affiliated organizations resigned from the American Jewish Committee in protest. Behind the scenes attempts were made to reconcile the differences between the representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Conference, but to no avail.

On the eve of the American Jewish Conference, August 30, the American Council for Judaism published a statement of principles repudiating Zionist claims completely. For Palestine, it called for a "democratic, autonomous government . . . wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented." The following day, the delegates at the American Jewish Conference, by a rising vote, characterized this move as an "attempt to sabotage the collective Jewish will to achieve a unified program" by a small body of men speaking for only themselves.

The American Zionist Emergency Council

At the convention of the Zionist Organization of America held September 11-13, 1943 in Columbus, Ohio, Dr. Israel Goldstein was elected president. At the Hadassah convention

held October 25, Mrs. Judith Epstein of New York was elected president. Both organizations initiated vigorous action to increase their membership and to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper. The Z. O. A., which had about 67,000 members at the end of the summer of 1943, increased its membership to over 100,000 by the end of June 1944 and to 120,000 by the end of the summer of 1944. Hadassah likewise grew from a membership of 88,000 to over 111,000.

The political work of both the Z. O. A. and Hadassah became channelled through the American Zionist Emergency Council which was reconstituted, with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman (with Dr. Stephen S. Wise remaining as chairman). The Council represents, besides the Z. O. A. and Hadassah, the Mizrahi and the Poalei Zion organizations.

Under the vigorous leadership of Dr. Silver, the work of the Emergency Council was stepped up. A dynamic organization was set up, whose first objective was "to mobilize the Jews of the United States and Christian sympathizers to prevail upon our Government to help in eliminating the British White Paper on Palestine."

The Campaign Against the White Paper

The opening gun in the campaign against the White Paper was the appeal made to the government on October 3, 1943, asking direct intervention to secure abrogation of the White Paper. Nationwide protest rallies were held during Balfour Week beginning October 31 all over the country, in observance of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Balfour declaration. Typical was the Balfour Day meeting held in New York City on November 1, which adopted a resolution urging the President of the United States to take "all appropriate action to ensure the withdrawal in its entirety of the Palestine White Paper of May, 1939 with its unjustifiable restrictions on immigration and land settlement." The resolution also urged that Palestine "be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth."

The Emergency Council set about organizing in every major Jewish community local emergency councils, which

soon numbered over 200, as well as state and county committees. These local councils have been responsible for the passage of resolutions against the White Paper and in favor of Zionist aims by hundreds of Jewish and non-Jewish organizations—labor unions, Rotary clubs, Christian churches, municipal and county councils, conferences of mayors, etc. The national Emergency Council initiated also the passing of resolutions by Jewish and non-Jewish national organizations. Editorials condemning the White Paper appeared in newspapers all over the country.

On December 1, 1943, the Emergency Council opened a Washington office with Rabbi Leon Feuer as director. During the Christmas recess of Congress, meetings with Representatives and Senators were arranged to enlighten them on general Jewish problems and on the position of Palestine, with a view to enlisting support for the pro-Zionist resolution which was about to be introduced in Congress.

The Palestine Resolution in Congress

On January 27, Representatives James A. Wright (D., Pa.) and Ranulf Compton (R., Conn.) introduced into the House of Representatives a resolution recalling the adoption by Congress on June 30, 1922 of a resolution endorsing the Balfour Declaration, citing the present-day persecution of the Jews of Europe as demonstrating the need for a haven for large numbers made homeless by this persecution, and urging "that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

An identical resolution was introduced in the United States Senate on February 1, 1944, by Senator Robert F. Wagner (D., N. Y.) and Senator Robert A. Taft (R., Ohio). X Public hearings on the Wright-Compton Resolution were held before the House Foreign Affairs Committee between February 8 and 16. Passage of the resolution was urged by Zionist leaders, many Congressmen of both parties, in state-

ments from the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., Dr. Henry A. Atkinson of the Church Peace Union, Prof. Carl T. Friedrich, director of Harvard University School of Overseas Administration, Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, reclamation expert, and many others. Lessing Rosenwald, president, and other officials of the American Council for Judaism, argued against that part of the Resolution dealing with the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The American Jewish Committee presented a written memorandum recommending deferment of "the controversial question of the Jewish Commonwealth," but supporting the provision calling for free Jewish immigration into Palestine. It also suggested that the resolution be amended to express approval of placing Palestine under an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations for safeguarding the Jewish settlement in, and Jewish immigration into, Palestine; guaranteeing "adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country"; safeguarding and protecting the fundamental rights of all inhabitants and the holy places of all religions; and preparing "the country to become, within a reasonable number of years, a self-governing commonwealth under a constitution and a bill of rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all."

The point of view of the Arabs in this country who were opposed to the resolution was expressed by Philip K. Hitti, professor of Semitic literature at Princeton University and Fares S. Malouf, president of the Syrian and Lebanese-American Federation. The Arab world too raised its voice in protest. The Egyptian Government protested in a note to the United States Minister to Egypt, reported February 28. On March 1, similar representations were made by the governments of Iraq, Saudi-Arabia, Syria and Lebanon. On February 29, leaders of the Iraq Parliament cabled protests to Senators Wagner, Taft, and Connally. Senator Wagner expressed sharp resentment against the request of the Iraq officials that he withdraw the resolution, advising them that the United States has long been able "to reach its own conclusions without advice from officials of foreign nations."

Although 19 States had passed resolutions of the same tenor as the Wright-Compton resolution, and although sentiment in both Houses of Congress and in the press seemed to be overwhelmingly in favor of it, action on it was tabled for "military reasons" at the request of Secretary of War Stimson, and of Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall. Secretary Stimson declared in his letter that "without reference to the merits of these resolutions," the War Department believes "further action on them at this time would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."

The keen disappointment in Zionist ranks over this development was tempered by the knowledge that Chief of Staff Marshall had asked for the deferment and not the rejection of the Resolution, and also by a statement which President Roosevelt authorized Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to make to the National Conference on Palestine, held on March 9 in Washington, D. C. under the sponsorship of the American Committee for Palestine headed by Senator Wagner and the late Senator McNary, with the cooperation of the A. F. of L., the Christian Council on Palestine, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Free World Association, the Union for Democratic Action, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, and the United Christian Council for Democracy. The statement of the President was:

"The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are open to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

The President's statement was regarded in Zionist circles as the first official American expression explicitly disapproving the White Paper of 1939.

The National Conference on Palestine, at which the President's statement was delivered, was one of the largest

gatherings of Christian leaders in religion, education, government, labor and industry in support of the Zionist goal. Over 800 came to the concluding dinner at which Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, Senators Wagner and Taft, the Hon. Paul V. McNutt, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, and others spoke. The American Palestine Committee, Sponsor of the Conference, includes over 2,000 distinguished American government officials, legislators, educators, labor leaders, etc. The Christian Council on Palestine, one of the sponsors of the Conference, consists of some 1,400 Christian ministers headed by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. (By the end of June both organizations together had over 5,000 members). The Conference adopted a resolution urging the abrogation of the White Paper and the passage of the resolutions then before both houses of Congress.

In the meantime, the campaign to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper continued unabated. Under the auspices of the Committee on Religious Forces of the Emergency Council, of which Rabbi Wolf Gold is chairman, there took place in New York on January 30 and 31 a national conference of Orthodox Jews for Palestine and rescue of Jews still left in Europe. The conference was attended by over 1,200 delegates, and its sponsors included every important Orthodox group in the country. At this meeting, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, head of the World's Christian Endeavor Union and the President's emissary to the American fighting forces, who spoke, called on Christians to aid in the rescue of European Jewry, to combat anti-Semitism, and to support "the return to their Promised Land of all those who would return."

A large mass meeting was held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, March 21, as a final protest before March 31, the day on which the immigration bar decreed by the White Paper was to come into force. Speakers at this meeting included Senators Wagner, Barkley and Taft, Matthew Woll, and Dorothy Thompson. The resolution adopted at this meeting urged the passage of the Wright-Compton Resolution "at the earliest moment consistent with the exigencies of the war effort."

Efforts to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper

were not restricted to Zionist groups. Although it opposed the present demand for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, the American Jewish Committee, nevertheless, favored free Jewish immigration into that country. It had so declared in its Statement of Views adopted at its thirty-seventh annual meeting on January 31, 1943, and this position was reiterated in its statement of withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference in October, 1943.

On January 17, 1944, the Committee submitted a detailed memorandum on the White Paper to Viscount Halifax, Ambassador of Great Britain. This memorandum stated that though the American Jewish Committee did not urge at that time determination of the final constitutional status of Palestine, it did urge a re-examination of the White Paper.*

On Friday March 31, the eve of the ban, 1,500 American university professors from 180 schools of higher learning in 41 states sent a petition to President Roosevelt, urging him to act in behalf of free entry of Jews into Palestine, "that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth"

Because all the immigration certificates were not used up, Great Britain did not have to put a complete ban on immigration after that date. Earlier in the year she had announced that 31,078 certificates, the unused balance of the 75,000 allotted under the White Paper, would be honored beyond March 31. The fight against the White Paper continued. With the improvement in the military situation in Europe, it was hoped that Great Britain, with the approval of the United States, might even make a definite pronouncement on the future of Palestine.

Opposition to the Jewish Commonwealth

The American Council for Judaism became more and more articulate in its opposition to political Zionism. Announcing that the "basis of unity among Jews is religion,"

* For complete text of the Committee's memorandum, see Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Jewish Committee, in this volume.

it launched a membership drive on October 29, 1943. The Zionist Organization of America appointed a special committee to combat the American Council for Judaism, with Rabbi James G. Heller as chairman.

Arabs in the United States conducted a campaign of counter-Zionist propaganda. It was launched September 17, 1943, in Detroit, by the League of Arab-Americans for the Defense of Democracy. On October 4, Emir Feisal, foreign minister of Saudi Arabia told the Overseas News Agency that King Ibn Saud, his father, hoped soon to establish a "United States of Arabia," to include Palestine, Egypt, Iraq and Syria. A Major Haddad was appointed Military Attache to the Iraq Legation. His real function, it was averred, was to conduct propaganda against the Zionist cause in the United States. A feature article by him against Zionism appeared in a Sunday issue of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Five representative Arab journalists in Egypt were invited to visit the United States.

The visit of the son of Ibn Saud was ascribed to pending negotiations regarding an oil pipeline across Arabia. The pipeline deal precipitated a storm both in Congress and in the press, and encountered the opposition of the 55 oil companies not included in the deal. Later the Arab countries revised their terms, the United States government reconsidered its offer, and announced the dropping of the project.

Activities of New Zionists

A group of Revisionists or New Zionists, using several "Committees" and "Conferences" as "fronts" carried on a vigorous campaign all year to save the Jews of Europe, and for the abrogation of the White Paper. The Committee for a Jewish Army and the sponsoring committee of the "Proclamation on the Moral Rights of Stateless and Palestinian Jews" called a six-day Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe, in New York City, on July 20. The Conference adopted several resolutions with regard to saving the Jews of Europe and called for the recognition of Palestine as an accessible haven. The Committee for a Jewish Army soon disappeared. In its place an "Emergency Committee for the Rescue of European Jews"

appeared in full-page newspaper advertisements calling for the rescue of the Jews of Europe and for other measures. In one advertisement, the name used was "The American Resettlement Committee for Uprooted American Jewry," in which the proposal was made that Palestine Arabs be transferred to Iraq, leaving Palestine to the Jews. This proposal was characterized by Zionist leaders as irresponsible and extremely dangerous.

The Emergency Committee was denounced by the American Jewish Conference, all the Zionist organizations and other national Jewish organizations. It was accused of not representing any constituency, of lacking a mandate, of appealing for funds for which it gave no accounting. Other committees used as "fronts" by the New Zionists have been "The American Friends of New Palestine," and the latest "The Hebrew Committee for National Liberation." These committees have taken independent and often sensational action. The "Committee for the Jewish Army" in a full-page display advertisement on February 16, 1943, appealed for funds to save the Jews of Europe with the slogan: "For Sale to Humanity—70,000 Jews, Guaranteed Human Beings at \$50. a piece . . . Roumania will now give Jews away practically for nothing." Reprints of this advertisement were mailed out with requests for \$300 contributions. Many people were led to believe that a \$50 contribution would save a Jewish life. No accounting was ever made of money collected.

These tactics and fronts and irresponsible actions brought forth upon the New Zionists a heap of abuse. Many, like Pierre Van Paassen, resigned from the Committee. But the height of the sensational campaign of the New Zionists was reached when on May 18, a new committee called "Hebrew Committee for National Liberation" set up an unofficial "embassy" of a "Hebrew nation" in Washington, D. C., and announced plans for seeking for the "Hebrew nation" a "co-belligerent" status with the United Nations in fighting the Axis powers. The Committee consisted of a group of seven calling themselves Palestinian or stateless Jews, with Peter Bergson as head. At a press conference attended by about 20 newspaper and radio correspondents, Bergson revealed that the "embassy" had been bought for \$63,000

and that he expected its activities to be financed by sympathetic Americans through the sale of 10-year bonds of the proposed Hebrew nation, to yield \$1,000,000. He stated further the Committee did not expect any naturalized Jews in any of the United Nations to seek affiliation with the proposed "Hebrew nation."

The opening of the "embassy" was characterized by the various Zionist organizations as a colossal hoax by a "lunatic fringe" and by a group of "stuntists." The American Zionist Emergency Council said it was "made up of half a dozen adventurers from Palestine with no standing, no credentials, no mandate from anyone unless from the Irgun Zevai Leumi in Palestine, an insignificantly small, pistol-packing group of extremists who are claiming credit for the recent terror outrages." The Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Jewish National Council of Palestine also cabled a warning to American Jews against being "misled and confused by freak bodies assuming high sounding titles and enunciating policies for which none but their authors are responsible."

The "Jordan Valley Authority" Project for Palestine

A giant project calling for large scale irrigation and hydro-electric development in Palestine, which would require an investment of between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000 was announced early in the spring of 1944. The plans were first prepared by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, reclamation expert and Assistant Chief of the United States Soil Conservation Service, in a memorandum entitled "The Jordan Valley Authority" and incorporated in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise." Dr. Lowdermilk had gone to Palestine originally at the request of the Department of Agriculture in the interests of land conservation in the United States. He motored extensively in Palestine and flew over most of it and thus was able to study the topography of the entire area lying in the Jordan Basin.

The memorandum on the J. V. A. was prepared at the request of the Commission on Palestine Surveys, appointed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency, with Emanuel Neumann as directing head. The Esco

Foundation, a privately financed group, took the first steps in the preliminary planning.

The JVA would compare in magnitude to the Grand Coulee and Boulder Dam developments. The plan calls for diversion of existing waters and the building of a network of artificial streams to irrigate arid and semi-arid regions covering an area of 600,000 acres, and for the erection of power plants with an installed capacity of approximately 250,000 kilowatts, generating more than 1,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electric current a year. The proposals were reviewed by the late Col. Theodore B. Parker, formerly chief engineer of the T. V. A., and by other American engineers and scientists and pronounced worthwhile. Like the T. V. A., the J. V. A. calls for "unified development" of all the resources of the region, providing not only for power and irrigation, but also for soil conservation, swamp drainage, reforestation, improved farming and grazing and industrialization. Dr. Lowdermilk estimates that, if successful, the project would make possible the absorption of an additional four million immigrants.

Survey of Economic Potentialities of Palestine

A survey of the economic potentialities of Palestine during the next decade is to be made by Robert R. Nathan, former chairman of the planning commission of the War Production Board, and associates, for the American Palestine Institute, a non-political and non-profit organization. The director of research on this project is Oscar Gass, formerly associated with the W. P. B. and the Treasury Department as an economist. Assisting Mr. Nathan and Mr. Gass will be Louis H. Bean, on leave of absence from the Bureau of the Budget.

The survey will consider both agricultural and industrial possibilities. A study will be made of the natural resources of Palestine and the Middle East, of industrial, commercial, and investment opportunities and of markets in that region.

An analysis will be made of the capacity of Palestine to absorb new settlers; the rate of absorption of immigrants under varying assumptions; the related capital investment required; and the probable direction of economic develop-

ment. Results of previous engineering and economic surveys will be utilized and the services of engineering consultants and industrial experts will be utilized.

The United Palestine Appeal

The United Palestine Appeal, the joint fund-raising agency of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth) and the Mizrahi Palestine Fund, is a constituent organization of the United Jewish Appeal, together with the Joint Distribution Committee and the National Refugee Service.

During the six months from October 1, 1943 to April, 1944 the United Palestine Appeal disbursed \$9,629,000 for refugee settlement, agricultural and industrial development and war mobilization in Palestine, as compared with \$6,122,064 for the similar period the year before. Of the \$9,629,000, disbursed from October, 1943 to April, 1944, about one-eighth (\$1,299,661) was devoted to the relief, retraining and adjustment of thousands of new refugees to Palestine; \$1,540,665 was appropriated for the establishment of seven new agricultural settlements, the launching of four others and for aid to 280 previously established rural centers; \$273,496 went for aid to families of the 39,000 Jewish soldiers in the British armed forces and invalided ex-service men; and \$2,776,000 was spent for purchase and reclamation of land in Palestine, and for expansion of industries producing war goods for the United Nations in the Middle East.

Of the \$10,459,477 spent by the Joint Distribution Committee during this period for its relief, rescue and rehabilitation activities, \$1,865,000 was spent to help 6,000 refugees to immigrate to Palestine and the Western Hemisphere.

The Jewish National Fund

After the election of Dr. Israel Goldstein as president of the Z. O. A., Judge Morris Rothenberg, a former president, was elected successor to Dr. Goldstein as president of the Jewish National Fund. Together with him were elected Louis Segal as Honorary Secretary and Rabbi I.M. Kowalsky

and Jacob Sincoff, Treasurers. During the twelve months, from October 1, 1942 to September 30, 1943, the J. N. F. collected \$2,947,167.00, of which \$1,112,617.15 represents income from the Golden Book, J. N. F. boxes, trees, etc. and \$1,834,549.85 as its share of the United Palestine Appeal allotment from the proceeds of the United Jewish Appeal. During the period in which the land-purchase restrictions of the White Paper have been in effect, 200,000 new dunams of Palestine land have been acquired by the Keren Kayemeth bringing the total holdings to 700,000 dunams (175,000 acres).

Three new colonies were established or completed on J. N. F. land during the past year. The colony in memory of Justice Louis D. Brandeis, former member of the U. S. Supreme Court, was made possible through the Labor Department of the J. N. F., which is also undertaking the establishment of a colony in memory of Lord Josiah Wedgewood, British champion of Zionism. The establishment of a Stephen S. Wise Colony was announced on the occasion of the observance of the 70th birthday of that distinguished Zionist leader.

The American Friends of the Hebrew University

The American Friends of the Hebrew University expects to cover about three-fourths of the \$892,000 budget of the Hebrew University for 1943-44.

On October 12, 1943, there was a gathering at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Roger N. Straus, in New York City, to pay tribute to the late Julian W. Mack, who was twice president of the organization, and to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the laying, on July 24, 1918, of the twelve foundation stones of the Hebrew University — one for each of the tribes — to the accompaniment of the guns on the battle-front in the Jordan Valley twenty miles away.

Three new chairs were established at the Hebrew University in honor of American Jews. A chair in Education was established in honor of Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan through a contribution made possible by Joseph M. Levy of New York, and his friends and associates. Dr. Kaplan spent two

years at the University as the first incumbent of the chair in Education and was instrumental in organizing the department. The establishment of a Julian W. Mack Chair was resolved at the meeting on October 12 referred to above. A Louis Lipsky Chair was founded as a tribute to forty years of distinguished service in the cause of American Zionism. This Chair was made possible through a Committee of friends of Louis Lipsky of which Henry Scherman is chairman.

The American Economic Committee for Palestine

After a short period of inactivity, the American Economic Committee resumed service under the presidency of Sidney Musher.

The Committee is concentrating its entire efforts on providing more and more jobs for the thousands of immigrants who, it is convinced, will be flowing into Palestine at the close of the war or even before. The efforts of its technical and business specialists are devoted to being of practical assistance to Palestine industry, agriculture and commerce so that sound industrial, agricultural and commercial enterprises may be created affording employment for new immigrants.

The Committee specialists include experts in the fields of agronomy, poultry raising, food technology and processing, citriculture, patent arts, handicrafts, machinery and equipment, merchandising and marketing, and the manufacturing industries, such as textiles, plastics, glass and ceramics. The specialized knowledge and experience of these experts are at the disposal of businessmen in Palestine, through their representative, Dr. Kurt Grunwald, economist of Jerusalem, who transmits specific problems to the Committee, and disseminates to Palestine industry and agriculture the accumulated experience and knowledge of the technical men who serve the Committee in the United States.

At the same time, information and assistance are being given to individuals and groups in the United States who might be interested in the establishment of trade with, and in the investment of capital in, Palestine.

The American Fund for Palestinian Institutions

The American Fund for Palestinian Institutions coordinates the fund-raising activities of 52 educational, cultural and welfare institutions in Palestine. These 52 agencies have a normal budget of \$1,200,000, of which approximately 70% is secured in Palestine, and the rest transmitted from America. For 1944, welfare funds will be asked to contribute \$240,000. Of the money raised, 33% will be used for educational purposes, 33% for social welfare, 25% for culture, and 9% for miscellaneous services. Lt. Edward A. Norman is president of the Fund, Louis E. Leventhal, Vice President; Alan M. Stroock, Secretary and Dr. Maurice B. Hexter, Treasurer.

Hadassah

At Hadassah's convention on October 26, 1943, a campaign was launched for Freedom Village, an industrial settlement in Palestine for refugee children, with the presentation to Hadassah of \$100,000 raised by Frank Cohen of New York. At its closing session, the convention voted to plant two groves of trees in Palestine honoring King Christian X of Denmark and King Gustaf V of Sweden for their people's heroism in the rescue of Danish Jews. On February 14, 1944, the Hadassah cabled \$100,000 to Henrietta Szold, head of the youth immigration bureau of the Jewish Agency, as part of an international celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Youth Aliyah. One million dollars was raised for Youth Aliyah in 1943-4 by Hadassah chapters. About 1,200 refugee children were brought to Palestine and put under the guardianship of Youth Aliyah, between July 1943 and July 1944, making a total of over 11,000 children brought to Palestine since the Youth Aliyah project was launched in 1933.

Hadassah is expanding the work of its Medical Organization, the largest health organization in Palestine, now in its 26th year of service. Funds are being raised for the building of a large sanatorium and for a tuberculosis surgery wing to be added to the Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem, as part of a tuberculosis preventive and curative program. The budget of the Hadassah Medical Organization for 1944-5 will approximate \$900,000.

Hadassah's Child Welfare Department provides country-wide infant and child welfare stations for child and maternal care. The School Luncheon Committee which directs Palestine's school luncheon program for the Jewish schools, administered 30,000 luncheons daily during the past year. A nutrition education department directs the teaching of cooking and domestic science in the schools and trains dietitians for other institutions. A school hygiene department oversees the health of 75,000 school children. Hadassah has also inaugurated a program of vocational education in several schools and workshops, in connection with its Brandeis Vocational Center in Jerusalem.

The National Labor Committee for Palestine

The National Labor Committee for Palestine is the sponsoring agency in America for the Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. Its first campaign in 1923 covered 63 communities in the United States and Canada and yielded an income of \$51,000. In 1942-43 the "Gewerkschaften Campaign" as it is known, reached 500 communities in the United States and Canada and yielded an income of \$818,767. The 1943-44 drive is expected to bring in close to \$1,250,000.

A national convention was held in New York, on November 27 and 28, attended by 2,856 delegates. Regional conferences were held in Chicago, Boston, and other cities. There are now over 2,500 labor and other affiliates with the National Labor Committee, including all the important Jewish unions, all the branches of the Jewish National Workers Alliance, and the Poalei Zion, 1,000 general organizations and landsmanschaften, and many other groups.

The Committee also conducts an extensive educational program through the medium of a speakers bureau, a variegated literature, films, mass meetings, music festivals, holiday observances, and the like.

Palestine in Political Platforms

For the first time in American history, Palestine was the subject of planks in the political platforms of both major parties in the United States. On June 27, at its convention

in Chicago, Ill., the Republican Party adopted its platform which included the following paragraph regarding Palestine:

“In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth. We condemn the failure of the President to insist that the mandatory of Palestine carry out the provision of the Balfour Declaration and of the mandate while he pretends to support them.”

Three weeks later, on July 20, the Democratic Convention, also held in Chicago, adopted its platform which included the following paragraph referring to Palestine:

“We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.”

It will be seen from a comparison of these two declarations that that of the Democratic Party is close in phraseology to the Wright-Compton Resolution which was under consideration by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, in February and March, 1944, in that it calls for “such a policy as to result in the establishment there [in Palestine] of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.” The Republican plank envisages Palestine as a, free and democratic commonwealth.”

According to the press, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Committee, attacked the criticism of President Roosevelt in the Republican platform as an “unjust aspersion.” The Emergency Committee, however, hailed the Republican plank with satisfaction and Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, its officers, expressed gratification with the Palestine plank in the Democratic platform.