

THE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT



Offices: 386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Cable Address: "WISHCOM, N. Y."

1945

OBJECTS OF THE COMMITTEE

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

—*Extract from the Charter*

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Chairman, Executive Committee

JACOB BLAUSTEIN

Vice-Chairman, Executive Committee

MORRIS D. WALDMAN

Chairman, Administrative Committee

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HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN

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CARL J. AUSTRIAN	New York, N. Y.
GEORGE BACKER	New York, N. Y.
SALO W. BARON	New York, N. Y.
JAMES H. BECKER	Chicago, Ill.
J. M. BERNE	Cleveland, Ohio
JOHN L. BERNSTEIN	New York, N. Y.
IRVIN BETTMANN	St. Louis, Mo.
JACOB BILLIKOPF	Philadelphia, Pa.
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HERBERT R. BLOCH	Cincinnati, Ohio
HERMAN W. BLOCK	New York, N. Y.
MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG	New York, N. Y.
LOUIS BROIDO	New York, N. Y.
LEO M. BROWN	Mobile, Ala.
FRED M. BUTZEL	Detroit, Mich.
LEO M. BUTZEL	Detroit, Mich.
RALPH F. COLIN	New York, N. Y.
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ABRAM I. ELKUS	New York, N. Y.
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LEON FALK, JR.	Pittsburgh, Pa.
LOUIS FINKELSTEIN	New York, N. Y.
PHILLIP FORMAN	Trenton, N. J.
ELI FRANK	Baltimore, Md.
MAX FREEDMAN	Cleveland, Ohio
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF	Pittsburgh, Pa.
HENRY J. FRIENDLY	New York, N. Y.
NORMAN S. GOETZ	New York, N. Y.
MRS. MAURICE L. GOLDMAN	San Francisco, Calif.

ARTHUR J. GOLDSMITH	New York, N. Y.
I. EDWIN GOLDWASSER	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM W. GOODMAN	Memphis, Tenn.
LEO GOTTLIEB	New York, N. Y.
LOUIS GROSS	Minneapolis, Minn.
MARC J. GROSSMAN	Cleveland, Ohio
HAROLD K. GUINZBURG	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL J. HARRIS	Buffalo, N. Y.
MORTIMER HAYS	New York, N. Y.
MAURICE B. HEXTER	New York, N. Y.
SIDNEY HOLLANDER	Baltimore, Md.
HENRY ITTLESON	New York, N. Y.
LESLIE L. JACOBS	Dallas, Texas
JACOB J. KAPLAN	Boston, Mass.
EDGAR J. KAUFMANN	Pittsburgh, Pa.
MILTON W. KING	Washington, D. C.
JACOB LANDAU	New York, N. Y.
SIDNEY LANSBURGH	Baltimore, Md.
ALBERT D. LASKER	New York, N. Y.
EDWARD LAZANSKY	New York, N. Y.
FRED LAZARUS, JR.	Columbus, Ohio
BENJAMIN LAZRUS	New York, N. Y.
IRVING LEHMAN	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF ..	New York, N. Y.
MONTE M. LEMANN	New Orleans, La.
HARRY E. LEWIS	Brooklyn, N. Y.
SAM A. LEWISOHN	New York, N. Y.
ALBERT H. LIEBERMAN	Philadelphia, Pa.
JAMES MARSHALL	New York, N. Y.
ARMAND MAY	Atlanta, Ga.
LOUIS B. MAYER	Culver City, Calif.
GEORGE Z. MEDALIE	New York, N. Y.
WALTER MENDELSON	New York, N. Y.
LEONARD R. MINSTER	Cincinnati, Ohio
MENDON MORRILL	Paterson, N. J.
CHARLES W. MORRIS	Louisville, Ky.
EDWARD A. NORMAN	New York, N. Y.
NATHAN M. OHRBACH	New York, N. Y.

ERWIN ORECK	Duluth, Minn.
HARRIS PERLSTEIN	Chicago, Ill.
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER	New York, N. Y.
CHARLES M. RICE	St. Louis, Mo.
WALTER H. RICH	Atlanta, Ga.
VICTOR S. RIESENFELD	New York, N. Y.
JAMES N. ROSENBERG	New York, N. Y.
LESSING J. ROSENWALD	Jenkintown, Pa.
WILLIAM ROSENWALD	Greenwich, Conn.
JEROME J. ROTHSCHILD	Philadelphia, Pa.
WALTER N. ROTHSCHILD	Brooklyn, N. Y.
SAMUEL SALZMAN	Brooklyn, N. Y.
RALPH E. SAMUEL	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL SCHULMAN	New York, N. Y.
MURRAY SEASONGOOD	Cincinnati, Ohio
LESTER N. SELIG	Chicago, Ill.
I. L. SHAREMAN	Ann Arbor, Mich.
DAVID SHER	New York, N. Y.
HARRY SHULMAN	New Haven, Conn.
MENDEL B. SILBERBERG	Los Angeles, Calif.
JOHN SLAWSON	New York, N. Y.
MAX C. SLOSS	San Francisco, Calif.
MRS. EDWARD S. STEINAM	New York, N. Y.
JESSE H. STEINHART	San Francisco, Calif.
EDGAR B. STERN	New Orleans, La.
HORACE STERN	Philadelphia, Pa.
ROGER W. STRAUS	New York, N. Y.
LEWIS L. STRAUSS	New York, N. Y.
ALAN M. STROOCK	New York, N. Y.
DAVID H. SULZBERGER	New York, N. Y.
FRANK L. SULZBERGER	Chicago, Ill.
LEON C. SUNSTEIN	Philadelphia, Pa.
WILLIAM B. THALHIMER	Richmond, Va.
JEROME I. UDELL	New York, N. Y.
F. FRANK VORENBERG	Boston, Mass.
MORRIS D. WALDMAN	New York, N. Y.
FREDERICK M. WARBURG	New York, N. Y.
MAX M. WARBURG	New York, N. Y.
FRANK L. WEIL	New York, N. Y.
SIDNEY J. WEINBERG	New York, N. Y.

WILLIAM WEISS	New York, N. Y.
MAURICE WERTHEIM	New York, N. Y.
JAMES L. WHITE	Salt Lake City, Utah
JOSEPH WILLEN	New York, N. Y.
HENRY WINEMAN	Detroit, Mich.
LOUIS WIRTH	Chicago, Ill.
JONAH B. WISE	New York, N. Y.
MORRIS WOLF	Philadelphia, Pa.
IRA M. YOUNKER	New York, N. Y.

Administrative Committee

DAVID SHER, <i>Chairman</i>	New York, N. Y.
FRANK ALTSCHUL	New York, N. Y.
CARL J. AUSTRIAN	New York, N. Y.
JAMES H. BECKER	Chicago, Ill.
JACOB BLAUSTEIN	Baltimore, Md.
MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG	New York, N. Y.
LOUIS BROIDO	New York, N. Y.
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NORMAN S. GOETZ	New York, N. Y.
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MORTIMER HAYS	New York, N. Y.
HENRY ITTLESON	New York, N. Y.
JACOB J. KAPLAN	Boston, Mass.
EDWARD LAZANSKY	New York, N. Y.
FRED LAZARUS, JR.	Columbus, Ohio
BENJAMIN LAZRUS	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF	New York, N. Y.
SAM A. LEWISOHN	New York, N. Y.
ALBERT H. LIEBERMAN	Philadelphia, Pa.
GEORGE Z. MEDALIE	New York, N. Y.
WALTER MENDELSON	New York, N. Y.
EDWARD A. NORMAN	New York, N. Y.
NATHAN M. OHRBACH	New York, N. Y.

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER	New York, N. Y.
VICTOR S. RIESENFELD	New York, N. Y.
LESSING J. ROSENWALD	Jenkintown, Pa.
JEROME J. ROTHSCHILD	Philadelphia, Pa.
RALPH E. SAMUEL	New York, N. Y.
MENDEL B. SILBERBERG	Los Angeles, Calif.
JOHN SLAWSON	New York, N. Y.
MAX C. SLOSS	San Francisco, Calif.
MRS. EDWARD S. STEINAM	New York, N. Y.
JESSE H. STEINHART	San Francisco, Calif.
HORACE STERN	Philadelphia, Pa.
ALAN M. STROOCK	New York, N. Y.
DAVID H. SULZBERGER	New York, N. Y.
JEROME I. UDELL	New York, N. Y.
F. FRANK VORENBERG	Boston, Mass.
MORRIS D. WALDMAN	New York, N. Y.
MAX M. WARBURG	New York, N. Y.
FRANK L. WEIL	New York, N. Y.
MAURICE WERTHEIM	New York, N. Y.
JOSEPH WILLEN	New York, N. Y.
HENRY WINEMAN	Detroit, Mich.
IRA M. YOUNKER	New York, N. Y.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

February 4, 1945

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria on Sunday, February 4, 1945. Mr. Jacob Blaustein of Baltimore, Chairman of the Executive Committee, called the meeting to order. He announced that in conformity with the request of the Office of War Mobilization that wherever possible, meetings requiring the attendance of a considerable number of persons from various parts of the country be not held, the Administrative Committee had decided to cancel the 38th Annual Meeting of the General Committee scheduled for today and to hold in its place a meeting of the Executive Committee.

Attendance

The following members of the Executive Committee were present:

ILLINOIS

Chicago: James H. Becker; Louis Wirth

MARYLAND

Baltimore: Jacob Blaustein; Sidney Lansburgh

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston: Herbert B. Ehrmann; Jacob J. Kaplan

NEW JERSEY

Trenton: Phillip Forman

NEW YORK

Buffalo: Samuel J. Harris

New York: Frank Altschul; John L. Bernstein; Herman W. Block; Mrs. Sidney C. Borg; Louis Finkelstein; Henry J. Friendly; Norman S. Goetz; Arthur J. Goldsmith; Leo Gottlieb; Mortimer Hays; Maurice B. Hexter; Edward Lazansky; Benjamin Lazrus.; Irving Lehman;

Samuel D. Leidesdorf; Harry E. Lewis; Sam A. Lewisohn; George Z. Medalie; Walter Mendelsohn; Joseph M. Proskauer; Victor S. Riesenfeld; James N. Rosenberg; William Rosenwald; Ralph E. Samuel; Samuel Schulman; David Sher; John Slawson; Mrs. Edward S. Steinam; Alan M. Stroock; Frank L. Weil; William Weiss; Jonah B. Wise; Ira M. Younker.

OHIO

Cincinnati: Leonard R. Minster

Cleveland: Max Freedman

Columbus: Fred Lazarus, Jr.

PENNSYLVANIA

Jenkintown: Lessing J. Rosenwald

Philadelphia: Jacob Billikopf; Albert H. Lieberman; Horace Stern; Leon C. Sunstein

Pittsburgh: Leon Falk, Jr.

MORNING SESSION

The Chairman expressed regret that, owing to illness, from which he is satisfactorily recovering, Mr. Morris D. Waldman, Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee, was unable to attend the meeting.

Resignation of Officers

The Chairman announced also that Mr. Alan M. Stroock had submitted his resignation as Chairman of the Administrative Committee, and Mr. Ira M. Younker, his resignation as Treasurer. Upon motion, these resignations were accepted, with regret.

Upon nomination, duly made and seconded, Mr. David Sher, of New York City, was elected to succeed Mr. Alan M. Stroock as Chairman of the Administrative Committee, and Mr. Nathan M. Ohrbach of New York City, was elected to succeed Mr. Ira M. Younker as Treasurer.

Annual Report of the Executive Committee

The Chairman submitted a draft of the Annual Report which had been prepared for submission by the Executive Committee to the General Committee, which was to have held its 38th

Annual Meeting today. The Chairman read the draft. Following discussion, Mr. Harry E. Lewis moved that the report be approved and that copies thereof be sent to the members of the Executive Committee. This motion was amended by Mr. James N. Rosenberg to read that the draft be approved in substance and that authority be given to the officers to make such changes as they deemed advisable prior to printing and circulation. The motion as amended was seconded and carried. (The full text of the Report of the Executive Committee is appended to these minutes.)

Report of Lay Advisory Committees

Upon the invitation of the Chairman, reports of lay advisory committees were submitted as follows:

Domestic Defense Coordinating Committee, by S. D. Leidesdorf, Chairman; Committee on Scientific Research on Anti-Semitism, by Ira M. Younker, Chairman; Legal and Investigative Committee, by Victor S. Riesenfeld, Chairman; Domestic Public Relations Committee, by Frank Altschul, Chairman; Community Service Department, by Alan M. Stroock, Chairman; and Committee on Library, Research and Publications, by Ralph E. Samuel, Chairman.

Each of these reports was discussed in turn, and upon motion, duly made and seconded, accepted.

In view of the fact that Mr. James H. Becker, Chairman of the Community Activities Department, was compelled to leave before submitting his report, it was agreed that this be circulated among the members of the Executive Committee following this meeting.

Term of Members of Executive Committee, etc.

The Chairman announced that, in view of the cancellation of the 38th Annual Meeting of the General Committee, the officers and those members of the Executive Committee whose terms would have expired at that meeting will continue to serve until the next meeting of the General Committee.

LUNCHEON SESSION

Judge Horace Stern of Philadelphia presided at the luncheon session. Rabbi Samuel Schulman recited the grace before meals.

At the close of the luncheon, Judge Stern presented Judge Proskauer, who delivered an address dealing with the subject of Palestine and offering a program of action on which all Jews could unite. (The text of Judge Proskauer's address is appended to this report.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Following the luncheon, the Executive Committee reconvened under the chairmanship of Mr. Jacob Blaustein.

Report of Overseas Committee

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. George Z. Medalie, Chairman of the Committee on Overseas Activities, presented a report of the work of the Overseas Department of the American Jewish Committee during the year 1944. (The text of Mr. Medalie's report is appended hereto.)

On motion duly made and seconded, Mr. Medalie's report was accepted.

Report of Committee on Peace Problems

The Chairman referred to the statement in the report of the Executive Committee presented to the morning session with regard to the appointment of a Committee on Peace Problems consisting of distinguished scholars, experts in international law, and leaders in various walks of life. He stated that Judge Proskauer, the Chairman of this Committee, would present a brief introductory statement to be followed by a provisional or interim report of the Committee on Peace Problems by Judge Jacob J. Kaplan of Boston, acting in the place of Professor Louis Wirth of Chicago, the chairman of the drafting sub-committee of the Committee on Peace Problems, who was unable to stay for this meeting.

Judge Proskauer expressed the thanks of the American Jewish Committee to the members of the Committee on Peace Problems who had come from various parts of the country and had held meetings on Thursday and Friday and part of Saturday (February 1, 2, and 3). He paid a special tribute of appreciation to Professor Louis Wirth for his signally helpful contribution in formulating the reports of the various sub-committees into which the Committee on Peace Problems had been divided. Judge Proskauer stated further that the report which was about to be submitted was an interim and not a final one, because the Committee on Peace Problems felt that in a number of areas conditions were still too unstable to make possible the complete crystallization of ideas; furthermore, there are some areas which are still under consideration and to which no reference is made in the report. For these reasons, the Committee on Peace Problems would not go out of existence but would continue to serve until such time as it finds itself in position to submit a final and comprehensive report.

Judge Kaplan submitted the interim report of the Committee on Peace Problems. (The full text of the report is appended hereto.)

Upon motion made by Judge Proskauer and duly seconded, it was resolved that the Executive Committee express its profound gratitude to the distinguished experts, not members of the Executive Committee, who joined in the deliberations of the Peace Problems Committee; that the Executive Committee accept the reports submitted on behalf of the Peace Problems Committee, and authorize its administrative officers to be guided by its findings and to await further action and reports from time to time from the Committee on Peace Problems.

Statement by Executive Vice President

On the invitation of the Chairman, Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice President, delivered an address in which he presented his views regarding the larger functions of the American Jewish Committee. (Dr. Slawson's address is appended hereto.)

The suggestion of Mr. Medalie that copies of Dr. Slawson's address be circulated among the members of the General Committee and the membership of chapters was approved.

In closing the meeting the Chairman said that he was sure that the members realized that the decisions of the American Jewish Committee and their implementation are vital and that the officers need the advice, counsel, and active cooperation of the members of the Executive Committee.

Upon motion, adjourned.

VICTOR S. RIESENFELD

Secretary

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Presented by JACOB BLAUSTEIN, *Chairman*

To the Members of the American Jewish Committee:

Your Executive Committee is pleased to be in a position to report satisfactory progress during 1944, especially in two important directions: (1) toward the implementation of the plans submitted by your Committee a year ago, and those adopted by it since then, aimed at making the organization of the American Jewish Committee and its instrumentalities stronger and more effective; and (2) toward serving the vitally essential purposes for which the American Jewish Committee was established thirty-eight years ago.

Through the columns of the *Committee Reporter*, our monthly institutional organ, which first appeared in March 1944, you have been kept currently informed in detail of most of the significant developments in both these fields. Therefore, your Executive Committee deems it necessary only to summarize them on this occasion. We shall begin with a brief review of the important steps taken to render the American Jewish Committee a more potent and effective instrument.

You will recall that shortly after the present administration took office in 1943, your President appointed a Committee on Reorganization composed of Messrs. Samuel D. Leidesdorf, George Z. Medalie, Victor S. Riesenfeld, David Sher, Alan M. Stroock, Joseph Willen, Ira M. Younker, Morris D. Waldman, John Slawson, and Jacob Blaustein, Chairman. The task of this Reorganization Committee was to make a candid and objective survey and analysis of, and recommendations with respect to, our entire organizational structure, our relations with kindred agencies, the postulates on which we were operating, and the adequacy of our lay and professional set-up to meet the needs of a situation which, it was felt, were bound to become more, rather than less, exacting and rigorous in the foreseeable future.

The full report, with recommendations, of the Reorganization Committee was adopted by your Executive Committee at a meeting held in New York on May 9, 1944. Some of the proposals, however, were ready and submitted to you last year and received your approval at that time.

We shall deal first with the most important organizational item in that group. It provided for broadening the base of the American Jewish Committee's membership so as to make possible the affiliation with it, and participation in its work, of all public-spirited American Jews who endorse the Committee's views and are eager to cooperate in its activities. This measure, which was the basic innovation in the new by-laws adopted by you at the last annual meeting, provided for the enrollment of such men and women as members of the American Jewish Committee and their organization in each community into local chapters of the national body.

In order to implement this decision, the Reorganization Committee proposed the setting-up of a Department of Community Activities headed by a professional director and with an adequate field staff.

It is gratifying that your Committee is in position to report that as soon as the machinery was set in motion, the progress in organizing local chapters was rapid, owing largely to the enthusiastic readiness of a considerable number of persons to signify their agreement with the principles and policies of the American Jewish Committee and their willingness to share in its responsibilities.

The first chapter was organized in Philadelphia on June 15, 1944. Philadelphia's lead was followed in quick succession by twelve other communities.

In setting up these chapters, the Department of Community Activities, directed by Mr. Nathan Weisman, has been guided by a national lay committee. Its Chairman, Mr. James H. Becker, will report today on the status of our chapter program.

The establishment of this lay Community Activities Committee was in line with the recommendation of the Reorganization Committee in its final report that the already existing system of lay committees for the various functional departments, which had been only partially and inadequately in effect, be strengthened and expanded. It is hoped and expected in this way to offer opportunity to a considerable number of our members, and also to other qualified

persons whose interest can be enlisted, to participate actively in the work of the American Jewish Committee.

Notable progress has been made in the formation of these lay advisory committees. Some of them, already in existence when the Committee on Reorganization was set up, have since been strengthened, to wit: Domestic Public Relations, Mr. Frank Altschul, Chairman; Legal and Investigative, Mr. Victor S. Riesenfeld, Chairman; Overseas Activities, Mr. George Z. Medalie, Chairman; Library, Research and Publications, Mr. Ralph E. Samuel, Chairman; Grants, Mr. Alan M. Stroock, Chairman; and Personnel, Mr. Ira M. Younker, Chairman.

In addition, the following new lay committees recommended by the Reorganization Committee have been formed: Steering Committee, Mr. Jacob Blaustein, Chairman, to formulate policies and deal with urgent questions between meetings of the Administrative Committee; Community Activities Committee Mr. James H. Becker, Chairman; Finance and Budget Committee, Mr. Samuel D. Leidesdorf, Chairman, to supervise the preparation of the annual budget for the approval of the Administrative Committee and to deal with such other financial questions as may arise from time to time; Law Committee, Mr. Norman S. Goetz, Chairman, to deal with such legal questions concerning the organization itself as may arise; Committee on Scientific Research into Anti-Semitism, Mr. Ira M. Younker, Chairman; and Domestic Defense Coordinating Committee, Mr. Samuel D. Leidesdorf, Chairman. The Domestic Defense Coordinating Committee is composed of the chairmen of the functional committees related to our domestic defense departments, and serves as a strategy board for all of our domestic defense activities.

A résumé of the other recommendations of the Reorganization Committee on which there has been some performance will help to fill in the picture of the progress made during 1944 in the important areas of the work of the American Jewish Committee.

One of these, namely, the need for a department of institutional publicity, was submitted to you by your Executive Committee last year. It was proposed that such a department be set up for the purpose of making the American Jewish Committee and its work more widely known and better understood among American Jews, as well as among the general public,—without departing, however,

from the traditional policy of the organization to do nothing merely or largely for the sake of the publicity that would accrue. A proper, wider public knowledge of the Committee's activities was deemed essential not only for the mobilization of supporters, but to enhance the effectiveness of the work itself. Such a department has been set up and is active, under the professional direction of Mr. Henry W. Levy.

The space given to our press releases, especially in the Jewish Press (both Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish) of the country testifies at once to the high regard in which our activities are held by editors, and to the eagerness of the intelligent Jewish public to be kept informed of what is being done in these matters of such deep concern to Jews. Your Committee wishes to express its grateful appreciation to the publishers and the editors of these organs for the welcome they have extended to our communications.

The *Committee Reporter* is an important instrument of our institutional promotion program. It is a monthly news and information bulletin, ably edited by Mr. Zachariah Shuster, a seasoned journalist who has been on our staff for a number of years. This periodical, which made its appearance in March 1944, is given a wide circulation and has met with a virtually unanimous favorable reception. It affords the American Jewish Committee an opportunity not only to report new and contemplated projects, but also to make more widely known its current activities, as well as past achievements having a bearing on contemporary events.

In this connection, the two older regular publications of the Committee should also be mentioned—the bi-monthly *Contemporary Jewish Record*, now in its eighth year, and the *American Jewish Year Book* edited by Mr. Harry Schneiderman. This American Jewish Year Book series is 46 years old, and all but the first nine volumes have been prepared in the office of the American Jewish Committee under an arrangement with the Jewish Publication Society which publishes the work. Although these two publications primarily serve educational and cultural ends, they have done much to enhance the prestige of the American Jewish Committee.

To a noteworthy extent the fine reputation of the *Contemporary Jewish Record* was acquired during the last two years when the American Jewish Committee was fortunate to have the collaboration of Dr. Adolph S. Oko. His death on October 3, 1944 was a source of deep sorrow to all our lay members and the men and women of our staff who knew him and held him in high respect.

His passing was a grievous loss not only to our organization but to the field of Jewish scholarship in general.

In its final report, the Reorganization Committee recommended that these two publications—the *Contemporary Jewish Record* and the *American Jewish Year Book*—be carefully studied with a view to determining what, if any, changes should be made in them to improve them or increase their usefulness. A beginning has been made in this direction by the Committee on Library Research and Publications which has appointed a subcommittee to study the *Record*. Some opinion has been expressed by both member and non-member subscribers that the *Record* should be converted into a monthly, and that while it should by no means become a so-called “house organ,” it should be made more popular both in content and treatment than at present. A final report on this is to be submitted to the Administrative Committee in the near future by the Committee on Library, Research and Publications.

Another medium through which the American Jewish Committee was presented to the public during 1944, and the effectiveness of its work increased, was the radio. For several years the radio division of our Public Relations Department has been helpful as a link between cooperating organizations and radio broadcasters, but it was only recently that a way was found to present programs under our own direct sponsorship. An auspicious beginning was made with a dramatic presentation, titled “The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto,” through facilities which the National Broadcasting Company placed at our disposal as a public service. During 1944, we were successful in arranging six N.B.C. Network programs, including Jewish religious services from Rome and from Aachen, Germany, under the direct sponsorship of the American Jewish Committee.

By these means—press publicity, the *Committee Reporter*, our other periodical publications, and radio programs—the message of the American Jewish Committee is carried to large numbers of people in every part of the country. Close and frequent contact with the local communities is likewise maintained by our Community Service Department, of which Dr. Solomon A. Fineberg is the director.

The work of all departments is substantially and effectively supported and aided by the Department of Library, Research and Publications, popularly known as the Library of Jewish Information. The recent expansion of the activities of the American Jewish Committee has greatly added to the tasks of this department which,

in addition to servicing outsiders, functions primarily as the information source for all the other departments of our organization. During the past year, a number of new projects have been initiated under the direction of Dr. Julius B. Maller, who was appointed director of the Library of Jewish Information in December, 1943, to release Mr. Schneiderman, its former head, for other duties as Editor of the *American Jewish Year Book* and Assistant Secretary of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Ralph E. Samuel, Chairman of the Library, Research and Publications Committee, will report at this meeting on some important research projects undertaken by this department.

In the direction of enlarging and improving our sources of information, the Reorganization Committee recommended that the American Jewish Committee establish a Washington office, with a full-time representative there. The Reorganization Committee was of the opinion that such a step was essential in order that the American Jewish Committee be kept currently and reliably informed of events and trends, both domestic and foreign, likely to be of interest to us, which originate in Washington or have a focus in that world capital. This recommendation was approved by the Administrative Committee, and, in May 1944, Mr. Marcus Cohn, an attorney formerly on the staff of an important federal agency, was appointed Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee. This step has proved to be a very important and constructive one.

In respect to our domestic public relations activities, the Reorganization Committee made several important recommendations. It stated that "of utmost importance to the Jews of this country, and hence to the American Jewish Committee, is the situation with respect to Jews—right here at home; and the protection of their proper status—right here at home"; and aware that domestic anti-Semitism constitutes a serious threat, the Reorganization Committee went on to point out that "The American Jewish Committee must not only continue its activities in the domestic field but must do so with ever increasing vigor, application and courage. It must maintain, improve and intensify those of its present activities in this area which are believed of value, and must originate and project new plans and methods toward the desired objective."

The Reorganization Committee went on to recommend specifically "that the American Jewish Committee should enlarge its activities in combating anti-Semitism beyond the short-range emer-

gency basis (where the efforts are largely directed to adults whose conditioned minds furnish strong resistance to educational approaches). These short-range activities are more immediate and most essential, but the American Jewish Committee should also embark upon a long-range program aimed at preventing, wherever it can, the transmission of anti-Jewish prejudice to the younger generation."

Another important recommendation of the Reorganization Committee on the subject of domestic public relations was "that the American Jewish Committee, in addition to continuing efforts to reach the population of the United States en masse, should deal more intensively with the various segments of the population and appeal to their particular interests. Thus, special appeals should be made to the war veteran groups, foreign-language groups, labor and industry groups, women's organizations, etc."

Further, the Reorganization Committee recommended "that the scientific approach to the problem of combating anti-Semitism, through the mobilization of the resources of the social sciences, should be encouraged by the American Jewish Committee."

Although it was expected that some of these recommendations could not be carried into effect for quite some time, your Executive Committee is glad to be in position to report that noteworthy progress has been made in respect to all of them.

In the field of elementary education, your Committee can report significant progress during the past year. Having encouraged and assisted the Bureau for Intercultural Education for several years, we were instrumental last year in making it possible for the Bureau to extend the scope of its function in cooperating with superintendents and teachers in promoting instruction in the contributions made by the various cultural groups to American civilization.

Progress has also been made in the direction of reaching special groups. Our Domestic Public Relations Department, long and ably directed by Mr. Richard C. Rothschild, is continuing its intensive activities in the field of women's organizations. Recently, a specialist for the labor field was engaged, and competent personnel for other fields, such as those of youth, religion, and foreign-language groups, is being actively sought.

Initial steps have been taken in respect of the third recommendation, namely, a scientific approach to the problem of inner-group tensions generally and of anti-Semitism in particular. Inasmuch as a report on this project will be presented at this meeting by the

Coordinating Committee on Domestic Public Relations, it will suffice to report here that a new Department of Scientific Research has been organized under the direction of the noted social scientist, Dr. Max Horkheimer, and that it will be the function of this department, assisted by outside experts in the social sciences, to develop a scientific understanding of anti-Semitism as a basis for a comprehensive civic protective program. The new department will integrate its scientific testing, checking and research with the practical program of the public relations experts of the American Jewish Committee. In other words, the scientific approach to anti-Semitism is a supplement to, and not a substitute for, the techniques and procedures developed as the result of practical experience.

What is believed to be another forward step in the field of combating anti-Semitism was the creation in 1944, under the sponsorship of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, of a National Community Relations Advisory Council to coordinate the civic defense work of not only the national but also the local agencies in this field. The NCRAC is a policy-formulating body, not a functional organization, and is to have no power to engage in joint fund-raising.

Your Administrative Committee enthusiastically agreed to participate in the NCRAC, with the feeling that the entire Jewish community of the United States would benefit greatly by the closer cooperation which the NCRAC aimed to promote. Other national agencies in the NCRAC are the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Affiliated with the NCRAC are 18 local Jewish defense agencies. The representatives of the American Jewish Committee on the NCRAC are: Messrs. Joseph Proskauer, David Sher, Alan M. Stroock, John Slawson, Ira M. Younker, and Jacob Blaustein. Mr. Younker serves as alternate for Judge Proskauer on the Executive Committee. Since July 25, 1944, Mr. David Sher, a member of your Executive Committee, has been chairman of the NCRAC.

The affiliation of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League with the NCRAC will in no wise adversely affect the existing joint fund-raising between the AJC and the ADL or their efforts for coordination of certain phases of their defense work through the joint Committee of Six which serves as a clearing mechanism. During 1944 the continuance, for a period of two

years, of the Joint Defense Appeal for raising funds for both the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League was agreed upon. The Committee of Six continues to meet regularly to discuss projects being promoted or contemplated by each of the organizations.

From all of the foregoing, it must be apparent that during the past year, much progress was made in strengthening the American Jewish Committee, both as an organization with a major role to play in Jewish life, and as an instrumentality for combating domestic anti-Semitism. These steps absorbed a great deal of the time and energy of your officers, lay committees, and professional staff. Special credit is due our Executive Vice-President, Dr. John Slawson. The hopes that were placed in him when he took office late in 1943 have been more than justified by his zeal, administrative talent, and keen grasp of our manifold and difficult problems in all areas. Dr. Slawson has been devotedly aided by Mr. George J. Hexter.

Preoccupation with organizational matters and domestic activities did not, however, impair our profound solicitude for, and activity in behalf of, our sorely afflicted brethren still under the ruthless domination of the Nazis. On the contrary, we have at all times kept in mind the objects of the American Jewish Committee as stated in its charter which, briefly paraphrased, are: to safeguard and protect the civil, political and religious equality of Jews in countries in which they possess such equality; and to endeavor to secure this equal status for Jews in those remaining countries in which they suffer from legal limitations and other discriminations. We recognize this as a comprehensive responsibility. It is a global one, and concerned with the total welfare of Jewry. It is a responsibility that cannot be met by the American Jewish Committee if it limits its sphere of activities to any part of the world, whether that part be the United States, Palestine, or any other country. The American Jewish Committee must aim—and is aiming—to do a positive, constructive job everywhere.

As was stated in the report of the Reorganization Committee: "It is essential that the American Jewish Committee become more active in overseas affairs—both in current, and in peace and post-war, problems—for two fundamental reasons, i.e., for the assistance and good of the Jews in those other lands, and to aid in preserving proper position for the Jews of this land. The world is small, and whatever occurs in any other country of the world is bound to have its repercussions, almost immediately, in this country. The

American defense problem arose as a direct result of the Nazi program in Germany. It would be very short-sighted policy from the standpoint of domestic defense, not to cope adequately with the overseas problem. But in addition, just as the American Jewish Community has always recognized a major responsibility toward the relief of fellow Jews abroad, so do we conceive of an equal responsibility toward the preservation and fostering of the civil (including economic), religious and political rights of Jews over the world. This has been the historic role of the American Jewish Committee since its inception in 1906."

The Reorganization Committee specifically recommended that the American Jewish Committee have a permanent representative in Latin America and maintain a European headquarters in London (where nearly all the Governments-in-Exile have been located) with a permanent representative in charge. To London would be attached an additional staff member who would make trips to other points in Europe as situations would require. Eventual expansion of the staff overseas, perhaps to provide, for example, a permanent representative in Russia—is envisaged.

As a step in implementing our plans for Latin America, Mr. Morris D. Waldman, Vice-Chairman of our Executive Committee, recently returned from a trip of several months in Latin America. In addition to working constructively in our behalf while there, he has brought us considerable information and sound advice, and has made a number of practical recommendations as to what our procedure should be.

As a first step in implementing our plans for Europe, Dr. Max Gottschalk, Director of our Overseas Department has been assigned to London, and left for his new post there late last month. In his absence, Dr. Simon Segal is serving as Acting Director of the Overseas Department.

Since the activities of our Overseas Department during the last year are to be comprehensively reported on later in this meeting by the Chairman of our Overseas Committee, Mr. George Medalie, we will merely comment here that (1) the department has carried on a very intensive program; and (2) the factual materials assembled by its Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems are recognized as exceptionally authoritative and constitute an indispensable basis for action by the American Jewish Committee in its program for the protection of Jews the world over.

There were, however, several matters of international import

which were not dealt with directly by the Overseas Department, but by the Steering Committee. One of these was in connection with the introduction of resolutions in the House and Senate of the Congress of the United States favoring free immigration of Jews into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization there "so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Inasmuch as our organization had, in its Statement of Views, adopted on January 31, 1943, taken a definite position regarding the subjects covered in these resolutions, it was considered important to present that position to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs which was holding hearings on the resolution introduced in the House by Representatives James A. Wright and Ronulf Compton on January 27, 1944. Accordingly, on February 15, 1944, a memorandum signed by your officers was submitted to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. In this memorandum, the American Jewish Committee was placed on record as completely and wholeheartedly favoring free Jewish immigration into, and colonization of, Palestine up to the full limits of its economic absorptive capacity. However, believing that in view of conditions then prevailing and of the controversial character of the second part of the resolution, the practical and realizable purpose of the first part would be better served if the second part, calling for the re-constitution of Palestine as a "free and democratic Jewish commonwealth" were amended, your Committee proposed that this clause be replaced by one calling for an international trusteeship, along the lines of the proposal in our Statement of Views.

You know the subsequent developments. After objections on the part of the military authorities, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs suspended consideration of the Wright-Compton Resolution. Shortly thereafter, yielding to the advice of the State Department, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations took similar action upon a parallel resolution which had been introduced in the Upper House by Senators Robert F. Wagner and Robert A. Taft.

Similar resolutions were again introduced into the House and Senate in November, 1944. The House resolution was approved, with some changes, by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Senate resolution was tabled by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations after Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. appeared before that committee and opposed it.

In this connection, your committee is cognizant of the importance of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and of the feeling entertained by many that it should be reconstituted in such fashion as to render it equally representative of both Zionist and non-Zionist opinion, as was originally intended. At the request of a number of non-Zionist members of the Jewish Agency, a communication was sent to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, raising this question with him. Word has been received from Dr. Weizmann that he expects to be in the United States in the spring, when there will be opportunity to discuss the subject.

Another project which was carried out under the direct auspices of the Steering Committee in 1944 was the issuance by the American Jewish Committee of a Declaration of Human Rights and the mobilization of American public opinion in support of it.

Calling for an International Bill of Rights as the best guarantee of the individual rights of all minority peoples throughout the world, the Declaration was designed to give added impetus to a movement that is rapidly gaining widespread support.

Prior to its release, the Declaration of Human Rights was submitted for endorsement to a cross-section of distinguished Americans of all faiths and many walks of life. Over 1300 signatures were received. Among the signatories were about 200 public officials (members of the Supreme Court, Governors, Senators, Congressmen, and Mayors throughout the country); hundreds of clergymen, including both Catholic and Protestant Bishops, as well as Rabbis; top-ranking labor leaders; leading industrialists; and the heads of many of the principal Jewish organizations in the United States.

Our Declaration was widely reported in the press and favorably commented upon in editorials in leading newspapers of general circulation, as well as in the labor press and the religious press of the three great denominations, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. The full text of the Committee's document is appended to this report.

Another important contribution to thinking on the subject of the place of Jews in the post-war world, was made by the Vice-Chairman of your Executive Committee, Mr. Morris D. Waldman, in an article entitled "Beyond National Self-Determination." Originally appearing in our *Contemporary Jewish Record*, this article has been given effective distribution as a pamphlet reprint, and has been widely and most favorably commented upon.

Interest in an International Bill of Rights is expected to be

further stimulated by the forthcoming publication by the Columbia University Press of a scholarly treatment of the subject by Dr. Hersch Lauterpacht, a recognized authority on international law. Our staff collaborated with Dr. Lauterpacht in the preparation of this authoritative volume.

Your Committee realizes, of course, that the mobilization of public opinion in support of an International Bill of Rights is only a small though important step, and that a comprehensive program for dealing with post-war Jewish problems must be worked out in specific terms and implemented by proper presentation to recognized authorities. Following the completion of preparatory work by our staff, your Committee decided last summer that the time had come to work out a series of specific suggestions as a basis for cooperation between the American Jewish Committee and kindred organizations, both here and abroad, in connection with a peace conference or such other international body as will frame the terms of the peace and establish the bases for the post-war world order.

To perform this function, your Committee authorized the creation of a Committee on Peace Problems. In a letter sent on August 9, 1944, to the Hon. Cordell Hull, your President informed the State Department of the appointment of this Committee, and said that it is the aim of the American Jewish Committee to function now, as it did at the conclusion of the first World War, in helping in the formulation of peace terms to secure a world in which Jews, like all others, would be free, in the words of Secretary Hull himself, "to abide in peace and in honor."

The letter to Secretary Hull also stated that the American Jewish Committee will at the proper time solicit the aid of the Government in submitting its program to the agency which will frame the terms of peace.

In acknowledgment, Mr. Hull stated that the Department would be glad to receive at any time any expressions of views which we may wish to bring before it.

A list of the members of the Committee on Peace Problems is attached.

Preliminary memoranda prepared by the staff were sent to the members of the Committee on Peace Problems for their study several weeks ago. The Committee has held both plenary and sub-committee sessions in the course of the past week. Judge Proskauer, Chairman of the Committee on Peace Problems, will report to you later in the day on its deliberations.

The recommendations of the Committee on Peace Problems, when approved, will constitute the basis for an approach to public opinion, as well as to the government of the United States and to the diplomatic representatives in this country of the United Nations; and eventually, in cooperation with other bodies non-Jewish and Jewish having kindred objectives, to an international peace conference or its equivalent.

To secure international acceptance of these just demands will require the wholehearted and wise collaboration of all men of good will. To help secure such collaboration will be the aim of your Committee henceforth and until the political, civil, and religious equality of the citizens of all lands, regardless of creed or ancestry, shall be solemnly recognized. The dignity of the human being, as such, must be respected. We do not delude ourselves, however, into believing that even with the achievement of that aim, our work will be done. Alas, tragic experience has shown that rights granted by charters and treaties are not always granted in practice, and that the full and loyal implementation of solemn pledges can be assured only at the price of eternal vigilance and continuous struggle. To such vigilance and struggle the American Jewish Committee is pledged.

At the same time, the American Jewish Committee will not neglect the task at home. Here, too, the promotion of justice and righteousness demands a continuous and unyielding battle against evil forces which seek to subvert the principles and betray the institutions of democracy. These evil forces are most menacing in periods of confusion and dislocation such as often follow in the wake of such world cataclysms as the one through which mankind is now passing. Against these evil forces must be arrayed the full power of the forces for good. Your Committee is confident that the American Jewish Committee will play a vigorous and effective part in the fight for the preservation of all those precious ideals, traditions and institutions which constitute the American way of life.

Respectfully submitted,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE CALL OF THE HOUR

Presidential Address of Joseph M. Proskauer

Two years ago the American Jewish Committee, recognizing its historic obligation of leadership, issued a statement of views. That statement embodied an ideal both practical and potent. It sought to build a program of conduct which every right-thinking Jew could in good conscience follow. It recognized that the significant compromises of history related to conduct and not to ideologies. It sought thus to achieve an effective, if limited Jewish unity of action. It realized that never before had there been so great a yearning in American Jewry for such unity, and it urged that that unity be built in the area of our agreements. That meant that no man was to surrender his ultimate ideology, but that all men were to make the earnest endeavor, consistent with that ideology, to act together in this most frightful emergency that ever confronted the children of Israel.

We presented an inspiring program. It pledged our support to the war effort, to the Four Freedoms and to the Atlantic Charter. It reaffirmed our devotion to our religion. It joined with our brethren of all creeds in the fight on bigotry. It pleaded for redress and rehabilitation for our suffering brethren in Europe. It asked that necessary migration be undertaken with government aid. It demanded reaffirmation of the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land be guaranteed complete equality with their fellow citizens; and for Palestine it approved an international trusteeship to safeguard the Jewish settlement, Jewish immigration and the fundamental rights of all inhabitants and the holy places of all faiths, and to prepare the country to become within a reasonable period of years a self-governing commonwealth under a Bill of Rights and Constitution that would safeguard all basic rights.

That unity for which we so fervently prayed has not been achieved. I hold the profound conviction that it can still be achieved and that it is our solemn duty to achieve it. I therefore propose to examine dispassionately and calmly the causes of our temporary failure and the factors which must lead to our ultimate success. Thus far we have split upon the rock of Zionism.

Zionism is an all-embracing word. There is grave need of the definition of the sense in which we use it. In the great work of Mr.

Sumner Welles,* for example, on one page he writes of the overwhelming power of the Zionist movement and says that it must reach its success in the realization of the ideal of Dr. Judah Magnes of a bi-national state. Of course, many Zionists would repudiate such a conception of their creed.

Many others hold the faith of loyalty to the Balfour Declaration as it was interpreted by the American Jewish Committee and, indeed, as it was interpreted in the Churchill White Paper of 1922 and acquiesced in by the then Zionist World Organization as primarily dealing with the creation, not of a state, but of a Jewish homeland within Palestine. It has been said that in that limited sense the American Jewish Committee is Zionist; and yet that concept, too, is strongly repudiated by certain Zionist leaders.

Then, again, there are important Zionists who believe in the ultimate creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, but still feel the unwisdom of the Biltmore Resolution and the wisdom of the course of conduct outlined by our Committee and believe it to be a safe course for Zionists and non-Zionists alike. Scores of members of the Zionist Organizations have expressed this view.

And finally, there remains the extreme position stated for the majority at the Conference that the only possible unity for Jewry they could recognize was one based on the Biltmore Resolution making an all-out immediate demand for a Jewish state in Palestine. The holders of this view I shall describe as ultra-Zionists, fully recognizing that there are thousands and thousands of devotees to the Zionist cause in some form of its definition who, while loyally following their duly constituted leadership, do not share the extremity of this view. It is this ultra-Zionist position which has thus far marred the harmony of Jewish collaboration.

Without passion I should like to examine the evidence in the case to see if we cannot create that harmony. Let us look at the points of difference. First, the ultra-Zionists say that their position has the sanction of Judaism as a religion. One of their leaders once told me that I could not be a Jew unless I believed in a Jewish state in Palestine. I am no theologian. I do not attempt to resolve a technical doctrinal question. I do know, however, that so great and pious a Jew and scholar as the late Claude Montefiore in his great work "The Bible for Home Reading" announced that "the re-

* Summer Wells: *The Time for Decision*, New York, Harper, 1944.

ligion of the Jews was too great and universal to be confined to the limits of a single people," and proclaimed: "It is an intense satisfaction that Judaism is now severed from national limits. We need never allow our religion to harm our patriotism or our patriotism to harm our religion." And the records of Judaism in America are replete with pronouncements of rabbi after rabbi denying this ultra-Zionist position. Indeed today we have a powerful religious group, the Agudas Israel, openly denying it. Does such doctrinal controversy require us to abandon the effort to work together for specific accomplishment?

So to my Zionist friends I say: Believe what you please, but do not carry it to the point where you would exclude from the fellowship of Israel every person who believes otherwise; join with us at least in the profound conviction that the God of Israel does not mean to exclude from His service and the privilege of working in His spirit your brother who does not share your political aspiration.

Second, we are told by the ultra-Zionists that the majority must rule and that the majority of Jews believe in a Jewish state in Palestine; and it is demanded in the name of Democracy that we coerce all Jews into artificial unity based on these principles. The claim of the existence of a majority can neither be proved nor disproved; but, assuming *arguendo* only, that it can be proved, let me give you these words of Professor Ralph Barton Perry in his last and greatest work "Puritanism and Democracy:" "There is no profounder misunderstanding of the meaning of political democracy than to suppose that the judgment of a majority is better than the judgment of a minority and of asserting that the judgment of a majority is truer than that of a minority." And he points out that the basic principle of democracy is not majority, but unanimity, by which he means what we mean when we say "unity of conduct." For he continues: "There is no virtue in unity as such; a lynching party is unified; there is unity in death, in silence, in the sameness of mind achieved by repression or by intoxication. The only kind of unity that can be said to be praiseworthy is a unity that harbors differences and renders them benign. The supreme test of any society is its power to thrive on spontaneity and dissent. A society which achieves unity by force or by hysteria may be excused or pitied, but there is no reason why it should be admired."

One might question the extreme interpretation of this statement as related to political democracy, but surely what Professor Perry

writes of the claim of democracy as affecting conduct in non-political areas is indubitably true. In the political area, majority rule is tempered by guarantee of minority rights and elaborate constitutional machinery which implements those rights. In the non-political field, the criteria must still be truth and wisdom, and the determining process must still be patient, honest, intelligent and right-thinking search for truth and wisdom.

Let us here and now highly resolve to bring to American Jewry the earnest appeal to create that kind of benign unity which can heal ultimate differences and work together for immediate good.

Now, for a moment, let us forget ideologies and look at the practical situation which confronts us. Let us endeavor to state the practical issues which must be settled for Palestine and in Palestine irrespective of its political constitution. It has become the crossroads of the world. Its vital importance to the preservation of the British Empire has become all the more evident and will become increasingly evident as we approach the not distant day when the lease on the Suez Canal expires. I suggest this not as a protagonist for Great Britain, but as a protagonist of America. For all of us have come to realize that in the Near East situation we have a vital interest as Americans. There are many questions to be settled for Palestine. We have heretofore pointed out in our Statement of Views the magnificent achievement of the Jewish settlement. We have made clear that over the course of years we have joined with Zionists in making substantial contribution of effort and of money to the upbuilding of the Yishuv in Palestine.

But friendship and deep concern for the prosperity of the Yishuv must prompt us not to close our eyes to the problems which confront it. We must concern ourselves with the problem of the inflation that has occurred in Palestine, with the grave difficulties connected with the restoration of normal economic conditions in the post-war era, with the problem of boycott against products manufactured by Jews, with the effect upon Palestinian economy of the various foreign exchange relations which are operating strongly against the interests of Palestine. And the technique for securing freer immigration into Palestine must be developed after careful investigation, and with statesmanship and understanding. All of us—Zionist and non-Zionist—must work together for the solution of these problems in the interest of the Yishuv.

We pointed out in our statement of views that Palestine's population was approximately two-thirds Arab and one-third Jewish.

We applauded the achievement of our fellow Jews in the Jewish settlement; we pledged them our sympathetic support, but we remembered that we were in the middle of a great world war. England, our ally, was and is standing with her back to the wall and the whole Arab world was and is tinder capable of being set ablaze that may destroy her safety. Within the last fortnight so accurate an observer as Anne O'Hare McCormick, writing from Beirut, has stated: "Outside Palestine more than inside it is strikingly clear that the chief unifying force of the Arab states is what they call the Zionist threat."

I sound the warning anew that in this setting the intransigent insistence on the ultra-Zionist position is imperilling the safety of Palestine itself.

We say to our Zionist friends: We may not join in your ultimate objective, but we love Eretz Yisroel, the land of Israel, no less than you do; we are prepared to work with you in getting the answer to all these difficult questions. Why, then, must you have conflict with us because we say it is inexpedient, unwise and dangerous to the safety of Palestine itself just now to go to the extreme of your demands? Why must you submerge all these practical questions, and, in the middle of a great world war, stake everything upon the hazard of the urging of your ultimate political position, which from any point of view is at the present time academic? Under pressure of ultra-Zionist leadership both political parties in the last presidential campaign were persuaded to declare for the Biltmore Resolution. What good has it done? Anyone who reads the *London Economist*, a liberal paper, will know from its comments that unwittingly the pressure of the ultra-Zionist leaders created a resentment in Great Britain toward this country. So clearly is that evident that you have seen, with the approval of Zionist leaders, the shelving in our Congress of the resolutions to implement these declarations and the consequent bitter rift in the ranks of Zionism itself. And it is within the last few weeks that there came from the mouth of Chaim Weizmann himself the prudent declaration that a Jewish state in Palestine was a matter of years.

There is always danger in the excess of nationalism. No men have ever suffered from its espousal by others more than we Jews. One of the greatest living scholars, Hans Kohn, has written: "Nationalism is only a passing form of integration, beneficial and vitalizing, yet by its own exaggeration and dynamism easily destructive of human liberty."

I give you the lesson of these words and ask that they be considered at this critical time when nothing should be overlooked. And to the Zionist who is not an ultra-Zionist, in particular, I appeal for calm deliberation and judgment.

Meanwhile American Jewry has a right to look to its leadership and say: What have you done? Where are you going? You created for us a Conference, whose actions have negatively failed of approval by important Jewish groups and have resulted in positive disapproval by other Jewish groups. Zionists as a whole are in bitter conflict with affirmative anti-Zionists. Ultra-Zionists within the group of Zionism are in bitter and public controversy with their colleagues. You have built up for us a picture of combativeness and dissension in which fighting groups act in open and bitter hostility. And the anti-Semite rejoices and echoes the Hitler slogan: Divide and conquer.

For the American Jewish Committee I can say that we have tried to lift the level of discussion to the highest and most unprejudiced plane. That is but small comfort, however, when we read what the Revisionist has to say of orthodox Zionist leaders and what they, in turn, have to say of the so-called Jewish nation in exile and, alas, of one another and of other groups.

I would be lacking in candor, I would be lacking in my obligation of leadership if I did not give this picture to American Jewry, coupled with the earnest exhortation to every right-thinking Jew, Zionist and non-Zionist, to destroy it and repaint a picture of peace. I care not who is to blame or whether there be blame. I make no charge against Zionist or non-Zionist or anti-Zionist. I know only that in the face of the horrors of the holocaust of war and the threats of the years to come, unless God Almighty has doomed us to destruction, this bickering about ultimates, which need not be at present decided, must cease and that there must be a real fellowship in Israel.

To every Jew in America I extend my hand and I say to him: Brother, we have much work to do, and it is God's work; we have to bind up the wounds of the fatherless and the stricken and the dispossessed; we have to rehabilitate the ruined lives of our brethren in Europe; we have to redress the wrongs wrought upon those who now lie at peace in death as an awful warning that never again may intolerant savagery degrade civilization to the level of the brute.

We have to safeguard the Jewish position in Palestine and foster Jewish immigration for those who wish to go to the Holy Land. We have to meet the subtle poison of bigotry. We have to see to it that in the reconstitution of the new world it be made a place where every man may dwell in safety and in peace and in dignity under his own vine and fig tree.

These are great tasks. They call for all the wisdom, all the statesmanship, all the devotion that is in us. With malice toward none, with charity for all, let us join together in the performance of these tasks. If by any word here or elsewhere uttered I have given offense, it was unintended and I ask forgiveness. But no consideration of personality, of organizational advantage, of pride or self-righteousness is worthy of your thought or mine.

Let us have peace. Let us cease to wrangle over what may happen in Palestine years from now. Let us face the issues of today and tomorrow, face them together, buoyantly, with heads erect and resolved to do our part, united and together, to restore this world as a place full of the glory of the Lord of Hosts.

CO-ORDINATION OF DOMESTIC DEFENSE ACTIVITIES IN 1944

By SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF

The American Jewish Committee in its charter has dedicated itself "to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world." We have been able to fulfil this obligation because of the blessings of liberty and equality we have enjoyed under our American democratic government. Our fight against the menace of anti-Semitism in the United States therefore serves a double function: to prevent the pollution of the free air we ourselves have so long breathed, and to give us strength to aid our less fortunate brothers.

To wage successfully the war against domestic anti-Semitism thus becomes our first major objective. The task of carrying on this fight has, in the past, been entrusted to several of our committees

and departments. In order to coordinate their functions more closely, the Committee on Reorganization recommended the formation of a Domestic Defense Coordinating Committee to consist of the chairmen of the various functional committees in the domestic defense area. This committee has been organized with myself as Chairman, and the following members:

Frank Altschul, Chairman, and Walter Mendelsohn, Vice-Chairman of the Domestic Public Relations Committee

Victor S. Riesenfeld, Chairman of the Legal and Investigative Committee

Ralph E. Samuel, Chairman of the Committee on Library, Research and Publications

Ira M. Younker, Chairman of the Committee on Scientific Research

Jerome J. Rothschild, Advisor to the Community Service Department

Alan M. Stroock, David Sher and Joseph Willen, Members-at-large

The Committee held its first meeting on July 18, of this year and has met at intervals since. Although in existence less than half a year, it has already demonstrated its usefulness in forging our many diverse activities into a united, potent weapon.

In the course of this morning's presentation, you will hear from various members of the Domestic Defense Coordinating Committee about the work of each of the departments which are carrying on our defense program. During the past year, we have taken the first steps toward a scientific approach to the problem of anti-Semitism and to our efforts to counteract it. Mr. Ira M. Younker has been closely identified with our activities in this direction, and is Chairman of our recently organized Committee on Scientific Research, the advisory group for our newly created department of that name. Mr. Younker will have something to say, not only about the department of Scientific Research but also about the trends of anti-Semitism, in the light of which the work of our longer established departments can better be understood.

There is every reason to expect that our work will be strengthened by the deeper understanding of the problem, and the new techniques and strategies which the Department of Science and Research can be expected to bring to us. Meanwhile, without awaiting the results of our studies, our lay committees and professional staff continue the fight against anti-Semitism vigorously and unabated.

The entire organization of the American Jewish Committee contributes in some measure to the fight against domestic anti-Semitism, but especially the Legal and Investigative Department, the Domes-

tic Public Relations Department, the Community Service Department, and the Department of Library, Research and Publications. These departments, among which there is constant clearance of information, planning, and materials, constitute a closely integrated team.

I shall now call for reports from spokesmen for each of the departments, beginning with the Chairman of the Legal and Investigative Committee, Mr. Victor S. Riesenfeld.

[*These reports appear elsewhere.*]

Now that we have heard from each of the departments which carry on our defense program, I should like to illustrate by a single example, out of the many available, how these departments gear their respective functions into each other, and in that way ensure maximum effectiveness.

Last summer there appeared in the *Women's Home Companion* an article entitled "The Mothers Racket." This article dealt with subversive women's organizations and was based on unpublished materials collected by our Legal and Investigative Department.

Its contents were then publicized through the Public Relations Department. Its women's division exposed these so-called mothers' groups to women's organizations with millions of members. The labor and foreign language press received releases on the same subject, and veterans' organizations were not neglected.

This did not complete the operation. For the Community Service Department then arranged for reprints of the *Women's Home Companion* article, and made their availability known to its correspondents throughout the country. These in turn placed orders with the Community Service Department for shipments of the article in bulk to an aggregate number of 35,000 for distribution to local molders of opinion and civic leaders.

And now a word concerning our relations with the Anti-Defamation League, with whom we have for several years been associated in joint fund-raising. A constructive result of this fiscal association, which, as Mr. Blaustein has reported, was recently extended, has been a steady growth in harmonious cooperation between the two organizations. In addition to the meetings of the Committee of Six, composed of lay representatives of both organizations, members of the respective staffs meet frequently for the purpose of clearing information and coordinating programs. As a result, it is possible

to report that the communities, once so disturbed about duplication of work, are increasingly convinced that, thanks to regular clearance between the two agencies, no such duplication in fact exists, but that, on the other hand, the combined impact is helpful in the fight against anti-Semitism.

In conclusion, although throughout this combined report, reference has been made, for want of a better term, to the "defense work," of the American Jewish Committee, it should be pointed out that we are not carrying on a merely defensive fight. Instead, we are waging a vigorous, aggressive war against racial and religious bigotry, and an affirmative campaign to present the Jew properly to the American people. This we are doing with all the strength, intelligence, and devotion at our command. It is a hard fight. We have an abiding faith that it will be a successful one.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON ANTI-SEMITISM IN 1944

By IRA M. YOUNKER

Chairman of Committee on Department
of Scientific Research

This is a first report on our new Department of Scientific Research, and I make no attempt to do anything else than hit the highlights.

First, a word about the polls: For many years the American Jewish Committee has conducted polls. These polls are carried out by professional organizations expert in this type of work and with certain guidance by us. They reach cross-sections of the people and they deal with various questions affecting different religious, racial, cultural, and economic groups. These polls do not direct their questions at us. The most recent poll taken late last fall—after study by our experts—showed a definite increase in the trend line of anti-Semitism. The increase was not sharp but as this increase is occurring—when organized anti-Semitism has been driven underground and during war—it is a disturbing symptom.

Institute of Social Research—The Institute is a study group, affiliated with Columbia University and composed of American and German scholars. It is in part supported by the AJC. It is studying the recent German handling of anti-Semitism and also endeavoring to understand and make known the underlying causes of anti-Semitism. The Committee has been in constant touch with this far-reaching undertaking and we believe this work will be valuable for us.

Weekend Conference, May 20–21, 1944—This was a meeting arranged by the American Jewish Committee to study anti-Semitism and attended by an imposing group of sociologists, psychiatrists, educators, scholars. About half were Christians. It was a deeply serious meeting. The non-Jews said quite frankly that if anti-Semitism became a political movement here, they felt that they had as much to lose as we. It was the sense of this group that we had allies, whom we were not enlisting adequately in this cause. Among these allies were mentioned liberal groups, educators, labor and business groups. The conference believed that anti-Semitism in the U.S.A. is tied in with Nazism, Fascism, dictatorship, and is a concealed attack on American liberty—that this fact should be explained and stressed everywhere and pounded home.

Conference stressed: That what we say in our propaganda is not as important as *how much of what we say* is accepted.

This thought gave us pause: we decided to find out. The American Jewish Committee decided to take a closer and more searching look at itself, its activities and its problem.

As a result of discussion our new Research Department came into being and we were fortunate in securing Dr. Max Horkheimer to be its head and Director.

At present we are developing a program and carrying on some activities.

Our work falls easily into two parts—long term and short term. Under long term comes the attempt to know more of what anti-Semitism is—what it feeds on—how it has come to infect so many social groups and so many individuals, children as well as adults. Studies along these lines are currently going on at the University of California, directed by Dr. Horkheimer.

Short term: Here we have worked out a method to test our radio programs and propaganda, using an average cross-section audience for this purpose.

Also we shall test the degree of anti-Semitism of an average mixed group—as it would develop in a situation that might arise on any crowded street corner. Interestingly, the method of measurement used here is available for use before and after a group or community is subjected to our propaganda.

Please understand that the purpose of this department is to do its testing and research in such a manner that the tools and methods we now use to fight this cancer, may be improved. This end, we mean to keep constantly in view.

In conclusion may I say that this is something we should have started long ago. That we are doing it now, is due to the enlightened and fearless leadership of Dr. John Slawson. However, we promise no miracles. It should be understood that there is no royal highway to victory here. As we move along in this field, we ourselves must learn how to use research. We need to develop the proper yardsticks for appraising our work. We hope you will be patient, and not blow hot today and cold tomorrow about this endeavor. On our part we shall try to use research and testing just as American business uses it today, or as the War Department uses it.

DOMESTIC PUBLIC RELATIONS ACTIVITIES IN 1944

By FRANK ALTSCHUL

Chairman of Committee on Domestic Public Relations

The function of the Domestic Public Relations Department, stated succinctly, is to combat anti-Semitism in the public mind, and to immunize the American people against it. This it attempts to do by exposing and discrediting anti-Semitism, and by presenting the Jew to the American people in the proper light. It is not enough simply to discredit anti-Semitic leaders. Anti-Semitism itself must be discredited in the minds of the American people, and to that end a widespread educational campaign is necessary. In other words, anti-Semitism must be presented to the American people

as an anti-American movement, here, as in Germany, the entering wedge of tyranny.

In the months ahead, it will no longer be as useful as it was formerly to present anti-Semitism as primarily a Nazi device to weaken the American war effort. Though the Nazis themselves are facing imminent destruction, the seeds of Nazism have been widely sown, and there are numerous native-born agitators in this country who have learned Hitler's tricks, and are prepared to use them for their own political or racketeering purposes.

The burden of our argument is that anti-Semitism is a threat, not merely to the institutions of America, but to the interests of the various American groups of which our population is composed—labor, business, church, youth, women, veterans, and foreign language groups. Each of these has its own stake in the American way of life, and anti-Semitism must be presented in each case in terms of the threat to that stake.

On the positive side, it is our purpose to demonstrate that Jews are not only capable of integration, but actually are integrated into the fabric of American life. To that end we feature the contributions of Jews to our national life, in both war and peace, stress the fundamental oneness of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and promote interfaith cooperation.

It is impossible within the limits of this report to do more than suggest the vast output of the department during the past year. It utilizes every available medium of publicity to convey our message, producing large quantities of materials embodying our themes. We shall attempt here only to indicate some of the highlights of its manifold activities. Your attention is invited to the posters displayed here, which illustrate the department's work.

In the field of radio, the American Jewish Committee during the past year sponsored and broadcast a number of important programs on national hook-ups under its own name. Among these were *The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto* which was performed twice, *Courage is their Badge*, *The Third Commandment*, *The Golden Calf* and *Behold the Jew*. Such distinguished actors as Raymond Massey, Fredric March, Philip Merivale, José Ferrer, and Florence Eldridge participated, contributing their services gratis. The audience response to these programs left no doubt of their high quality and their effectiveness in heightening the self-respect of Jews and in winning the respect of non-Jews.

Another type of program, likewise bearing our name and sponsorship, and likewise attracting national attention, was tied up with current events—two historic broadcasts, one from a Synagogue in Rome after its liberation, and one from the battlefield near Aachen, the first religious broadcast to America from Germany since the war.

Early last year the National Broadcasting Company requested our assistance in setting up a Jewish religious radio series to be sponsored by the Jewish Theological Seminary. The result was a series of thirteen dramatizations of famous Synagogues of History. Our Radio Division has reaped new laurels for the help it has given with these broadcasts, which are heard over 55 stations of the network. So enthusiastic was the response to the initial series, that the National Broadcasting Company is planning, with our cooperation and under the same auspices, a new series of thirteen broadcasts that will dramatize the lives of Jews who have made important contributions to civilization, including of course, some who participated in the development of America.

Our Radio Division has established over the years invaluable contacts not only with the broadcasting companies, but with a host of radio writers, actors and producers. These have readily accepted our basic thesis—namely, that anti-Semitism is not merely a threat to the Jews, but to the fundamentals of American democracy. Thanks to their cooperation, our message has been included in every variety of radio program from “soap operas” to news and sports commentaries. The value at commercial rates of the radio time available to us without cost in 1944 is estimated at close to four million dollars.

Another division of the Domestic Public Relations Department is the Division of Press and Special Projects. This division has the responsibility of producing a steady flow of articles, cartoons, speeches, brochures, comic books, and printed material of every sort, which are given the widest possible dissemination. To give but one illustration, in furtherance of our campaign to keep bigotry out of the election campaign, we had a series of non-partisan cartoons drawn by the well-known artist Eric Godal. These cartoons were sent to newspapers throughout the country, and were run by 478 of them, including 155 dailies, 283 labor papers, and 40 Negro papers.

Just as the Radio Division has worked with radio writers, producers and directors, the Press and Special Projects Division,

through its contacts with editors and writers, has been successful in suggesting ideas for articles, stories and pictures.

With the growing awareness of the dangers of anti-Semitism, more and more publicists, clergymen, educators, and others who recognize the threat to American security, are turning to the American Jewish Committee, and we are constantly receiving requests for material that eventually finds its way into speeches, sermons and articles.

The activities of the Domestic Public Relations Department that have thus far been discussed, involve the so-called "mass approach"; that is, our effort to influence the attitude of the total population with respect to Jews. While there has been no falling off in our activities along this line during the past year—on the contrary, our productivity has been greater than ever—in recent months we have given increased attention to the "class approach," whereby we seek to reach important segments of the general population by translating our basic themes into terms of their particular interests. The Special Areas Division of the Public Relations Department, which is currently undergoing expansion, is entrusted with this important phase of our work. This division is concerned with such important groups as labor, industry, veterans and foreign language groups, as well as with the areas of education and interfaith relations.

A few illustrations will suffice to explain the type of work that is being done by this division. In the field of labor, for example, we have prepared pamphlets, articles and other types of literature intended to show that a threat to religious equality in this country will be, as it was in Germany, a threat to the security of organized labor. This material has been welcomed and widely distributed by labor unions as well as reprinted in its union publications. Our representatives have formed and are continuing to form friendly contacts with important union officials, and are becoming growingly successful in demonstrating that a community of interest exists. 1,900,000 copies of a comic strip pamphlet, originated and prepared by us, were distributed through the CIO and AFL.

In the field of interfaith work, the Committee participated in an extremely interesting experiment in Boston in connection with Governor Saltonstall's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding, which was set up shortly after the disturbances in the Boston area a year ago. It was felt that the whole problem of juvenile anti-Semitism should be approached through the schools, both secular and religious.

A specialist on the staff of the American Jewish Committee was assigned to work with the Saltonstall Committee for several months, concentrating on the preparation of teaching materials designed primarily for religious schools. Excellent cooperation was received from both Catholic and Protestant religious educators, and the prospects are favorable for the introduction of these important teaching materials into Christian Sunday Schools in Boston. At the proper time they will be made available in other communities as well.

In the soldier-veteran field, important projects are in the making. We cooperate in this area very closely with the Jewish Welfare Board, whose president now heads a sub-committee of our Domestic Public Relations Committee.

As for the most numerous and by no means least important of all the special groups—women—we have long worked very intensively through the last of the four divisions of which the Public Relations Department is composed, the Women's Division. Some of the most influential national women's organizations are now genuinely concerned with promoting inter-group understanding, and their national officers in speeches, broadcasts and articles in women's magazines, constantly repudiate divisiveness. With this stimulation from above, local women's clubs have become hospitable to study courses and projects along the lines of our interest.

Some of our most successful projects have been carried out in cooperation with other organizations. For instance, we recently worked closely with the Writers' War Board in a very ambitious attempt to remove the stereotypes of minority groups from the public mind—the "wily Jew," the "superstitious Irishman," the "lazy Negro," the "criminal Italian," etc. It was felt that the way to overcome these stereotypes was through the writers of short stories, radio scripts, movie scripts, novels, advertisements and the like. Accordingly, a meeting was held in New York a few weeks ago of 600 of the top-ranking writers of the country for a presentation of what was called "The Myth That Threatens America." Participating in the presentation were such men as Eric Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce; Rex Stout, Chairman of the Writers' War Board; Margaret Meade, the anthropologist; John Mason Brown; Moss Hart; Carl van Doren; and many others.

There are great opportunities for presenting America, not as a homogeneous, Anglo-Saxon country but as a composite of diverse

peoples. And the feeling is that projects such as this, followed up as they will be by special separate meetings of magazine editors, radio script writers, etc., will go far toward utilizing the tremendous power of the great national media of communication for the purpose.

No report of the Domestic Public Relations Department would be complete without reference to another of its long-range undertakings; that is, in the field of education. Here we maintain the closest working relations with the Bureau for Intercultural Education, which works through the public school systems of the country. We have long given the Bureau our financial support and steady promotion, and representatives of both our lay group and our staff participate in its Councils. This organization has made its mark in the educational field, and with its enlarged budget and new personnel, can be counted upon to make a signal contribution in inculcating into the next generation of Americans a sense of the true meaning of democracy.

LIBRARY, RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS IN 1944

By RALPH E. SAMUEL

Chairman of Committee of Department

The collection and dissemination of authentic information pertaining to matters of Jewish interest has been among the important activities of the American Jewish Committee. The Department of Library, Research and Publications, known also as the Library of Jewish Information, is charged with this responsibility. Its major functions in the field of domestic defense are to provide basic material for the programs arranged by the various departments of the A.J.C., to answer inquiries coming from outside organizations and individuals, and to prepare basic memoranda and publications in this field.

Our Legal and Investigative Department, Domestic Publicity, Community Service and, particularly, the Public Relations Department rely heavily upon the resources of our Library of Jewish Information. In the preparation of such radio programs as "The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto" or "Courage is Their Badge," and

such publications as "To Bigotry No Sanction" the Library was called upon to furnish basic material.

During the recent sedition trial the Assistant Attorney General obtained from our Library copies of certain publications and references which could not be found elsewhere. The Library of Congress, the Office of War Information and the Office of Strategic Services requested and secured from this Department information and memoranda which they found invaluable.

During the past year the Library has received and answered some 800 inquiries for information. These came from writers, commentators, rabbis, ministers and Jewish and non-Jewish organizations, many of them engaged in domestic defense activities.

It is not within the scope of this report to deal with the resources of the Library, its 28,500 books and pamphlets and innumerable other classified items and clippings. Suffice it to state that we have the most complete collection on anti-Semitism to be found in any library. These include all available publications on the problem of anti-Semitism, books and periodicals published by the Nazis and native fascist groups, some underground publications, practically all publications released by governments-in-exile and, of course, publications dealing with defense programs and activities. The latter include special collections on inter-cultural education, race relations and interfaith activities, etc.

Among the research projects completed during the past year and bearing upon domestic defense, the following should be mentioned:

1. A study of attitudes towards Jews in non-Jewish religious publications in the United States. An extensive confidential report of Catholic publications has been completed, and a similar analysis will be made of Protestant publications, particularly the Fundamentalist press.
2. A Summary of the Proceedings at the Conference on Research in the field of Anti-Semitism. The suggestions made by psychologists and sociologists at the Conference with regard to the character of anti-Semitism and the methods of combating it were summarized in non-technical language for limited distribution among those engaged in Jewish defense work. A digest of publications on anti-Semitism has been prepared as background material for that Conference.
3. Analysis of recent polls regarding the nature and trend of anti-Semitism in the United States. The findings of the polls were reported to the Legal Committee, the Administrative Committee and at the Plenary Session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council. With all the limitations of public opinion polls, the results have definite bearing upon the effectiveness of our defense program.

In addition to our major publications, the *American Jewish Year Book* and the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, this Department prepares a number of minor publications which serve the staff and the Jewish community. These include a weekly digest, "Items of Interest in the Congressional Record" and a bi-weekly digest of "Articles of Interest in Current Periodicals." The latter serves as a special "reader's digest" for members of the staff, for rabbis and community contacts throughout the country, who are thus kept informed of national discussions of Jewish interest. It also helps in the selection of special articles for reprinting and for distribution by the Community Service Unit to various groups.

Several months ago, we inaugurated a new Bulletin, "The Home Front"—a monthly digest of items relating to anti-Semitic manifestations and efforts at counteracting bigotry and group tensions. Significant quotations from subversive publications are presented, together with reports of important good will and defense activities. This Bulletin is being prepared by our Legal Unit which maintains a complete file of subversive publications and organizations. Its distribution is limited to chairmen of our chapters, Community Service unit contacts and members of the professional staff of the Committee. The Legal Unit handles numerous inquiries regarding such organizations and individuals engaged in anti-Semitic activities.

In brief, the Library of Jewish Information is not merely a repository of published material but a center of dynamic knowledge in regard to current problems of Jewish interest, contributing directly and indirectly to domestic defense work which is considered the cornerstone of our whole program.

THE CHAPTER PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

By JAMES H. BECKER

Chairman, Community Activities Committee

Last May we advised this committee of the plans we had drawn for the formation of chapters. At that time we mentioned several important factors which had to be taken into consideration in any plan to build chapters. We recognized the necessity to develop chapters of the Committee throughout the United States as rapidly as possible. On the other hand, it was pointed out that it would be unwise to organize chapters on any extensive scale before we had a tested plan of chapter activity—in other words, it was essential not merely to organize chapters but also to be able to service them on a year-round basis in order that their members might really become an active part of the American Jewish Committee. Therefore, although some of the members of the committee were not in complete agreement, the majority felt strongly that during the first year we should not move too rapidly but rather should organize several chapters in large cities and determine in these chapters what were the strengths and weaknesses of the program.

Although the first year is by no means completed, I am glad to give you this interim report on what we have done and what our plans are for the immediate future.

We have organized chapters in Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York, Boston, Bridgeport, Trenton, Huntington, Washington, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Indianapolis, St. Louis and Chicago.

In New York City most of you know what has taken place to date. Following a series of small group meetings held over a period of several months, the New York Chapter was organized December 19 with a charter membership of about 350. A second meeting of the New York Chapter took place, as you know, last night. Mr. Samuel Leidesdorf is serving as chairman pro tem and permanent officers are to be elected within the near future. At the same time, a permanent plan of activities for the chapter will be adopted; the organization committee is now working on this

plan. In New York City, the Committee is making available the full-time services of a field representative.

Our Philadelphia Chapter has progressed somewhat further, and was the first large city to organize. It has elected all of its officers as well as a strong Executive Committee; the membership includes the outstanding leaders of the Jewish community. Since its organization, the Chapter has conducted four educational meetings, each with an authoritative speaker who explained an important phase of Jewish life, and featuring discussion in which the members and their guests participated. The Philadelphia Chapter under the leadership of Judge Charles Klein, its chairman, and in cooperation with our national office, is planning, as its major activity, to sponsor several good educational meetings a year for the members and guests. Mrs. Cyrus Adler, wife of our beloved former president of the Committee, I am glad to report, is the vice-chairman of this committee. The Chapter had felt that in a city this size it might be active in many other areas but, because of the possibility of conflict with established local groups, it will for the time being conduct only educational activities.

In Cleveland, too, the Chapter has been quite active along educational lines. Several good meetings have been held. A two-day session on civic defense work for members and for other Jewish leaders of the community will take place next week under the guidance of two speakers assigned to this task by the national headquarters. In addition, the Cleveland Chapter, like other chapters located in cities which have Jewish Community Relations Councils, is officially represented now in the work of the Cleveland Council. This means, of course, that the American Jewish Committee's point of view will be expressed officially in that Council. Our Atlanta Chapter, too, had an intensive educational session just this week, with Dr. Slawson as the speaker and discussion leader.

In Chicago we have had our organization meeting and plans are now being drawn for the permanent structure and activities of the Chapter. The Committee has made available here too the services, virtually on a full-time basis, of a field representative, in order to work with the Chicago community. Mr. A. Richard Frank, a splendid citizen and enthusiastic worker, has accepted the chairmanship of the Chicago Chapter, and a fine group of persons is giving leadership in these initial stages and will, we hope, continue to serve at the helm. The Executive Committee

of the Chicago Chapter will meet next Wednesday in order to begin to draw up its permanent program.

I have cited these few examples in order to indicate what is happening in the chapters. We have by no means solved the problem which was posed last May—how to keep the chapters active and integrate their members into the work of the Committee—but we are doing our best to solve it. It appears that in most chapters this solution will lie primarily in the field of educational activity—meetings, literature distribution, furnishing of reports and news bulletins, etc.

Of course, in some cities a much more active program can be undertaken—particularly in larger communities like New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Mr. Sher indicated to you last night what the thinking of the New York Chapter leaders is on this subject and, in my opinion, the group in Chicago will probably decide to function somewhat along similar lines. However, I want to emphasize what Mr. Sher said last night about preventing duplication or conflict with other Jewish organizations. We will work hand in hand with our partners of the ADL and with other constructive groups in those areas of our work where there may be a similarity of program.

Within the near future we hope to complete the organization of chapters in a number of other cities, including Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Richmond, Cincinnati, Columbus, Akron, and Milwaukee. We hope, too, that we will be ready before much longer to proceed with organization in more distant places. It is interesting to note that, according to our staff, many individuals in certain communities are pressing us to organize chapters. Actually, we have been reluctant to accept these invitations until our plans of activity are more thoroughly crystallized and integrated.

If we really are to go into a serious program of educational meetings throughout the year—and actually we have already embarked upon such a program—then we cannot do it without good speakers. Now, there are several kinds of speakers that can be used for such meetings—professional platform speakers, rabbis, college professors, and other intellectuals. However, the most important of all speakers for our purposes—if we are to spread real enthusiasm for the American Jewish Committee's program among our constituents—is the layman, who is volunteering his time and energies to this work. Judge Proskauer has done a notable job in

traveling over half the country to address our chapters. This needs to be emulated by a large number of our leaders. I am sure I do not have to explain to you the advantages of these talks by our Executive Committee members. We have made a small start in expanding this type of activity. For example, Mr. A. Leo Weil, Jr., chairman of the Pittsburgh Chapter, will speak at the inauguration of the Cincinnati Chapter later this month. Similarly, Max Freedman, head of the Cleveland Chapter, has agreed to assume responsibility for some of the cities in his area, particularly Akron. Mr. Blaustein spoke at the opening of the Washington meeting and shortly will hold a meeting in Baltimore to inaugurate the chapter in his home city. From the ranks of our national and chapter leadership will come, I hope, a group of men and women who believe in our work sufficiently to give of their time and energies in convincing more and more new persons that they ought to affiliate with us and participate in our program. This is what we aim for—a national movement in the full sense of the word.

THE COMMITTEE'S SERVICE TO LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITIES

By **JEROME J. ROTHSCHILD**

Adviser, Community Service Department

The Community Service Department, as Mr. Leidesdorf has indicated, constitutes the link between the American Jewish Committee and its collaborators throughout the country. These collaborators include local Jewish organizations engaged in combating anti-Semitism, lay individuals in unorganized communities, and many non-Jewish organizations and individuals who have found our materials valuable.

The most effective collaborators of the Community Service Department are the local civic protective agencies in some eighteen of the country's largest cities. These agencies are financially supported by their respective communities, and employ professional staffs. Their directors, together with staff representatives of the

national defense agencies, constitute the Community Relations Conference. Members of the Department have participated in all sessions of the Conference, which meets several times a year for the discussion of important problems and projects. Close contact has been maintained throughout the year by correspondence with the professional directors of local civic protective agencies. Some of the directors have been visited in their own cities and some have visited this office.

Working relations with Jewish communities which lack this type of local organization are less continuous, but nevertheless valuable. Collaboration with them is effected through correspondence and field visits. An additional 250 persons in nearly 150 cities in the United States are on the Community Service Department's mailing list and receive the regular mailings of the department. Contact has also been established with key individuals concerned with the problem of anti-Semitism in Canada, England, South Africa, Australia and several Latin American countries, and they are likewise now on our key mailing list.

One of the important functions of the department is to select and make available articles, pamphlets, and other materials for local distribution. Some of these items are prepared by other departments of the Committee; others originate elsewhere, notably in magazines and newspapers. The Department has selected as especially suitable for distribution many items of various origin and has reprinted these. During the past year orders were received for 175 of them which we stock and ship on request. Approximately 900,000 copies of these pamphlets and leaflets were distributed in the past year through local organizations or key persons. In many instances, this material became the foundation for sermons and other addresses, for newspaper editorials and for quotation or complete reprinting in newspapers and other publications.

Literature distribution is effected, mainly but not exclusively, through the Department's regular correspondents. During the past year requests for literature were received from practically every large and medium sized American city, as well as from many towns and villages which contain very few Jews. They come from libraries, from educational and religious institutions, and from individuals interested in improving group relations.

Requests have come increasingly from Jews and non-Jews in the armed forces for information concerning the Jews and for pro-

democratic literature. Large shipments have been sent into the European Theatre of Operations and are in the hands of soldiers fighting on the fronts in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and France, as well as in the hands of the soldiers in the rear areas of France and the United Kingdom. We have received from army chaplains and orientation officers explicit instructions as to what types of literature the soldiers most desire. The officer in charge of a large number of orientation courses operating in Central and South America has said that the American Jewish Committee material is the best he found after examining materials from nearly a hundred organizations.

Quantity distribution of pamphlets and leaflets at teachers' institutes, labor conventions, ministerial conferences and other gatherings has resulted in placing our literature directly in the hands of many people who mold public opinion.

The department also promotes the circulation of books bearing on Jewish-Christian relationships, intercultural education, and allied subjects by calling them to the attention of its correspondents, and encouraging them to publicize and place them locally.

Literature distribution and promotion constitute, of course, only one function of the department. It also proposes projects to be carried out locally, suggests effective techniques, provides speech and editorial material prepared by our Public Relations Department, and conveys important information assembled by the Committee concerning developments in our field.

Many recommended projects are devised in the offices of the Committee. Others are of local origin. For these, the Community Service Department, thanks to the large amount of its incoming correspondence and the reports of its traveling representatives, is in a position to serve as a clearing house. Frequently a newspaper release, a memorandum, a program, or even a letter, originating in one city, is highly useful elsewhere and is transmitted accordingly to key laymen, as well as to professional directors. For example, the American Jewish Committee put 500 copies of a brochure issued by the Council for Democracy of Columbus, Ohio, into the hands of people who are planning similar agencies in other communities. The program prepared for the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council was similarly made available for use in other large cities. Another instance of the way in which the Community Service Department frequently serves as a transmitting agent is the use made of Archbishop Mooney's speech in Detroit last

summer. This important address, delivered at a public meeting arranged by the Detroit Community Council, was reprinted by the Community Service Department and its distribution encouraged, through other community organizations and individuals, to Catholics throughout the country.

In addition to the work that it initiates, the Department handles a voluminous incoming correspondence, more than 3,000 individual letters having been received during 1944. Of these, about one-third were requests for information, in supplying which the department draws on our other departments as well as on its own resources.

Requiring even closer consideration are those letters which request not merely information, but also advice. Since such advice, to be useful, must be related to the realities of the specific community situation, considerable knowledge of the local conditions is prerequisite to intelligent handling of such requests. This knowledge the department possesses, thanks to detailed reports based on field visits by its representatives, as well as upon our files, built up over the years, of correspondence with key persons in the communities. Numerous letters have been received during the last year in which the Department's correspondents have expressed their commendation for its alertness in flashing to local organizations and individuals opportunities for strengthening their own programs, for keeping them informed of the Committee's planning and thinking, and for the thoroughness and dispatch with which the Department replies to inquiries, and otherwise fulfils the needs of its collaborators.

OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES IN 1944

By GEORGE Z. MEDALIE

Chairman, Overseas Committee

During the past year the activities of the Overseas Committee fell logically into three divisions: 1) those dealing with emergencies and efforts to rescue surviving victims of Nazi torture, 2) those arising from the process of liberation, and 3) those concerned with making secure, after liberation has been completed, the equality of Jews, in law and in fact, with their fellow nationals in every country.

Efforts to rescue Jews from threatened torture and death were substantially furthered by President Roosevelt's establishment of the War Refugee Board in January 1944. Its executive director, John W. Pehle, has recently resigned, to be succeeded by Brigadier General William O'Dwyer. Your Committee desires to record its admiration for the forthright and effective operation of the Board under the direction of Mr. Pehle, and its confidence that under General O'Dwyer it will actively and efficaciously continue to accomplish its task.

The number of persons in urgent need of rescue increased by almost a million when, in March 1944, the Germans occupied Hungary, putting an end to a relative autonomy which had been reflected in the comparative safety of the Jews. Reports of threatened and actual rounding up of Jews for mass deportation to slave labor or extermination came hard upon occupation. Feeling that the only slight hope of averting these horrors lay in warnings of punishment and retribution, the Committee made representations to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, to the British Ambassador, Lord Halifax, and to the Soviet Ambassador, Andrei A. Gromyko, urging that such a warning be issued jointly by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin. Both President Roosevelt and the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, issued vigorous warnings, and appealed to the Hungarian people and others in a similar position to resist Nazi incitements to persecution and to try to help the persecuted to escape.

A brief lull in the mass deportations was followed by their renewal. On behalf of the American Jewish Committee, the Soviet

Ambassador was waited upon by representatives of the Committee who submitted to him a memorial recapitulating the Jewish sufferings in Hungary and appealing to Premier Stalin to do what he could.

At about this time the Hon. Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's personal envoy at the Vatican, volunteered his assistance, following a plea made by the president of our organization. The Committee gladly availed itself of this opportunity to submit an appeal to Pope Pius to exercise his unique influence and to encourage Hungarian Catholics to follow the example of their fellow Catholics in Belgium, France and Italy, to whose help many Jews owe their survival. In response to this appeal, Mr. Taylor was informed by Archbishop Cicognani, the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, that the Holy See had done and was doing everything possible to help the Jews of Hungary.

In our approach to the War Refugee Board, we joined in an *ad hoc* committee of the American Jewish Conference and seven other national Jewish organizations to ask that every means of rescue be utilized, conventional and unconventional. The expert on Hungarian affairs in our Overseas Department was in constant touch with the State Department from the beginning.

Supplementing these steps through government and diplomatic channels, the American Jewish Committee and the other national Jewish organizations cooperated in an effort to arouse American public opinion through a protest demonstration in Madison Square Park, in New York City, on July 31. Almost forty thousand attended. The speakers included Senator Ralph O. Brewster of Maine; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, presiding; Norman S. Littell, then Assistant Attorney General; Mr. Henry Monsky, President of B'nai B'rith; and Judge Proskauer.

The Nazis and their Hungarian Arrow Cross puppets, however, did not heed warnings and protests. The Russian armies not being in full control of Hungary, our information is not complete; but there is cause to fear that during the past year most of the 800,000 Hungarian Jews fell at the hands of the Nazis.

Not the Nazis, or one of their puppet governments, but a member of the United Nations was responsible for another emergency that moved your Committee to action, namely the court martial of twenty-four Jewish soldiers of the Polish army in Great Britain in the early months of 1944. After many months of harassment and threats by their anti-Semitic fellow soldiers, they left their

units and went to London to enlist in the British army. The young men, who had taken this step after about two hundred others had been permitted to transfer to the British forces, were charged with desertion, convicted, and sentenced to severe punishment. The incident brought to a head widespread resentment which had been aroused in this country and Great Britain by reports of Jew-baiting in the Polish army. The subject was discussed in the British House of Commons, where the Polish military authorities were severely criticized for punishing men eager to fight the Nazis, who had left their own units only to be free to do so without being tormented by a Nazi-like spirit tolerated by those very authorities. As a result of such criticism and of such protests as the American Jewish Committee's letter to Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, then Premier of the Polish Government-in-exile, the convicted soldiers were pardoned.

Also in the category of short-range activities are the following: 1) an appeal to the Polish Government-in-exile to implement without delay the 1941 decree restoring citizenship to Polish nationals abroad who had been deprived of it by the semi-fascist government of 1938; 2) a request that the War Department, as soon as any territory was liberated from the Germans, effect a fair allotment of rations to Jews and others discriminated against by the Nazis—a request which produced assurances that equality of rationing would be observed; 3) similar requests to the governments of Belgium, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia, similar assurances being received from them; 4) a recommendation to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) that it extend relief to stateless persons of enemy and ex-enemy nationality, and that it consult and employ stateless persons with knowledge and experience of the needs of the stateless; 5) a request that the War Department guard seized Nazi records so that a reliable account might be made at a fitting time of German depredations, and receipt of assurances that this would be done; and 6) a plea to our Government and to the United Nations to set up an international commission to investigate and to fix the responsibility for Nazi mass extermination procedures at Majdanek, near Lublin, in Poland, where one and a half million men, women and children were hideously done to death.

Dr. Max Gottschalk, director of our Overseas Department, represented us at the Montreal conference of UNRRA in Septem-

ber, which decided that Jews and other victims of Nazis would not be excluded from assistance because of their former or actual enemy or ex-enemy nationality.

In the past year liberation proceeded apace, and in its wake appeared problems foreshadowed by those which arose the year before in North Africa. The armistice concluded between Hungary and the United Nations in January 1945, like the armistices several months earlier with Rumania and Bulgaria, included an article binding the government to remove discriminations against Jews and other victims of Nazism and to grant them assistance equal to that extended to the needy population as a whole. Yet in Rumania and Bulgaria, despite declarations repudiating the former Nazi regime and assurances that past evils will be made good, the measures actually taken to effect the promises have been unsatisfactory. The surviving Jews in both countries have remained destitute, with large numbers still in the grip of privation and near starvation. Legislation for the return of property is inadequate, and there appears to be no firm intention to take the necessary remedial action. In October the American Jewish Committee brought the facts about Rumania to the attention of the American, British and Soviet governments, and suggested that their representatives, constituting the Allied Control Commission, intervene for the enforcement of the armistice obligations. In January of this year we made a similar request concerning Bulgaria.

The liberated areas of Western Europe also give cause for concern. Some had predicted that the hatred of the Germans would bring about an almost universal revulsion from anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, the facts have not borne out this prediction. In Belgium, for example, there was little anti-Semitism before the war, and during Nazi occupation the population took great risks to save the Jews. Yet it is now reported that some degree of anti-Semitism persists after the Germans have been driven out.

Before the war France was not so untouched by anti-Semitism as Belgium. Since liberation the Jews have regained the equality of which Vichy robbed them, but the legislation recently proposed for the recovery of looted property is not what was promised by the French Committee of National Liberation. The Jews, whose share in liberation was outstanding, and who have been reduced by more than one-third from their pre-Vichy number of over 300,000, continue to suffer privation. We have expressed our interest and our hope for improvement to the French government.

Dr. Gottschalk recently left for Europe to study the situation for us on the spot and to renew our close relations with the European Jewish communities. The present state of European Jewry requires that the skill and experience we have gained should be placed at its disposal. We anticipate that one of the main functions of the Overseas Committee for years to come, will be to give help and advice, provide educational materials and aid in the reconstruction of these communities.

In December we had the opportunity of meeting with World Jewish Congress delegates and observers from Europe, Palestine, Africa and Latin America. In the course of discussion it became evident that the position of the American Jewish Committee was too often misunderstood. When it was stated clearly, many of the representatives of the various overseas communities expressed substantial agreement with it. All shared that desire for united action that has grown so marked among Jews throughout the world during these past sorrowful years, and all were eager to establish a working concord among the various Jewish communities and organizations.

For some years now we have been increasingly aware of the need for an active interest in Latin America, both as the home of a good-sized Jewish community and as a region for possible immigration. Last summer Mr. Waldman and Mr. Landau spent several months in the various Latin American countries on a mission for the Committee. They studied the nature and the problems of the Jewish communities, explaining the Committee's activities and point of view (incidentally clearing up a number of misunderstandings), and sounded out non-Jewish official and public opinion. Their trip was of the greatest value to us, giving a clear picture of conditions and establishing the basis for our future work. We expect to have a very capable man representing us in Latin America soon, and we are adding to the staff of our Overseas Department a person from Latin America, well versed in the problems and needs of the Jewish communities in that continent.

It has always been our principle that only when the world society is healthy can Jewish life flourish, individually and communally. The proposals for an international organization made at Dumbarton Oaks have been the object of our careful study. The American Jewish Committee was one of the organizations invited to the Washington meeting arranged by Americans United for

World Organization to hear the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as interpreted by Mr. Stettinius, then Acting Secretary of State and now Secretary. We have submitted to the State Department a memorandum to the effect that we consider these proposals a necessary step toward a true comity of nations, that we particularly welcome those provisions which may be used to safeguard human rights everywhere, and have suggested certain steps for the implementation of the general statement. We expressed the hope that adequate machinery for safeguarding human rights will be established.

The Overseas Department continued to meet with our various foreign advisory groups. The insights and suggestions thus made available to us have been of great value for the deliberations of the Committee on Peace Problems. The Department also prepared the various studies and memoranda for the Peace Problems Committee.

Dr. Gottschalk, at the Philadelphia conference of the International Labor Office, communicated our views on matters in which we are concerned, especially in connection with immigration.

During the year publication of four books was well advanced: *Jews in the Postwar World*, by Dr. Gottschalk, Abraham G. Duker, and members of the staff of the Overseas Department; *Legal Claims against Germany*, by Siegfried Goldschmidt; *An International Bill of the Rights of Man*, by Professor H. Lauterpacht; and *Where They Went: A Century of Organized Jewish Migrations*, by Mark Wischnitzer. All will appear shortly.

Everything indicates that the Overseas Committee will have to expand its activities considerably during the coming year. Let us hope that they will be activities arising from the total defeat of our enemies, and that we shall be able to contribute to the final attainment of full equality for the Jews in a democratic world.

MAJOR OBJECTIVES FOR THE COMING YEAR

By JOHN SLAWSON

Executive Vice-President

There are several major objectives on the three fronts on which we operate—the domestic, the foreign, and what might be termed the Jewish cultural front—which I should like to present to you briefly this afternoon.

On the domestic front: We are very much concerned with what is happening in the armed services. In spite of the optimism that was expressed this morning with regard to the improvement in attitude of members of one religious or racial group to those of others, the alarming amount of propaganda that has been and is being directed by the Nazis to our soldiers on the front lines is bound to have its effect. Much of this propaganda is of a rabidly anti-Semitic nature aimed directly at the Jew. We have in our possession material of a most subversive type, found in the front lines in France, Holland, Belgium and Italy. We must do something about this situation. We must counteract it—and we must do so before it is too late. We therefore look upon educational work in the armed services, and among returning veterans, as a major task.

Thus, in concentrating on a definite specialized area, we are following the trend in our organization that was initiated about a year ago, namely, to emphasize activities in the special areas or “class” groups and not to confine ourselves, as much as we have hitherto, to mass educational activities.

In our Public Relations Department, we created about eight months ago a Special Areas Division in which we placed all specialized activities. This is a significant development, for it has resulted in a greater particularization in our approach to the special interests represented in the various class groups. Whether it be veterans, labor, top business, women, or religious groups—this approach is of the utmost importance. To succeed in it, we need a highly specialized staff competent to engage in intensive activity over and above extensive operation on a mass basis.

On the foreign front: We point up a very vital problem directly related to the war situation. If we wish to prevent Europe from

becoming "*Judenrein*," we must stop talking about our "sorely afflicted brethren abroad" and do something about them. The services that we have to render cannot be restricted, as they are at the present time, to relief or even to the political sphere, or both. What is necessary now is that we become concerned with the social problem of anti-Semitism in these liberated countries on a public relations and community organization level. For we know that generally speaking, while the governments of these liberated countries are opposed to anti-Semitism, the people themselves have become infected as a result of intensive Nazi propaganda during the years of occupation. Their attitudes have also been influenced by conflicts arising from problems related to the restitution of property formerly belonging to Jews.

To combat this form of anti-Semitism, public relations techniques, similar to those we use in the United States but adapted to the special needs of the various countries, ought to be instituted. To do this, the Jewish communities in these liberated countries require advice, consultation, and probably published materials from us. We must gear ourselves to give this kind of service in countries like France and Belgium as well as in South America, and when we do this we are not being altruistic or simply fulfilling our responsibility toward fellow-Jews outside the boundaries of the United States. We are really buttressing the strength of our own position in the United States, for we know how closely related overseas anti-Semitism is to the domestic scene.

It is not easy to visualize the very large organizational set-up that is required to do this kind of a job, to aid and advise Jewish communities throughout the world on the methods they should employ in coping with the problem of anti-Semitism in their respective countries. This problem is indeed acute in the liberated countries of Europe. To solve it requires the integration of the resources of our Overseas Department, our Public Relations Department, our Community Service Unit, our Library of Jewish Information, and perhaps our Legal and Investigative Department—a correlation of practically all of our domestic defense services in the interest of European and South American Jewry.

These are the two basic projects to which we must address ourselves during the coming year, in addition, of course, to the many enterprises in which we are engaged and which have been outlined to you today.

And now I should like to turn to the relation of the American

Jewish Committee with the American Jewish community. We have organized a field staff, and we now know more than we did before we had this service, about what people think of us around the country. Some of us have made visits and spoken to groups in different cities and states; we have read reports from our field staff. And I do not think we need guess any more as to what American Jews think of the American Jewish Committee, its point of view, its potentialities, its limitations. Here, I should like to mention but a few of the items that have a bearing on this subject.

First: I think the American Jewish community as a whole, respects us because of our reliability; has confidence in us because of the authenticity of our facts and statements; looks up to us because of the comprehensiveness of our views; and a larger proportion than we realized tends to identify itself with us because of our America-centered position on Jewish adjustment. On the other hand, the American Jewish community still feels that we are more or less a closed corporation, that we are not sufficiently democratic, and that our decisions are made to too great an extent in New York City. The American Jewish community likes our attitude toward Jewish nationalism. On the whole, it agrees with us in our clear-cut opposition to Jewish nationalism. However, the American Jewish community wants from us a positive, constructive, and practical program for Palestine.

I do not mean that there is unanimity on all of these points that I have mentioned, but I believe that what I have indicated represents the wishes and desiderata of the majority of those who are considered the leaders in their respective communities.

Many right-thinking Jews, Jews with a positive attitude toward the American Jewish community, are beginning to include, in their Jewish activities, affiliations other than those of the synagogue and philanthropy, which until recent years constituted the sole identification with Jewish life on the part of most Jews. They are now becoming concerned with their positions as Jews in the American scene and throughout the world. Until recently, communal activities were limited to the specific spheres of charity and religion. American Jews are now embracing vaster areas in their activities.

We also note the rapidly changing composition of our leadership throughout the country—a shift more rapid than is generally perceived—from leadership of those of west European origin to those

of east European extraction. The net result of this shift has many far-reaching implications with regard to both ideology and practice.

What, in our opinion, does the American Jewish community ask of us? What does it want from the American Jewish Committee? You see, we talk so much about defending the Jew, that we forget the Jew himself. We talk about presenting him in a positive light, without concerning ourselves about the Jew himself. There is something happening to him in America and yet our attention is too little focused on this phenomenon of change. It is almost as if a lawyer, in defending his client, forgot to concern himself with the nature and characteristics of the client he was defending.

We have of course been through an emergency period in the United States; and in such a situation, one of necessity attends to the matter that is most urgent. But I think that, in addition to the domestic and foreign fronts, we must concern ourselves with the Jewish cultural front. I believe the American Jewish community wants from us a program that will strengthen its morale. It needs to develop a sense of balance that comes from true knowledge and deeper understanding. It wants information, authentic and vital. It is tired of demagogues and their harangues. It wants leadership of real integrity. It wants the American Jewish Committee to be not a leader of a faction in Jewish life, but to exercise leadership in the interest of all the Jewish people in America. It wants a democratic organization. It wants a cross-section organization in fact, as well as in form. And to us it has been extremely encouraging to have been able to draw into our midst, particularly in the activities of the various committees of our organization in New York City, persons who previously have not only been not affiliated with Jewish organizations, but who have never even attended a Jewish meeting—scholars, journalists, men of letters, artists, labor leaders. This is what we mean by a true cross-section.

When we talk about broadening our base, we must understand what this means and what the consequences of democratic participation in policy-making imply. Let us understand that, because the implications are profound. When we finally get our chapters organized throughout the country—fully organized—we may have as many as 1,500 representatives or delegates from our various chapters throughout the country. This is the ceiling set by our by-laws. All of them can, if they wish, come to an annual meeting, and I hope they do. These people will determine policy which

the executive committee and the administrative committee will have to carry out.

With regard to the problem of Jewish morale, I believe that the American Jewish Committee has a far greater responsibility than we generally recognize. This entails influencing the personal conduct and behavior of Jewish people in America, not alone with respect to ethical practice in specific trade groups (on which some effort is being expended), but actually in relation to the personal behavior of the Jew in America in terms of his adjustment to the fact that he is a Jew.

I sense a great hunger for the kind of knowledge and cultural nourishment that will strengthen and enrich the individual personality of the Jew—that will help in coping with the feeling of difference that Jews have because they are a minority, which, in turn, tends to result in a feeling of insecurity, particularly when they do not know whence it arises. For they do not know, generally speaking, the meaning of a minority. They do not even know the contemporary Jewish scene. All they do know is that danger lurks and they feel insecure. It should be remembered that the absence of a positive orientation is traceable to the fact that until the Hitler period, many Jews assumed that we would become assimilated and gradually disappear; and that therefore orientation, knowledge and understanding of Jewishness, its historic setting and contemporary attributes, were unnecessary.

We talk glibly about intercultural education, about its importance in creating respect for differences. But in order to participate in intercultural education, we must have our own culture. We talk about inter-faith movements; but in order to participate in such movements, we must have our faith, our own religion.

The Jews of America want to obtain, through us, a better sense of the reality of being Jewish, and wholesome pride in being Jewish—the kind of pride from which flows dignity, not chauvinism. In short, they want us to help them obtain a balanced perspective with regard to their Jewish identity, and they want us to contribute not only to their personal morale, but also to the group morale of Jews. They want to experience the feeling of togetherness—the strength that comes from working together—which American Jewry so greatly lacks at present. They want the kind of thing that might be called “mutual infection,” which comes from people working together for the same aims—unity in action, even if there be no ideological conformity.

The Jews of America wish to experience a sense of balance in three specific areas:

First: A balance between the emphasis on obtaining equal rights for Jews throughout the world, Jewish equality—and a concern with the Jewish scene in Palestine. They are confused as to how they can have both. We must clarify this problem for them, make them understand how it is possible to have an emancipated Jewry—a Jewry that becomes integrated into the country of its birth or adoption, and yet has a constructive interest in, and concern with, Palestine.

Second: A balance between the expenditure of effort in combating anti-Semitism, and the positive strengthening of Jewish communal life of which I spoke above—its cultural values, its spiritual attributes, and its role as a traditional bearer of these values and attributes. There is a growing desire on the part of Jews throughout the country that the American Jewish Committee engage not only in defending them against anti-Semitism, but that it also initiate and conduct an intellectual, cultural, and spiritual offensive within the Jewish community itself.

Third: A balanced perspective between the business of being part of American civilization—intergration into American life, which we all want—and Jewish distinctiveness. They do not know where one ends and the other begins.

To all of these specific areas, in which a sense of balance is needed, we can make important contributions. To help Jews achieve this balance in these very complicated phases of Jewish cultural adjustment, we should not resort to propaganda or dogmatic authority. We must make available objective information, functional in value and presented in an effective manner. We must engage in a vast and skillfully conducted adult educational program. Before we can reach an appreciable number, we must create a widespread corps of leadership concerned with fostering an America-centered point of view together with an emancipated world outlook among American Jews. To this end we must dedicate our energies this coming year, and I think we have made a fairly good start.

PEACE PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTIONS

Interim-Report of the Committee on Peace Problems

Presented by JACOB J. KAPLAN

The Committee on Peace Problems was appointed pursuant to a resolution of the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Committee. It was organized under the chairmanship of the President of the American Jewish Committee and under the honorary chairmanship of the Hon. Irving Lehman and the Hon. Abram I. Elkus. The officers in addition to those named are as follows: Jacob Blaustein and George Z. Medalie, associate chairmen; Morris D. Waldman, secretary.

The entire resources of the American Jewish Committee and its staff under the leadership of the Executive Vice-President, Dr. John Slawson, and with the aid of the Overseas Department under the direction of Dr. Max Gottschalk, were made available at all times.

Prior to the Committee's deliberations, it was provided with a series of scholarly monographs on the more important phases of the problems with which your Committee was to be concerned. These monographs were based on more than four years of work and the many publications and studies of the Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems of the American Jewish Committee. Your Committee desires to express its deep appreciation to the staff, which functioned under the able supervision of Dr. Simon Segal. The monographs were prepared by Messrs. Dijour, Hevesi, Himmelfarb, Munz, Segal and Shub.

After the preparation of these monographs and preliminary consideration of them by members of the Committee, your Committee met in session on February 1-2. Its work was divided among four subcommittees, whose chairmen and members were respectively as follows:

*Subcommittee on
Restoration of Rights*

Judge Jacob J. Kaplan,
Chairman
Frank Altschul
Carl J. Austrian
Judge Phillip Forman,
Acting Chairman
Judge Eli Frank
Jacob Potofsky
Dr. A. J. Rongy
James N. Rosenberg
Dr. Alexander Sack
Hon. Murray Seasongood
Sidney Weinberg

*Subcommittee on
Protection of Human Rights*

Professor Hans Kohn,
Chairman
Professor Salo Baron
Dr. Monroe Deutsch
Waldo Frank
Professor Isaac Kandel
Arthur K. Kuhn
James Marshall
Leonard R. Minster
Professor J. Salwyn Schapiro
Max M. Warburg
Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

*Subcommittee on
Repatriation and Migration*

Professor Louis Wirth,
Chairman
John L. Bernstein
Herbert Feis
Dr. Jacob Golub
Abraham Herman
Samuel D. Leidesdorf
Harris Perlstein
Dr. Milton J. Rosenau
Professor I. L. Sharfman
Hon. M. C. Sloss
Professor Frank Tannenbaum

*Subcommittee on
Palestine*

Judge Horace Stern,
Chairman
James H. Becker
Fred Lazarus, Jr.
Judge Edward Lazansky
Monte M. Lemann
David Sher
Jesse Steinhart
Alan M. Stroock
Maurice Wertheim

Each of these subcommittees met separately and then reported to the full Committee in plenary session. A drafting committee was then appointed to edit and integrate the reports of the four subcommittees in the light of the discussion by the full Committee and the modifications agreed upon. The drafting committee consisted of Professor Louis Wirth, Chairman, Frank Altschul, Judge Jacob J. Kaplan, Arthur K. Kuhn, Alan M. Stroock, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, ex-officio. Dr. Simon Segal and Milton Himmelfarb served as consultants to the committee. It was an underlying objective of your Committee to prepare recommendations that would serve as a guide to the American Jewish Committee in its work with reference to the rebuilding of a post-war world under such organization and principles as would safeguard peace and insure those basic freedoms which are the inherent rights of every individual in every country of the world.

The tragedy of events required the Committee to give special attention to the problems of the Jews, who, in addition to the general suffering caused by the holocaust of war, have been the principal victims of the persecution that has sprung from the Hitler tyranny. The report proceeds on the basis of recommending special treatment for the Jews only in so far as necessary to meet their special situation. The Committee believes that every recommendation it has made is consistent with its primary objective of aiding in the establishment of a world order that is just to every human being, irrespective of race, creed or nationality.

It should be clearly understood that this is an ad interim and not a final report. A number of important topics have been left entirely for further consideration, and as to all of the subjects it is proposed that this Committee will continue in existence for further exploration and study and for further report.

The report of the Committee on Peace Problems at present deals with eight problems:

I. PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. To comply with the Dumbarton Oaks proposals to "promote respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" a permanent commission should be set up at the earliest possible time by the United Nations Conference to formulate an International Bill of Rights embodying the principles of human rights, fundamental freedoms, religious liberty and racial equality, and a course of procedure for the implementation and enforcement of the Bill. The report should be submitted, at the earliest possible time, for approval of the proper body of the General International Organization.
2. The United Nations should, by general agreement, declare public or organized incitement against religious, ethnic and racial groups to be contrary to the principles and interest of world democracy and a danger to the peace and security of the world.

II. ABROGATION OF RACIAL LEGISLATION

In the Rumanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian Armistice Agreements, the governments of the United States of America, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland and of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have dealt with the abroga-

tion of Nazi legislation and discrimination against Jews in a way which the American Jewish Committee applauds as just.

The pertinent clause from the most recent of these agreements, that with Hungary, signed on behalf of the aforementioned governments by Marshal K. E. Voroshiloff, reads as follows:

Article V

"The Government of Hungary will immediately release, regardless of citizenship and nationality, all persons held in confinement in connection with their activities in favor of the United Nations or because of their sympathies with the United Nations' cause or for racial or religious reasons, and will repeal all discriminatory legislation and disabilities arising therefrom. The Government of Hungary will take all the necessary measures to insure that all displaced persons and refugees within the limits of Hungarian territory, including Jews and stateless persons, are accorded at least the same measures of protection and security as its own nationals."

The American Jewish Committee holds that the principles and procedures set forth in this clause represent a forward step of vast importance, and urges that they be incorporated as a fundamental element in present and future international action in so far as they may be applicable, and that they be adopted as standards of national policy in all countries formerly under Nazi domination.

III. INDEMNIFICATION

The questions of restoration and indemnification and kindred problems have been discussed at length by us. The world has been confronted with the greatest catastrophe in history. Both Christian and Jew have suffered; but Jews have been the special victims.

The treatment of these difficult problems requires most careful thought. In view of their complexity this Committee finds that these subjects require additional study and a further report will be made at an early date.

IV. REPATRIATION

1. All displaced nationals irrespective of race, creed or ethnic origin should be entitled to readmission to the country of their nationality.
2. All persons—whether of foreign nationality or stateless—who before they were displaced had their permanent residence in any country should be entitled to readmission to that country.

3. No displaced person should be compelled to return to the country from which he was displaced.
4. Displaced persons should be allowed to continue to live in the country in which they reside even, in so far as practicable, in neutral countries which have served as their temporary havens of refuge.
5. In requiring proof of nationality from persons applying for repatriation, liberal rules of evidence should be applied. Where formal documents are not available, other reasonable evidence should be accepted.
6. Displaced persons are those who have fled, been expelled from or forced to leave the countries of their nationality or permanent residence since the Nazis came to power in January, 1933.

V. MIGRATION

1. Since the volume of, and need for migration are largely contingent on the rapidity and effectiveness of reconstruction, every encouragement should be given to increasing the social, economic and psychological retentive capacity of the old countries.
2. Migration is a matter of vital international interest. The migration policy of any country is therefore of concern to the community of nations.
3. Non-discrimination between racial, religious and ethnic groups should be the basic principle of migration policy. A Commission on Migration, under the Economic and Social Council of the General International Organization, should work for the adoption and ratification of an international migration convention based on this principle. It should set up a technical body to explore promising areas in the world with a view to developing and increasing their absorptive capacity. The work of other official international agencies, already in existence or to be brought into existence, in so far as it is relevant to migration, should be coordinated with that of the Commission, or integrated into it.
4. Pending the establishment of such a world migration policy, liberal provisions for migration should be extended to individuals and groups that have suffered particular hardship during the war, and who continue to labor under unusual hardships.
5. In view of the hardships incident to the dispersion of families and in order to encourage family and community reunion and

reconstruction, special migration facilities should be extended to orphans, children separated from their families, and other close relatives who have become separated in the course of mass upheaval and war.

VI. PALESTINE

We recommend that the American Jewish Committee reaffirm the position it has taken with respect to Palestine in previous statements and resolutions, including the Statement of Views of January 31, 1943, and further recommend that this Committee continue to give the most serious study to the Palestine question in the light of changing conditions as they may develop, and from time to time make such further recommendations as the Committee may deem advisable.

VII. STATELESSNESS

1. Great hazards are involved in the existence of statelessness and in the practice of denationalization. Statelessness is a condition injurious to the existence of the national state, to the human community and to the dignity of the human personality. Statelessness should not be imposed as a punishment on any person, for any reason.
2. Pending the recognition and implementation of this principle, a Convention on Statelessness should be adopted by the United Nations, as part of their aim, expressed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, to "achieve international cooperation in the solution of international economic, social and other humanitarian problems."
3. A Commission on Statelessness should be set up under the Economic and Social Council to implement this Convention. The Commission should be recognized as the international authority protecting the rights and concerned with the welfare of all the stateless, with power to determine the degree of compliance with obligations assumed under the Convention by any state, and to make appropriate recommendations to the Economic and Social Council for submission to the General Assembly.
4. The Commission should issue to the stateless suitable documents of identity and passports, which should be recognized as valid by all nations.

5. The stateless person should have the same rights as those generally enjoyed by aliens under the protection of a state. Option to resume or reject their old nationality should be given to those who now are stateless.
6. The Commission should be empowered by the Convention to determine the fairness of standards of proof of nationality and of identity required by the various states.

VIII. WAR CRIMES

The American Jewish Committee welcomes and supports the statement of American policy in regard to the punishment of Axis criminals and their associates made by the Department of State on February 1, 1945, through the Acting Secretary of State, the Honorable Joseph C. Grew.

This statement calls for

... the punishment of German leaders and their associates for their responsibility for the whole broad criminal enterprise devised and executed with ruthless disregard of the very foundation of law and morality, including offenses, wherever committed, against the rules of war and against minority elements, Jewish and other groups, and individuals."

The American Jewish Committee urges the adoption and enforcement of the policies set forth by the Department of State by whatever appropriate agencies may hereafter be designated.