

services the Jews of America have rendered and know that when the final account is written, additional chapters will be added to the annals of our heroes. We who serve those who fight know that, like them, we must continue to work with unremitting effort to secure final victory.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

By ELLEN H. POSNER*

DURING the period under review, a disruptive minority of the American people continued their anti-Semitic manifestations unabated. These "nationalist" activities, among which anti-Semitism was an important weapon, were accelerated as a result of the failure of the Federal sedition trial and as Allied victory in all war theaters grew imminent. In February 1945, Elmo Roper, expert on testing public sentiment, reported that on the basis of a national public opinion poll, fourteen percent of the American people queried replied "the Jews," in answer to a question as to which group in the United States might harm the nation if it were not curbed.

In the political field, one of the bitterest Presidential campaigns in the recent history of the United States was waged prior to November 1944. Sidney Hillman, Chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee and of Jewish origin, became the target of virulent anti-Semitism in the campaign. Reference to Mr. Hillman as the "Russian-born Mr. Hillman," was often followed by a detailed account of his "foreign" antecedents. The "alien" refrain was eagerly picked up by the anti-Semitic press in which attacks on an individual Jew were broadened to include all Jews. In spite of the fact that these bigoted attacks were repudiated by the two major political parties, local subordinates in some sections of the country continued to slander the Jews.

Defeated in the Congressional elections or the party primaries, were some well-known anti-Semites and other candidates who fraternized with bigoted elements, although the

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extent to which their anti-Semitism contributed to their defeat is not clear. These included Representatives Stephen A. Day (R., Ill.), who had negotiated with the pro-Nazi publishing firm of Flanders Hall, Inc. to publish a book he had written; William P. Lambertson (R., Kan.), whose theme in Congress was that the Jews were responsible for our entry into the war; Fred E. Busbey (R., Ill.), who periodically reprinted in the *Congressional Record* a biography of Hillman emphasizing his "rabbinical" education; and Senator Rufus C. Holman (R., Ore.), an outspoken and unequivocal anti-Semite and former member of the Ku Klux Klan. Senator Robert R. Reynolds (D., N. C.), well-known for his anti-alien sentiments and his association with Gerald L. K. Smith, announced his own retirement before the election campaign began.

In Alabama, James Simpson, who tried to unseat Senator Lister Hill, was defeated in the Democratic primaries after a bigoted campaign; in Florida, J. Ollie Edwards, who ran against Senator Claude Pepper, met with the same fate. Former Congressman Lewis Thill of Wisconsin, who is best remembered for his insertion of Nazi propaganda in the *Congressional Record*, failed to gain re-election. Running on an overtly anti-Semitic ticket for representative from Illinois, Charles J. Anderson, Jr., succeeded in obtaining the Republican nomination. Later repudiated by the Republican party, he was decisively beaten in the election. Carl H. Mote, rabid anti-Semite and collaborator of Gerald L. K. Smith, was defeated in his attempt to gain the Republican nomination for United States Senator from Indiana. The same fate befell O. O. Owens, distributor of a viciously anti-Semitic campaign publication called the *Anti-New Deal Bible*, who sought the Republican nomination for Senator from Oklahoma. Gerald L. K. Smith, presidential candidate of his America First Party, received a very negligible vote: only 1,530 in Michigan and 265 in Texas — a sharp decline from 1942 when he polled 130,000 votes as candidate for United States Senator from Michigan. In most cases, he ran behind the other candidates on the America First ticket, none of whom received an appreciable vote.

The same pattern of repudiation of anti-Semites was true of state elections. Former Congressman Jacob Thorkelson,

who in his day was an arch Jew-baiter in Congress, failed in his attempt to obtain the nomination for Governor of Montana. Ex-Representative Martin L. Sweeney, spokesman for Father Charles E. Coughlin, lost the mayoralty of Cleveland, Ohio. However, Representative Clare E. Hoffman (R., Mich.) and John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) were re-elected to Congress.

In connection with the 1944 campaign, the House Special Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures in the course of its investigation secured the indictment by a Federal grand jury in December 1944, of Joseph P. Kamp for refusing to furnish the Committee with the expenditures and names of the officers of the Constitutional Educational League, New Haven, Connecticut. Kamp, a prolific pamphleteer, is never openly anti-Semitic but employs innuendo to achieve the desired effect. His pamphlets are sold at meetings of un-American bigots and distributed by some of the defendants in the Federal sedition trial. Also investigated by the House Committee was the American Democratic National Committee. Launched early in 1944 as an anti-Roosevelt movement, this organization played a major role in opposing a fourth term for President Roosevelt. William J. Goodwin, a prominent Coughlinite, was treasurer while the former financial advisor of Father Coughlin, Robert M. Harriss, was a contributor.

Another highlight in the year under review was the progress of the Federal sedition trial in which twenty-eight men and two women were charged "with conspiracy to aid in establishment of a National Socialist form of government in the United States." The Government's indictment charged that anti-Semitism was one of the devices employed by the defendants in furtherance of the alleged conspiracy. Lasting eight months, the proceedings were declared a mistrial on December 7, 1944, a week after the death of Edward C. Eicher, the presiding judge. During the course of the trial, the Judge denied about five hundred motions for a mistrial or a directed verdict. The Government's testimony ran to three million words, and seven defense lawyers were fined over one thousand dollars for contempt. Much of the delay in the proceedings was caused by the alleged seditionists who employed every tactic to convert the proceedings into

a trial of the Jews rather than of themselves. Attorney General Francis Biddle announced a new trial of the case at a future date.

Many of the defendants, after the mistrial, renewed their old activities. Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling resumed publication of her *Patriotic Research Bureau* letter and slandered Jews at "nationalist" gatherings called by the America First Party and other bigoted groups. Garland Alderman, E. J. Parker Sage and William R. Lyman, Jr. were welcomed back to Detroit by a party arranged by Homer G. Maertz, self-styled liaison man among all "nationalists" and anti-Semites in the country, and attended largely by members of their National Workers League. Lyman reverted to distributing anti-Semitic tracts and traveled from one "nationalist" center to another. Gerald B. Winrod conducted a tour of churches in the East. Joseph E. McWilliams became a representative of former Senator Robert R. Reynold's American Nationalist Party.

A major attempt at consolidating the reactionary and bigoted forces was begun in 1944 by former Senator Robert R. Reynolds. Realizing that he did not have a chance to be re-elected to the Senate in 1944 because of his isolationism and outspoken approval of Hitler, Reynolds voluntarily retired from office and devoted himself instead to the establishment of a third party, the American Nationalist Party, the formation of which was announced in January 1945.

Reynolds has asserted that his party is already organized in all the forty-eight states, and that it will enter candidates in the election of 1946 with the aim of becoming a major political factor in the Presidential election of 1948. His promoters, who receive a substantial commission from the money they solicit, work quietly and unobtrusively. While on the surface the new party is not anti-Semitic, one needs only to examine the caliber of its promoters, the record of its adherents and the anti-alien, anti-immigration statements by Reynolds himself to be convinced of its real nature. Organized on the basis of secret units or cells of ten members, it is reminiscent of the Nazi party in its infancy. Its official organ is the *National Record*, Washington, D. C., a monthly publication, which Reynolds has been publishing for a number of years.

The American Nationalist Party is trying to bring together all local "nationalist" organs and individuals for concerted political action. Isolationist daily newspapers as well as very rabid anti-Semitic sheets have lavished praise and publicity on the American Nationalist Party. The more respectable press speaks merely of the need of a third political party, which will put America's "interests" first, while the subversive papers outspokenly laud Reynolds' party and express great confidence in its leadership. *Women's Voice*, the monthly periodical of *We, the Mothers Mobilize for America*, the largest and most vocal "mothers" organization in the United States, announced its support of Reynolds' "new grand American party" and suggested in its January 25, 1945 issue that the party have a "dominant women's group" which *We, the Mothers* were ready to organize.

Reynolds has achieved some success in affiliating organizations and individuals to his group, but many "nationalist" leaders are holding back. They are not yet willing to join a national party unless they are guaranteed positions of importance therein. For the time being, therefore, they are merely lending moral support and encouragement to Reynolds.

Gerald L. K. Smith is regarded as a co-leader of the new Reynolds movement. Carl H. Mote, one of Smith's lieutenants, has also indicated his adherence to the American Nationalist Party. Mote, editor of a monthly periodical, *America Preferred*, Indianapolis, Indiana, is a rabid anti-Semite. The head of a utility company in Indianapolis, Mote was recently made president of a mid-western farm organization called The National Farmers Guild. Through his publication and the *Farmers Guild News* he is spreading anti-Semitic and "nationalist" propaganda.

Rabble-rouser and anti-Semite, editor and publisher of a hate-inciting periodical *The Cross and the Flag*, Detroit, Michigan, Gerald L. K. Smith sustained a considerable loss in prestige and following during the last half of 1944, especially after his wretched showing in the 1944 elections. Undeterred, however, he turned from a policy of quasi-respectability to one, to quote his own words, of attracting "people who have been smeared, persecuted, convicted, indicted and had run-ins with the law." On August 30, 1944, Smith's America

First Party held a convention in Chicago. It was at this meeting, over which Carl H. Mote presided, that Homer Gustav Maertz, who has a criminal record, sponsored a resolution calling for the deportation of Jews "if they do not leave America voluntarily within five years," and proposing the sterilization of "all those who stay."

Smith also sought to establish himself in more lucrative fields and made efforts to attract veterans of World War II. To that end, he set up the Nationalist Veterans of World War II under the leadership of George R. Vose, his candidate for lieutenant-governor of Michigan. A veteran of this war, Vose had been convicted by a court-martial in the spring of 1943 of selling government-issued army clothes and enlisted men's passes.

Another new organization, set up by Smith early in 1945, was the National Emergency Committee, "a coalition and mobilization of Nationalists for the preservation of American Sovereignty." The advisory board of the Committee included many anti-Semitic leaders such as: Carl H. Mote; Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling; Mrs. David Stanley, head of the United Mothers of America, in Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Catherine V. Brown, president of the Blue Star Mothers of Philadelphia; Joseph Stoffel, head of the Economic League, successor to the Buffalo, New York, unit of the National Union for Social Justice; and Charles Madden, veteran Coughlinite of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Smith also established a Nationalist News Service, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., whose purpose is to supply any publication with his brand of "nationalist" news. Many of the subversive papers became "members" of the Service.

Smith toured the west on his way to San Francisco, for the purpose of sniping at the United Nations Conference held in that city. Although he received very little publicity, and was not able to hold any meetings there, he was given a warm reception by Ham 'n' Eggers, "British Israelites," and similar groups in Los Angeles. Others present in San Francisco, with the aim of obstructing the work of the Conference, were Homer Maertz, Mrs. Lyril C. Van Hyning, and Adele Cox of We, the Mothers Mobilize for America,

and Mrs. Beatrice Knowles, leader of the American Mothers. They made little headway, however, in their efforts.

The "mothers" groups, like those mentioned above, are still purveying hate and disunity: they demand an "immediate negotiated peace," foment whispering campaigns, and distribute anti-Semitic leaflets to mothers who have lost sons in the war. They hold frequent meetings and attend gatherings of other subversive groups. We, the Mothers, with headquarters in Chicago, under the leadership of Mrs. Van Hyning, exerts the most influence. It supported Charles J. Anderson, Jr. for Congress in 1944, and favored Smith for President. Early in 1945, before the end of the European war, this group flooded Congress with letters demanding the immediate return of our armed forces. The printed organ of We, the Mothers is the *Women's Voice*, which claims a circulation of 20,000.

Mrs. Blanche Winters, another active "mother," is exploiting, along with Gerald L. K. Smith and Herbert L. Smith of Philadelphia, the fears and discontents of American foreign-language groups who are dissatisfied with events in their European country of origin. She has turned her large house in Detroit into a meeting place for Slavs, who formerly enjoyed an official or semi-official standing in their native lands. Also in attendance have been American "nationalists," among them Mrs. Agnes Waters, noisy "mothers'" lobbyist in Washington, D. C.; and Kenneth Weber, head of the United Sons of America, an offshoot of the Ku Klux Klan in Detroit.

In Philadelphia, the Blue Star Mothers have been meeting under the name of the Current Events Club, presided over by Mrs. Catherine Brown, formerly head of the Crusading Mothers of America. The Blue Star Mothers have distributed scurrilous anti-Semitic leaflets. Addressed to "Christian mothers," one leaflet charged that the Jews started this war as their "holy war." Casualty lists were reprinted to show the recipient "the price you are paying for the Jew Revenge." Mrs. Beatrice Knowles, chairman of the American Mothers in Detroit, is head of the "textbook committee" of Carl Mote's National Farmers Guild.

The main center of the professional merchants of hate

continues to be Chicago. Home of We, the Mothers and Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, and host to Homer Maertz, Gerald L. K. Smith, Joseph E. McWilliams, and others of their ilk, Chicago has many other noisy anti-Semitic and disruptive groups, such as the Constitutional Americans, led by George Foster, and the Citizens U. S. A. Committee, led by William J. Grace and Earl Southard. Another Chicago organization is the Gentile Cooperative Association which was organized late in 1943 by Eugene R. Flitcraft. A "Gentile educational movement," its avowed purpose is to institute a national boycott of Jewish merchants. It plans a "Gentile Business Directory" for every state in the Union. By order of the Superior Court of Illinois in January 1945, the corporate charter of the Association was revoked, on the ground that its purposes were "subversive and directed against racial and religious groups or faiths . . ." The Association is continuing its activities as an unincorporated group pending its appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court. It promises veterans help in establishing "Gentile" businesses. It publishes a monthly paper entitled *Gentile News* which is using Gerald L. K. Smith's Nationalist News Service.

Besides the Gentile Cooperative Association, Flitcraft has set up the American Christian Civil Liberties Institute, one of whose leaders is "Bishop" D. Scott Swain. Swain, who came into prominence with his defense of Flitcraft, said in January 1945: ". . . too many people forget that anti-Semitism is not a legal crime." Investigation revealed that he was not an ordained bishop and had been convicted of embezzlement.

The Reverend Arthur W. Terminiello formed a new organization to promote bigotry, the Union of Christian Crusaders. This Alabama priest frankly stated that his movement seeks to enroll the "lunatic fringe." He maintains frequent communication with Elizabeth Dilling and other agitators. In emulation of Father Coughlin, Father Terminiello published a periodical, *Rural Justice*, until the intervention of his bishop caused the suspension of the publication in 1943. Through his radio broadcasts and the subversive press, however, his speeches are given wide coverage. The Union of Christian Crusaders has an isolationist, nationalist platform, agitates for a negotiated peace

and praises such like-minded men as Father Coughlin and Charles Lindbergh.

The Ku Klux Klan has been reorganizing and springing up under the cloak of patriotic names in some parts of the country. Not abating its anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, the re-activated Klan is primarily poised to fight organized labor. Its program calls for the formation of a national labor organization and independent labor locals along the lines of company unions. Kenneth Weber, the leader of the United Sons of America in Detroit, a Klan-inspired group which meets regularly, is reported to be the actual organizer of this scheme. Weber is already head of one of these "unions," the Motor Rebuilders Association of America. Court Asher, a former Klan member, and editor of the scurrilous weekly *X-Ray*, Muncie, Indiana, is busily mobilizing Klan elements.

An attempt to unite all monetary reform groups led to the calling of an Eastern Monetary Congress, held in Buffalo, New York, on April 6-8, 1945. Present were Joseph H. Stoffel, Carl H. Mote, and Mr. and Mrs. Gerald L. K. Smith. Praise of Father Coughlin by one of the speakers drew prolonged applause.

In Chicago, in September 1944, the Christian Action Party, an extremely secretive organization, was organized by Lawrence Daly, who has a criminal record. Its literature was anti-Semitic and demanded a negotiated peace with Germany. Its membership application contained this statement: "... it is possible also that in the pursuance of your activities you might even lose your life."

Large quantities of viciously anti-Semitic literature emanated from the Hoosier Press in Hammond, Indiana. The name of Earl Southard, secretary of the anti-Semitic Citizens U. S. A. Committee, was submitted as reference to the post office authorities for the post office box. An Illinois Senate investigative committee, set up specifically to investigate the sources of anonymous circulars, letters, and pamphlets containing statements calculated to create hatred of racial and religious groups, sent to the Illinois legislators, revealed in May 1945 that the owner and editor of The Hoosier Press was Ainsley Horney of Chicago, a prolific distributor of the most vicious type of hate-literature. Present at the hearings

of the Committee were members of the "mothers" organizations and Lawrence Daly, founder of the Christian Action Party. Contempt proceedings for failure to provide the Committee with his books, records and a list of financial contributors were instituted against Horney.

In addition to the publications already named whose propaganda is disseminating hate, fear, distrust, and disunity, there are many others being published throughout the country. Some have appeared for years and are well-known; others are relatively new. The list includes: William Kullgren's *America Speaks*, Atascadero, California; C. Leon de Aryan's *The Broom*, San Diego, California; the official organ of the United Irish Societies of San Francisco, *The Leader*, San Francisco, California; the Reverend Robert F. Shuler's *Methodist Challenge*, Los Angeles, California; A. Hoeppe's *National Defense*, Arcadia, California; the Reverend Harvey H. Springer's *Western Voice*, Englewood, Colorado; the Reverend William D. Herrstrom's *Bible News Flashes*, Minneapolis, Minnesota; the Reverend W. B. Riley's *The Northwestern Pilot*, Minneapolis, Minnesota; F. H. Sattler's *The Malist*, Meriden, Connecticut; and Guy C. Stephens' *The Individualist*, Danville, Virginia.

On the floor of Congress, Representative John E. Rankin (D., Miss.) has become the leading Jew-baiter. The long debates on the Fair Employment Practices Committee have prompted him to refer on several occasions to the danger to "white Gentiles." Other Congressmen who have added their voices to Rankin's include Representative Clare E. Hoffman, who has spoken at a meeting of the Citizens U. S. A. Committee, and Representative Don R. McGehee (D., Miss.), who, on the floor of the House on February 19, 1945, demanded the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter who, he alleged "connived with others of his faith and belief behind closed doors" to control the United States and "probably the world."

The injection of a *numerus clausus*, in the period under review, in the dental and clinical psychology fields raised a storm of public protest. Dr. Harlan H. Horner, secretary of the Council on Dental Education of the American Dental Association, submitted two confidential reports recommending a "quota" system in American dental schools which

would restrict the number of Jewish students. Because of the authority of the Council on Dental Education to grade dental schools and place them on nationally recognized approved or disapproved lists, its recommendations were very important.

One report was submitted in Washington to the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives. According to it, about 24 per cent of the dental students in the United States came from the metropolitan area of New York City and belonged principally to "one racial group." The report recommended that a determined effort be made, supported by Federal Government subsidies, to counteract on a national scale "the trend toward marked racial and geographical imbalance." Public indignation was aroused when the report came to light through its publication in the December 1944 issue of the *Journal of Dental Education*.

Soon after, Justice Meier Steinbrink, speaking for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, revealed that Dr. Horner had submitted to Columbia, New York, and other universities a similar survey recommending the reduction of the "racial imbalance" in their dental schools.

The officials of the American Dental Association stated in answer to widespread public protests that Dr. Horner's views did not represent the attitude of the Association, and that the Council on Dental Education publicly repudiated the implication that it favored the adoption of racial quotas for dental schools. The A.D.A., however, did not recall the reports or censure Dr. Horner.

Both Columbia and New York Universities denied the existence of a quota system of admissions to their dental colleges. Later, the two universities promised to eliminate questions regarding religious preference from their application forms for admission. New York University, in addition, dropped questions concerning nationality.

The *Journal of Clinical Psychology* in its first issue of January 1945 proposed restrictions on the admission of a certain "racial group" to professional psychological training on the ground that, however apt these students might be, it would be unwise "to allow any one group to dominate or take over any clinical specialty . . ." Another reason given

was that "the profession should not be exploited in the interests of any one group in such manner that the public acceptance of the whole program is jeopardized."

Immediate action taken by the American Jewish Committee was followed by a retraction from the editor and publisher of the *Journal*, Dr. Frederick C. Thorne. Most of the editorial board promptly expressed their displeasure with the implied *numerus clausus* principle. An editor's note in the April 1945 issue of the *Journal of Clinical Psychology* stated that the wording of the censured paragraph "was admittedly unfortunate and should not have escaped editorial scrutiny." It added that the opinion expressed "does not reflect the policy or opinions of the editorial board."

Combating Anti-Semitism

By GERALDINE ROSENFELD*

RECENT studies of attitudes toward minority groups in America reveal a heightening of all forms of racial tension. Recognizing that the economic and social dislocations of the wartime period will be even greater in the post-war world, many organizations have launched campaigns to eliminate or alleviate group antagonisms. While in former years the fight against anti-Semitism was considered the exclusive sphere of Jewish groups, at the present time government, labor, industrial, educational, women's and religious groups have inaugurated programs for the eradication of anti-Semitism and other expressions of intolerance.

Those Americans who have begun to combat anti-Jewish manifestations in order to preserve democratic ideals are keenly aware of a fact stressed by President Harry S. Truman who, shortly before he assumed the presidency, on March 27, 1945, declared that "at no time in history has there been a greater call for tolerance."

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Jewish Groups

Jewish groups whose function is the safeguarding of civil rights of members of that faith continued their unremitting opposition to all forms of anti-Semitism.

A noteworthy innovation in the work of counteracting anti-Semitism is the trend toward scientific analysis of the causes of prejudice. The American Jewish Committee set up during the past year a Scientific Research Department in the field of anti-Semitism, whose purpose is to test and analyze methods of combating prejudice in order to determine the most effective weapons against anti-Jewish activities. In September 1944, the American Jewish Congress created a Commission on Community Interrelations. It is the responsibility of the Commission to ascertain the basic causes of anti-Semitism in real life situations and to suggest methods for their eradication.

The projects of the two groups are concerned with two different aspects of the larger problem. The Commission on Community Interrelations is devoted to the study of the dynamics of group behavior in the local community setting, whereas the Scientific Research Department of the American Jewish Committee is interested in the analysis of psychological trends in individuals and the investigation of the character structure of the anti-Semite.

Coordinating their efforts with the work of the scientific division, the several departments of the American Jewish Committee fight anti-Semitism through such channels as the radio and the press, and in cooperation with labor, industry, veterans', women's, and foreign language groups.

As in former years the American Jewish Congress has exposed and fought anti-Semitic activities through its Commission to Combat Anti-Semitism; it has expanded its educational program to promote inter-group understanding; it has sought to safeguard civil and human rights through the Commission on Law and Legislation; and it has fought unfair employment practices through the Commission on Economic Discrimination. The last named Commission presented testimony, based on fifteen years of experience in the work of employment discrimination, at hearings held

in December 1944 for the Ives-Quinn Bill to establish a New York State Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, which for over thirty years has been working to eliminate defamation of the Jews and to advance good will among groups, has during the period under consideration carried out its program through a speakers bureau, books and pamphlets, radio broadcasts, and in cooperation with communities and civic groups. It has also in the past year turned particular attention to cooperation with labor groups and to discrimination in employment and schools. In March 1945, action on the part of the ADL resulted in the elimination of questions regarding religion and race from applications for admission to New York University.

The Jewish Labor Committee, established in 1934 to represent organized Jewish labor in matters of concern to the Jewish community, is concentrating its efforts in the fight against anti-Semitism among American workers. Co-operating with the Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Jewish Labor Committee has supported efforts to enact a federal law making anti-Semitism a crime and a bill to bar anti-Semitic and racist literature from the mails.

Community Efforts

The National Community Relations Advisory Council, formed in March 1944, serves as a coordinating and clearing agency for the domestic defense policies of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and some twenty local communities. During the months under review, the N.C.R.A.C. investigated and acted on the injection of anti-Semitism into the political campaign preceding the 1944 national election; it established a committee to conduct a study of non-sectarian agencies dealing with group tensions; and it inaugurated a series of public relations programs in communities throughout the country.

Since America's entry into the war many communities have felt the need for organized efforts to relieve antago-

nisms which have sprung up among citizens of differing racial and religious strains. Mayors' and governors' committees to study group prejudices and to foster good will and cooperation have been set up in defense production centers and areas of mixed racial groups. Other citizens concerned with the preservation of the democratic American tradition have set up professional, civic, or social groups to deal with similar problems. Among such organizations, the most recent to be formed are the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco; the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, with headquarters in New York City; and the League for National Unity in New York City.

Labor Groups

At its annual convention in November 1944, the Congress of Industrial Organizations urged enactment of legislation making anti-Semitism a crime punishable by imprisonment. It also advocated passage of the bill introduced by Rep. Walter A. Lynch (D., N. Y.) in March 1943 to bar anti-Semitic and racist literature from the United States mails.

The American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution condemning racial and religious bigotry and discrimination against minorities at its 64th annual convention held in November 1944.

Earlier that year the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (C.I.O.), with a membership of over 100,000, was the first American union to demand legislative measures "to apprehend those who use anti-Semitism to bring about a fascist America." The plea for federal and state legislation outlawing organized anti-Semitism was made part of the coming year's program of action of the union. This group was followed by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor (A.F. of L.), which early in December 1944 called upon Congress to pass a law making organized anti-Semitism a criminal offense.

Women's Groups

The General Federation of Women's Clubs has created a committee on youth protection and conservation, whose function is to combat hoodlumism and vandalism among

young people. The youth project extends over the entire country, enlisting the support of the Federation's two and a half million members.

In a nation-wide broadcast following Election Day in November 1944, the presidents of five national women's organizations, with a combined membership of twenty million women, warned Americans that the unfinished business of the election campaign was the rebuilding of national unity. Speakers stressed the fact that returning veterans would be quick to recognize group hatreds as a symptom of fascism and urged the people at home to check anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry.

A resolution condemning anti-Semitism and "narrow nationalism" was adopted by the Catholic Daughters of America at the annual convention in October 1944; while at the 1944 convention of the Blue Star Mothers a resolution was passed denouncing un-American groups which masquerade as "mothers" organizations.

Use of the Printed Word

The Writers' War Board, a private and voluntary group organized to enlist the cooperation of writers with government agencies on war programs, recently completed a study of the press, popular fiction, and movie and radio scripts, the purpose of which was to determine the extent of prejudice in such writings. The Board discovered that much of America's popular reading matter did not paint a true picture of the many peoples, races, and religions which compose the population of America. In popular fiction, the Writers' War Board found, individuals of minority groups are frequently characterized in stereotype form, such as the "happy-go-lucky" Irishman, the "shiftless" Negro or the "wily" Jew. As a result of the findings of the Board, publishers and writers have been impressed with the necessity of dispelling such popular fallacies.

Members of the New York State Publishers Association on January 23, 1945 pledged the use of newspaper resources to improve racial and religious relations. A program adopted at the Association's annual meeting included the fight against bigotry as one of the aims of its "Press for Victory" cam-

paign. In support of this aim, the *New York Times* refused to accept an advertisement containing the words "selected clientele," and was upheld by a court decision on March 2, 1945 in a suit brought by the would-be advertiser, who sought by injunction to restrain the newspaper from refusing the advertisement. The New York State Supreme Court justice who dismissed the suit held that use of the two words were an indirect means to hide discrimination.

The John C. Winston Company announced early in 1945 a decision to eliminate all "name-calling" terms from its dictionaries, in the belief that words of questionable usage contribute to the perpetuation of racial, religious, and ethnic antipathies. Paul R. Evans, editor, said that words such as "coon," "sheeny," and "dago" would be deleted from 1945 dictionaries in view of the general trend of the public press toward developing better social relationships.

Educators are growing more convinced each year of the importance of textbooks as a method of counteracting anti-Semitism among children. Some of the recent editions which tend to inculcate students with mutual respect and understanding for the various cultural and religious groups in America are: *Getting Acquainted with Jewish Neighbors* by Mildred Eakin, a handbook for Protestant church school leaders; *Probing our Prejudices* by Hortense Powdermaker, a book for high school students telling how to detect prejudice, particularly within oneself, and how to cure it; *They See for Themselves*, a documentary approach to intercultural education in the high school, by Spencer Brown; *One God* by Florence Mary Fitch, an illustrated text designed to teach children the traditional customs of worship among Jews, Catholics, and Protestants.

Legislative Efforts

A bill to set up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee, which would guarantee the right to a job without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin, was introduced in the House of Representatives at the opening session of the 79th Congress in January 1945. During the summer the measure was vigorously debated. At the present writing its fate is still in doubt.

In New York State the Ives-Quinn Bill, providing for a permanent five-member commission with full enforcement power to prevent racial and religious discrimination in employment, went into effect on July 1, 1945. Similar state laws have been passed during the year in New Jersey, Indiana, and Utah.

Florida is the first Southern state to adopt legislation outlawing the publication and distribution of unsigned material attacking religious groups, races, or individuals. The bill was signed by Governor Millard Caldwell on June 1, 1945.

Cleveland, St. Paul, Detroit, Kansas City, and several other cities have passed ordinances prohibiting the printing, publication, or distribution of anonymous handbills or literature which tend to expose any individual or any racial or religious group to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy.

Interfaith Activities

By LOUIS MINSKY*

THE year's outstanding manifestation of interfaith unity was the unanimous demand of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths for incorporation of a human rights provision in the United Nations Charter. Undoubtedly one of the most impressive gestures ever made by the interfaith movement in America was its insistence that the charter contain an International Bill of Rights and provide for a commission "to protect and further the rights and liberties of the individual, and of racial, religious and cultural groups, especially those uprooted by war or oppression."

A study prepared by an interfaith committee in April 1945 listed these demands among ten recommendations urged upon the San Francisco Conference. Bases for the study included the Pattern of Peace issued by 146 leaders of the three major faiths in October 1943, and more recent state-

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ments of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Synagogue Council of America, and the Cleveland Church Study Conference on a Just and Durable Peace. Comprising the committee which made the study were the Rev. Richard M. Fagley, associate secretary of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches; the Rev. Edward A. Conway, S.J., of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; and Rabbi Ahron Opher, secretary of the Committee on Peace of the Synagogue Council of America.

At San Francisco, the American consultants' group, consisting of the representatives of forty-two leading national, non-governmental organizations, urged the United States delegation to sponsor this Commission on Human Rights and a collateral International Bill of Rights. The United States delegates, led by Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., pledged their whole-hearted support; and within a few days, the Conference had adopted and written into its charter the following provision: "The Economic and Social Council shall set up a commission for the promotion of human rights."

Religious leaders were unanimous in seconding the statement made by Secretary of State Stettinius in May 1945 at the San Francisco Conference that the establishment of a commission on human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Economic and Social Council, as proposed by the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, and China, "may well prove to be the most important of all the things we do here for peace and advancement." One of the Commission's first duties, according to Mr. Stettinius, will be to prepare an International Bill of Rights "which can be accepted by all member nations as an integral part of their own system of law."

The proposals also won the unanimous approval of representative groups of the three faiths. Speaking for the National Catholic Welfare Conference, official organization of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, Dr. Richard Pattee said "that the stand taken on human rights is in harmony with the position of our Bishops and the goals adopted by Catholics, Protestants and Jews together."

As the war reached its climax in Europe, American church leaders urged immediate steps to find havens for homeless Jews of Europe. Assistance to dispossessed Jews was urged at the Kansas Conference of the Methodist Church and at the convention of the United Lutheran Church in America in the fall of 1944. At the former meeting, a report was read favoring government action to relax exclusion policies in favor of uprooted Jews. In Los Angeles, a resolution along the same lines was adopted at a mass meeting attended by Roman Catholic Archbishop John H. Cantwell, Bishop William B. Stevens of the Los Angeles Methodist Diocese, and Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin, president of the Board of Rabbis of Southern California, and other religious leaders.

At the Lutheran and Methodist meetings, several speakers vigorously and repeatedly condemned anti-Jewish feeling in the United States. The United Lutheran Church, pointing with concern to manifestations of "a rising tide of anti-Semitism in American life," urged its members "to assure the Jewish people of their communities of the efforts of our Church for the preservation of their rights and to offer prayers in their behalf."

In Boston, Roman Catholic Archbishop Richard J. Cushing, addressing the eighth annual dinner of the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants and Jews in May 1945, stressed the danger of religious intolerance in the period of reconstruction after the war. A similar note of caution was struck by Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, former Ambassador to Spain and Catholic co-chairman of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, who told a Conference meeting in April 1945 that "it will be most deplorable if after we defeat Nazism and Fascism abroad, we find ourselves face to face at home with the same sort of anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Protestantism, and attacks on the live-and-let-live policy of America."

Alive to the problem of post-war employment discrimination, religious leaders continued during the year to make strong appeals for federal legislation to set up a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. Prominent among them were Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of Churches; the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; and

Rabbi J. X. Cohen, chairman of the Committee on Economic Discrimination of the American Jewish Congress.

Passage by the New York State Legislature of the Ives-Quinn bill to outlaw discrimination in employment was hailed as a victory for representatives of the three faiths who had helped to bring about its enactment. This was believed to be the first time in the legislative history of New York State that Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups had unanimously backed a bill.

Supported by religious leaders, legislation embodying many of the provisions of the New York measure was later adopted by the New Jersey State Legislature. Included in several new enactments was a bill authorizing creation of a Division against Discrimination in the New Jersey State Department of Education.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews reported the extension of its educational program into new regions and cities and intensified work in schools, colleges, churches, civic agencies, and military training camps. The Conference now has about 300 Round Tables, which function all the year round, and special committees in about 3,000 communities, which function during Brotherhood Week, Religious Book Week, and on other occasions. In his seventeenth annual report, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president, declared that twenty Protestant denominations, numerous Roman Catholic bishops, the Federal Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and the Catholic Commission on Citizenship had cooperated in the programs of the Conference during the year.

Functioning chiefly through the American Council on Education and other educational bodies, the Conference's Commission on Educational Organization, headed by Dr. Howard Wilson of Harvard University, concentrated on the following program: a comprehensive study of text-books to eliminate biased passages and to include positive good-will material; summer workshops for teachers on 12 campuses; the development of city-wide programs of intercultural education patterned after the Springfield, Mass. plan; programs of teacher training in human relations; and the production of intercultural education materials. Working along similar lines with religious groups, the Conference's Commission on

Religious Organizations promoted the distribution of good-will educational material, especially through Protestant publications, and the formation of local institutes to train clergymen and religious educators in better human relations.

In the armed forces, good-will programs in military training camps were broadened by the Conference's Army and Navy Commission to reach 7,500,000 men and women in 750 military establishments as of May 1945. This was a sharp increase over the 517 centers and 4,500,000 people reported to have been reached a year before by voluntary trios of priests, ministers and rabbis, or laymen. Motion pictures and great quantities of literature have been distributed to servicemen at home and overseas, and the program is now being projected into the demobilization period.

During the year ended October 1, 1944 the National Conference sponsored 30,250 speaking programs, of which 650 were at colleges and universities, 5,400 at public, private, and religious schools; 6,600 at service and professional clubs; 4,800 at church and religious organizations; 7,200 at women's clubs and societies; and 5,600 to radio audiences. Four and one-half million pieces of literature were distributed to men and women in the services and 2,770,000 to the general public.

The duty of keeping America free from prejudice and bigotry after victory was stressed by the late President Roosevelt in his message endorsing the twelfth annual Brotherhood Week (Feb. 18-25, 1945) sponsored by the National Conference. Observed in 3,000 communities, the slogan of the Week was: "In peace as in war — Teamwork."

Growth of the interfaith movement during the year was marked by the formation in April 1945 of the Newark (New Jersey) Council for Inter-group Action to coordinate the activities of several good-will organizations, and the establishment in September of the Trenton (New Jersey) Committee for Interracial Unity, which will cooperate in promoting better relations among all minority religious and racial groups. In Hartford, Connecticut, a Fellowship Commission, to cope with racial, religious, and national tensions, was formed in May along the lines of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. Six Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups

accepted charter membership in the group, each naming two of their members as commissioners.

In Miami, Florida, Mayor Leonard K. Thomson proclaimed an Inter-faith Religious Education Week (Sept. 24–Oct. 1, 1944), said to be the first ever held in America. During November, the B'nai B'rith National Hillel Commission created the Wendell Willkie Fellowship at Indiana University as a permanent tribute to "a great American . . . who fought fearlessly for the principle of equal rights for all."

The fifth annual report of the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America said that Faith and Freedom Readers designed to promote intergroup good-will were being used in nearly 6,000 of the 8,000 Catholic primary schools of the country, and that 1,500,000 copies of the readers had been sold to date.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in cooperation with the Central Conference of American Rabbis, sponsored a number of Interfaith Institutes on Judaism in local communities during the year, to make authentic knowledge of the Jewish religion available to Christian religious leaders and teachers. The Institutes will be continued and extended during 1946.

In Boston, religious leaders of the three faiths took part in the city's first Institute for Religion and Social Studies jointly arranged by the Institute for Religion and Social Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. An Institute on Religion and Contemporary Civilization promoted by the Interfaith Religious Conference of the University of California brought to the campus in November 1944 a distinguished group of scholars and writers. Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant clergymen conducted a seminar on their faiths for 300 nurses in training at hospitals in Denver, Colorado.

Several awards were conferred during the year on individuals and groups for efforts in promoting interfaith good-will, including citations by the Massachusetts Committee of Catholics, Protestants and Jews to Roman Catholic Archbishop Cushing of Boston, Senator Leverett Saltonstall, and Judge Abraham K. Cohen.

Reaction to Events Overseas

By AUGUSTA COHEN*

As THE Allied armies advanced into Europe, liberating country after country from Hitler and his satellites, American Jewry became increasingly aware of the magnitude of the problems facing the surviving Jews of Europe in their attempt to return to normal living. They were confronted not only with the task of providing emergency relief—money, food, and clothing for several million homeless and destitute Jews—but the even more difficult task of fitting these people into Europe's disrupted economy. Moreover, it soon became clear that despite the defeat of the Nazi armies, anti-Semitism had taken root all over Europe. In Eastern Europe, Nazi methods had combined easily with native brands of anti-Semitism, and the future security of the surviving Jews was endangered. Anti-Jewish sentiment had made headway in western Europe as well. In France, for example, where freedom and equality had been traditional, non-Vichyites seemed as prone as Vichyites to retain the possessions they had acquired under the Nazis, even at the expense of Jewish deportees; and the rallying cry of "*Vive la France!*" was on occasion accompanied, after liberation, by the cry of "*A bas les Juifs!*" (Down with the Jews).

In making plans for the relief and rehabilitation of the Jews of Europe, American Jewry faced one dilemma after another. The bulk of surviving European Jewry was emerging from places of hiding, from concentration camps, forced labor battalions, and ghettos. Their citizenship status had to be defined. The question of restoration of property had to be dealt with. The survivors had to be helped to earn a living. Masses of the homeless and stateless had to be rescued. The post-war status of Palestine required definition. Finally, from the tragic experience of the past, it seemed a matter of greatest urgency to outlaw anti-Semitism from the world for all time.

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Protests against Anti-Semitism and Proposals for Rescue

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the plight of the eight hundred thousand Hungarian Jews became desperate. The repeated warnings of President Roosevelt, which had been reinforced by similar statements made by Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin, that "those guilty of initiating or participating in inhuman treatment of civilians" would be severely punished, went unheeded. In view of fresh reports that all of Hungarian Jewry was threatened with extermination, Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued another warning on July 19, 1944 that the puppet Hungarian government "cannot escape . . . inexorable punishment" for its campaign of terror, persecution, and extermination; and Secretary Hull asserted that the United States Government "will not slacken its efforts to rescue as many of these unfortunate people as can be saved." The warning was repeated twice in succeeding months as the Germans strengthened their hold on the country and declared their intention of exterminating the Jews in Hungary. Special services of protest were held by Christian Americans of Hungarian descent, and these expressions of condemnation were later rebroadcast by the Office of War Information. Governor Thomas E. Dewey, in a message to the Hungarian Reformed Church in New York, declared that the "Nazi massacre of Jews in Hungary is an outrage against humanity." On September 10, 1944, a huge rally to protest the persecution of minorities in Europe, including Jews, was held in New York under the sponsorship of the *New York Journal American*.

A mass meeting called in New York in July 1944 by the American Jewish Conference and held in cooperation with eight other national bodies including the American Jewish Committee, demanded immediate measures for the rescue of the remaining Jews in Europe. The United Nations were urged to broadcast warnings of punishment to the Hungarian Government and people; they were also asked to destroy the facilities used in Nazi mass executions and to extend their formal protection to the victims of persecution. As a rescue measure, they asked the Allies to open their territories to all Jews who could be rescued and to extend all possible relief

through the International Red Cross. President Roosevelt sent a message to the meeting reiterating his pledge that those participating in acts of savagery "shall not go unpunished."

Other concrete suggestions for saving as many Jews as possible were made by the Conference in an appeal it addressed to President Roosevelt in January 1945, in which it proposed that Jews in concentration camps be exchanged for German prisoners in Allied hands, and that the neutral powers be influenced to issue protective passports to refugees. It also asked for evacuation of relatives of refugees who had escaped war areas so that such families could be re-united.

Various proposals were made offering Palestine as a solution, and the "free port" idea¹ was again advanced. Resolutions were introduced in both houses of Congress recommending the immediate establishment of mass emergency shelters in Palestine as a means of rescue for Jews who might be released from Hungary. While urging that Palestine be opened to as many refugees as possible, the American Jewish Conference and the American Federation for Polish Jews opposed the temporary Palestine rescue plan, which would involve deportation of the refugees after the war, as inconsistent with the rights of the Jewish people to a permanent homeland in Palestine. Palestine was declared to be the "nearest and most practical haven" for the Balkan Jews by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe which, at its conference in August, 1944, demanded removal of British restrictions on immigration as well as admission of refugees by all neutral countries and the United Nations. Lowering of immigration barriers to Palestine was likewise urged by the Christian Council on Palestine, which at the same time called for the establishment of free ports in this country for "tens of thousands" of refugees. The free port proposal was also endorsed by the National Council of Jewish Women, and it was brought up in Congress several months later by Representative Thomas J. Lane (D. Mass.).

Although the campaign to annihilate Hungarian Jewry was somewhat eased as a result of protests and intercessions by the United States and British Governments, the period of

¹ See *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 46, 1944-45, p. 149.

respite did not last long. In a wire sent to President Roosevelt on August 21, 1944, the American Palestine Committee had urged the immediate admission of Hungary's Jews to Palestine. Declaring that the recent concessions made by the Government of Hungary "will be useless unless immediate action is taken to give effect to possibilities of rescue opened up," they urged that the U. S. Government prevail upon Great Britain to grant immediately immigration certificates for all Jews whose release could be effected, not only from Hungary, but from all Nazi-dominated countries. Meanwhile, negotiations that had been carried on through the International Red Cross, brought forth an offer from the Hungarian Government granting the Jews permission to emigrate. However, the net result of this conciliatory move was the evacuation of a mere 300 Jews to Switzerland. By the beginning of September 1944, panic reigned once again among Hungarian Jewry as persecutions and mass deportations were renewed.

In December 1944, when the Russian armies were storming Budapest, the Hungarian Fascist police were rounding up Jews for deportation and slaughter. At about this time, the American Jewish Committee submitted an appeal through the Hon. Myron C. Taylor, President Roosevelt's personal envoy at the Vatican, to Pope Pius XII to exercise his influence and encourage Hungarian Catholics to help Hungarian Jews. Mr. Taylor was informed by the Apostolic Delegate in Washington that the Holy See was doing everything possible in this direction. A campaign to save the Jews was conducted by sympathetic Hungarians and by diplomatic representatives of the Vatican, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. The Vatican and the consulates of these neutral governments issued "protective" passports to a number of Jews, and despite the later annulment of these passports by the Gestapo, several thousand were saved from death through this device. This aid was recognized with numerous expressions of praise in the Yiddish, Anglo-Jewish, and general press. Messages of thanks were addressed to the Holy See and to the Governments of Sweden, Switzerland, and Spain by the World Jewish Congress in December 1944 and to King Gustav V of Sweden by the American Jewish Committee in April 1945.

The Hungarian Jewish community was not the only one endangered. The position of Jews in liberated areas was also desperate, and Jews in other Nazi-occupied areas were threatened with destruction. Pressing for aid to non-naturalized French Jews who had been deported from France by the Vichy Government, the Jewish Labor Committee submitted a memorandum to Secretary Hull urging that he intervene with the French authorities for automatic re-admission of these refugees to liberated France. The State Department, in reply, declared that careful consideration was being given to this suggestion. The Labor Committee again communicated with the State Department in behalf of the Jews in Belgium and Luxembourg, during the surprise German return to these territories after they had once been liberated. Secretary Hull gave his assurances several weeks later that the Government was taking every practicable step to prevent the annihilation of Jews. A similar plea was addressed by the World Jewish Congress to Marshal Joseph Stalin asking that every possible means be taken by the Russians during their military advance to rescue Jews from extermination at the hands of the retreating Nazis.

The precarious position of Jews interned in "death camps" in Poland was revealed through repeated announcements by the Germans of their intention to exterminate all Jewish internees. Once again the State Department warned the Nazis that they would be brought to justice for their crimes. The Department later released an official announcement to the effect that the Government had been negotiating with the German Government to grant the Jews the status of other civilian deportees.

In October 1944, press reports from Rumania revealed that although all anti-Jewish laws had been formally abrogated, no action had yet been taken by the provisional government to restore Jewish rights and possessions. There was no prospect of relief or rehabilitation, and the Jewish community faced starvation. This news evoked immediate protests by the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Conference, the World Jewish Congress, and the United Rumanian Jews of America, who sent memoranda

to the State Department deploring the mistreatment of Jews. The Rumanian Government was accused of breach of faith and it was urged that the Allied Control Commission take action toward removing the discrimination and restoring rights and property to Jews.

That similar conditions prevailed in liberated Bulgaria was disclosed on January 17, 1945 in the *New York Times*. According to the *Times* correspondent, despite the many promises made since the Bulgarian armistice regarding restoration of citizenship and equal rights to Jews, "the only thing the Jews are able to do with equal rights is to starve and freeze." The abrogation of discriminatory decrees had brought neither shelter nor a means of earning a livelihood to the victims of Nazi persecution. The American Jewish Committee, declaring that the Bulgarian Government had had ample time to put its promises into effect, appealed to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to relieve the desperate situation of the Jews.

War Refugee Board

In all these rescue activities the War Refugee Board, which had been set up by executive order of the President in January 1944, served as the intermediary between the Government and the Jewish organizations. John W. Pehle, executive director of the Board, stated soon after his appointment that the Board would stay out of "direct operation" as much as possible and that its work would be confined to:

- (1) Aiding in the relief and rescue work of private and international organizations.
- (2) Facilitating the sending of money for direct aid to the victims.
- (3) Obtaining government permission to help these organizations carry on and expand their activities.
- (4) Helping speed up their work by averting unnecessary delays.
- (5) Facilitating the movement of people out of occupied countries.

What the War Refugee Board accomplished was summed up in an address made in September 1944 by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, who, together with Secretary Hull and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, comprised the Board. Mr. Morgenthau stated:

“The Board participated in the rescue of thousands from the Balkans across the Black Sea to Palestine — in the rescue of many over the Pyrenees to and through Spain and Portugal — in the relief of many weary victims of Hitler’s persecution who had found sanctuary in Sweden and Switzerland. It has cooperated in establishing many refugee camps in Africa and, through the President’s leadership, an Emergency Refugee Shelter at Oswego, in the United States.”

The chief agencies which cooperated with the War Refugee Board were the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee, the International Red Cross, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and the Catholic Church. The Balkan rescue operations made possible by the Board were carried out by the Jewish Agency and the J.D.C.; the J.D.C. likewise shared the expense of feeding internees in European camps; and the refugee camps in Africa were under the supervision of UNRRA.

In the latter months of 1944 and during 1945, the Board facilitated the removal from occupied countries of persons who had held American visas since 1941 and of near relatives of American citizens; it also arranged for shipment of food parcels to Jews in concentration camps.

In January 1945, Gen. William O’Dwyer was appointed executive director to replace Mr. Pehle who had resigned.

Restoration of Rights

The American Jewish community was not only preoccupied with the specific problems of rescue and of restoration of rights. It was also deeply concerned with the post-war status of Jewry and with the need of a general, world-wide re-definition of Jewish rights, which would be accepted by all nations, victors and vanquished alike. On August 12,

1944, the American Jewish Committee offered its cooperation to Secretary Hull in the formulation of peace terms, as they would affect the post-war needs of European Jewish communities; and in a declaration on Jewish rights, the Committee stated that its aim was to secure in the peace terms "reaffirmation of the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land, fulfilling their obligation of complete loyalty to their respective countries, shall be guaranteed the correlative right of complete equality."

Similar action was taken by the American Jewish Conference which, on August 14, submitted a four-point International Bill of Rights to the State Department with the request that it be put before the Dumbarton Oaks conference on post-war international security. The Conference asked for the guarantee of "unequivocal equality of rights in law and in fact for all the citizens of every country" and the establishment of national and international machinery to secure these rights. The Conference again communicated with Secretary Hull on September 22, urging immediate nullification of all anti-Jewish measures and restoration of rights to Jews in liberated areas. A month later, a request for the just and speedy restitution of property to Jews in liberated territory was filed with the State Department by the American Jewish Committee.

Meanwhile, the American Council for Judaism addressed a letter to Secretary Hull, advocating the adoption of a national policy under which post-war assistance would be extended only to those countries which accepted the concept of equality for all their nationals, regardless of race or creed. The Council also called for a program of rehabilitation of Europe's Jews and the restoration of their civil, political, and economic rights on a basis of equality with their fellow nationals. At the same time the Council reiterated its opposition to the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state.

In December 1944, the American Jewish Committee made public a six-point International Bill of Rights "to serve as a post-war guarantee of individual liberties throughout the world." Modeled on the American Bill of Rights and endorsed by 1,326 distinguished Americans of all faiths, the declaration called for the recognition of the individual human being as "the cornerstone of our culture and civilization" and charged the peace-loving nations with the responsibility

of "stamping out infractions of human rights." The document further declared it a matter of international concern to provide new homes for those who had suffered persecution under Hitler.

The full proposals of the American Jewish Committee for the peace were formulated by its Committee on Peace Problems and adopted by the Committee's executive in February, 1945. Of the eight recommendations it made, the Committee laid chief emphasis on the establishment of three commissions as part of the forthcoming world organization: a commission on human rights, a commission on statelessness, and a commission on migration. Other proposals included: condemnation by the United Nations of incitement against religious and racial groups; abrogation of Nazi legislation along the lines of the armistice agreements; a liberal policy of repatriation for displaced persons; and endorsement of American policy regarding war criminals. On Palestine, the Committee reaffirmed its previous position which recommended "an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations" in order to safeguard the Jewish settlement and to prepare the country to become "within a reasonable period of years a self-governing commonwealth."

The Committee's suggested post-war program was presented to President Roosevelt by Judge Joseph M. Proskauer on March 20, 1945. At that time, the President stated that he was "profoundly interested" in the establishment of an international bill of rights as well as in the other suggestions made by the Committee in its report.

The American Jewish Conference, in a statement submitted to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. on April 2, 1945 requested a hearing at the United Nations Security Conference in San Francisco and set forth a post-war "security" program for the Jewish people. The Conference asked for: an international bill of rights; immediate restoration to Jews in Europe of all rights; outlawry of anti-Semitism as an instrument of national and international policy; punishment for Axis crimes against the Jewish people; United Nations aid in relief and rehabilitation; assistance from governmental and intergovernmental agencies in resettlement of displaced Jews; elimination of statelessness; restitution of property losses; opening of Palestine for free Jewish immigration and reconstitution of Palestine into a

free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth; and representation of the Jewish people on the councils and agencies of the United Nations. The Conference also announced that it had concluded an agreement with the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the World Jewish Congress to set up a representative committee, which would arrange for cooperation among these bodies in securing their common objectives.

War Crimes

Throughout the year the evidence piled up regarding the horrible fate that Jews and other anti-Nazis had suffered in the concentration camps of Hitler Europe. As the details of atrocities were laid bare, there were wide expressions of abhorrence and condemnation as well as outpourings of sympathy for the victims on the part of religious and inter-faith groups, labor and social organizations, in the press, and in legislative chambers throughout the nation. Retribution for these acts and severe punishment for the criminals were urged. The newspapers emphasized that the atrocities "must not be forgotten" when the time came to frame the peace.

From documented reports on the extermination camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau, released in July 1944, and from official disclosures in August of the mass crimes committed at the Maidanek camp near Lublin, it was revealed that millions of Jews from nearly every country in Europe had been annihilated by the Nazis. The public learned the gruesome details of systematized murder in gas chambers and cremation furnaces, and of devious forms of torture. As other camps were liberated, there was evidence in the still smoldering bodies that mass burnings had often been carried out by the retreating Germans. In November came word of Treblinka, in Poland, where the situation was described as "worse than Maidanek."

The reaction of the American press correspondents who, at the invitation of the military command, visited the camps in Germany: Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Nordhausen, Struthof, Limburg, Ohrdruf, Dachau, and the others, was in instance after instance expressed in these words: "If I had not seen it, I could not have believed it." The liberal press pointed out that the conditions in these camps merely

provided additional confirmation of the treatment that had been meted out to Jews and other anti-Nazis from the beginning of the Hitler regime. They deplored the fact that although disclosures of these atrocities had been frequently made during the past twelve years, these reports had been belittled as exaggerations and propaganda.

Representations were made to the Government on the question of punishment for war crimes by both the American Jewish Conference and the American Jewish Committee. In a memorandum submitted to Secretary Hull on August 21, 1944, the American Jewish Conference proposed that criminal acts performed against the Jewish people be duly specified as part of the indictment in all trials of those charged with crimes against civilian populations. In the early part of September, the American Jewish Committee in letters to Secretary Hull and the diplomatic representatives of the United Nations in Washington, urged that a special United Nations commission be set up to investigate the Nazi atrocities at Maidanek, as a basis for punishment of Nazi war criminals. In Congress, a joint declaration by the United Nations which would proclaim that crimes committed against Jews in Europe would be punishable as war crimes, was introduced on December 15, 1944 by Senator Guy M. Gillette of Iowa.

The resignation of Sir Cecil Hurst, British representative and chairman of the United Nations War Crimes Commission on January 2, 1945, and the subsequent withdrawal of Herbert C. Pell, American delegate, drew public attention to the policies they advocated, which included the recommendation that punishment be meted out to Germans and Hungarians who had committed crimes against their own nationals including Jews. Praising the work of Mr. Pell and protesting his withdrawal, the American Jewish Conference urged the State Department to return him to office. The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation also protested Mr. Pell's withdrawal and urged that crimes committed against Jews, irrespective of territory or citizenship, be punished as war crimes. At a meeting of the American Federation for Polish Jews on February 5, 1945, reinstatement of Mr. Pell and the inclusion of Jewish representatives among the judges that would try Nazi war criminals were demanded by Representative Emanuel Celler of New York

and Senator James M. Mead of New York. On January 26, 1945, Mr. Pell warned that the United States and Britain would lose their leadership among European nations unless they adopted a strong policy toward Nazi war criminals. In March, a resolution was introduced in Congress by Rep. Celler proposing the appointment by President Roosevelt of a commission to cooperate with the United Nations War Crimes Commission in preparing definite plans for punishment of Axis criminals. Several major Jewish organizations including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Congress, and a number of Polish Jewish groups, testified in favor of the resolution at hearings held by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

In New York City, in February 1945, announcement was made of the preparation of a Jewish Black Book of Nazi atrocities, to be published under the auspices of the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish Community Council of Palestine, and the Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists.

A day of mourning for the Jews killed in Europe, observed by Jews throughout the world on March 14, 1945, was marked by fasting and special services in Jewish communities in the United States. Under a proclamation of the Synagogue Council of America, an hour of silence and work-suspension was observed in Jewish stores and offices, and the day was commemorated by memorial meetings at which contributions were made for the rescue of Jewish survivors.

The San Francisco Conference²

The post-war plans of the various organizations, the formulation of which had been their major task during the course of the year, were to be crystallized in the programs presented at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in April 1945. In February, an invitation to participate in an informal conference and to formulate a unified Jewish post-war program had been issued by the American Jewish Committee to the Agudas Israel, The American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Labor Committee.

² For more detailed treatment of issues of Jewish interest at the San Francisco Conference, see article below, "International Events," by Sydney H. Zebel.

They were asked to collaborate in sponsoring three commissions under the general provisions of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals: a commission on human rights, a commission on migration, and a commission on statelessness. The Committee's invitation was accepted by the Jewish Labor Committee and the Agudas Israel but was declined by the Conference and the Congress, the latter groups contending that a unified post-war program could best be achieved through the Conference, which, they asserted, had been established as the "representative body of American Jewry for that very purpose."

Prior to the San Francisco Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council, in a statement issued on March 3, 1945, supported the demands of the Jewish Agency for representation of the Jewish people at San Francisco, and stressed that the Jewish people, "the only people who have been at war with Hitler since 1933, who remained the sole bulwark of democracy in the whole Middle East and whose casualty lists exceeded 5,000,000," had not been invited to participate; while the Arab states which had declared war only in time to obtain representation, had been invited. Demands were made by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation for the seating of a Hebrew national delegation at the Conference and for "Hebrew national membership" in the General Assembly of the forthcoming world organization.

On April 10, 1945, Secretary of State Stettinius invited forty-two national organizations, including the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Conference, to designate one representative and two assistants each to serve as consultants and associate consultants to the American delegation at San Francisco. The Committee designated its president, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, the Conference Henry Monsky, president of B'nai B'rith as their representatives. These organizations were thus given an opportunity to present their views and platforms to the conference delegates. Later several other Jewish organizations were invited to attend, but without the status of consultants.

As the year drew to a close, American Jewry realized that its task for the future was to secure and safeguard for the Jewish people the very freedoms for which the war had been fought.

OVERSEAS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

By GERALDINE ROSENFELD

As THE European war drew to a close in the spring of 1945 and the utter horror of Nazi destructiveness was brought to light, a shocked world saw for the first time during the six year war period the complete devastation of the continent. Of the seven and a half million pre-war Jewish population only about one-sixth remains in all of Europe excluding Russia, according to the report of Dr. Joseph Schwartz, European director of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. And the condition of the surviving Jews, his report continues, "is the worst it has been in the history of the people." The task that now faces relief organizations is the physical and spiritual regeneration of the remnant of European Jewry.

Cooperating with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Allied military governments, the International Red Cross, the War Refugee Board, relief groups of other denominations, and private Jewish relief organizations have begun to take first steps in the tremendous program of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

American Jews, eager to make their contribution to the work of regeneration, contributed \$27,000,000 during 1944 to the United Jewish Appeal, for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine. On June 15, 1945, the United Jewish Appeal was reconstituted to continue its work of the past seven years as the single fund-raising instrument for the support of the overseas relief and rehabilitation program of the Joint Distribution Committee, the Palestine settlement projects of the constituent organizations of the United Palestine Appeal and the refugee adjustment program in the United States of the National Refugee Service.

The total cash received by the United Jewish Appeal up to June 15, 1945, as a result of the pledges made for the year 1944, amounted to \$25,108,091.90. Of this sum, the first \$15,000,000 was divided in accordance with the 1944

agreement as follows: \$8,640,000 to the J.D.C.; \$5,360,000 to the U.P.A.; and \$1,000,000 to the N.R.S. The balance was distributed by an allotment committee consisting of two representatives each of the J.D.C. and U.P.A. and three representatives of communities at large. The first \$10,000,000 subject to the decision of the allotment committee was divided on the basis of 52.326 per cent to the J.D.C., and 47.674 per cent to the U.P.A., with an additional amount of \$51,954 to the N.R.S. The allotment committee subsequently voted that all funds raised by the 1944 U.J.A. above the figure of \$25,000,000 were to be divided equally between the J.D.C. and U.P.A.

The total distribution of 1944 funds available on June 15, 1945, was as follows: to the J.D.C., \$13,584,767.31; to the U.P.A., \$9,865,232.60; to the N.R.S., \$1,051,954.26.

All funds raised for the United Jewish Appeal for 1945 will be distributed, after an initial allotment of \$875,000 to the N.R.S., on the basis of 57 per cent to the J.D.C. and 42 per cent to the U.P.A. The Jewish National Fund will retain traditional collections up to the amount of \$1,500,000. The J.D.C. will be permitted to accept earmarked contributions from *Landsmannschaften* up to the amount of \$800,000.

The Joint Distribution Committee, largest overseas relief organization of American Jews, has been concerned during the past eleven months with relief in occupied and liberated countries, rescue and immigration, assistance in Allied and neutral countries, and restoration of cultural activities.

The total appropriations of the J.D.C. during this period amounted to \$23,742,000, a larger amount than during any corresponding period in the thirty years' existence of the J.D.C. For the first five months of 1945 alone, a total of \$11,884,000 was appropriated for relief work, a sum exceeding the entire expenditures for 1943 and more than half the total for 1944.

During the greater part of the period under review, substantial areas in Hungary, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Holland were still occupied by the enemy, and hundreds of thousands of Jews trapped there were dying of starvation. The J.D.C. assisted Jews in occupied territories by permitting the continuation of local borrowing on J.D.C. credit; and

by the actual remittance of local currency through underground channels with the knowledge and permission of the United States authorities. These funds were transmitted largely through the office of Mr. Saly Mayer, J.D.C. representative in Switzerland. In Shanghai, with a refugee population of approximately 20,000, about 12,000 were supported with J.D.C. funds supplied through Switzerland. Further aid was rendered by the shipment of food and medicine, individually addressed, from Switzerland and Portugal to internees in camps. Bulk shipments, too, were distributed by the International Red Cross.

At the end of March, 1945, several carloads of supplies left Switzerland for the Jewish internment camp in Theresienstadt, Czechoslovakia. At about the same time, largely through the efforts of Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, head of the War Refugee Board, it became possible to organize large-scale shipments of food from Switzerland to the camps in Germany. These supplies, provided by the War Refugee Board and the J.D.C., were delivered to Germany in trucks supplied by the War Refugee Board. During the early part of April, the first shipment of supplies, 60 tons, left Switzerland.

With the liberation of the European countries, the J.D.C. faced new emergency problems. The surviving Jews were found in a state of utter destitution. Most of them were displaced, completely despoiled of their possessions, and many were undermined in health. They were in desperate need of immediate relief. Thousands of children whose parents had been deported were found in non-Jewish homes or in Christian convents. Many children who had been smuggled into Switzerland by the OSE were returned to France. These activities in their behalf were carried on by the OSE with J.D.C. funds. Many of these children have been reunited with their parents; many are orphaned. All are in urgent need of assistance.

The program of the J.D.C. was to provide emergency relief, consisting of the basic necessities—food, clothing, and medical supplies. Thousands of children were gathered together in children's homes. Because of the extreme shortage of goods in liberated countries, the J.D.C. initiated a large-scale program of purchasing supplies in the United States,

Canada, and other countries. In Canada, the supplies are purchased through the United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies. Supplies are shipped to France and Belgium. Beginning in February 1945, approximately 50 tons of clothing and food each leave Teheran weekly for Poland, where they are distributed under the supervision of the Jewish Relief Committee in Lublin; and from Palestine, supplies are shipped for Jews in Balkan countries and distributed by local relief committees. In addition, the J.D.C. shipped to Poland 225 sewing machines, tools, and two field hospitals equipped with one hundred beds each. Economic reconstruction was further aided by J.D.C. funds for the reopening of loan *kassas* in France, Belgium, and Greece.

During the period under review, which for most European countries includes some months under enemy occupation, the total appropriation for help in France was \$2,450,000; in Belgium, \$900,000; in Greece, \$500,000; in Italy, \$460,000. Funds totaling \$8,850,000 for use in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and China (Shanghai) have been transmitted by the J.D.C. to Switzerland for further distribution during the eleven month period.

Jewish groups in North Africa, which was liberated in 1943, still required some assistance from the J.D.C. For the most part the local Jewish and refugee population of these areas soon began again to earn their own living. Jews who had fled their native towns because of the war are now returning and slowly rebuilding their lives. During the past year, a total of \$323,000 was appropriated for assistance in North Africa.

Rescue and emigration played a most prominent part in J.D.C. activities in the greater part of the period covered here. The gradual breakdown of the Nazi empire enabled more Jews to escape from Axis-occupied territories, and the assistance given by the War Refugee Board opened new avenues of rescue work. Through Turkey and from Turkey more than 5,000 Jews were brought to Palestine, and in most cases 80-90% of the expenditures involved were paid by the J.D.C. These emigrants came from Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and Hungary but included Jewish nationals of many other countries. A boat left Spain for Palestine in October 1944, with 437 passengers (the first left in January 1944,

with 738 passengers.) In March, 1945, 899 Jews were brought from Italy to Palestine, and the J.D.C. paid almost \$50,000 for this group alone. From Portugal, Spain and Tangiers, an additional 443 Jews emigrated to Palestine. \$2,000,000 was appropriated for this emigration work.

This period witnessed an increase in the number of refugees who succeeded in escaping occupied territory and found haven in neutral countries. The total number of Jews in Switzerland increased from 25,000 to about 28,000, and during the second half of 1944 alone, the J.D.C. spent almost a million dollars for assistance and relief in that country. In addition it was found necessary to increase the contributions to the International Students Service and the Committee for the Employment of Refugee Professional Workers—non-sectarian relief agencies which have served large numbers of Jews. In Spain and Portugal there were close to 3,000 refugees, and in Sweden about 12,000. The total appropriations for Portugal, Sweden, and Spain during the 11 months amount to \$1,300,000.

Many refugees in these neutral countries were fully maintained by local relief committees which received financial assistance from the J.D.C., and most of the refugees received supplementary aid from the J.D.C. In Sweden the J.D.C. subsidized the agricultural training of 552 young Jews in preparation for emigration to Palestine. While the war in Europe was still in progress, a group of internees from the camp in Theresienstadt and camps in Germany and Austria reached Sweden and Switzerland, thereby adding to the relief burden of the J.D.C. In the Iberian Peninsula the refugee situation did not change to any great extent. Those refugees who left for the Western Hemisphere, Africa or Palestine were assisted up to the time of departure by the J.D.C., which financed to a large degree their emigration. About 1,500 refugees in need of assistance still remained in Spain and Portugal awaiting repatriation or emigration to new lands.

In Turkey, where the local Jewish community was severely affected by the discriminatory tax policy directed against non-Turkish minorities, the J.D.C. was called upon to support local institutions which hitherto had been supported by Turkish Jews. Eighteen institutions including hospitals,

schools, etc., received J.D.C. assistance and were thus saved from closure. Several hundred repatriates arrived in Turkey. One group which came as an exchange group from a camp in northern Germany has been stranded in Istanbul because their Turkish nationality has not been recognized by the government. The J.D.C. was called upon to undertake the financial support of the group until the question is decided. Total relief appropriation in Turkey during this period has been \$173,000.

The J.D.C. continued to aid some 250,000 Jewish refugees from Poland who succeeded in escaping to the Soviet Union. This aid was in the form of a package service organized in Teheran. About 10,000 packages containing concentrated food and items of clothing are being shipped monthly to Polish Jewish refugees in Russia. The total appropriation for this program in the last 11 months is \$1,100,000.

Only a few refugees have come to Latin America in this period, and a large number of those who arrived earlier have become self-supporting. However, as a result of the rising cost-of-living and the difficult health problems in some of the tropical countries, the J.D.C. could not appreciably reduce the amount it spent in Latin America. \$459,000 was appropriated during the 11 months.

The local Jewish communities were encouraged more and more by the J.D.C. to assume responsibility for their respective relief cases; in fact, some of the communities began to contribute to overseas relief. A representative of the J.D.C. attached to the Buenos Aires office, spent some time in Bolivia, Chile, and Uruguay, assisting local communities in planning their social services. During the year the J.D.C. aided the internees on the Island of Mauritius; a shipment of kosher meat was sent them, and following the permission given to the internees to proceed to Palestine, \$20,000 was allocated, in cooperation with the South African Jewish War Relief, to provide badly needed clothing for 850 of these refugees.

A total of \$576,000 was allocated for the support of schools and Yeshivoth, most of them in Palestine, and for providing matzoth to needy communities all over the world. Some newly-organized communities in Central and South America also benefited from this program.

The J.D.C.'s total contribution to the United Palestine Appeal during the ten month period from July 1, 1944 to April 30, 1945 for the rescue and transportation of Jewish refugees to Palestine amounted to \$1,293,145.

The United Palestine Appeal, whose funds contribute to the support of the work of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, lists among its subsidized activities the transportation and care of immigrants, provision for housing, medical care, initial financial assistance, and the extension of agricultural settlements in Palestine. From July 1, 1944, to April 30, 1945, the Jewish Agency spent \$2,892,380 on such refugee rescue work.

The months immediately before and after V-E day created problems that called for an ever wider extension of the service of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America (HIAS), which for 60 years has been working in the field of immigrant and emigrant aid.

Ten thousand Jews, most of them from the Balkans, escaped from the Nazis in 1944 to make their way to havens of safety and temporary refuge within Europe. In addition to these ten thousand, an equal number left the European continent in 1944 to go to Palestine or to countries in the Western Hemisphere. This made a total of 20,000 who found either temporary havens or permanent homes in 1944; for the majority of the 1,250,000 Jews now surviving in Europe, homes still have to be found.

As quickly as new territories were liberated by the Allies in 1944, HIAS opened offices to serve the survivors. In Bucharest HIAS reopened its offices shortly after the Russian invasion. In Italy HIAS was hard on the heels of the American Army. A provisional committee of the HIAS-ICA Emigration Association (HICEM) was set up in North Africa in July 1944, before the Allied invasion of France, so that shortly after the liberation of Paris, HIAS-ICA was able to move its office, maintained in Brive (Unoccupied France) throughout the war, to the capital. An office was opened in Istanbul to serve Jews who had found a temporary haven of refuge there. In Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland, HIAS continued to maintain offices and committees to facilitate the migration of Jewish refugees in those countries.

In Shanghai a HIAS-ICA Committee resumed the work it had begun before Japan made her attack at Pearl Harbor.

All these offices, in addition to the work they had formerly carried on, assumed a new and important task, that of locating lost relatives. Working together with the HIAS Location Service in the United States, they were able, by being on the spot, to speed the reunion of parents and children. Thousands of families have already been reunited, and throughout the world an intensive search is being made to trace the 150,000 individuals in 50,000 families who are being sought by relatives in the United States.

It would be beyond the scope of this brief report to detail the activities of every office. But as an indication of the nature of the activities of the organization in 1944, the figures of the HIAS Lisbon office are given. In other HIAS offices the nature of the work was much the same—only the figures differed.

In the Lisbon office, 5,800 refugees were assisted technically. 2,218 received financial assistance to migrate overseas. 1,430 immigrated to Palestine; the remainder to the Western Hemisphere. Total cost of transportation for the 2,218 refugees was \$850,400. The immigrants themselves participated to the extent of \$142,000; and the remainder was supplied by the Refugee Transportation Fund made available by the J.D.C. and HIAS.

In addition, the Lisbon office answered 6,707 inquiries on migration and related subjects; handled 32,419 requests by mail for information, service, and assistance; sent 15,265 letters; handled 3,273 cables covering urgent migration cases; and made 3,121 interventions in behalf of refugees with the Portuguese authorities and the various foreign consulates. 9,500 requests to locate relatives were processed, and 60,342 food parcels were sent.

In Central and South America, HIAS-ICA committees devoted themselves to three main tasks: legalization of the status of those who had entered in previous years as non-immigrants, location of relatives in liberated countries, and preparatory steps for enlarging the absorptive capacity for post-war Jewish immigration in the various countries. HIAS-ICA branches were opened in the most remote provinces of every country.

These services were expanded in 1945. Victory in Europe brought a new flood of inquiries to HIAS from relatives who are anxious to help their kin. When announcement was made after V-E Day that the State Department would again consider sponsor-affidavits on behalf of refugees residing in France, Belgium, Italy, and other countries, HIAS was called upon to serve and assist in the preparation of documents. The European offices, on the strength of this announcement, are registering prospective immigrants and making the necessary arrangements for their subsequent immigration.

Since V-E Day, HIAS-ICA has opened nine offices in France to serve refugees with greater efficiency at the points where they are concentrated. Food parcels are sent to France by American relatives of the refugees there. Under U.S. government license, HIAS is acting as forwarding agent for American residents to send financial assistance direct to Rumania and Switzerland, an extension of the money-forwarding services of HIAS in neutral countries during the war.

In the United States, HIAS continued its characteristic work of immigration assistance and adjustment. It participated in ministering to the spiritual and personal needs of the residents at the refugee shelter at Fort Ontario, Oswego, N. Y.

HIAS expenditures in 1944 totaled \$1,223,970.36. The annual meeting adopted a budget for 1945 of \$1,808,000, over 70 per cent of which (\$1,345,000) is allocated to overseas work, to help the surviving Jews of Europe resettle in those countries where they can find a new home, a new life and new hope.

The World Ort Union, an organization for rehabilitation through training, continued during the past year to expand its 65 year-old program of training Jews in occupational skills.

The American ORT Federation, principal fund-raising agent of the World ORT Union, has announced for 1945 a budget of \$1,550,000 which is almost two-thirds of the world budget of \$2,450,000. In 1944, the American ORT budget was \$486,500; the world budget was \$653,000. Four times as

much money is needed this year for the tremendous task of providing occupational training for the uprooted Jews of Europe.

The funds raised by the American ORT in 1944 went towards the support of varied activities. In the Western Hemisphere schools were built and maintained in Buenos Aires, Argentina; São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; La Paz and Cochabamba, Bolivia; Santiago, Chile; Montevideo, Uruguay; Havana, Cuba; Montreal, Canada. Two schools have been set up in New York City and a Trade School in the Fort Ontario Emergency Relief Shelter. Courses taught in these schools include metal work, mechanics, electricity, welding, electro-engineering, dressmaking, electro-technics, leather work, diamond-cutting, applied mechanical drafting, jewelry making and electric power sewing machine operation.

With peace in Europe, ORT work in 1945 will concentrate on re-establishing its program in that continent. This work has already begun with the introduction of courses in seven principal French cities for training men, women, and children in such trades as radio mechanics, dressmaking, beauty culture, applied chemistry, millinery, machine assembly, tailoring, and cutting of ladies' dresses. In addition, the ORT has re-established its agricultural program in France, with four separate projects in various sections of France; one farm is preparing Halutzim for emigration to Palestine.

Since many Jews in Europe are already trained to do useful work, but lack tools and equipment, an important phase of ORT work has been the supplying of these tools. Shipments have already been sent to Poland, and the ORT school in Canada has devoted much time to the manufacture of tools for Poland. In France, cooperative workshops have been set up where artisans can bring their work for finishing, a central repair shop in Paris provides repairs and spare parts. Other ORT activities are being carried on in Bucharest, Jassy and Sofia, as well as in the Sub-Carpathian region of Czechoslovakia.

All during the war years Switzerland, neutral haven for thousands of Jews, played an important role in the implementation of ORT's program. At the present time, ORT has 100 branches functioning in that country, including more than 30 different trades. A recent important project

has been the provision for training "master builders." There people will learn construction trades to help rebuild the devastated countries of Europe. Opened in March of this year, the project's first class included refugees from France and Yugoslavia, the latter invited to attend at the express request of the Yugoslav National Liberation Committee.

In addition to training Jews to help themselves, ORT's program serves the added function of breaking down the spiritual ghetto created by the Nazis, aiming to destroy the false impression that Jews are non-productive. ORT-trained people will take their place as productive workers in every country, working shoulder to shoulder with their non-Jewish fellow citizens. The example set by ORT trainees is paving the way for thousands of refugees who look for permanent residence in a new land.

The funds supplied by the American ORT Federation to the World ORT Union were contributed principally by the organized Jewish communities and Welfare Funds throughout the United States; and in Greater New York, by the Young Men and Women's ORT, the ORT Labor Committee, the ORT Council of Organizations, the Brooklyn ORT Society, and the Society of the European Friends of ORT.

Throughout the year 1944, the American OSE Committee (organization for the protection of the health of Jews) engaged in activities along the same lines as in previous years, the chief efforts being in the direction of obtaining supplementary financial support to augment the appropriations granted by the J.D.C. for OSE overseas relief work. This was achieved through an organizational campaign in this hemisphere, the setting-up of new OSE groups and branches, and the re-organization and strengthening of other branches permitting the OSE to draw on them for a larger share of support for its overseas work.

During the operational year 1944, new branches of the OSE were organized in Canada (Montreal and Toronto) and in Uruguay and Brazil; the branches in Argentina and Mexico were expanded considerably and through the active assistance of these groups, the American OSE Committee was able to collect more than \$135,000 for OSE activities, the bulk of this fund going for direct work overseas.

With the additional sums thus obtained, the OSE was able to start health services in the devastated European countries by sending medical teams, consisting of physicians, nurses, and welfare personnel, to Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, and by shipping quantities of medical supplies and equipment. Besides acting as first-aid groups, these medical teams also carry on surveys of health conditions and of possibilities for assistance and relief.

A shipment of medical equipment, blankets, linen and bedding was arranged by the American OSE Committee from an affiliated group in Australia.

The year 1944 marked the organization by the Swiss OSE of a special *Search Buro* to trace missing or abandoned children. On this side, in close cooperation with the *Search Buro*, the American Committee of OSE has been actively engaged in locating and making contact with children's relatives, helping in immigration matters, and initiating extensive measures for individual and group assistance to children through regular shipment of gift parcels. With the help of the *Search Buro*, scores of dispersed families were reunited.

In addition to the major relief organizations, there were other groups which directed efforts to the rescue of European war victims. Two of these are the Union of Orthodox Rabbis and the Jewish Council of Russian War Relief.

In February, 1945, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis initiated a drive to raise \$2,500,000 for the relief of European Jews who had already returned to their home communities. The Union's primary concern is the rebuilding of houses of worship, hospitals, orphanages, schools, and other institutions.

The Jewish Council of Russian War Relief, at its fourth annual conference held on April 29, 1945, set itself a goal of \$3,000,000 for 1945. Contributions amounting to \$115,000 were collected by the Council at a celebration of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order on May 26, 1945; this sum is to be used for Jewish relief projects in Russia and the Near East. The Fraternal Order authorized that \$75,000 be set aside for the rehabilitation of Jews in the Volga region of Russia.

IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE AID*

By JOSEPH M. BERNSTEIN**

During the year under review, the three leading American Jewish agencies in the field, the National Refugee Service, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), and the National Council of Jewish Women, continued unabated their wartime work in immigration and refugee aid. Their efforts covered a wide range of activities, including employment and retraining of refugees; resettlement; care of refugee children; port and dock service, with on-the-spot aid at Ellis Island; citizenship and Americanization classes; and social adjustment to the American scene. In addition to their usual services, the three above-named organizations participated in several unusual projects, the details of which are outlined below.

The expenditures of the National Refugee Service from July 1, 1944 through June 30, 1945 totaled \$1,037,011. At its annual meeting, a budget for 1945 of \$1,144,330 was adopted. HIAS expenditures in 1944 totaled \$1,223,970.36. The annual meeting adopted a budget for 1945 of \$1,808,000, of which \$1,345,000 is allotted to overseas work. The Service to Foreign Born Department of the National Council of Jewish Women expended approximately \$100,000 during 1944; for the calendar year of 1945, it is expected to spend \$150,000.

I.

Paradoxically enough, the outstanding immigration story of the year has no place in the files of the United States Bureau of Immigration. The 1,000 refugees who came to our shores in August 1944, at the order of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as a token of the millions wandering homeless throughout the world, came here outside the immigration laws, and, according to the opinion of the then Attorney General, Francis Biddle, have never been in the United States.

*This article is based on information supplied by the three most prominent American Jewish agencies in the field, the National Refugee Service, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, and the National Council of Jewish Women.

**Associate editor.

Despite this legal fiction, the refugees did land at Hoboken, New Jersey, on a rainy day in August 1944. Met at the docks by representatives of the Government and the National Refugee Service, the refugees were brought to Fort Ontario, near Oswego, N. Y., which had been made into a shelter.

Their arrival here was the end-result of continuous efforts by many groups of humane Americans who felt that these persecuted people should have the traditional American right of sanctuary. For months, pressure had been brought to bear on the Administration and on Congress to set an example for other nations to follow. It had been suggested that a system of "free ports" be established to which refugees should be brought, outside the immigration laws — so that they might remain here until the war was over. President Roosevelt finally announced on June 10, 1944, that he had cabled Robert D. Murphy, State Department official, to select 1,000 refugees from the camps in Italy to be brought to this country and placed in a shelter here until after the war, when they were to be sent back to their homelands.

The President made it clear that overall policy in the case of this group and any that might follow was in the hands of the War Refugee Board, while the administration of the Shelter was to be in the hands of the War Relocation Authority of the Department of Interior. He indicated in his cable to Robert D. Murphy, and in a later message to the Congress, that it was necessary to bring the refugees here, as the camps in Italy were becoming crowded to the point where refugees were hindering the work of the military. Thus the move was well within his war powers as Chief Executive.

It is important to give this background because of the subsequent turn of events. No sooner had the President made his announcement than the isolationists and reactionaries inveighed against what they called the forerunner of a flood of refugees headed this way.

What was the group of refugees at Ft. Ontario like? It was composed of 456 women and 526 men, 232 of them under 20 years of age. They came from Yugoslavia, Austria, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Russia, Belgium, France, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey, Spain, Greece, Italy, Holland, and the Free City of Danzig. Some

were Catholics, some were Protestants, and some were Jews. They had been musicians, actors, writers, lawyers, journalists, teachers, pharmacists, clergymen, engineers, and dentists in their native lands. They were law-abiding people who were fortunate enough to have escaped the Nazi regime.

The conditions under which the refugees came are worth noting. They had to live within the Shelter during their entire stay in the country. They could leave only if they required hospitalization. Otherwise, like soldiers, they might have occasional passes, measured in hours — and there were no furloughs. Their bare physical needs, food, shelter, and clothing, were indeed provided by the Government. Beyond these, such things as newspapers, books, and spiritual comfort, were only to be theirs if given by private agencies. Since the large majority of the refugees were Jewish, a synagogue and a kosher kitchen were vital needs.

Late in August 1944, several national Jewish organizations formed a coordinating committee to evolve and participate in a unified program of services for the newcomers. They included the Agudas Israel of America, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, the B'nai B'rith, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the Jewish Welfare Board, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Refugee Service, ORT, and the Synagogue Council of America, together with representatives from the Jewish communities of Rochester, Buffalo, Syracuse, Oswego, and Utica.

Under this coordinated program, religious needs; adult and children's education, cultural and recreational activities, medical care, and material needs were provided by the private agencies.

A synagogue was established and all its equipment bought and installed. A Hebrew teacher was employed. A kosher kitchen was set up and equipped. For the children of pre-school age, the private agencies arranged for a nursery school and teacher. Transportation was provided for children of school age. An orientation teacher was hired to help them in their social adjustment. It was even arranged that eleven students ready for higher education be afforded the facilities of Oswego Teachers' College.

The problem of adult education was much more complicated as a result of language difficulties and the various needs and desires of the refugees. It must be remembered that although Yugoslavs and Austrians were in the large majority, the inhabitants of the Shelter had come from 17 different countries. But English instruction was provided for some 600 of them. Those who so desired were given the opportunity to study practical courses in wood-working, machine shop practice, sewing, beauty culture, and a course in arts and crafts. The last-named achieved such good results that a successful exhibition of their artistic efforts was held at the Shelter in the spring of 1945.

In addition to formal and disciplined work, cultural opportunities were provided in the form of lectures by well-known speakers and concerts by world-famous artists. A weekly forum was organized, with speakers from nearby towns, in which discussion centered about various aspects of American life. Since the confined nature of the refugees' existence made recreation a real necessity, newspapers, magazines, and films supplied by the National Refugee Service played an important part in the life of the Shelter. In addition, this agency supplied the materials necessary for the refugees' own periodical, the weekly *Ontario Chronicle*.

The question of their future came to the fore in the spring of 1945. Although President Roosevelt's executive order had provided that they were to be returned to their homelands when the war was over, V-E Day in May brought home to them and their friends that this was not feasible. Even earlier, an opinion handed down by Attorney General Biddle made it evident that these refugees constituted a political problem child. The then Attorney General ruled that although the Oswego refugees had been brought here legally, they had entered outside the immigration laws, and hence had in fact never resided in the United States. In effect, according to that opinion, they were living in a sort of free port, a limbo in, but not of, the United States.

Rumors began to circulate, both in the Shelter and in Washington, that with the imminent dissolution of the War Refugee Board, the Shelter would be closed immediately

and the refugees shipped to some UNRRA camp in North Africa or Europe. These rumors seemed to take on such substance that the Administrator of the Shelter, Joseph Smart, resigned in protest, with the avowed purpose of bringing about some Congressional action which would allow the refugees to remain in this country. He joined with the Committee of Friends of the Oswego Refugees in petitioning the President. Representative Samuel Dickstein (D., N.Y.) then announced that a sub-committee of his Committee on Immigration would hold hearings at the camp early in July, 1945.

Meanwhile the retiring executive director of the War Refugee Board, Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, offered his report to the Board. He recommended that it was impracticable for various reasons to send the refugees to their homelands and suggested that they be allowed to remain in this country under a system of "sponsored leaves." In the hope that such a program would be adopted, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies, representing some 19 private agencies, forwarded a letter signed, among others, by Joseph P. Chamberlain, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Refugee Service, to Dillon Myer, head of the War Relocation Authority, pledging the resources of those agencies in caring for the refugees after they were released. However, no such program was adopted.

Hearings were held by Congressman Dickstein's Sub-Committee at Oswego on July 5 and 6, 1945. Principal witness was Brigadier General O'Dwyer who urged that the refugees be allowed to remain in this country. The testimony indicated that the refugees had made a fine impression on their neighbors of the town of Oswego, whose principal citizens esteemed them worthy of becoming American citizens. Although the question of the closing of the Shelter and the release and status of the inhabitants has not as yet been definitely resolved — and the report of the Committee on Immigration of the House of Representatives has not been made public — the belief has gained ground that the Shelter will be closed in the near future and a large majority of the inhabitants given an opportunity to change their status under the immigration laws, eventually perhaps to become American citizens.

II.

Although the story of the Oswego refugees highlighted migration work, there were several other developments in that field during the year which may have great impact in the future. The first of these was the inauguration of a study of recent immigration under the auspices of the National Refugee Service, the American Christian Committee for Refugees, the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, and the U. S. Committee for the Care of European Children. Dr. C. A. Dykstra, former head of Selective Service and now Provost of the University of California, is chairman of a large sponsoring committee including a number of outstanding citizens of the United States. The Director of the study of recent immigration from Europe is Dr. Maurice Davie, on leave of absence from Yale University. He has thus far received the collaboration of 263 committees in 505 communities, in 44 states.

The importance of this study cannot be overestimated. The House Committee on Immigration and other Government agencies have indicated their eagerness to be informed of the results of Dr. Davie's study. Dr. Davie and his staff have already examined more than ten thousand cases. Through interviews and questionnaires, they have studied the various adjustments made by recent immigrants to this country. They are studying the attitudes of the immigrant and the reactions of the American community toward him. They are analyzing through these actual case histories, his economic, social, and cultural adjustments, his citizenship in this country, his participation in public affairs, his service in the armed forces, etc. The study will assess the factors retarding or accelerating adjustment, such as the legal and other restrictions against the alien. Through such an objective study and analysis, the study on recent immigration from Europe will arrive at basic conclusions on the effects of recent immigration on American society and on the refugee problem in the post-war world; moreover, it will discuss American post-war immigration policy in the light of the results obtained.

A small pamphlet based on the results of the study has

already been written for the War Department to be published as one of the series of G. I. booklets it makes available for study to the enlisted man. Another and larger pamphlet is in preparation, while the final and authoritative book based on the study is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1946.

III.

During the summer of 1944, as it became more and more evident that the United Nations would soon liberate extensive portions of the European continent, inquiries about friends and relatives in the already liberated territory began to pour in on the agencies dealing with migration. No time was lost in establishing a central source of information, the Central Location Index, Inc. The members of Central Location Index, Inc. include the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the International Migration Service, the National Refugee Service, the National Council of Jewish Women, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Committee for Christian Refugees, and the American Friends Service Committee. Hundreds of thousands of inquiries have been made since this service was established to locate friends and relatives both here and in the liberated countries of Europe. Thousands of persons have been placed in communication, and some reunited, with relatives torn from them by the tragic events of recent history.

With victory in Europe in sight, the House Committee on Immigration under the chairmanship of Samuel Dickstein became increasingly active in studying the possibilities of legislation on immigration. One sub-committee held hearings at Oswego on the problem of the refugees there. Another held hearings in New York City on August 6-8, 1944, on two vital questions:

1. Whether the existing German quota should be altered, or its use reserved to certain groups.
2. What, if any, change is required in the existing Immigration Law which made deportation mandatory.

In a joint statement, the three Jewish agencies dealing with migration, HIAS, the National Refugee Service, and the National Council of Jewish Women, made clear their em-

phatic opposition to any immediate change in the German quota. They pointed out that, since quotas are based on country of birth, and not on country of nationality, eliminating the German quota would bar persons who no longer resided in Germany. It would exclude victims of Nazi persecution, technically under the German quota, because they had been born there. It would also bar children of forced or slave laborers born in Germany, even though their nationality might be other than German. Finally it would not necessarily exclude thousands of Nazis of other than German birth.

While the Dickstein Committee was holding hearings to study the possibility of new legislation on immigration, some changes in regulation and procedure were made during the year. The outstanding change to be noted occurred in State Department procedure. As a result of victory in Europe, the consulates in the various countries, rather than the State Department in Washington, will henceforth act upon immigration visa applications. Theoretically, consulates have been opened in all countries in Europe. Actually they will probably not begin functioning for some time yet.

IV.

As for trends in immigration, the best evidence seems definitely to indicate that, similar to the situation obtaining during the war, immigration quotas will not be used up in the near future. The countries of Europe will probably tend to prohibit able-bodied men and their families from migrating to the United States and keep them for the rebuilding of their own lands, devastated by years of war.

Most recent figures show that 36,652 immigrants, some 13,000 of them Jewish, came to this country between July 1, 1944 and June 30, 1945. This was the first year in which the term "Hebrew" did not appear in immigration questionnaires; hence the figure of 13,000 Jews is only an estimate. The total immigration from 22 countries generally considered to be the source of refugee migration was 4,550 during this period. Of these about 2,270 were Jewish. The important functions of aiding these immigrants, guiding them through the intricate procedures which eventually bring them here, finding employment for them after their arrival, and in

some cases retraining them so they might be more usefully and gainfully employed, and the many other services required in the field of migration, were performed by the National Refugee Service, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, and the National Council of Jewish Women. How well these functions were performed by all three agencies was perhaps best expressed in a letter to one of them, from the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The text of the letter, addressed to William Rosenwald, Honorary President of the National Refugee Service, follows:

My dear Mr. Rosenwald:

By maintaining its tradition of asylum for the oppressed in a decade when the world was infested with group hatred and persecution, our country has done itself honor. The neighborly assistance and guidance offered by public spirited organizations and individuals to those who have found haven here has helped them to adjust more rapidly to our American life, to contribute to the enrichment of our economy and culture, and to participate loyally in our struggle for national survival.

I know that the National Refugee Service is responsible in large measure for the successful program of aid to New Americans. I therefore take pleasure in extending my good wishes to you personally on the rounding out of ten years of able and devoted leadership and to the organization which you head on its completion of five years of outstanding service in this patriotic and human cause.

You will recall that three years ago I suggested that the program of the National Refugee Service might provide a model of constructive absorption of immigrants into American life. The record of accomplishment since then, under stress of war conditions, has confirmed that view. It is heartening to know that due to the efforts of high-minded men and women, our country is prepared to continue the well-conceived and effective program for aiding newcomers to fulfill their hope of becoming good Americans.

Sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Zionist and Pro-Palestine Activities

By SAMUEL DININ*

THE year under review was one of liberation and rejoicing for mankind, for it marked the unconditional surrender of Germany and the adoption by the United Nations Conference at San Francisco of a Security Charter to ensure the peace of the world. But it was a year of travail and disappointment to the Zionist movement in the United States. It brought no nearer the liberation of Zion.

The year began hopefully enough. The summer of 1944 witnessed the adoption by conventions of both the Republican and the Democratic Parties of planks favoring the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. This was the first such action ever taken by either Party, and the platform planks did a great deal to mitigate the disappointment caused by the tabling of the Palestine Wright-Compton and Wagner-Taft resolutions in both Houses of Congress at the behest of the State Department in March 1944.

There was further jubilation in Zionist ranks when, in a message sent to the 47th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, held in Atlantic City, October 14-17, President Roosevelt pledged his aid in initiating "appropriate ways and means of effectuating . . . the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." Zionist leaders hailed this message "as the strongest declaration on Palestine ever made by a Chief Executive of this country."

Hopes were further revived when Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson withdrew his objections, on military grounds, to the Palestine resolutions. Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, thereupon announced that there would be an early resumption of the hearings on the Palestine resolutions. But the Wright-Compton resolution, approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee on November 29, 1944, had been amended to

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read: "The United States [shall] use its good offices to the end that the doors of Palestine be opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth." The use of the word "ultimately" and the substitution of the phrase "free and democratic commonwealth" for "Jewish commonwealth" evoked protest from Zionist leaders.

On December 11, the Senate once again tabled the Wagner-Taft resolution on Palestine, this time as a result of a statement issued by the State Department declaring passage of a Palestine resolution at that time "unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation." Later (December 15), twelve members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee issued a joint statement recording their personal approval of the amended House resolution.

The Rift in the American Zionist Emergency Council

The tabling of the Palestine resolution in Congress for a second time brought to a head a factional conflict in the American Zionist Emergency Council, which had been in the making for several months. At the Z.O.A. convention in October 1944, some leaders expressed dissatisfaction because of the failure of the House Foreign Affairs Committee to act on the Wright-Compton resolution earlier in the year, and on other grounds. But the opposing elements at the convention were reconciled behind the scenes and harmony was restored, with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver retaining a dominant position in the American Emergency Zionist Council.

The failure of the Senate Committee to act on the Wagner-Taft resolution precipitated an open conflict. Dr. Silver was charged by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and his supporters with having exceeded his authority in his efforts to secure approval of that resolution by the Senate Committee in the face of the objections of the State Department. Dr. Silver denied that he had overstepped the powers of his office. He held that the majority of the members of both Houses of Congress were ready to adopt the resolution and that the request of

the State Department was the result of the work of a small clique who were trying to influence President Roosevelt and his Administration against Zionist demands for a Jewish Palestine. As a result of this controversy, both Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver resigned from the Council. Thereupon the Council was reorganized and Dr. Wise was re-elected as sole chairman. Dr. Silver relinquished his co-chairmanship but remained a member of the Council. The majority of the members of the Z.O.A. Administrative Committee supported Dr. Wise. Some of the representatives of the other organizations on the Council supported Dr. Silver, but for reasons of discipline and because they looked upon the Wise-Silver conflict as an internal organizational conflict confined to the Z.O.A., they remained in the Council and continued the work without Dr. Silver. Chaim Greenberg, labor Zionist leader, was made chairman of the Executive Committee and Herman Shulman, chairman of the newly formed Administrative Committee.

The reorganization of the Emergency Council and the resignation of Dr. Silver aroused nation-wide controversy within Zionist ranks. On February 13, 1945, the American Zionist Policy Committee was launched by a group who sought a militant Zionist policy "as exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver." The debate continued for several months, particularly in the Jewish press. Finally as a result of the pressure of Zionist public opinion, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. held on April 1, 1945, a committee was appointed to explore the possibilities of resolving the internal controversy, with Judge Louis E. Levinthal of Philadelphia as chairman. The committee was instructed to reject any proposal which might be construed as a lack of confidence in Dr. Wise's leadership or which would involve the cessation of his active leadership in the Emergency Council.

When the San Francisco United Nations Conference became the center of the world stage, the controversy was momentarily laid aside and American Zionists presented a united front vis-à-vis the Conference. The disappointing results of the San Francisco Conference from the Zionist point of view (referred to later) brought an even greater crisis in the Emergency Council. An attempt was made to

persuade World Zionist leaders who had come to the United States to intervene in the controversy. The Mizrachi, after giving an ultimatum to the Council, withdrew from that body. Moreover, Chaim Greenberg resigned as chairman of the Executive Committee, but his resignation was not accepted.

Shortly thereafter, the controversy was finally resolved. At a specially convened meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive Committee, a formula was proposed by the "Peace Committee" and was approved by a preponderant majority of the Executive. The Peace Plan proposed that the Emergency Council plenum be headed by Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver as joint chairmen; that the Executive Committee of the Council be headed by Dr. Silver as chairman, with Chaim Greenberg and Herman Shulman as vice-chairmen, and any additional officers which the Council might wish to elect, keeping in mind the representation of all constituent organizations; and that a small steering and consultative committee be established to meet in the intervals between meetings of the Executive Committee. Dr. Emanuel Neumann, on behalf of the Silver group, welcomed these recommendations, though not without reservations. After a seven-months split, harmony was finally restored early in July, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise becoming joint chairmen of the Emergency Council.

Palestine at the San Francisco Conference

President Roosevelt's unequivocal stand in favor of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, as expressed in his statement to the Z.O.A. convention in October 1944, had aroused the hopes of Zionists that at last cognizance would be taken by the Great Powers of Zionist demands and a definite solution proposed. Prior to the Yalta Conference in February 1945 of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Marshal Joseph Stalin, the Z.O.A., the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Committee, and the American Palestine Committee (Senator Wagner, Chairman), addressed appeals to the President to place the Palestine question on the agenda. In his March 1, 1945 report to a joint session of Congress on the "Big Three" Conference at Yalta, President Roosevelt revealed that he had discussed

the Arab-Jewish question during talks in Cairo with King Ibn Saud, ruler of Saudi Arabia. He made no specific reference to Palestine, but indicated that there had been an exchange of important information.

When it was announced that the United Nations security conference would be held at San Francisco, beginning on April 25, 1945, non-Jewish as well as Jewish leaders all over the world urged that the Jewish people be given representation at the Conference, and that Jewish problems, generally, and that of a Jewish homeland, in particular, be placed on the agenda. Many public meetings were held, the largest being that, attended by about 35,000, at the Lewisohn Stadium, New York City, on April 29, under the joint auspices of the American Jewish Conference and the American Zionist Emergency Council. Senator Wagner, Mayor La Guardia, Dr. Wise, and Dr. Silver were among the speakers who pleaded for a hearing of the Jewish case at San Francisco, for immediate opening of the gates of Palestine to the Jewish survivors of the war and Nazi atrocities, and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

The Jews were not given representation at the Conference, nor was the problem of Palestine placed on the agenda. The State Department included the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Conference among the forty-two organizations invited to send representatives to serve as consultants to the American delegation at San Francisco. In addition to delegates from these officially-accepted organizations, came representatives of other Jewish bodies, large and small. Some of these submitted demands and declarations to delegates of the United Nations. Additional disappointment was caused by the fact that the Arab states—Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Yemen—which had entered the war on the side of the United Nations at the last moment and were opposed to Zionist demands, were given official representation at San Francisco. Their princes came and lived in great pomp, were entertained on a lavish scale by American oil barons and oil-hungry business men of other countries, and received friendly press notices.

Stephen S. Wise and Nahum Goldmann, special emissaries

of the Jewish Agency, presented a memorandum written by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency, which asked that no action be taken at the San Francisco Conference which would be inconsistent with or prejudicial to the special rights of the Jewish people under the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, and that all such rights be expressly reserved and safeguarded. In advance of the San Francisco Conference on April 2, 1945, the American Jewish Conference submitted a memorandum to Secretary of State Stettinius "on the needs and aspirations of the Jewish people at the present time and on the post-war world." Among other things the memorandum stated that "an internal Bill of Rights is urged to protect Jews wherever they may be minorities. The establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth, however, is essential if universal Jewish minorityhood is to be ended, and if the problem of Jewish homelessness, a disability which has contributed to the insecurity of the Jewish people, is to be solved." The Palestine section also called for immediate opening of the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration and ended with the words: "Without the constitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth, the provisions of the Atlantic Charter remain unfulfilled; with it there ensues an act of sublime and inspiring justice, an act whereby wrong is redressed, and the Four Freedoms at last repay the debt of the Ten Commandments."

The American Jewish Committee presented its recommendations in a volume titled *To the Counsellors of Peace*. With regard to Palestine, the Committee reaffirmed its previous stand favoring an international trusteeship, responsible to the United Nations, in order "to safeguard the Jewish settlement in and Jewish immigration into Palestine, to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country;" and "to prepare the country to become, within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing commonwealth under a constitution and a bill of rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all."

The Jewish Labor Committee called, among other things, for unlimited immigration to Palestine and free land-purchase. The Synagogue Council of America also urged abrogation of the British White Paper affecting immigration to Palestine.

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation demanded the immediate recognition of the Hebrew Nation (as distinct from the Jewish people) as one of the United Nations, the setting up of a Government-in-exile with the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi in Palestine as the temporary representatives of such a Government, a place on the War Crimes Commission and on the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee, and re-issuance of appropriate passports to all those who wish to belong to the Hebrew Nation. At a Conference in April 1945, the Jewish State Party demanded that England give up the Palestine mandate and that Palestine be placed under an international trusteeship and proclaimed a Jewish State with the Jewish Agency to be given the right of government.

The American Council for Judaism also sent observers to San Francisco and proclaimed once again its opposition "to the establishment of Palestine or any locality as a Jewish State or Commonwealth." It called for a policy to replace the White Paper of 1939 which "should aid immigration consistent with the fullest possible economic development and political well-being of the country without special limitations or privileges."

Aside from the proposal for the promulgation of an International Bill of Rights, the San Francisco Conference did not take up any of the questions to which the various memoranda were addressed. The only problem raised at the Conference which directly affected the status of Palestine was that of international trusteeships. The achievements of the Zionist delegates were in a sense negative, aside from whatever good-will for the Zionist cause they may have won as a result of their contacts with individual delegates and delegations. The Egyptian delegation, spokesman for the Arab countries grouped in the Arab League, introduced an amendment in the trusteeship committee, under which former mandates of the League of Nations would automatically come under the trusteeship system whether or not the mandatory powers agreed. This amendment was defeated largely as a result of opposition by Great Britain and the United States. The final wording of the trusteeship clause is such that it does not prejudice whatever special rights in Palestine the Jews have been given under the Balfour

Declaration and the British mandate. In the words of Article 30, Section 1: "Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made in accordance with the provisions of this chapter, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which members of the United Nations may respectively be parties." (For further discussion of this problem, see article below, "International Events," by Sydney H. Zebel.)

Several of the World Zionist leaders were in this country during the period of the San Francisco Conference, others immediately thereafter. Foremost among those who came was David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. At a press conference, held June 26, 1945, at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, Ben-Gurion declared that the Jews in Palestine would resist further enforcement of the White Paper, with constant and brutal force if necessary. "We must be enabled immediately," he said, "to bring into Palestine the first million Jews from Europe and Oriental countries. We in Palestine have made all necessary plans, agriculturally, industrially, and financially, for the absorption and settlement of these immigrants. Unless the pledges to the Jewish people are fulfilled, a deep tragedy is bound to come in Palestine, a tragedy which will be regretted by the whole civilized world and which it is the duty of this country no less than that of every other country associated with the Jewish National Home promise, to prevent." Ben-Gurion declared at another conference that to the best of his knowledge the Palestine question was discussed at the Yalta conference and that "it was discussed in favor of a Jewish Palestine."

Then in July 1945, at Mackinac Island, Michigan, where the Governors of the States were in conference, thirty-seven of them addressed a communication to President Harry S. Truman asking him to take immediate steps to open Palestine "to Jewish mass immigration and colonization, and to bring about the earliest transformation of that country into a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." In an accompany-

ing letter, Governor Herbert D. Maw of Utah expressed the hope that the President would discuss ways and means of achieving this at his forthcoming conference in Germany, with Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Marshal Joseph Stalin. The election of a Labor majority in England in July 1945 was greeted by Zionist circles in this country. The American Zionist Emergency Council in a statement released on July 26, said, among other things: "The election of a Labor majority in the House of Commons and the consequent appointment of a Labor Government gives hope that the intolerable regime in Palestine of the White Paper, which has been continued even after the termination of the war in Europe, will now come to an end and the sorely tried Jewish people may at last look forward to effective action in behalf of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

Funds for Palestine

The annual Conference for Palestine held on January 28, 1945, adopted a budget of \$35,300,000 for the United Palestine Appeal and called upon American Jews to support a plan for resettlement in Palestine of 1,000,000 Jewish refugees within two years after the war. Because of its augmented needs and in view of the increasing importance of Palestine as a refuge for the Jews of Europe, the representatives of the United Palestine Appeal (which includes the Palestine Foundation Fund, the Jewish National Fund, and the Mizrachi Palestine Fund) asked for a greater percentage of the proceeds of the funds of the United Jewish Appeal. When the demands of the UPA were not granted, the United Jewish Appeal was dissolved and the United Palestine Appeal embarked on its own campaign. As is explained in detail elsewhere in this Review, the UJA was subsequently reconstituted.¹

During the ten-month period from July 1, 1944 to April 30, 1945, the United Palestine Appeal disbursed to the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Mizrachi Palestine Fund the sum of \$8,618,616. During the same period, the agencies in

¹ See article on Jewish Social Welfare by H. L. Lurie, page 254.

Palestine—the Jewish Agency, Keren Hayesod, and Keren Kayemeth with funds received from UPA and other sources (contributions from other countries, grants, collections, etc.) spent \$26,418,325 (\$15,235,481 by Jewish Agency and Keren Hayesod and \$11,182,844 by the Keren Kayemeth) for rescue and relief of refugees, agricultural and industrial development of Palestine, the mobilization of manpower for the war effort, the care of Jewish soldiers' families and discharged Jewish servicemen, etc.

The American Friends of the Hebrew University, Hadassah and the American Jewish Physicians Committee announced (February 18, 1945) a joint effort to raise \$3,500,000 for an undergraduate medical school at the Hebrew University. Hadassah raised during the past year over two and a quarter million dollars for Palestine projects, which include a new 200-bed tuberculosis hospital to be an integral part of the Hadassah Medical Center, a Louis D. Brandeis Vocational Center, the Youth Aliyah, and various other projects in the field of medicine and public health.

In addition, Junior Hadassah raised \$141,040 for its usual projects—the Youth Aliyah, the children's village Meier Shfeyah, and the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing (shared with Senior Hadassah).

The National Labor Committee for Palestine (*Geverkshaf-ten* Campaign), which is the American arm of the Histadruth Haovdim (Labor Federation) in Palestine, had as its 1944-5 campaign quota the sum of \$2,000,000 of which it has raised to date \$1,201,204.43. The funds sent to Palestine are used by the Histadruth mainly for the development of agricultural settlements and vocational training, with substantial sums allocated for Aliyah work, rescue, Hehalutz emergency activities, war and security measures, and emergency housing. The Pioneer Women's Organization raised an additional \$260,000 during the year for the Moatzoth Hapoaloth (Working Women's Council in Palestine with a membership of 65,000), to provide vocational training for 950 girls and servicemen's wives; agricultural training on training farms for 500 girls; maintenance of hostels for Palestinian women in the armed forces (PATS) in cooperation with other women's organizations; and summer vacations in camps for 10,000 children.

The Mizrahi Women's Organization raised funds for the 32 projects which it supports and from which about 2,000 native and refugee children benefit. These projects include a Children's Village and Farm School at Raananah; a Beth Zeiroth Mizrahi (young women's center) in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv to house and train young girls, many of them refugees; welfare centers; nurseries and child centers; and settlement houses. The Junior Mizrahi Women has sent \$10,000 to Palestine for the erection of a Children's House in Kfar Aza, a religious settlement, and has raised \$10,000 of a budget of \$25,000 for the erection of a nursery in the Children's Village and Farm School in Raananah, supported by the senior organization.

The American Fund for Palestinian Institutions allocated \$550,000 for 1945 for the 69 beneficiaries in Palestine for which it acts as collecting agency.

The Federated Council of Palestinian Institutions, sponsored by the Central Relief Committee and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States of America and Canada, raises money for all religious educational and welfare institutions in Palestine which are not supported by Zionist funds. In 1944 (January 1, 1944 to December 31, 1944) it received \$69,680.47, which was distributed or is to be distributed among a large number of educational and philanthropic institutions.

Zionist Organizational Activities

The Zionist Organization of America ending the year 1943-4 with a total membership of 111,421, expects to enroll 140,000 by the end of 1944-5. As of April 1, 1945, a total of \$118,472.21 was raised toward the \$350,000 Expansion Fund Drive launched by the organization to finance new projects and to expand some old ones. The largest sum went to the radio project, "Palestine Speaks," heard over 125 stations in the United States and an additional 40 stations in Canada. In cooperation with the Hebrew Arts Committee, the radio committee also prepared a series of four recorded transcriptions entitled "Palestine Sings." The next largest sum was given to the Commission on Unity for Palestine, under the chairmanship of Dr. Felix A. Levy, to carry on an intensive

program through publications, public and private meetings, and other means, to counteract the influence of anti-Zionist forces.

A new Palestine Economic Bureau has been established to present opportunities to American business for investment in Palestine. It hopes to encourage American industrialists to establish branch factories in Palestine, to stimulate American technicians to place their skills and abilities at the service of the expanding Jewish economy in Palestine, to stimulate American Jews to invest in Palestinian industries, and to increase the two-way flow of trade and commerce between America and Palestine. Another project of the Z.O.A. Expansion Fund is the Hebrew Arts Committee whose aim is to vitalize Hebrew culture and arts in America. It conducts a Hebrew Theater group, a dance group, a choir, and a sinfonietta. Its most ambitious undertaking was the presentation by the *Pargod* ("The Curtain") group of "King Solomon and Shalmal the Cobbler," a comedy in seven scenes by Sami Groneman, under the direction of Erwin Piscator and R. Ben-Ari. In addition, the dance group, the choir, and sinfonietta appeared in special programs.

Following a survey of Zionist education in the United States, the Z.O.A. renewed the work of the education department on a modest scale. The new education department issued several program guides for district meetings, furnished Zionist and general Jewish material through Jewish chaplains to the men in the armed forces, and announced the projected publication of a volume in Hebrew for beginners.

Hadassah's membership grew in the past year from 100,000 to 125,000 with good prospects of reaching the 150,000 mark before the end of the summer.

The American Zionist Youth Commission supported jointly by the Z.O.A. and Hadassah, includes Young Judea, Avukah, Masada and Junior Hadassah. Spurred on by the success of Brandeis Camp, the Youth Commission is projecting the establishment of two new camps in the South and Southwest, for which initial gifts have been received. National Young Judea reports a membership of 17,000 (12,000 Juniors and 5,000 Seniors) organized in 195 clubs, an increase of 31% over last year. Avukah, reinstated in the Youth Commission in December 1944, hopes to expand

Zionist work on the campuses of the country. It is planning a national summer school and inter-chapter conference for the summer of 1945. Junior Hadassah has reached the 20,000 mark in membership and is now probably the largest Jewish youth organization in the country.

Mizrachi continued its campaign to raise a quarter of a million dollars in order to give increasing support to existing all-day Jewish schools and to the establishment of new Yeshivoth.

The National Labor Committee for Palestine reported affiliation with its work of 3,000 organizations representing an estimated total constituency of over half a million members. The Hebrew Educators Committee, a part of the National Labor Committee for Palestine, which is in charge of the work in Jewish schools, opened a Jewish Children's Book Club, which publishes and distributes stories of life in Palestine and of Jewish life in general. It has enrolled thousands of school children and teachers in the Club.

The Pioneer Women's Organization reports a membership of 16,000 in 295 clubs in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. During the past year it held five regional conferences in New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Toronto.

The League for Labor Palestine reported continued activity on the part of its forty chapters with an approximate membership of 4,000. League chapters raised about \$50,000 for the Palestine Histadrut campaign during the past year in addition to participating in general Zionist fund-raising activities.

Hehalutz now numbers 1,000 members, organized in 12 chapters, most of whom are ready and willing to leave for Palestine as soon as immigration conditions permit. Hehalutz is now concentrating on keeping in touch with 1,000 soldiers to whom Zionist material is sent; in supervising the youth group at the "free port" refugee camp at Fort Ontario, N. Y.; in conducting summer seminars for members of Hehalutz; and in developing training farms at Cream Ridge and Hightstown, New Jersey, where about 70 students are now in training. Its budget of approximately \$50,000 is covered by allocations from the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, and various Zionist organizations and youth groups. In view of the decimation of the Jewish

population in Europe, Hehalutz looks to America, particularly to returning Jewish soldiers, for new recruits to Palestine, and is concentrating its major energies on the acquisition of new human materièl for its movement. Hashomer Hatzair, one of the cooperating organizations in Hehalutz, has three groups of pioneers (Kibbutzei Aliyah) of from 100 to 150 members each, waiting to settle in Palestine. The chief training places for Hashomer members are Hightstown, New Jersey and Prescott, Ontario, Canada. Hashomer conducts eight summer camps in the United States and Canada on a cooperative basis on the pattern of the Palestinian Kibbutzim, in Liberty, New York; Bridgewater, Mass.; Freemont, Ohio; Wild Rose, Wisconsin; Crestline, California; Lachute, Quebec; Stroudt, Ontario; and Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The New Zionist Organization celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the creation of the Jewish Legion in World War I in honor of the British Commander of the Legion, Col. John Henry Patterson, honorary President of the New Zionist Organization, at a dinner in New York City, on March 18, 1945. Senator Ralph O. Brewster of Maine and Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado, who were among the speakers, unequivocally endorsed the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Col Patterson, who had served in the British Administration in Palestine, called on the State Department of the United States to "stop following the policies of the British Foreign Office." The New Zionist Organization also sent a delegation to the San Francisco Conference, headed by Professor A. S. Yahuda, and submitted a declaration of Jewish aims.

The twentieth anniversary of the formal opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, on April 1, 1925, was celebrated throughout the country by the American Friends of the Hebrew University and its branches, by Zionists generally, and by the academic world in the United States. Professor Leon Roth visited the United States in behalf of the University from November 1944 through January 1945.

The Federation of Palestine Jews of America, organized in 1929, now has about 3,500 members. It conducts no separate campaigns for funds to be spent abroad, but participates in the various Zionist campaigns. During the past year, the Federation sent an ambulance for the Red Mogen David in

Palestine, supported several public kitchens and schools for the poor children in Jerusalem, and established a loan fund in Jerusalem to grant free loans to working men and small businessmen.

Dr. Chaim Weizmann's seventieth birthday was the occasion of celebrations all over the country. A volume was issued in his honor, edited by Meyer Weisgal, containing the recent Zionist addresses of Dr. Weizmann, and articles about him by some of the foremost Zionist leaders in the world. A Weizmann Colony is to be established in Palestine, with the Z.O.A., Hadassah, and other Zionist bodies contributing the funds.

Hadassah suffered a grievous loss in the death on February 13, 1945, at the age of 84, of its founder, Henrietta Szold. A great Zionist, a great Jewess, and a great humanitarian, she was mourned in Palestine and America by Jews and non-Jews alike. Hadassah is planning the creation of a Henrietta Szold Foundation to commemorate her name. The Foundation will have a two-fold purpose: to help continue the work of the Children's Bureau founded by Miss Szold, which blueprints over-all efforts for the welfare of the children in Palestine; and to provide fellowships to American young men and women for study and service in Palestine as a preparation for Jewish leadership in the United States.

American Zionism lost a young and able leader in the death on July 22 of Herman Shulman, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council and formerly chairman of the Administrative Committee. Mr. Shulman, one of the country's leading attorneys, was prominent in the work of the Z.O.A.