

year 125 installations were served through Women's Division projects. These included Serve-A Camp, Serve-A Chaplain (overseas) and Serve-A Hospitality Center (overseas). Highlighting the 1945-1946 program was the "adoption" of hospitality centers by local committees.

The zeal and devotion which characterized this over-all Jewish record of war service, in which 38 national Jewish organizations contributed unstintingly, is one to which every Jew may point with justifiable pride.

## ANTI-JEWISH AGITATION

By ELLEN H. POSNER<sup>1</sup>

While responsible polls have intimated that the rise of anti-Semitic feeling in the United States, as differentiated from anti-Jewish agitation, has halted in the last two years, the professional purveyors of hate have brought about a strong revival of overt anti-Semitism. Largely of American stock and financed by Americans, as compared with the foreign agents and Nazi propagandists before Pearl Harbor, these "nationalists," have been busily promoting bigotry, distrust, dissension and discord throughout the nation. They have also attempted, in the period under review, to coordinate and centralize their forces. They were prepared at the end of the Japanese war to take advantage of the predicted chaotic economic conditions, and to exploit the returning servicemen, the unemployed and all other individuals who felt insecure.

With the termination of war-time restrictions, the number of disruptionists have increased by the addition of new recruits and the formation of new organizations. Their activities have been characterized by a freedom of movement,

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which was in part the result of the government's seeming inability to prosecute and, at the same time, reluctance to terminate the sedition conspiracy trial, or to dismiss the previous indictments. The boldness of these "nationalists" can best be characterized by a statement by the chief rabble-rouser of them all, Gerald L. K. Smith, in his newsletter of September 1945: "*I remind you again: The war is over. Censorship is removed. You can say anything you please which is true, and do anything you please which is right, without violating any rule or law.*"

Early in 1946, Attorney General Tom C. Clark, recognizing the increasing symptoms of intolerance, issued a directive to all United States Attorneys to protect the civil rights of minorities "to the full extent and intent of the Constitution and of statutory provisions." He instructed them to "devote special attention and investigation to protection of all Americans in their civil liberties, regardless of race or color." "Civil rights of minorities in this country were never under greater threat than at this time," the Attorney General warned.

### "Nationalist" Groups

#### American Nationalist Party

The organization of the American Nationalist Party by former Senator Robert R. Reynolds, with the assistance of Gerald L. K. Smith and the late Carl H. Mote, and the backing of many subversive groups, proved abortive. Officially launched in January 1945, Reynolds' group invaded such cities as Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Boston in the Spring of 1945. Its fund-raisers, who included J. Victor Malone and Joseph E. McWilliams, anti-Semitic rabble-rouser indicted for alleged seditious conspiracy, were able to collect money from businessmen by promising to wage a battle against Communists and foreigners, the New Deal, government regulation of business, and to promote anti-labor propaganda. Hand in hand with its campaign for money, the Party, and "nationalists" in general, with an eye to the post-war period of economic and moral adjustment, attempted to infiltrate into and affiliate with labor

unions, veterans organizations, youth movements, women's groups, farm organizations and church groups, and to bid for the support of small businessmen. Where the field was particularly lucrative, as in the case of returning servicemen, they formed new organizations set up to attract and exploit these groups in order to create dissension and dissatisfaction in their ranks. In addition, the "nationalists" exploited the various grievances of foreign language groups in the United States.

The Party came to an abrupt halt largely because of an exposé given nation-wide circulation by the Scripps-Howard press. Consisting of a series of articles in July 1945 by Eugene Segal, the exposé tore away the screen of respectability which hid the Party's true objectives and disclosed its alliance with such well-known bigots as Smith, Mote and other similar characters. At about the same time, the New York Better Business Bureau advised its affiliated bureaus in the principal cities of the nation to warn industrialists against contributing to the Party. Chambers of Commerce in large industrial centers took up the warning and gave it more publicity. Reynolds dismissed his twenty solicitors and ceased publication of his organ, *The National Record*, with the October 1945 issue.

### Gerald L. K. Smith

G. L. K. Smith, however, was not deterred by the adverse publicity. On the contrary, operating as a one-man enterprise, he thrives on any and all public notice. In the Summer and Fall of 1945 he planned to move his national headquarters to Los Angeles where he spent some time. But large counter-demonstrations, in which 200 community organizations participated, interfered with his plans. His activities in California were promoted by Lawrence and Willis Allen, leaders of the Ham 'N' Eggers, otherwise known as the Payroll Guarantee Association, and a specially created California Pastors' Committee. Speaker at, and sponsor of, the meetings in Los Angeles was City Councilman Meade McClanahan. Subsequently, as a result of a strong campaign based on his record of supporting Smith, he was decisively

recalled from office by his constituents in a special election held on March 19, 1946.

Smith undertook an extensive speaking tour of the nation. In September 1945 he addressed meetings in Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Celina, Ohio, and Detroit, in the order given. In Cleveland before a large turnout of the United Mothers of America whose chairman is Mrs. David K. Stanley, he introduced his Post-War Recovery Plan which was officially launched at the annual meeting of the America First Party held in Celina, Ohio, on September 23, 1945.

The Plan, according to Smith, combined the best features of the Townsend movement, Coughlin's money reform, Huey Long's "share the wealth" and the Payroll Guarantee Association. Included in the fantastically generous benefits were wounded veterans, unemployed veterans, all unemployed, and citizens over 60. An average family, for example, was to receive \$8,000 a year. The cell system, which was adopted from the faltering American Nationalist Party, was to be an integral part of the Post-War Recovery Plan. Under it key Smith men would form small groups and hold meetings in private homes.

In the Fall and Winter of 1945, he toured the West and South, "laying a foundation for a national crusade." The bulk of his meetings were held in California. A marked pattern began to characterize Smith's meetings: very little free publicity in the newspapers heralding his appearance, organized civic protests and picketing of his meetings necessitating strong police protection, and marked and studied emphasis by him and his cohorts on the "persecution" of themselves and other "patriots" by "communists" and Jews.

On January 30, 1946 Smith was called to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, particularly about his financial affairs. According to Smith he had urged the Committee to call him and cross-examine him "without mercy concerning the false accusations brought against me by Communist elements." Nevertheless, not only was Smith allowed to use the Committee as a sounding board, his financial affairs not questioned, nor his heated denial of being a fascist, anti-Semite or bigot challenged, but he was permitted, in the congenial atmosphere which prevailed, to call for the investigation by the Committee of

three reputable organizations engaged in combatting anti-Semitism.

Smith was arrested in Chicago on February 7, 1946 as the result of events which took place at his meeting there. Arrested with him on charges of "creating a diversion tending to breach the peace," were his fellow-speakers, the Rev. Arthur W. Terminiello, who had accompanied Smith on part of his tour, and Frederick Kister, who leads the Christian Veterans of America. All three were booked on charges of disorderly conduct; Terminiello and Kister were also under charges of inciting a riot. During Terminiello's trial, Smith and his lieutenant, Don Lohbeck, were cited for contempt of court for distributing derogatory statements to reporters in the courtroom; in April 1946 Smith was sentenced to a jail term of sixty days and Lohbeck to thirty days. Terminiello was convicted of disorderly conduct and sentenced to a fine of \$100. All three are appealing their cases. Smith and Kister have not yet been tried on the original charges of disorderly conduct.

Using his conviction as an additional reason for raising more money, Smith exhorted his followers to contribute larger sums to meet the expense of the court proceedings. He called a congress of "68 nationalist groups" for May 28th and 29th in St. Louis. Barred at first by the St. Louis police because of strong public protest, the meeting began sessions on May 29th. The speakers also included Larry Asman of the Christian Veterans Intelligence Bureau in Chicago; Kister; Kirk Dilling, substituting for his mother, Elizabeth Dilling; Kenneth Goff, chairman of the Christian Youth for America; Rev. L. L. Marion, a candidate for governor of Michigan on the America First Party ticket in 1944; Mrs. L. E. Benge, head of the Mothers of Sons Forum of Cincinnati; Mrs. Stanley; Jeremiah Stokes of the Pro-American Vigilantes of Salt Lake City, Utah; and Harry Romer, St. Henry, Ohio, associate of Carl H. Mote in the National Farmers' Guild and the America First Party's candidate for vice-president in 1944. Present in the audience were the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, Wichita, Kansas, a defendant in the Federal sedition-conspiracy trial and publisher of *The Defender*, and the Rev. Harvey H. Springer, Englewood, Colorado, an old associate of Smith and co-founder with

Goff of the Christian Youth for America. Smith, considering St. Louis as the location of his national headquarters, intends to return to that city at the end of June.

Not content alone with the drawing power of the America First Party, Smith, in order to attract various groups, has set up a number of other fronts, under whose "sponsorship" he arranged meetings: the Midwestern Political Survey Institute; the Nationalist Veterans of World War II, formed late in 1943 under the leadership of George Vose, who was court-martialed for selling Army goods and passes to soldiers and sentenced to hard labor for six months; the Christian Veterans of America in Chicago, which organized branches in Denver and Philadelphia, led by Frederick Kister who was associated with Ralph Townsend, convicted Japanese agent; and the Midwestern Pastors' Committee Against Communism, whose chairman is the Rev. L. L. Marion.

In addition to his speaking activities and administration of his many "fronts," Smith continues to publish his strongly anti-Semitic and disruptive *The Cross and the Flag* and to furnish to kindred publications a "news" column under the auspices of the Nationalist News Service. Together with Terminiello and others, he has been circulating petition blanks calling for the lifting of restrictions placed on Charles E. Coughlin's extra-religious activities.

### Arthur W. Terminiello

The Rev. Arthur W. Terminiello was suspended by his bishop, the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Toolen, Bishop of the Diocese of Mobile. In a public statement, on November 16, 1945, the Bishop charged him with refusing to obey his orders to cease sending out literature "detrimental to the Church and to the unity of the country." Henceforth, the Bishop ruled, he was no "longer considered a priest in good standing," nor did he have the "right to use his facilities as a priest."

Terminiello's statements had demanded the punishment of those guilty of promoting the sedition trial and restitution to those who suffered "persecution in this travesty on justice," and the amendment of the Constitution of the

United States to declare Zionism treason. Relieved of his religious duties, Terminiello turned his full attention to the promotion of bigotry. In February 1946 the first issue of Terminiello's *The Crusader* was published as a regular monthly publication. He claimed about 40,000 membership in his Union of Christian Crusaders, which sponsored a meeting at which he and Smith spoke in Detroit on February 6th.

In July 1945 he was honored at a testimonial meeting in Boston held under the auspices of the "Boston Friends of Father Arthur W. Terminiello." The local Christian Front leader, William B. Gallagher, presided. Terminiello has also issued a call to his followers to organize a "March of Death on Washington," to demand the punishment of those guilty of the Pearl Harbor debacle.

Widely quoted by and in constant contact with subversive elements, Terminiello spoke at a meeting of the Current Events Club in Philadelphia on January 18, 1946 with Dan Kurts and Kurt Mertig, who were speakers at a Christian Front meeting in Queens, New York City, in October 1945.

He officially aligned himself with Gerald L. K. Smith, accompanying him early in 1946 on a two month speaking tour. In February 1946, Terminiello spoke in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and Buffalo. His arrest along with Smith, in Chicago on February 7th, has already been referred to.

### Carl H. Mote

"Nationalist" infiltration into the National Farmers' Guild became a certainty in December 1944 with the election of Carl H. Mote as president. Before a year had passed, he was removed from office in October 1945, by the directors of the Guild. He was charged with misconduct in office and insubordination; accused of making un-American statements and of advocating that the Guild seize government trucks for farm use as a sort of "domestic lend-lease." Specifically, his removal was based on a statement in the May 1945 issue of his *America Preferred* which had found the Germans superior to Americans and the English "physically, intellectually, aesthetically, and morally."

Mote, taking with him a sizable segment of midwest

farmers, retained control of the National Farmers' Guild's records and its publication the *Farmers' Guild News*, another outlet for his anti-Semitic libels. In December the two factions of the Guild elected presidents at separate conventions in Ohio. Mote retained the presidency of his group until his death on April 29, 1946. Kenneth C. Weber, former member of the anti-democratic National Workers' League in Detroit, was elected president of the remnant of the original Guild. Early in April 1946 Mote's faction changed its name to the United Farmers of America.

### **Eugene Flitcraft**

The Illinois Supreme Court in January 1946 reversed the ruling, on technical grounds, of a lower court on the revocation of the charter of the Gentile Co-operative Association. Founded and led by Eugene Flitcraft, the Association had continued as an unincorporated group since the corporation was ordered dissolved early in 1945 by an Illinois Superior Court. Through his organ the *Gentile News*, Flitcraft echoes the whole "nationalist" line, in addition to reprinting the *Protocols* serially. As part of an effort to organize a boycott against Jewish business and professional men, Flitcraft published a *Gentile Business Directory*. It was a 152 page volume which listed some 10,000 firms described as Gentile owned. It was sold as a "handy shopping guide for Gentiles who prefer to do business with other Gentiles." The Chicago Better Business Bureau denounced the Directory and Flitcraft and disclosed that many of the listings were unauthorized and inaccurate.

### **Christian Front**

The Christian Front put forth feelers in October 1945 in New York City to determine if the time was ripe for a revival of overt action. An open air meeting was arranged by C. Daniel Kurts, Christian Front leader in Queens, on October 6, 1945. Speakers were: Ernest F. Elmhurst, defendant in the Federal sedition indictment; Kurt Mertig, pro-German leader of the Citizens' Protective League;

Homer Gustav Maertz, owner of the Pioneer News Service, Chicago, which was specially devoted to the publication of vicious anti-Semitic tracts, and publisher of *Dispatch*; Mrs. Catherine Brown and Mrs. Lillian Parks, "mothers" of Philadelphia; and Frederick Kister. Eugene Flitcraft, of the Gentile Cooperative Association, Chicago, was in the audience. Elmhurst, Mertig and Maertz were arrested and held on charges of unlawful assembly. In addition, Maertz was charged with disorderly conduct. They are accused of selling an obnoxious pamphlet on Jewish "ritual murder," by a leading British fascist, which Maertz had reprinted for distribution in America. The pamphlet contained the charge that the child of Col. Charles E. Lindbergh might have been kidnapped for Jewish "ritual purposes."

The three defendants were found guilty and sentenced late in February 1946. Mertig and Elmhurst received terms of six months each in the work house and Maertz, one year in the city prison. The convictions were upheld on appeal in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

Meetings sponsored in Brooklyn by the Rev. E. L. Curran, appeared to attract Christian Fronters and anti-Semites. The Save America Committee, founded by Curran in 1945, held a meeting in behalf of Tyler Kent, whom Curran, as well as Smith, Terminiello, Flitcraft, the "mothers," Upton Close and others, has sought to build up into a nationalist martyr, a sort of American Horst Wessel. Kent, a clerk in the American Embassy in London, was convicted in 1940 for betraying diplomatic secrets of his government to persons who were in league with the Nazis. Released from prison in Britain late in 1945, he returned to this country.

### **"Mothers' " Organizations**

"Mothers' " organizations are still part of the subversive picture of the nation. In Cincinnati the Mothers of Sons Forum, led by Mrs. Lucinda Benge, came out of hiding in July 1945 to demand an immediate negotiated peace with Japan. Mrs. Benge testified before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee against the ratification of the United Nations Charter. We, the Mothers held its annual conven-

tion in Chicago on June 14 and 15, 1945. Thomas van Hyn- ing, son of its president, told the assembled We, the Mothers in Chicago on February 12th that refugees should be sent back to Europe to make room for the returning veterans. *Women's Voice*, enlarged and more vicious, continues to be the organ of We, the Mothers.

In Philadelphia, at scurrilously anti-Semitic meetings, the Blue Star Mothers, otherwise known as the Current Events Club, led by Catherine Brown and Lillian Parks, have entertained such speakers as Terminiello, Mertig, Elmhurst, George Vose, Paul Meinhart, secretary of the Christian Veterans of America, and W. Henry MacFarland, aspiring nationalist leader in Philadelphia. The United Mothers of America, Mrs. David K. Stanley, president, has sponsored meetings of Smith and his lieutenants in Cleveland. Mrs. Beatrice Knowles, leader of the Detroit "mothers" became the chairman of the Farmers' Guild Textbook Commission.

### **Ku Klux Klan**

The Ku Klux Klan, revived within the past year, is now on an offensive against labor's concerted efforts to organize the South, against Negro voting in the primaries, a Constitutional right recently affirmed by the Supreme Court, against Catholics and Jews, and against "communists" or anyone dissatisfied with the *status quo*. The Klan is also making a strong bid for the support of veterans. The greatest centers of its numerical strength are California, Indiana, Florida, Georgia, Tennessee and Alabama, in the order given. Klan units are also active in Texas, Kansas, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky and New Jersey.

Open Klan activity resumed throughout the nation with the burning of a fiery cross on Georgia's Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, on October 13, 1945. Associated with the revival of the Klan, are: J. B. Colescott, former Imperial Wizard, who in the past year visited southern cities and the Midwest; J. B. Stoner of Chattanooga, Tennessee, who was reported devoting full time to Klan organization in Tennessee; and Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon in Georgia.

The Klan has paid its registration fee in Georgia since

1940 in compliance with state laws. The registration papers listed James A. Colescott as president, and Morgan Belser, secretary. On May 8, 1946 the Klan held a Klonklave (convention) on Stone Mountain, Georgia. Chartered buses brought Klansmen from surrounding states to attend the initiation ceremonies.

Closely associated with the Klan through membership and similar aims are such organizations as the United Sons of America in Detroit, Michigan, which is one of the foremost groups active on the labor front, with branches in Pontiac and Flint, Michigan, centers of United Automobile Workers union strength; the Commonor Party in Georgia, led by James L. Shipp, president, and Charles H. Emmons, secretary-treasurer. An avowed purpose of this "party" is the organization of a "gentile political party bloc to control the Jew and Negro racial blocs. . . ." Shipp is in contact with some of the leading nationalists. The Sons of Dixie, in Tennessee, an anti-Negro group, is making a particular appeal to union members. The Mason-Dixon Society, Inc., Kentucky, bears the subtitle "National Association for the Advancement of White People." Beecher Hess, Norwood, Ohio, is the president; J. Lawrence Dooley, Covington, Kentucky, is the vice-president and founder. Another group, active in Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas and Tennessee, is the Old Glory Club.

A vigorous fight throughout the nation against the Klan has been participated in by newspapers, religious and civic groups, and by law-enforcement agencies of both the states and the Federal government. The Klan charter was revoked in California on May 2, 1946. In New York on April 29, 1946 and in Georgia on May 30th, proceedings were instituted to revoke the charter of the Klan. Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia directed State Attorney General Eugene Cook to start *quo warranto* proceedings against the Klan. The subsequent suit, filed on June 21st, charged particularly that the Klan has violated certain civil liberties guaranteed by Georgia's constitution.

The Federal government, through the Treasury Department, filed a Federal tax lien against the Klan in Georgia for the sum of \$685,305, for income taxes allegedly due the government for 1921 through 1924 and for 1946. The gov-

ernment is ready to seize Klan property to satisfy its claim. United States Attorney General Tom C. Clark was reported to be studying the entire Klan situation, intending to take proper measure to curb it in any state where manifestations of Klan terrorism and other forms of intimidation exist.

Many Congressmen, since an initial request by Representative Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., (D., Md.) on November 16, 1945, have urged the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate the Klan. The Committee recently tabled a motion to do so. Representative John E. Rankin (D., Miss.), guiding spirit of the Committee, was reported to have stated at the time: "After all, the Klan is an American institution, its members are Americans. Our job is to investigate foreign issues and alien organizations." Rankin continues to make anti-Semitic allusions on the floor of the House of Representatives.

### Political Candidates

Chicago led the rest of the country in the number of anti-Semites who filed candidacy for political office in the primary contests. Candidates for Congress in Chicago included: Frederick Kister, Florence H. Griesel, Charles J. Anderson, Theodore Katzman, former German-American Bund leader, Patrick T. Vincent, son of Charles Vincent, Thomas C. Van Hyning, and Harold J. Dale, son of an active member of We, the Mothers. William J. Grace of the Citizens U.S.A. Committee ran for county judge; Eugene Flitcraft filed for county commissioner. All were defeated in the primary vote. In California, Adele Cox, an active "mother," and leader of the Los Angeles unit of the Women's League for Political Education, and Meade McClanahan, recalled city councilman, announced their candidacy for Congress. Former Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota was defeated in his attempt to regain his Senate seat.

### Sedition Trial Defendants

Since the death of Judge Eicher in December 1944 the Department of Justice has been reconsidering its sedition case, but has resisted all attempts made by the defendants

to gain court dismissal of the case, based on the government's failure to prosecute.

Reconsideration of the sedition case was made more difficult by a 5-4 decision by the Supreme Court on June 12, 1945, ordering the acquittal for lack of evidence of twenty-four Bundists who had been convicted in lower courts of counseling members to evade the draft. Among those freed were Gerhart Wilhelm Kunze and August Klaprott, defendants in the sedition-conspiracy trial, who were then interned. John O. Rogge, Federal prosecutor, flew to Germany in April 1946 to unearth new evidence based on new leads uncovered earlier. In December 1945 the Department of Justice had disclosed that the late Edward H. Hunter of Boston was the source of continuous financial aid, for at least three years prior to his death in June 1945, to such accused seditionists as Elizabeth Dilling, who still publishes her *Patriotic Research Bulletin* and has not abated her venom; Robert Edward Edmunson; James True; Charles B. Hudson, who continues his cryptic anti-Semitic publication *America in Danger*; E. J. Garner and Ralph Townsend. After his death, his secretary, Evelyn Tankard, dispensed the money. Hunter, obviously a middleman, maintained a front, Independent Defense Association, Inc., which was dissolved by the Massachusetts legislature in 1941. An outspoken admirer of Hitler, he was one of the pioneers of organized anti-Semitism in the United States and a correspondent of fascist leaders throughout the world.

Rogge also revealed that Lawrence Dennis, another sedition trial defendant, who began publication of a weekly, *Appeal to Reason*, from Becket, Massachusetts, on March 30, 1946, is believed to have received about \$12,000 from Herbert von Stempel, first secretary of the German Embassy; and that George Sylvester Vierick, now serving a sentence as an unregistered German agent, had received \$270,000 from the same Nazi source.

Other defendants of the sedition trial are still active, for example: Joe E. McWilliams, whose connection with the American Nationalist Party has been mentioned, is "lecturing" in Chicago; and Ellis O. Jones, who was convicted for sedition in California early in the war and sentenced to a ten years prison term, was conditionally released from prison

in August 1945, after serving four years. He has been ordered by the Washington, D. C., probation officer to leave the home of Mrs. Dilling, where he is assisting her in writing a book, and make other arrangements for his "maintenance."

In conjunction with other "nationalists," the alleged seditionists have attempted to exonerate Tyler Kent; have fulsomely praised Representative Rankin and his House Un-American Activities Committee; have vilified the F.E.P.C. and its proponents and glorified its chief opponent in the Senate, Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.), who as a result of the Senate filibuster during the debate on the F.E.P.C. resorted to anti-Semitic statements; have urged the adoption of legislation cutting off immigration for ten years or more; and have opposed the Allied treatment of Germany, favoring relief for German nationalists, and ridiculing the Nuremberg trial of war criminals.

### Anti-Semitic Publications

All the old canards have been taken out, dusted off and put in circulation again. There has been a renewed spurt in the publication and distribution of the *Protocols*; a few publications, such as Flitcraft's *Gentile News*, have published them serially or devoted space to extracts from them.

In addition to the publications which are sowing seeds of hate, mentioned so far, there are many more flooding the country, distributed through the mails. From California come *America Speaks*, Atascadero, William Kullgren's anti-Semitic sheet; *National Defense*, Arcadia, dedicated for and to veterans in a viciously anti-Semitic vein; the *Methodist Challenge* by the fundamentalist preacher, Rev. Robert Shuler; *Kingdom Digest*, published by the Rev. J. A. Lovell, Los Angeles, an adherent of the British-Israelite sect; and *The Leader*, official organ of the United Irish Societies of San Francisco, which has drawn closer to the "nationalist" movement. G. Allison Phelps, Los Angeles, recently published the *American Voice*, a violently anti-Jewish pamphlet, in his attempt to arise from the obscurity to which he had

been reduced during the war. *Imps*, an Independent Music Publishers' Service Bulletin, edited by Victor Lindstrom, in Aberdeen, Washington, finds its main interest in the Jewish "control" of music and entertainment.

From the Midwest come such bitterly anti-Semitic publications as *The Eleventh Hour* by Lawrence Reilly in Detroit; *Militant Truth* published by Sherman Patterson in Chattanooga, Tennessee; *Court Asher's X-Ray* from Muncie, Indiana; and *Showers of Blessing*, Denver, Colorado, by former Klansman Rev. William L. Blessing.

### German "Relief" Societies

Nazi elements have bestirred themselves from retirement and have organized German "relief" societies which are serving as pivots for the emergence of pro-Nazi sympathizers and propagandists. They are champions of "good Germans," expressing deep sympathy for the suffering of the German people, venom for the Soviet Union, distrust of Britain, and sharp criticism of America's "inhuman" occupation policy. Thus, the *Chicago Abendpost*, a large German language newspaper, stated that the Germans were merely carrying out orders from above and that the procedure of the Nuremberg trials is "in contradiction to the fundamental principles of justice."

Although unable to administer relief, until the military authorities allow such activities in Germany, these German societies were ostensibly collecting money for relief purposes. In October 1945 the American Relief for Germany, Inc., was incorporated in Chicago. Some of its incorporators were former members of the German-American National Alliance, whose membership contained many pro-Nazis. Its leaders included A. F. W. Siebel, former president of the Germania Club, and F. Werk, who became active in the efforts to consolidate all German relief societies. Theodore H. Hoffman, chairman of the Steuben Society of America, which publishes the *Steuben News*, is also an active participant. The Greater Cleveland Relief Committee for Central Europe was formed a few weeks later. Refused permission by the President's War Relief Board to send funds to Germany, its abolition

was announced shortly afterwards and other channels were sought for its relief activities. One of its leaders was Otto L. Fricke, who was head of the Cleveland branch of the American Fellowship Forum under the national directorship of Friederich E. Auhagen, convicted in 1941 for failing to register as a German agent. At about the same time, the Southern California Committee for the Relief of the German People was organized in Los Angeles.

Soon after V-E day, Kurt Mertig, now serving a sentence in connection with the Christian Front meeting in October 1945, began agitation for relief of Germany. Chairman of the Citizens' Protective League, which has sought to stay deportation proceedings against undesirable German Americans and to restore United States citizenship to former Bundists, he was an employee of the German American Line and was ordered during wartime by the U. S. Army Exclusion Board to move inland. He is the authorized business and eastern agent of C. Leon de Aryan's *The Broom*, San Diego, and a frequent contributor to it. Founder and acting chairman of the German American Republican League, Mertig has delved into politics, urging the formation of an association of independent voters "to protect the 30,000,000 Americans of Aryan stock" and threatening an organized German-American vote in the coming elections.

A review of anti-Jewish agitation in the United States would not be complete without the news of the death of former Representative Jacob Thorkelson of Montana on November 20, 1945. He was associated with isolationist groups and made anti-Jewish remarks on the floor of Congress. He was among the witnesses subpoenaed in the trial of William Dudley Pelley, leader of the Silver Shirts. Also, one of the most active liaison agents among anti-Semitic leaders throughout the world, Anastase Andreivitch Vonsiatsky, was released from prison in February 1946. He was convicted in June 1942 for espionage and served approximately three years of his five year sentence.

## COMBATTING ANTI-SEMITISM

By SAMUEL SPIEGLER<sup>1</sup>

Among anti-Semitic incidents of the year under review, the one which evoked the broadest indignation, was John O'Donnell's column, "Capitol Stuff" of October 3, 1945 which appeared in the *New York Daily News*, the *Washington Times Herald*, and several smaller newspapers. O'Donnell charged that the late General George S. Patton, Jr. had been removed from his post as commander of the Third Army in Germany because he had slapped a Jewish soldier. O'Donnell wrote that "the secret and astoundingly effective might of this republic's foreign-born political leaders" had been brought into play to effect the General's removal. He referred by name to Felix Frankfurter, Supreme Court Justice, David Niles, former White House Administrative Assistant and Sidney Hillman, labor leader.

The obvious falsehood was deemed by Jewish organizations to require immediate and forceful exposure. Without loss of time there was consultation among Jewish groups, and six of the major organizations dispatched a joint letter to the publishers of the offending newspapers, pointing out that the soldier in question was not Jewish, and reminding the publishers of the grave responsibility they must bear in the formation of public attitudes.

The *Daily News* printed the letter in an obscure "Voice of the People" column, and editorialized airily about freedom of the press and freedom of religion. The *Times Herald* did not even print the letter. Meanwhile, a spontaneous wave of indignation gathered, not only among Jews but among non-Jews as well, throughout the country. The *News* was deluged with letters, supporting the protests of the Jewish agencies. Finally, on October 19, O'Donnell stated in his own column that "after careful investigation" he had ascertained that his objectionable statements "were untrue" and he regretted having made them.

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### Joint Action

The incident was an isolated one, deplored by respectable newspapers and newspapermen. It was noteworthy chiefly as an attempt by a journalist of some prominence to launch a vicious anti-Semitic lie. At the same time, it dramatized the growing trend in Jewish life toward effectual coordination of thinking and action on matters of grave common concern, in the field of community relations.

In New York City, Jewish agencies joined many civic, school and other pro-democratic organizations in efforts to revoke the license of a Brooklyn junior high school teacher, Miss May A. Quinn.

In January 1943, fourteen fellow-teachers accused her of "intolerance and un-Americanism" in the conduct of her classes. The teachers, against whom Miss Quinn brought libel charges, were exonerated by a jury trial in June 1945. A committee, appointed by Superintendent of Schools John E. Wade to investigate the facts, ordered a public trial. She was suspended without pay on October 24, 1945 by Wade on charges of "incompetence, prejudicial conduct and neglect of duty." Tried by the Board of Education, she was acquitted on February 27, 1946, of three charges but found guilty of a fourth, dereliction of duty. She was ordered reprimanded and fined two months salary, which, since she was suspended for four months, was, in effect, payment of two months back salary. Upon her reinstatement, she was transferred to another school.

An appeal to State Commissioner of Education Dr. George D. Stoddard, led by the United Parents Association was joined in by all Jewish agencies in New York City. On June 13th, in a decision based entirely on technical grounds, Dr. Stoddard refused to take any action although he found Miss Quinn to have behaved in a manner "unworthy of a teacher," and that she merited the punishment imposed by the Board of Education.

During the period under review the National Community Relations Advisory Council established a number of standing committees on such subjects as legislative information, community consultation, overt anti-Semitism, discrimination in educational institutions, religious education in the public

schools, intercultural education, scientific research projects, to provide for continuous joint consideration of significant matters of common concern and for joint planning and action. It absorbed by mutual agreement, an existing committee formerly pursuing an independent program of coordination in the area of employment discrimination. Toward the end of the period it expanded its staff, and enlarged its facilities. It grew likewise in membership.<sup>1</sup>

The increasing number of cities which have created professionally staffed community relations agencies illustrates the growth of local Jewish interests in defense of equality and in opposition to intolerance and discrimination. In many smaller communities, too, there was during the year increased activity for similar purposes. In the Fall of 1945 Jewish communities of Texas, Oklahoma and part of Louisiana consolidated their resources by creating the Southwestern Jewish Community Relations Council.

### Reaction to Overt Agitation

The development of a more healthy public opinion made open anti-Semitism a liability, rather than an asset, to any movement seeking broad support. Although anti-Semitic utterances were made on the floors of Congress and of some state Legislatures, the voters in most parts of the country turned against the agitators who sought public office. In Chicago, ten known anti-Semites were rejected in primary elections by overwhelming majorities. Some of the outstanding agitators came into the toils of the law. In October, an attempt to revive open-air anti-Semitic meetings in New York City resulted in the arrest, trial, and conviction of three leaders in the movement: Homer Maertz, Ernest F. Elmhurst, and Kurt Mertig. Several months later, the triumvirate of Gerald L. K. Smith, Don Lohbeck, his public

<sup>1</sup> The June 1946 membership of the National Community Relations Advisory Council consisted of the following: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the U. S., Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and local community relations councils in Baltimore, Boston, Bridgeport, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis (Minnesota Jewish Council) New Haven, Oakland, (Alameda and Contra Costa Counties), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Rochester St. Louis, San Francisco, and Springfield (Mass.).

relations man, and the suspended priest Terminiello, all were convicted by Chicago courts. Out on appeals, Smith and Terminiello are continuing their vicious work.<sup>1</sup>

The most significant anti-Semitic development of the year was the reemergence of the Ku Klux Klan. Facts about the Klan, gathered, collated, and interpreted by interested organizations, among them Jewish agencies, were made available through appropriate channels to governmental agencies and lay organizations, to the radio and the press. These facts made it possible for State governments in California, Georgia, and New York to take prompt and vigorous steps to outlaw the Klan and destroy its effectiveness. They also made possible the widespread denunciation of the Klan which came from religious and civic bodies and which appeared in newspaper editorials and radio comment.

Efforts to attract newly returned veterans of World War II into nationalistic or pro-fascist veterans organizations were denounced by the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Disabled American Veterans, and the AMVETS at their National Conventions. Gerald L. K. Smith was branded "Democracy's Public Enemy No. 1" and the Christian Veterans of World War II were condemned by the Disabled American Veterans; and the American Legion pointedly warned against "phony" veterans organizations "promoting racial and religious prejudice."

### Discrimination

During the Spring, a survey<sup>2</sup> indicated that employment discrimination against Jews had increased, reflecting a diminution of wartime manpower stringencies and a reaction from wartime unity. As one outcome of this survey, a study was undertaken by the N.C.R.A.C. just before the end of the year under review, to provide a basis for more effective organization throughout the country of Jewish work in the area of employment discrimination.

Laws for fair employment practice, of varying degrees of

<sup>1</sup> See article, "Anti-Jewish Agitation," above.

<sup>2</sup> *Postwar Employment Discrimination Against Jews*, June 1946. Committee on Employment Discrimination of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, 295 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

effectiveness, became operative during the year in the States of Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin; and local ordinances of similar sort were enacted in Chicago and Milwaukee. Bills to create a permanent Federal Employment Practice Commission, introduced the previous year in both Houses of Congress, have thus far met with no success. The Senate bill was shelved as a result of a filibuster by southern Senators in January and February 1946, while in the House the bill never left the committee. Jewish organizations are actively cooperating in strengthening the National Council for a Permanent F.E.P.C. which spearheads the battle for a national law.

Discrimination in educational institutions continued to be a troubling problem, with increasingly serious effects upon Jewish youth as returning veterans competed for the limited facilities of overcrowded colleges and universities. There were several exposés of discrimination on campuses, among them Frank Kingdon's article, "Discrimination in Medical Colleges," in the *American Mercury* for October 1945; and two articles by Dan W. Dodson, executive director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity in New York City—"College Quotas and American Democracy" in the *American Scholar*, Summer, 1946, and "Religious Prejudice in Colleges" in the *American Mercury* for July 1946. The Mayor's Committee on Unity in New York also prepared a report on discrimination in higher educational institutions which received considerable press publicity in the spring of 1946.

In New York State a movement for the creation of a State university gathered considerable strength. A bill was introduced in the Legislature to appropriate 50 million dollars for this purpose. It failed of passage, but the Governor was authorized to create a commission to examine into the whole question. Jewish agencies joined with other progressive forces in support of the state university idea, not as a remedy for discrimination, but as a positive cultural and educational contribution to the life of the State.

At about the same time, a bill was introduced in the New York State Legislature which would deny tax exemption to discriminatory educational institutions. This failed to be reported out of committee. A taxpayer's suit was filed in New York City, to remove Columbia University from tax exempt rolls on grounds of discrimination. A resolution call-

ing on the municipal tax commission to investigate Columbia with a view to determining its tax exemption privileges was pending in the New York City Council when the period under review ended.

Reaction against social discrimination, such as exclusion of Jews from hotels, resorts, and other establishments, was effective during the year. In one outstanding instance, the state attorney-general of Michigan gave assurances, after many months of painstaking negotiations, that certain objectionable advertising would be eliminated from the promotional literature of hotels and resorts in the state, which benefit from a state-subsidized Tourist Council.

Interest in legislation, as a means of achieving better realization of the democratic rights guaranteed in the basic American creed, grew during the year in the Jewish community. Legislative information became imperative to the intelligent conduct of Jewish community relations programs. Accordingly, the Legislative Information Committee of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, comprising representatives of all member agencies and communities, undertook a periodic *Legislative Information Bulletin*, conveying the joint views of all members.

Legislation to prohibit the *anonymous* distribution of scurrilous literature was adopted in a number of states. Anonymous screeds are now banned in the whole State of Florida where such a law became effective in June 1945.

### Research and Education

Applications of scientific research techniques to analysis of anti-Semitism, and to the measurement of the effectiveness of methods and devices used in combatting anti-Semitism, developed markedly during the year. Important new investigations undertaken included: a study to determine the depth of anti-Semitic prejudice and its origins in childhood, based on comprehensive records of 200 children from birth to the age of 15, available in the files of the California Institute of Child Welfare; analyses, in psychological interviews, of the character structures of individuals, with a view to correlating character traits with susceptibility to anti-Semitism; a program of intensive testing and pre-testing of written, pic-

torial, and similar materials developed to counter anti-Semitism; a project involving study, and a correlated program for improvement, of intergroup relationships in a tension area; a study of Harvard, Radcliffe and Dartmouth students to determine the bases of prejudice among high school students; and a survey of the views and attitudes characterizing various segments of the foreign language press in the United States.

The broad educational program to disseminate facts as an antidote to lies, and to immunize the American community against the virus of bigotry, grew in scope during the year. Books, pamphlets, public speakers, newspapers, radio, magazines, posters, comic strips, films, and other verbal and pictorial media, were employed.

The Frances Perkins column, distributed by the Institute for American Democracy, was carried by 250 newspapers. Forty-seven Negro publications subscribed to a weekly column distributed by the American Press Associates, which carried messages on such subjects as F.E.P.C., etc. An estimated \$250,000 worth of radio time was made available without charge for broadcast of the series "Lest We Forget" over some 520 stations; and recordings of the broadcasts were used by 1,900 schools and school systems.

In November, the Writers' Board issued *The Myth That Threatens America*, pointing out the dangers in the perpetuation of stereotypes of minority groups. The Council for Democracy published a handbook, *Pulp Writers Have a Job to Do*, carrying the same warning to writers of pulp magazine fiction. Numerous articles in the Protestant and Catholic press stressed the common heritage of Christians and Jews.

War and war's aftermath in Europe profoundly affected the attitudes and feelings of foreign language groups in this country, whose sympathies could not help but be swayed by the turmoil and struggle which went on in their countries of origin. Especial attention, therefore, was given during the year to relations with the foreign language press.

Among motion pictures that contributed notably toward the struggle against intolerance and fascism were "Hitler Lives," "Don't Be a Sucker," and "The House I Live In." The stage offered "Home of the Brave" and "This, Too, Shall Pass."

Among radio programs, "The Eternal Light," was ad-

judged the best sustaining program on a religious subject. Programs of news and comment in foreign languages were broadcast over various stations. An Interracial Forum was another radio feature, "Prejudice on Trial," a program revelatory of the way prejudice works, carried a dramatic impact. The popular "Superman" program, commercially sponsored, took a new turn during the year, the hero devoting himself to a struggle against anti-democratic forces in the American community. In Philadelphia, "Hate, Inc.," a dramatic radio program exposing the machinations of subversive groups, had a large listening audience. Under 4-H Club sponsorship in Minnesota, a series of radio programs was devoted to publicizing an essay contest on inter-cultural relations.

Efforts to reach labor groups were especially successful during the year. Seven city-wide labor committees against discrimination were established during the period, in addition to the two already in existence at the beginning of the year. These non-sectarian committees comprise key labor leaders in each city. Literature, film strips, legislative information, and other requisite materials are channeled through their executive secretaries.

By other means, also, the channeling of educational material to labor groups was greatly accelerated. Subscribers to Labor Reports grew from 1,200 to 2,500 labor newspapers during the year. The National Labor Service distributed a serialized comic strip, "The Story of Labor," to more than 300 AFL and CIO newspapers; and some 30,000 posters carrying a message of tolerance.

Through cooperation with Workers Educational Service of the University of Michigan, two film strips with recorded sound were made for distribution to labor groups: "Labor's Challenge" and "Let's Have Democracy." By special arrangement effected during the year, subscribers to lectures supplied by the Workers Educational Service were assured of at least one lecture on race relations in every series of lectures contracted for.

On the whole, despite many overt manifestations of anti-Semitism, bigotry did not acquire respectability. Polls seem to indicate that there was very little change in the extent of anti-Semitism from the preceding year.

## INTERFAITH ACTIVITIES

By LOUIS MINSKY<sup>1</sup>

Interfaith activities during the year showed highlights and trends of timely importance as Americans turned from the preoccupations of war to the problems of peace. One of the most promising auguries was the interest on the part of educators and clergymen in intercultural programs which stress interfaith understanding as a basic peace need, and which are being expanded throughout the country to provide authoritative information concerning the ideals and aspirations of the Christian and Jewish faiths.

Of parallel significance was the joint participation of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders in conferences on the control of atomic energy, and the appeals by government agencies for interfaith action to help meet postwar problems arising from veterans' needs and from the sharp increase in juvenile delinquency. It was evident that the government is thinking more and more in terms of interfaith cooperation in its approach to religious leaders.

### **Institute for Religious and Social Studies**

A leading agency in the promotion of intercultural programs for clergymen and educators was the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, whose Institute for Religious and Social Studies, begun experimentally several years ago, now extends to Boston and Chicago. At the opening of the 1946 series of meetings and symposia, in New York, conducted by Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish scholars for 800 enrollees (twice as many as in 1944), Dr. Louis Finkelstein, president of the Seminary, urged the formation of institutes throughout the United States, Canada and other countries as a means to strengthen religious traditions and to promote unity and cooperation in meeting common social problems. Highlight of the Boston Institute sessions was an address by Roman Catholic Archbishop Richard J. Cushing at a symposium on "Approaches to the Atomic Age."

<sup>1</sup> Managing Editor, Religious News Service.

## Control of Atomic Energy

An instance of the widening orbit of interfaith cooperation was the announcement in May that the National Committee on Atomic Information had enlisted the support of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders in attempts to remove atomic energy from military control. Among the twelve religious groups which have associated themselves formally with the committee are the Catholic Association for International Peace, the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches of the U.S.A., the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Synagogue Council of America.

In March 1946, the Midwest Conference of Atomic Scientists and Religious Leaders held a three-day conference in Chicago. The committee included four Protestant, three Jewish, and two Roman Catholic clergymen. This marked the first time in history that science and religion have joined forces to cope with social and religious challenges posed by revolutionary advances in the field of nuclear physics. A similar conference at Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla., was attended by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, president of the Federal Council of Churches; the Most Rev. Bernard J. Sheil, Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago; the Rev. E. A. Conway, S.J., of the Catholic Association for International Peace; and Dr. Louis Mann, Rabbi of the Chicago Sinai Congregation. Subsequently religious leaders of the major faiths in Pittsburgh joined forces in a group known as the Tri-State Committee of Educators, Scientists and Religious Leaders on Atomic Energy and Related Problems.

## Cooperation with Government Agencies

Official tribute to the value of interfaith cooperation came indirectly in a request to religious leaders to serve on an advisory committee to the Veterans' Administration's newly-organized Special Services Division, which seeks to provide spiritual, recreational and other services to patients in VA hospitals and homes. The invited churchmen were the Rt. Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, and chairman of the General Commission

on Army and Navy Chaplains; the Most Rev. William R. Arnold, of New York City, former Chief of Chaplains; and Rabbi Aryeh Lev, executive director of the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities of the National Jewish Welfare Board.

Of similar significance was the announcement in November 1945, that the Department of Justice planned to set up a twelve-man advisory board composed of nationally known clergymen of the three faiths to cooperate with a campaign directed by Attorney General Tom Clark to save teen-age law-breakers from lives of crime.

### **Religious Radio Association**

A far-reaching project to foster fellowship and the sharing of common interests was announced in May with the formation of The Religious Radio Association, which brought together leaders in the field of religious broadcasting who have been meeting informally for some years in connection with the Institute for Education by Radio held annually in Columbus, Ohio. A nominating committee appointed to select a slate of officers who will function until the first annual convention of the new group, comprised Willard Johnson, vice-president of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; Dr. Fred Eastman, professor of drama at the Chicago Theological Seminary; Franklin Dunham, radio director of the U. S. Office of Education and a noted Catholic layman; Rabbi Moshe Davis, Jewish Theological Seminary; and Dr. J. Elwin Wright, executive director of the National Association of Evangelicals.

### **National Conference of Christians and Jews**

The National Conference of Christians and Jews reported the busiest twelve months since it was organized 18 years ago. In his annual report, Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president, announced that the immediate goal of the Conference is a full-time office in every city of more than 100,000 population. Conference offices are now functioning in 66 cities. From these centers, the NCCJ programs radiate to 325 Round Tables in as many cities, and to leaders in 3,000 com-

munities. In the past year, the number of books, magazine articles, newspaper columns, and radio broadcasts dealing with interfaith relations constituted a record.

Rapid extension of intercultural education programs aimed especially at young Americans was reported during the year by the National Conference, which cooperates with the American Council on Education, the Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education and similar bodies. The Conference's work included the holding of teachers' institutes in 35 major cities to spread intercultural information, and the initiation of a national program of in-service teacher education for democratic group-relations. Ten training conferences in intergroup relations were held for priests, ministers and rabbis, and leadership was supplied to 140 youth conferences sponsored by various churches and attended by 5,000 selected young people.

The Conference reported completion of a two-year study of school textbooks and teaching aids and the holding of eleven workshops in intergroup education in ten leading educational institutions. The organization is now preparing a study-book for 3,000 school systems, in collaboration with the American Association of School Administrators. It furnished manpower and funds to the National Council for Social Studies for publications devoted to intergroup relations, including the case-book *Democratic Human Relations*.

The need for building "the good world of the future" on foundations of harmony was stressed by President Harry S. Truman in a message endorsing the 13th annual Brotherhood Week sponsored by the National Conference (Feb. 16-24). National chairman of the Week, which was based on the theme "In Peace as in War—Teamwork," and observed in 3,000 communities, was Harold E. Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota. Feature of the Week was a film released in 10,000 movie houses throughout the country asking audiences to sign pledges "to keep America free from the disease of hate that destroyed Europe." Accompanying the Week was a drive to raise \$4,000,000 to promote scientific research and provide material to schools, churches and other institutions cooperating in brotherhood efforts.

The fourth annual Religious Book Week (May 5-12) was another activity sponsored by the National Conference. Among 100 specially chosen titles were books stressing inter-

religious understanding and intended for both grown-ups and children.

In line with demands of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths at the San Francisco Conference for incorporation of a human rights provision in the United Nations Charter came the announcement in April of the appointment of a Committee on Human Rights by the National Conference to cooperate with and serve as adviser to the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations. The group comprises James N. Rosenberg, New York attorney, chairman; Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, president of Vassar College; and Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College.

In the same month, Dr. Clinchy revealed that an American delegation of clergymen and laymen of the three faiths would attend the first international conference of Christians and Jews, to be held at Oxford, England, in the late summer. The Oxford meeting, he said, would be sponsored jointly by the British Council of Christians and Jews and the National Conference of Christians and Jews and would be based on the theme "Reaffirming the Essential Rights and Obligations of Man." Other announcements by Dr. Clinchy were the election of Thomas E. Braniff, of Dallas, Texas, president of Braniff Airways, and noted Catholic layman, as national co-chairman of the NCCJ, to succeed Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes, former U. S. Ambassador to Spain, who resigned after 16 years' service; the appointment of the Rev. Allan P. Farrell, S. J., as co-chairman of the Conference's Commission of Religious Organizations; and of Dr. John Granrud, originator of the Springfield Plan for better intergroup relations, as Educational Director of the Conference's Western Division.

Interfaith awards by the National Conference included a citation to Basil O'Connor "in grateful recognition of a life dedicated to the welfare of his fellows"; to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former U. S. Secretary of State, for leadership in securing Human Rights provisions in the United Nations Charter; and to Dr. Lise Meitner, Jewish refugee atomic scientist, now lecturing at the Catholic University of America. Distinguished Merit awards were given to seven individuals and groups for radio programs which promoted good will.

### Combatting Bigotry

In a message to the annual parade of 35,000 Holy Name Society members in Cincinnati, Roman Catholic Archbishop John T. McNicholas condemned all hostile movement against Jews and declared "no true Catholic can join such movements," but must "fearlessly condemn them." The revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the South brought condemnations from leading Protestant church bodies, including the Southern Baptist Convention, the Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis, and the Greater Miami Ministerial Association which took sharp issue with groups fomenting racial and religious hatred. Reflecting alarm over efforts by the Klan to identify its program with Christian tenets, Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal and other Protestant ministers in Atlanta warned congregations that the Klan is seeking to stir up prejudice against Negroes, Jews and Catholics, and warned Southerners in the strongest possible language not to join the hate organization. Formation of a community-wide committee to bring the full power of civic and religious groups in Miami against the KKK was announced in May at a meeting in the regional office of the National Conference of Christians and Jews attended by representatives of the Miami Ministerial Association, the CIO, the AFL, B'nai B'rith, the Knights of Columbus, and other groups.

Among other events of the year were the participation of clergymen of the three faiths in public ceremonies marking V-J Day; the appointment of a nine-man State of Illinois National Inter-Faith Commission "to promote and encourage interfaith harmony and good will, and unify the spiritual forces of the nation in harmony with the spirit of our constitution"; and the introduction of a joint resolution in the United States Congress providing for a twelve-man commission to select a suitable form and site for a national interfaith memorial to commemorate the contributions of members of all religious faiths to American military and naval history.

OVERSEAS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION<sup>1</sup>By GERALDINE ROSENFELD<sup>2</sup>

Confronted with the challenge of sustaining and rebuilding the lives of 1,400,000 Jews in Europe (outside the Soviet Union) who survived the Nazi extermination program, the Jews of the United States embarked upon a historic campaign to raise the unprecedented sum of \$100,000,000 for the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine in 1946. This extraordinary goal was adopted at a National Conference held in Atlantic City on December 15-17, 1945. One of the most representative assemblies in the history of American Jewry, the Atlantic City Conference pledged itself to consider the problem of the survival of European Jewry before all other Jewish communal responsibilities in 1946; it gave assurances that the Jews of the United States would devote themselves to the central aim of guaranteeing the survival of the Jewish people, whether they choose to stay in Europe, build a new life in Palestine, or begin anew elsewhere.

The \$100,000,000 quota was adopted on the basis of the following minimum budgetary requirements of the constituent agencies of the United Jewish Appeal: \$58,350,000 for the Joint Distribution Committee; \$43,872,000 for the United Palestine Appeal; and \$1,082,025 for the National Refugee Service.

The magnitude of the tasks facing American Jews in 1946 was emphasized by the fact that in 1945 a total of \$34,800,000 had been pledged to meet the needs of the agencies of the United Jewish Appeal. The total cash received by the United Jewish Appeal up to May 28, 1946, as a result of the pledges made for the year 1945 amounted to \$32,875,535. Of this sum the Joint Distribution Committee received \$17,413,500; the United Palestine Appeal received \$13,136,500; and the National Refugee Service, \$929,000. (The collection record

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on information supplied by the U.J.A., the J.D.C., HIAS, ORT, OSE and the Vaad Hatzala.

<sup>2</sup> Member of staff, Library of Jewish Information, American Jewish Committee.

of the U.J.A. during the seven years of its existence has been excellent and it is expected, confidently, that the total amount pledged in 1945 will be paid in full.)

Funds to be raised by the United Jewish Appeal in 1946 will be distributed as follows: An aggregate initial allotment of \$925,000 is to be made to the N.R.S., which is to have the right to apply for an additional count in the event of need. The balance is to be divided on the basis of 57 per cent to the J.D.C. and 43 per cent to the U.P.A. The Jewish National Fund will retain traditional collections up to the amount of \$1,500,000 and the excess is to be disposed of as is all other income of the U.J.A. The J.D.C. will be permitted to accept earmarked contributions from Landsmannschaften up to the amount of \$800,000, and the U.J.A. is to receive all funds in excess of that sum.

### Joint Distribution Committee

The end of the war naturally brought many radical changes in the nature and administration of the J.D.C. relief program. Whereas in the war years the emphasis was on rescue and physical survival, after liberation the scope of the J.D.C. broadened to include, in addition to emergency relief, a more systematic program of economic rehabilitation, communal reconstruction, child care, educational and cultural activities, vocational training and migration service. Special attention was given to liberated deportees who returned to their home countries.

During 1945, the J.D.C. appropriated \$28,307,772 for its program. Yet, this amount, the largest expended by any voluntary organization in this field, was only about 50 per cent of the estimated needs for 1946, amounting to \$58,350,000. From July 1944 to May 1945 the total J.D.C. appropriation was \$23,742,000, rising to \$38,343,083 for the period June 1945 to May 1946.

Due to the shortage of food and commodities in Europe, the J.D.C. found it essential not only to transmit funds to various countries but to ship large quantities of food, clothing, shoes, medicine, tools and raw materials. During 1945, about \$6,000,000 or 20 per cent of the total expenditures, were spent for relief in kind. During the first four months

of 1946, \$3,430,000 were appropriated for supplies (including Passover relief).

In surveying the role of the J.D.C. during the year under review, it may be useful to divide the subject into broad geographic zones: 1) Western Europe, 2) Central Europe, 3) Eastern and Southeastern Europe, 4) Other Areas.

### Western Europe

In France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland about 250,000 Jews have survived the German occupation. In these countries J.D.C. supplies and personnel arrived immediately behind the armies of liberation, establishing contact with the surviving Jewish groups, organizing immediate relief and initiating rehabilitative aid.

Five years of war and German domination left the Jews of France in a low state. To help French Jewry through the difficult period of reconstruction the J.D.C. has had to develop a program comprising all phases of the welfare problem. During the fall of 1945 and the beginning of 1946 about 40,000 Jews including about 12,000 children received substantial assistance. Besides the cash relief distributed to some 19,000 persons, care was provided for 2,500 children in 46 childrens' homes; 9,500 others living with their own families and in foster homes were also aided. Several thousand Jewish orphans were removed from non-Jewish to Jewish surroundings. During the winter 34 canteens served about 115,000 meals monthly. Two J.D.C.-supported loan kassas extended loans to artisans and others to help them to re-establish themselves. As of February 1946, about 2,000 were receiving vocational training in hachsharoth and other centers. Although the general economic situation showed some improvement, the Jews in France are still in need of substantial help.

More or less similar conditions have prevailed in Belgium, though the economic situation of the Jews improved considerably since the liberation. Following the steady recovery of the country, the number assisted decreased from about 5,000 in the middle of 1945 to 3,300 (including 1,450 children) in the spring of 1946. Thanks to J.D.C. aid, several hundred Jewish parents were enabled to remove their children from

non-Jewish surroundings; hundreds of Jewish orphans were placed in J.D.C.-subventioned homes. Aside from the cash relief distributed to some 1,800 persons, seven canteens were maintained. Two producers' cooperatives and a loan kassa have been established.

Due to the wide scope of relief accorded to Dutch nationals as well as to its needy non-nationals by the Dutch government, the J.D.C. in Holland was in a position to concentrate its efforts primarily on communal rehabilitation, child care and special projects. Of the total J.D.C. expenditures of 235,000 florins (1 florin = 38 cents) in January and February 1946, about 30 per cent was spent on the repair of synagogues and other religious activities and some 17 per cent was allocated for the child-care program. It should be noted that of the estimated 30,000 Jews surviving in Holland (20 per cent of the 1939 total), 5,500 are liberated deportees who have returned.

With the end of the war and the re-establishment of communications, the number of Jewish refugees in Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal decreased to about 30,000. In the two last-named countries the J.D.C. continued to provide full maintenance for these persons, and in Sweden and Switzerland, supplementary assistance. During the spring of 1946 the J.D.C. made a special grant of \$235,000 for the purchase and maintenance of a 200-bed tuberculosis hospital in Switzerland. This hospital, to be conducted in cooperation with the Don Suisse and OSE, will provide for tubercular Jewish displaced persons taken from the camps of Germany and Austria and elsewhere. In Sweden 500 Jewish youths were receiving training in hachsharah centers during this period.

In France, Holland, Portugal and Spain, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees assumed a degree of responsibility for refugee aid and reimbursed the J.D.C. for relief expenditures in behalf of persons eligible for IGC assistance as stateless persons.

## Central Europe

Negotiations with the military authorities for permission to send welfare workers and supplies into the camps of Germany and Austria unavoidably delayed the arrival of

J.D.C. aid. In June 1945, the first group of J.D.C. field workers entered those countries. The basic needs of the displaced persons in these countries are the responsibility of the occupation authorities, and the J.D.C. has been providing supplementary and special services to the Jewish population both in the camps and in the urban communities, working in close cooperation with UNRRA.

In order to meet the urgent needs of the displaced Jews, which were not covered by the military and UNRRA, the J.D.C. shipped substantial quantities of supplies to Germany and Austria. By the end of 1945, the J.D.C. shipments to Germany from the U. S. alone comprised 183,300 pounds of clothing, 447,600 pounds of food and 10 ambulances; in the ensuing months the flow of supplies continued at an increasing rate. In addition, funds were provided for the communities and individuals outside of the camps, and communal rehabilitation was fostered wherever possible. Cultural and religious activities and vocational training were promoted by rabbis and educators serving on the J.D.C. staff and funds were made available for synagogues and for religious life in general. By the end of January 1946, quantities of religious and educational supplies had been shipped to Germany: 25,000 Haggadahs, 23,454 books and substantial amounts of religious articles including *talaisim* and *teffilin*. In Austria similar supplies were distributed in October 1945; 6,450 Jews in Vienna received cash relief. Communal and welfare institutions were supported in Vienna, Groggen, Graz, Innsbruck, Klagenfurt, Linz and Salzburg.

During this period the Jewish camp population was far from stable. Groups were constantly moving from Austria into the U. S. zone in Germany, and from both countries to Italy. Tens of thousands arrived from Poland and Hungary, and the task of sheltering and feeding these recent arrivals was one of the most acute problems facing the J.D.C. In both Germany and Austria one of the principal functions of the J.D.C. staff was to act as liaison between the Jews and the authorities: the Army, UNRRA and the local governments. In this capacity the staff on numerous occasions served as "trouble-shooters," thereby alleviating many difficult situations.

Following President Truman's directive of December 22,

1945, reopening immigration to the United States on the basis of existing laws and quotas, the J.D.C., in cooperation with the National Refugee Service and other agencies, broadened its migration services. In May 1946, the *S.S. Marine Flasher* and *S.S. Marine Perch* brought to this country 1,361 arrivals, of whom 814 were immigrants who were enabled to leave Europe because of J.D.C. aid. During the period under review some 1,300 Jewish children, with the cooperation of the J.D.C. were taken from Germany and brought to France, Switzerland and Italy; many of these were later transported to Palestine. The J.D.C. work in Germany and Austria was conducted by about 80 staff members. Close cooperation was established with the British Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad, whose units were particularly active in the British zone.

The J.D.C. program in Italy developed as the liberation of the country progressed. UNRRA assumed the responsibility for the basic needs of the displaced persons and J.D.C. provided supplemental relief for about 15,000 displaced persons, and aided some 20 local Jewish communities. The J.D.C. provided funds for the rehabilitation of many communal institutions; in Rome, the rabbinical seminary, a hospital and various welfare agencies have been re-established as a result of J.D.C. subventions. Jewish schools and homes for children as well as canteens received grants and supplementary assistance was given to about forty hachsharoth and kibbutzim (Zionist groups) with over 4,000 displaced Jews. The cultural program in the camps has been made possible largely by J.D.C. aid. These activities were conducted in cooperation with Italian-Jewish agencies, the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Central Committee representing the displaced persons.

### **Eastern and Southeastern Europe**

About 700,000 Jews have survived in the region comprising Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece. Ravaged throughout the war years, the entire area is in a state of severe economic crisis aggravated by political instability. While UNRRA aid was available in five of these countries (in Hungary very recently on a most

limited scale), the local conditions created a situation in which the Jewish communities benefited from this program only to a slight degree. The repatriation of many thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union aggravated the already critical condition of the local Jewish communities. In Poland, where about 80,000 Jews were living in the fall of 1945, the Jewish community has undergone profound changes due to constant migration westward and the arrival of the repatriates from Russia. It is reported that, during the period under review, some 30,000 Jews left Poland. By May 1946, over 70,000 Jews had been repatriated to Poland from Russia.<sup>1</sup>

Because of the lack of banking facilities and the unstable condition of the currency, J.D.C. aid to the Jews of Poland in 1945 took the form of shipments of food, clothing and other medical supplies. Toward the end of 1945, it became possible to send money and by the spring of 1946, the J.D.C. had sent \$1,000,000 to aid the Jews in Poland. Of the \$500,000 remitted in December 1945 and January 1946, \$250,000 was utilized by the Central Committee of Polish Jews for individual relief requirements, \$100,000 for capital investments in communal institutions and \$150,000 for the cooperative banks. With the arrival of the Jewish repatriates in April 1946, the J.D.C. appropriated \$1,000,000, essentially for the resettlement of the returnees.<sup>2</sup> During 1945, a supply of commodities including blankets, shoes, clothing, food, tools and raw materials, purchased at a cost of \$1,000,000, was sent to Poland. During the first four months of 1946, \$500,615 were spent for relief in kind. During the review period, J.D.C. sent about 10,000 packages monthly from Teheran to the Polish Jewish refugees in Russia.

In Czechoslovakia, of the approximately 55,000 Jewish survivors, some 20,000 received various types of aid. Although the number of residents assisted decreased during the spring of 1946, this decrease was largely offset by the arrival in the west of Jews from Slovakia, and of repatriates from Ruthenia. Fifty-seven kosher canteens were maintained in Slovakia, and religious schools, Yeshivoth and children's homes supported; in March 1946 a new home for 40 children

<sup>1</sup> The exact figure was 72,279 on May 10. It had reached about 140,000 by the end of June.

<sup>2</sup> During the first five months of 1946 J.D.C. appropriated for Poland \$3,360,000, including a one-time grant of \$1,850,000 chiefly to aid the repatriates.

was established in Bratislava. A comprehensive program of economic aid has been developed; from December to March 1946 loans totalling \$41,000 were extended to individuals as well as to cooperatives. Twenty centers provided vocational training for some 800 persons.

In Hungary, of the total Jewish population of 200,000, some 90,000 were in need of basic relief and many others required supplemental assistance. The needs of Hungarian Jewry received a high priority in the J.D.C. program. A number of communal institutions have been reestablished with J.D.C. aid and special agencies are providing emergency relief. By November 1945, 247 canteens were serving meals to 45,000 persons in Budapest and 35,000 in the provinces. Four hospitals were supported and 44 children's homes were taking care of some 9,000 children, while another 3,000 benefited from aid grants to their families.

In Rumania, of about 300,000 Jews within the present borders, about 150,000 required assistance. By February 1946, the J.D.C. was aiding 81 communities to rebuild and re-equip schools, synagogues and other communal institutions. Twenty hospitals were supported and thirty loan offices established. During April and May 1946 emergency relief was given to 15,000 repatriates from Russia. J.D.C. welfare workers came to the Russian frontier to provide assistance to the repatriates and a home for the repatriated children was provided in Sighet.

In Yugoslavia, J.D.C. aid to the 10,000 survivors took the form chiefly of assistance in the rehabilitation of communal and religious institutions, special grants to widows, the aged and the repatriated deportees. Homes for the aged and children and day nurseries have been established. Some 200 students were supported in Belgrade and Zagreb and steps were taken to develop a program of credit and producers' cooperatives.

In Greece, of the 10,500 Jews surviving, some 5,700 received basic assistance from J.D.C. during the fall of 1945; subsequently, as UNRRA supplies became available, the number decreased to 4,200. Three hachsharoth with 300 trainees were maintained by the J.D.C. The Esther Orphanage was opened in Athens in the summer of 1945 and toward the end of the year some 40 children were housed in this

institution. The rehabilitation of religious institutions has been subventioned by the J.D.C. and educational facilities provided for some 200 children attending Jewish schools.

In March 1946, at the request of the Russian Red Cross, the J.D.C. agreed to provide \$1,000,000 worth of drugs and hospital equipment for designated hospitals in parts of Russia where there is a substantial Jewish population. Half of this sum will be devoted to the purchase and shipment of penicillin and the remainder to equip hospitals located in Mogilev, Pinsk, Dnepropetrovsk and Chernigov.

In close cooperation with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the J.D.C. continued to finance immigration to Palestine. During the first five months of 1946, the J.D.C. financed the transportation to the Holy Land of thousands of Jewish immigrants. Among them were some 1,000 from France (April 1946) and large groups from Rumania, Bulgaria, Italy, etc. During January-April 1946, \$1,010,000 was appropriated for emigration assistance. In Palestine, help was given to refugee rabbis and scholars, and special grants were provided for about seventy educational and religious institutions. The program for supplementary feeding of undernourished Yeshivoth scholars continued throughout 1945.

### **Other Areas**

The J.D.C. program in Iran, Algiers, Morocco, Tripolitania and Tangiers consisted primarily of subventions for Jewish schools and other special projects. At the end of 1945, the improvement in the situation of the Jews in Turkey made it possible for this community to carry on its welfare activities without the aid provided by the J.D.C. during the preceding period.

In Shanghai the number of assisted refugees decreased from 12,000 in the fall of 1945 to some 8,000 in the spring of 1946; J.D.C. appropriations for the year under review totaled about \$1,836,000. The J.D.C. cooperated closely with UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees in that city, and 80 refugees left Shanghai for Australia and other permanent havens with the aid of the J.D.C. In the Pacific area, some 800 refugees, most of them ex-German and Austrian nationals who were found in Manila after the liberation of the city, received assistance in money and kind.

In Latin America, where the Jewish refugee groups do not require aid on the scale of previous years, J.D.C. expenditures during January-May 1946 totaled \$75,000.

During the period under review the appropriations of the J.D.C. Cultural Committee for religious and educational programs, primarily in Palestine, totaled \$406,000. The largest program of Passover relief in the history of the J.D.C. was conducted in the spring of 1946. More than 2,500,000 pounds of matzoth were provided for Jews in Europe, Shanghai and North Africa.

The expansion of the J.D.C. program has been made possible both by the generous response of American Jewry to the U.J.A. and by the splendid cooperation of Jewish communities in a series of countries. Cooperating with the J.D.C., the South African Jewish War Appeal provided relief to the extent of \$1,600,000 during the twelve-month period which ended April 30, 1946. The United Jewish Refugee and War Relief Agencies of Canada has provided \$613,160. The Jewish communities in Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Columbia contributed funds and supplies as their share in the J.D.C. program.

From the United States, the J.D.C. shipped to Europe 3,750,000 pounds of clothing received from the United National Clothing Collection conducted by UNRRA.

At the beginning of 1946, the J.D.C., in cooperation with 16 American Jewish organizations, launched a campaign through a special project, Supplies for Overseas Survivors (SOS), for 20,000,000 pounds of essential commodities. By the end of May the organizations and the SOS committees in 500 localities throughout the U.S. had contributed about 2,000,000 pounds and the J.D.C. had shipped over 1,500,000 pounds of these supplies. These shipments are over and above the regular shipments of commodities purchased as a part of the regular J.D.C. program for the Jews of Europe.

### **Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society**

The year ending April 1, 1946 saw the fruition of the intense preparatory work which the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) had been carrying on ever since VE day—and before.

As quickly as the Nazis were expelled from country after

country, HIAS offices were opened in Europe. In Germany, Poland, Italy and France, where there are large concentrations of refugees, HIAS maintains from five to ten offices at the points of greatest concentration. In other countries it maintains one to three offices, notably in Hungary, England, Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal, Turkey, Palestine and China. Similarly, it has offices and affiliates in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Cuba, Paraguay and Venezuela.

From 1927 to 1945 HIAS activities overseas were carried out by the HIAS—ICA Emigration Association (HICEM), composed of HIAS and the Jewish Colonization Association, (ICA). Because of war-time restrictions, ICA, which is an English organization, was unable to contribute to the budget of HICEM, and so asked that it be released from the association. HICEM offices in Europe were then turned over to HIAS.

In Germany HIAS set up offices in 1945 which worked in close cooperation with the American Army of Occupation, UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. Staffs were set up in every displaced persons camp; refugees were interviewed and assisted in preparing for emigration, in order to facilitate the carrying out of President Truman's directive concerning the entrance of refugees into the United States. Immigration experts, working with Army authorities and President Truman's Special Committee to implement his directives, worked out an identification paper to be used in lieu of a passport. It serves much the same purpose as the Nansen passport during the first World War, and has tremendously enhanced the morale of the displaced persons, most of whom had lost or destroyed their identity papers during the war.

A few statistics are cited to give some idea of the tremendous volume of detail involved. For example, in France, 7,562 refugees registered with HIAS for emigration during the year and 2,700 left France with HIAS assistance, going chiefly to Palestine. In Portugal, HIAS arranged for the emigration of 2,270 persons, about 30 per cent going to Palestine, 20 per cent to France, 5 per cent to the United States, and the remainder scattered all over the world.

In Italy, registration of refugees for immigration was begun almost immediately after the war ended and the bulk of the

necessary preliminaries to effect immigration have been completed so that there will be no delay when consular offices begin to function in Italian territory. In Turkey, HIAS effected the return to France and other Western European countries of Jews who had taken refuge there during the Nazi invasions of the West. From Sweden, HIAS arranged for the emigration of 500 Jews, of whom half came to the United States. In Shanghai, HIAS efforts to secure visas for settlement in Australia were beginning to succeed as the year came to an end. HIAS effected the immigration to that country of some 50 Jews.

HIAS expenditures for the year ending December 31, 1945, were \$1,490,110, of which two thirds were expended on refugee work overseas. The budget for 1946 is set at \$3,000,000.

### World ORT Union

The World ORT Union (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) has during the past year continued to expand its 66 year-old program of training Jews in occupational skills.

The American ORT Federation, fund-raising agent of the World ORT Union in the United States, has announced for 1946 a budget of \$4,000,000, which is four-fifths of the world budget.

The funds raised by the American ORT in 1945 went towards the support of varied activities. Not only was the ORT training program in Europe and Shanghai expanded, but a very extensive program was initiated in order to provide machines, tools and raw materials to needy artisans in Europe. To do this, the ORT Tool Supply and Reconstruction Corporation was created in New York, and, in cooperation with local ORT Committees in Canada, England, France and Switzerland, it has already bought and shipped about \$500,000 worth of machinery and tools. Branch offices of the Corporation are being established in various European countries as well as in Palestine. Part of this material is being used as equipment in ORT training schools and workshops; most of it, however, has been distributed to needy Jewish artisans, thus enabling them to become self-support-

ing. These machines and tools are now being used in such countries as Shanghai, Poland, France, Belgium, Hungary, Rumania, and in the camps for displaced persons in Germany.

At the end of 1945, the World ORT Union concluded a special agreement with UNRRA and with the Military Government in Germany, to establish workshops and training courses in the displaced persons camps. ORT has volunteered to train 10,000 Jewish displaced persons. To date, about 60 ORT courses with more than 3,500 pupils have been established in the American, British and French zones of occupation. The courses consist of workshops for locksmithing, electrical engineering, radio repair, carpentry, shoe repair, film machine operation, as well as classes for nurses, dress-makers, etc. Valuable machines and tools were shipped to Germany from the United States, England and Switzerland.

Since the termination of hostilities in Europe and in the Far East, ORT has re-established its training program in the former Nazi-dominated countries of Europe, as well as in liberated Shanghai.

In France, where the work of ORT never stopped during the war, the schools have been re-organized and many new courses have been opened during the past 12 months. At the end of April 1946, more than 50 courses and workshops were operating in France, including two schools in Paris and courses and trade schools in Marseilles, Limoges, Toulouse, Lyons, Nice, Grenoble and Strasbourg. Special vocational classes for children were established in Cessieu (Isère), Moissac, and other places. Gardening courses and agricultural training centers are operating in the suburbs of Paris and on several farms in the province of Lot et Garonne. In addition to the training services, the French ORT gives vocational guidance and employment services and supervises apprentices while they are being trained. Furthermore, over 620 families received machines and tools from the French ORT between March 1945 and March 1946 and over 200 families have benefited from the machine repair service in ORT repair workshops. Altogether, about 5,000 persons, needy French Jews, refugees and displaced Jews, children and adults, have benefited from ORT work in France during the past 12 months.

All during the war years Switzerland, neutral haven for thousands of Jews, played an important role in the imple-

mentation of ORT's program. At present ORT has over 150 branches functioning in that country, including more than thirty different trades. Special courses established for former internees of the Buchenwald and Dachau camps are now training more than 300.

The ORT Committee in Shanghai was established in 1941 when about 18,000 refugees from Poland, Germany, and Austria were stranded there at the outbreak of the war. The ORT training courses which were established at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 continued to work throughout the war. More than 1,200 men and women were trained by ORT during this period and found employment with the U.S. military forces or in private business. During the last bombings in 1945 the ORT school was badly damaged, but the courses were soon resumed in other buildings, and greatly expanded. The courses include training in mechanics and electrical engineering, auto-driving, dressmaking, gardening, etc. In February 1946, 284 refugees attended the ORT courses in Shanghai.

New ORT committees have been established in Holland, Belgium and Poland to supervise ORT schools and workshops for youth and adults, and to provide machines and tools for needy artisans. The first shipment, consisting of 100 sewing machines and five tons of tools, was sent from the United States to Poland in 1945 through UNRRA.

In Rumania, the Bucharest ORT schools have resumed full activity. The ORT school in Jassy, which had been damaged during the war, has been repaired and is now training boys and girls. In addition, a new school to serve the special needs of 700 pogrom orphans is in preparation. In Botosany the ORT school, which was closed during the war, is being re-established; machinery, tools and instructors will be sent there from Switzerland.

The Bulgarian ORT has resumed its activities in trade and agricultural schools. In Hungary, where ORT training had continued throughout the war, the schools are being enlarged. New equipment has been sent to Budapest from Switzerland, and the establishment of ORT cooperatives in spinning, twisting and weaving is in preparation.

In the Western Hemisphere ORT conducts ten schools. The major part of the budget of these schools is covered by specially collected local means.

## OSE

OSE is the world-wide Jewish organization which for the past 35 years has concerned itself with problems of hygiene, medical assistance and child care among Jews in various countries.

In the Eastern European area: in Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary, where the small number of surviving Jews are completely impoverished, the central organization of OSE in Europe sent medical missions, consisting of expert physicians, trained nurses and child care guardians. OSE also sent large quantities of medical supplies, surgical instruments, equipment for medical and dental laboratories, as well as huge amounts of condensed milk, chocolate, powdered eggs, etc.

Thousands of Nazi victims, especially children who have been liberated from concentration camps, have found refuge in France, Belgium and Switzerland. In these countries, OSE has opened scores of children's homes, canteens, dispensaries, polyclinics and other institutions, in which the sick and under-nourished receive shelter, food and clothing, as well as proper medical attention.

In the camps in Germany and Austria, where many thousands of Jewish displaced persons are still located, there is great need for supervision of their physical and mental health. OSE physicians, nurses and child specialists have been assisting the survivors and restoring them to health. Here, OSE is working in cooperation with the military agencies, J.D.C. and UNRRA.

In addition to its general relief activities, OSE has also set up a "Foster Parents Plan," whereby individuals all over the world may sponsor and personally help orphans and semi-orphans in OSE institutions in Europe. This plan has taken the form of families aiding families, young people aiding children and students, and organizations and schools in this country "adopting" orphanages and children's homes.

## Vaad Hatzala

While the Nazis were still in power, the Vaad Hatzala, an orthodox rabbinical relief agency, was primarily concerned with the rescue of Jews destined for extermination. With

the coming of V-E Day Vaad Hatzala undertook the supplying of kosher food to liberated Jews and sent immediate shipments to all the camps in liberated Europe. Since V-E Day, it has shipped more than 1,000,000 pounds of food and clothing costing over \$1,125,000 to the camps in Germany, France, Belgium, Hungary and China.

One of the principal activities of Vaad Hatzala during the year was the rescue and care of Jewish children who had become orphaned during the occupation. It carried on negotiations with various governmental authorities for their release from non-Jewish homes and arranged for the housing and maintenance of the children. Today the agency maintains five orphan homes in Switzerland, housing well over 1,500 children, and in addition supports many children in private homes. In France, Vaad Hatzala maintains four orphan homes and has taken over full responsibility for the maintenance of over 1,250 children from COSOR (a Jesuit organization). Similar orphan homes are maintained in Belgium, Hungary, Slovakia, Transylvania, England and Palestine. In London, in conjunction with the Chief Rabbi's Council, Vaad Hatzala maintains two hotels for its children. In Palestine many children are partially supported by Vaad Hatzala, and in Teheran substantial funds were provided for the feeding and religious training of thousands of homeless Sephardic children.

In pursuance of its program of religious rehabilitation, Vaad Hatzala supplied religious articles to Jewish communities, maintained 50 Yeshivahs, 17 Beth Jacob schools and other religious institutions in Europe and the Far East, and supported European Jewish scholars, rabbis and rabbinical students who had escaped death at the hands of the Nazis by fleeing Europe at the outbreak of war. The organization is maintaining 600 scholars and students in Shanghai and about 5,000 in Siberia, all of them stranded in those regions for six years.

Vaad Hatzala also supplied immigration assistance in the United States, paying particular attention to the resettlement of immigrants in orthodox households throughout the country. It has been named a certifying agency by the United States Department of Immigration and Naturalization.

## IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE AID<sup>1</sup>

The end of the war focused attention on the plight of the 1,400,000 Jewish survivors of Nazi terrorism, (outside of Soviet Russia) many of whom could not or would not return to the scenes of their oppression and the murder of their families. For them the need to emigrate was imperative. Under such pressure, the tempo and scope of American immigration activity in behalf of refugees increased rapidly as the year progressed. The three leading American agencies in the field—the National Refugee Service, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) and the National Council of Jewish Women—worked unceasingly to assist and rehabilitate the new immigrants.

### President Truman's Directive

Of special importance in the field of immigration was the directive on immigration of refugees and displaced persons which President Truman issued on December 22, 1945. This was a welcome and encouraging development to Jews everywhere. Within a few weeks it made possible the liquidation of the War Relocation Authority's Emergency Refugee Shelter at Fort Ontario, Oswego, N. Y., and the resettlement of most of its 923 residents as quota immigrants throughout the United States. Of even greater consequence was the impact of the directive on the immigration prospects of thousands of European Jews who had yet to find a haven.

The immediate effect of the directive was to accelerate the restoration of machinery for admitting refugees to the United States. The results were felt throughout the world, but especially in the American-occupied zones in Germany and Austria, where consular offices were re-established and

<sup>1</sup> This article was prepared in the office of the American Jewish Committee on the basis of information supplied by the National Refugee Service, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society and the National Council of Jewish Women.

facilities were provided to enable thousands of survivors of the Nazi regime to come to America. A broader constructive effect was the encouragement given by the directive to forces operating for liberal immigration policies in other lands, notably Palestine. President Truman emphasized the directive's international significance when he said: "This is the opportunity for America to set an example for the rest of the world in cooperation toward alleviating human misery."

The Presidential directive provided for the immigration each year of a maximum of 39,681 refugees and displaced persons from the American zones of occupation in Europe. Immigrants thus admitted are issued permanent visas up to the limits imposed by the quotas of their respective native countries, as provided in our immigration laws, and in full compliance with those laws and the selective procedures established by the Government. The directive further provided for the re-establishment of immigration machinery in American-occupied territory where American consulates had been closed during the war. The Secretary of State was directed "to establish with the utmost dispatch consular facilities at or near displaced persons and refugee assembly areas." He was also ordered, in cooperation with the Attorney General, to send officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to these areas as temporary vice-consuls to speed immigration procedure. The President further directed the State Department to "make every effort to simplify and to hasten the process of issuing visas." The Public Health Service was directed to arrange for the necessary medical examinations to be conducted in the American zone of occupation. The Secretary of War was ordered to give all possible help in facilitating selection of applicants for visas and in feeding, housing, and transporting immigrants to ports of embarkation. The War Shipping Administration was ordered to arrange for their transportation to the United States.

The refugees and displaced persons in the American zones of occupation included in the directive are of various central and eastern European nationalities. The quotas for these countries are as follows:

Austria . . . . .	1,413
Bulgaria . . . . .	100
Czechoslovakia . . . . .	2,874
Danzig . . . . .	100
Germany . . . . .	25,957
Hungary . . . . .	869
Latvia . . . . .	236
Lithuania . . . . .	386
Poland . . . . .	6,524
Rumania . . . . .	377
Yugoslavia . . . . .	845
<b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>39,681</b>

Immigration under the directive will fall short of this total primarily because there are only about 12,000 German-born Jews surviving in the American zones. After providing for all those who apply and qualify for U. S. visas, it is hoped that the unused balance will be made available for German Jewish refugees in various other parts of Europe, in Shanghai, North Africa, and elsewhere. Immigration from the occupied zones averaged about 1,500 monthly in May and June. A small number of these were orphaned children whose parents were killed by the Nazis or had disappeared. They came in as quota immigrants on the corporate affidavit of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. Jewish children are cared for on arrival by the European Jewish Children's Aid, an affiliate of the National Refugee Service.

For American Jewry the Truman directive has had a special significance. It crystallized for the first time in an official public statement of government policy the relationship between the government and the privately-supported program which, from the beginning of refugee immigration, has assumed responsibility for promoting the adjustment of refugees as new Americans and for preventing those in need from becoming public charges. The existence of agencies which could be depended upon by the government to assume and honor such responsibilities had been the basis for many governmental actions opening the door to admission of individuals and groups. This responsibility was set

forth by the President when he said that "responsible welfare agencies" which had undertaken the adjustment of refugees in the past would have to assume similar duties with regard to the prospective new immigrants.

### **Resettlement of Oswego Refugees**

A few days after the order was issued on December 22, 1945, NRS was designated by the War Relocation Authority of the Department of Interior to carry out the project of resettling the refugees from the Oswego Shelter and to provide its corporate affidavit as the basis for issuance of visas to the 834 Jews among them. It was necessary, under the directive, to give assurance that the prospective new immigrants would receive any needed financial assistance from their American relatives and friends or from other private sources, that they would be widely distributed geographically, that many would be quartered with relatives or friends to avoid unduly burdening housing facilities, and that a broad program of assistance and guidance would be provided to assist the newcomers in making a rapid and smooth transition to American life and in becoming self-sustaining members of the community.

In carrying out the resettlement program for the Oswego Shelter residents, NRS had the cooperation of various other agencies. Among these were the American Christian Committee for Refugees and the Catholic Committee for Refugees, which provided corporate affidavits for the 88 Protestants and Catholics at the Shelter. NRS augmented its own staff at the Shelter with personnel made available by the National Council of Jewish Women. NRS and NCJW worked together closely throughout the project; this proved to be an opportune preliminary to the consolidation of services of the two agencies, which was then under negotiation and which was consummated the following summer.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the contingent of professional workers from the national office and the New York, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia Sections of NCJW, the staff was augmented by workers loaned by the

<sup>1</sup> On August 1, 1946, the NRS and the National Services to Foreign Born of the NCJW were consolidated into the United Service for New Americans, Inc.

Westchester County, N. Y., Committee for Refugees and the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Detroit.

The provision of corporate affidavits as the basis for the issuance of visas made it possible to treat this part of the immigration procedure on a group basis and to shorten the process to a matter of days. Prior to their departure from the Shelter, the refugees were oriented on Government regulations, immigration procedures, and resettlement; every family head was interviewed at least twice for discussion of resettlement plans; arrangements were completed with communities throughout the country to accept responsibility for those being resettled, particularly those who did not have American relatives or friends; arrangements were made for the travel and reception of each family group; loans were advanced where needed for payment of visa fees and head taxes; special plans were evolved for those whose permanent immigration had to be deferred for various reasons; and grants for two weeks' initial living expenses were extended where needed, with the understanding that local communities would take over if the need continued.

The actual departure of the refugees from Fort Ontario was a dramatic and moving event. Traveling in buses chartered by NRS, they crossed the Rainbow Bridge to the American consulate at Niagara Falls, Canada, where they obtained their coveted visas, and then were taken to Buffalo, N. Y., the final dispersal point. Until their departure, usually the next day, many of them were housed in a small hotel which NRS had taken over as a temporary shelter; some were guests in the homes of Buffalo citizens. The Federation for Jewish Social Service of Buffalo, the Motor Corps of the Buffalo Chapter of the American Red Cross, Temple Beth-El in Niagara Falls, N. Y., and numerous individuals cooperated enthusiastically in helping and caring for the travelers.

From Buffalo the former Oswego residents, now immigrants and no longer refugees, scattered to their final destinations. Those who came to New York City were primarily persons having relatives or other ties there. There was, in addition, a small number who intended to return to their native lands, as 62 voluntarily repatriated Yugoslavs had done in the spring and summer of 1945, or to re-emigrate to other countries to rejoin their families. Most of those who

had no friends in the city found temporary accommodations in the HIAS shelter.

Despite many difficulties, mostly due to the haste with which the work had to be organized and carried on, the Oswego group was distributed within four weeks to 68 cities and towns in 20 States and the District of Columbia, from coast to coast and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. When the resettlement project was initiated at the Shelter, it was felt that if 25 per cent of the residents could be resettled immediately to points outside New York City, the effort could be considered successful. Actually, about 48 per cent were immediately settled away from New York and some of those who at first came to that city moved elsewhere later.

The resettlement program for the Oswego residents served to reactivate the NRS national network of local agencies and committees which in previous years had rendered effective service in the refugee-adjustment program. Groups in the towns and cities to which many of the Oswego residents resettled gave their whole-hearted cooperation to this project.

### Arrival of New Immigrants

One of the most joyous and hopeful developments since the end of the war for Jews who have been left homeless by 13 years of persecution came during the fourth week of May, when two ships brought 1,361 refugees and displaced persons to New York as the first quota immigrants under the President's directive. Scenes of rejoicing took place on May 20 as thousands of American relatives welcomed the 795 immigrants aboard the *SS Marine Flasher*, the first ship of refugee immigrants to arrive, and again on May 24 when the *SS Marine Perch* brought an additional 566 refugees. Most of the refugees came to rejoin kin from whom they had been cut off for years.

The welcome on the pier by individual kinsmen of the newcomers was matched by welfare services provided by the National Refugee Service, the HIAS and the National Council of Jewish Women. Personnel of the three agencies aided the new arrivals in arranging for transportation and

baggage, and furnished temporary shelter, meals, and clothing for those requiring immediate assistance in securing these necessities.

While the pier services caught the public eye, a more fundamental phase of the adjustment program went into operation after arrival of the newcomers. The long-range program of NRS for their integration into American life doubled and redoubled its activities during the Spring months. A steady stream of the new arrivals surged into the agency's offices for interviews with case workers specializing in their needs for employment, economic assistance, permanent living quarters, resettlement, and other services.

Because of the housing shortage and the importance of avoiding competition in the open market for homes for the immigrants, difficult problems were encountered in finding living quarters. Appeals in the Jewish press and on Jewish radio programs brought many offers to rent rooms in private homes to newcomers.

The task of resettling the immigrants away from New York and other crowded seaport cities received the continuous attention of NRS, working through its cooperating committees, local agencies, and local sections of the NCJW.

Although there was a rising trend in immigration during the year, immigration to the United States in 1945 totalled only 45,603. Of these, only 13,000 were Europeans, less than 10 per cent of the quotas for European countries, and barely more than 8,000 were from countries of origin of refugee immigration—that is, natives of European countries other than Great Britain, Eire, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. The number of Jewish immigrants originating from Europe was estimated at 5,800.<sup>1</sup>

### Legislative Activity

The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization under the chairmanship of Samuel Dickstein completed hearings on problems of post-war immigration and natu-

<sup>1</sup>Since 1943 there has been no listing of "Hebrew" nationality on immigration manifests. Estimates of Jewish immigrants are therefore made on the basis of percentages of total immigration which prevailed from 1933 to 1943.

ralization in relation to present laws and practices, and issued an interim report which listed its recommendations and conclusions. During its investigation, which the House of Representatives authorized on March 27, 1945, the Committee conducted hearings of its full membership in Washington and of a subcommittee in New York City, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Oswego, N. Y. The report includes the following major recommendations:

... that Congress appoint a commission of full-time experts qualified to undertake impartial and complete research and analysis into all phases of the problems presented... and empowered to recommend to Congress changes in and a codification of the immigration laws similar to the Nationality Act of 1940, and... changes in nationality laws which may have been found desirable in the course of experience with the present act..

... that no general alteration of existing quotas or selective provisions, or detailed revision of any major area of the immigration laws, be undertaken until such time as a thorough study has been made...

... that a right to appeal be provided in cases where a consul has refused a visa, this appeal to be a central visa review board of three members selected by the President and sitting in Washington, D. C., the board to comprise one member from each—the Department of State, the Department of Justice, and the public...

In summarizing its findings, the Committee pointed out that "the general public has an inadequate understanding of the existing situation. Many witnesses... were, for instance, evidently surprised to learn that the present law imposes a ceiling on quota immigrants of some 150,000 a year, and that the number is never in fact filled. Many evidently predicated their testimony on the assumption that the situation was similar to that in 1920, and that an enormous influx of immigrants from war-torn Europe was an imminent threat. Others had plainly erroneous conceptions of the nature and degree of selection which can, under the law, be exercised by consuls abroad. And all suffered, in formulating and stating their views, from the lack of the

type of data referred to . . . as being desirable to inform Congress."

Legislative activity concerned with immigration was marked by an abortive attempt on the part of a number of Congressmen, supported by spokesmen for the American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars, to cut immigration quotas by 50 per cent for the next ten years.

By a vote of 10 to 7 the House Immigration Committee in May 1946 eliminated the controversial Section 5 containing this proposal in the so-called Gossett Bill, named after its sponsor, Congressman Ed Gossett (D., Texas). Jewish groups voiced their opposition jointly through Judge Nathan D. Perlman, who testified in behalf of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, which includes all major Jewish groups in the country. The Bill was also opposed by Tom Clark, United States Attorney General, who said that the proposed drastic cut in America's immigration quotas "would compromise efforts to solve the problem of the world's displaced peoples"; by Earl G. Harrison, dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School and former Commissioner of Immigration, who had previously reported to President Truman on the condition of displaced persons in the American zone of occupation in Germany, and by representatives of various other organizations, including the American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, National Women's Trade Union League, and National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires.

### Study of Recent Immigration

The year under review saw the completion of the two-year Study of Recent Immigration from Europe. This impartial, objective study of the adjustment of refugees and their effect on American society had been designed to make readily accessible the vast body of facts and experience in the area of refugee adjustment. The Study was organized in 1944 by the National Refugee Service and four other leading national refugee-service organizations: the American Committee for Refugees, the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Committee for Refugees, and the United States Committee for the Care of European Chil-

dren. It was conducted by a group of outstanding scholars and research workers under the directorship of Dr. Maurice R. Davie, chairman of the Department of Sociology of Yale University. Professor Davie's full report will be published in book form by Harper and Bros. Highlights of the Study findings were incorporated in a popular pamphlet, *What Shall We Do About Immigration?*, which was published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., and attained a very large circulation. The findings were also the basis of three articles in the April 1946 issue of *Survey Graphic*; one of these, "Our Newest Americans," by Professor Davie, was selected by a committee of librarians as one of the ten best articles published that month in American magazines.

Dr. Davie and Joseph E. Beck, Executive Director of NRS, were invited to testify before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Immigration to Palestine and Other Countries, during that body's public hearings in Washington, D. C. Dr. Davie furnished the Committee with information based on the Study, as to adjustment of refugees in the United States, while Mr. Beck described the work of NRS in this regard. At that time the Committee was considering the plan, which it eventually recommended unanimously, for immigration of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. There were indications that the example set by the United States in granting haven to thousands of Jewish survivors played a significant part in the Committee's deliberations.

## ZIONIST AND PRO-PALESTINE ACTIVITIES

By BENJAMIN SHWADRAN<sup>1</sup>

The year 1945-1946 was a fateful one for Zionism in the United States. Although England was still in possession of Palestine and therefore the ultimate determinant of policy affecting the development of Jewish Palestine, events made it clear that the influence of the United States was growing

<sup>1</sup>Research Director, American Zionist Emergency Council.

steadily and that the center of Zionist political activity was gradually shifting from London to New York and Washington. Greater responsibility was thus placed on American Zionist and pro-Palestine leadership. Efforts on behalf of Palestine indicated that American Jewry understood and faced its obligations.

### Political Activities

On July 2, 1945, before leaving for the Big Three Conference in Potsdam, President Truman received a petition from fifty-four members of the Senate and 251 members of the House of Representatives, urging him to implement the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, a policy approved by the United States Congress and reaffirmed by the two major political parties in their 1944 presidential platforms. A similar petition was sent to him by thirty-seven governors. On the following day the American Zionist Emergency Council presented the President with a memorandum dealing with the problem of Palestine as the Jewish homeland, the injustice and invalidity of the 1939 White Paper, the situation of the Jews in Europe and in Oriental countries, and pointing to the readiness and ability of Palestine to absorb those Jews who want to migrate there. The memorandum urged "that an immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, and that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be vested with all necessary authority to bring to Palestine as many Jews as need and wish to settle there, and given such financial, technical and other aid as will help the development of the country to its maximum capacity."

President Truman, on his part, had previously instructed Earl G. Harrison, American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and former U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, to inquire into the situation "of those displaced persons in Germany who may prove to be stateless or non-repatriable." At Potsdam President Truman took up the Palestine issue with Prime Minister Winston Churchill and later with Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee.

He told Mr. Attlee that "the American people, as a whole, firmly believe that immigration into Palestine should not be closed and that a reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews should in accordance with their wishes be permitted to resettle there."

The President disclosed for the first time in a press conference on August 16 that he had discussed the Palestine problem with the Prime Minister. He indicated that the American view was to let in as many of the Jews into Palestine as it was possible to let into the country and still maintain civil peace; the matter of a Jewish state would have to be worked out with the British and the Arabs. But the President made clear that neither he nor his advisers had any idea of sending a strong military force, say 500,000 soldiers, overseas to keep the peace in Palestine. The President's statement was interpreted as the first denunciation of the 1939 White Paper by the United States Government, as well as approval of the eventual establishment of a Jewish state. At the same time it was made clear that the United States was not ready to use military power to enforce a decision on Palestine.

The Harrison Report, made public on September 29, established two facts: (1) that the displaced persons must be evacuated from the camps in Germany and Austria; (2) that the overwhelming majority of Jews in the displaced persons' camps want to go to Palestine. "They want to be evacuated to Palestine now, just as other national groups are being repatriated to their homes," the Report stated. "With respect to possible places of resettlement for those who may be stateless or who do not wish to return to their homes, Palestine is definitely and pre-eminently the first choice."

On the basis of this and other reports on the condition of the Jews in Europe and their desire to go to Palestine, the President sent a letter to Prime Minister Attlee on August 31, in which he concurred with the conclusions of the Report and asked that 100,000 Palestine immigration certificates be granted to "Jews still in Germany and Austria and for other Jewish refugees who do not wish to remain where they are or who, for understandable reasons, do not desire to return to their countries of origin." He attached

the Harrison Report to the letter. The President emphasized that "no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine." He closed his letter with the statement: "The main solution appears to lie in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews, who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed."

The request of the President for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine was hailed in the general press and by Jews—Zionists and non-Zionists—and non-Jews.

### **Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry<sup>1</sup>**

The British declined to accept the President's recommendations, allegedly because of conditions in Palestine. Instead, they suggested the establishment of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to examine the Palestine problem. The President acceded to the British proposal, but declared that he continued to "adhere to the views expressed" in his letter to Prime Minister Attlee for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine.

The decision to appoint a joint committee of inquiry by both governments was simultaneously announced in Washington and London on November 13. On November 28 Secretary Byrnes announced that Great Britain and the United States had agreed that the Committee of Inquiry should report within 120 days after meeting to organize.

The reaction to the announcement was negative. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, in a telegram to the President dated November 15, expressed their feeling, "which we know to be shared by millions of our fellow citizens, that the appointment of this commission of inquiry can serve no useful purpose." They asked the President to reconsider the whole matter in order to impress the British Government

<sup>1</sup> See also the special article on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

with the urgency of giving sanctuary to the hounded remnants of European Jewry "amongst their own people in the land internationally promised them."

The American Jewish Conference declared in a letter to Prime Minister Attlee that in view of the derogatory statement made by Secretary Bevin in the House of Commons, "it will be extremely difficult for Americans to have any confidence in the deliberations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry," since the Foreign Secretary had "prejudged and prejudiced" the findings of the committee. A copy of the letter was sent to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes with a note stating that it reflected the views of the American Jewish Conference on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

On November 23, a delegation of the American Jewish Committee, consisting of Mr. Jacob Blaustein and Dr. John Slawson, called on Secretary Byrnes to submit a memorandum on the Palestine question. The delegation pointed out that the 1,500 monthly Jewish immigration permitted by the British Government was "wholly inadequate," and it urged that the United States Government press for the adoption of the President's recommendation, "a compelling necessity for the saving of human lives." It insisted that the establishment of the Anglo-American Committee should in no way preclude or delay the granting of the President's request that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine. The memorandum called for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

The press on the whole regarded the Inquiry Committee as a British trick both to avoid making an immediate decision, and to try to commit the United States to British policy in the Middle East.

Meanwhile, there was a sharp division of opinion among Zionist leaders whether to testify before the Committee or to boycott its hearings. The Jewish Agency summoned an extraordinary session of the Executive to discuss the matter; the American members flew to Jerusalem. The Executive met during the first two weeks of December. On December 10 the twelve members of the Committee were named. The Committee opened its hearings in Washington on January 7.

Although no decision was announced by the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine, the American Zionists accepted the invitation to appear before the Inquiry Committee, present briefs and testify. The hearings lasted until January 14.

### **Congressional Resolution**

The period under review witnessed favorable congressional action on a joint resolution on Palestine. Intended as a successor to the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions which had twice been tabled in congressional committees during the 1944 session, the resolution was introduced in the Senate on October 26, 1945 by Senators Robert F. Wagner and Robert A. Taft.<sup>1</sup> Three days later an identical one was introduced in the House by Congressman Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts, House Republican leader. On November 15, Senator Tom Connally of Texas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, announced the appointment of a five member sub-committee to consider the question. The sub-committee met with Secretary of State Byrnes and discussed the draft of the resolution.

Early in December, President Truman announced that he had changed his position in regard to the Palestine resolution. While he had supported it as a Senator in 1944, he felt that present conditions did not warrant its passage. Despite the urging of the President and the Secretary of State that the resolution be shelved, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved it on December 12. On the 17th the Senate adopted it as reported out by the Committee:

WHEREAS the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

<sup>1</sup> See vol. 46, pp. 172-74 and vol. 47, pp. 325-26.

WHEREAS the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

WHEREAS these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of one hundred thousand additional Jewish refugees; and

WHEREAS the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic, and general economic conditions; and

WHEREAS the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a "Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry" to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within one hundred and twenty days; Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.*

On December 14, Representative Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania introduced in the House of Representatives an identical resolution as re-drafted by the Senate sub-comit-

tee; this was referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. On December 18, the House Foreign Affairs Committee unanimously approved the resolution, and on the 19th it was passed in the House by an overwhelming majority.

### **Roosevelt-Ibn Saud Correspondence**

Zionist groups reacted strongly to the exchange of letters between King Ibn Saud and the late President Roosevelt released by the State Department on October 18. Ibn Saud's letter contained a vicious and malicious attack not only on Zionism, but also on the Jewish people, and made threats of war against the Allies and the United States should a favorable decision on Palestine be made by the Allied governments. President Roosevelt's reply of April 5, 1945 declared that the attitude of the United States Government toward Palestine was that "no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews." He assured Ibn Saud that he would take no action "in my capacity as Chief of the Executive Branch which may prove hostile to the Arab people." In a statement issued with the release of the correspondence, Secretary Byrnes declared that the policy of the United States still was the same as stated by President Roosevelt in his letter to Ibn Saud. He emphasized, however, that President Truman was continuing to seek the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and implied that such admission would not be considered a basic change necessitating consultation with Arabs and Jews.

Five days later Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver called on Secretary Byrnes and presented a memorandum refuting the false allegations made by Ibn Saud about Zionism, and protesting President Roosevelt's letter, particularly the right it accorded to the various Arab states to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine. Dr. Silver said: "These spokesmen of foreign Arab states have been threatening violence and war. The American Government should clearly indicate to them that it does not intend to be intimidated or blackmailed in the carrying out of its own policies."

## Reaction to British Labor Government Policy

The Jewish community was also severely disappointed over the reversal by the newly elected British Labor Party of its publicly announced policy on Palestine. With the victory of the Labor Party in England in the summer of 1945, Jewish leaders in the United States hoped that the new government would fully implement the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate and revoke the 1939 White Paper. But these hopes were not realized. All the Labor Government offered the Jewish Agency was an immigration quota of 1,500 a month.

At the end of September the American Zionist Emergency Council published an open letter addressed to Prime Minister Attlee, asking him to live up to the promises made by the Labor Party. The letter closed with the statement: "We call on you to redeem Britain's pledge to the Jewish people now."

On September 29 a delegation from the American Zionist Emergency Council and a delegation representing the American Jewish Committee were received separately by President Truman. Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver declined to comment on their conversation with the President. Judge Joseph Proskauer and Mr. Jacob Blaustein reported that they had pointed out to the President that there was a distinction between the importance of Palestine as a place of homeland and refuge, and the question of statehood. They urged the President to put aside the political question and to consider the humanitarian factor foremost. On the same day the President released the letter he had written on August 31 to General Eisenhower with reference to displaced persons in Germany, to which the Harrison Report had been attached.

The following day a mass protest meeting was held in Madison Square Garden; there was an overflow of 40,000. Henry Monsky, co-chairman of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided. Among the speakers were Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Chaim Greenberg, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Rabbi Joseph Lookstein, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, and Dr. Israel Goldstein. They all denounced the continuation of the Chamberlain policy by the Labor Government; they de-

manded the revocation of the White Paper and the announcement of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution protesting British policy in Palestine and demanding that Great Britain "fulfil the letter and the spirit of the solemn pledge given to the Jewish people, that it open the gates of Palestine to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration, and that it announce an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth." This resolution was cabled to Prime Minister Attlee, and telegrams were dispatched to President Truman and Lord Halifax, British Ambassador in Washington.

A National Emergency Zionist Conference was held in Washington on October 4, with more than five hundred leaders of Jewish communities from forty states attending. Plans were discussed for fighting British policy and for effectuating the anticipated Congressional resolution on Palestine.

On October 5 the American Jewish Conference appealed to President Truman to secure a definite solution of the Palestine problem. At the same time it cabled a protest to Prime Minister Attlee "against the reported intention of the British Government to continue unbearable and illegal restrictions on Jewish immigration and colonization in Palestine."

A mass demonstration was held on Wednesday afternoon, October 24, at Madison Square Park, New York City. An estimated audience of 250,000 heard Louis Lipsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein, representatives of the CIO and the AFL, and others denounce British policy, and demand that the United States Government support the Jews in Palestine in their struggle "to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people and to restore dignity and honor to the broken remnants of European Jewry." A declaration of solidarity with the Yishuv was adopted by the assembly, assuring the Jews in Palestine that the American people were with them in their fight "for the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and its reconstitution as a Jewish state."

When Prime Minister Attlee visited the United States early in November, the American Zionist Emergency Council

addressed another open letter to him, containing an appeal "on a matter of life or death for an entire people." The Council pointed out that the American people resented the continuation of the White Paper policy and warned that they would continue to insist "that justice be done to the Jews, and they will not be deluded by devices which repudiate your country's solemn obligations in order to appease feudal Arab rulers." The letter presented a constructive four-point program: 1) the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine; 2) revocation of the 1939 White Paper; 3) a joint reaffirmation by the British and American governments of a policy in conformity with the original intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate; 4) the appointment of a joint Anglo-American commission to work out ways and means to implement the above policy.

As a result of the immigration policy of the Labor Government, the Yishuv began actively to help visaless Jews enter Palestine against the measures the Government took to prevent their entry. This necessitated armed resistance. The Palestine Administration retaliated by brutal, suppressive action on a mass scale. American Zionist organizations protested vehemently and on December 3, 1945, the heads of the four major Zionist organizations sent a telegram to President Truman protesting the brutalities of the British Government in Palestine. The telegram read: "We look to you as the head of our free democracy to insist that the hounded Jews of Europe find sanctuary and permanent peace in Palestine, and that the reprehensible activities of the British military be not permitted to continue."

The Palestine Administration, unable to cope with the situation, suddenly intimated that all Jewish immigration would be stopped until the Inquiry Committee had issued its report and recommendations. This raised another storm of protest in the United States, and the American Zionist Emergency Council telegraphed President Truman on December 28, recalling that when the United States acceded to the joint Inquiry Committee, it was made clear that Jewish immigration into Palestine would continue at 1,500 persons a month. The leaders of American Zionists closed their telegram: "We are certain that considerations of hu-

manity, as well as of American policy and dignity, will cause you to take the necessary steps to dissociate the American Government from all participation in this latest of a succession of injustices and inequities."

Zionist political activity was relaxed during the hearings of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, except for a vigorous protest on January 25 by the American Zionist Emergency Council to the State Department against the unilateral action of the British Government in announcing a decision to grant independence to Transjordan.

### **Organizational and Fund Raising Activities**

Public opinion pressure returned Dr. Silver to active membership in the American Zionist Emergency Council on July 13, 1945. Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise were named co-chairmen of the Council, and Dr. Silver was elected chairman of the Executive Committee. This return was not only a personal victory for Dr. Silver, but a victory for the vigorous and aggressive policy which he had advocated, particularly in regard to the Washington administration and its policy on Palestine.

The first Zionist World Conference since the Twenty-First Congress which met in Geneva in 1939 was convened in London last summer. The American delegation played a dominant role. Before leaving for London, Dr. Silver remarked that he was going to the Conference "reinforced and strengthened in spirit by the vindication which my policies and I have received at the hands of the rank and file of American Zionists, in response to whose demands I return to leadership."

The Conference opened on August 1 and lasted until the 8th. It dealt with the pressing political issues of Zionism; it also made decisions affecting Zionist work in America. Two additional American members were added to the Executive of the Zionist Organization, thus expanding American membership to four (Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mr. Louis Lipsky, and the new members, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise.) For the conduct of the political affairs of the Jewish Agency in America, a committee of eight was established: four members of the Executive of the Agency, plus one representative

from each of the four major Zionist groups—Mrs. Rose Halprin, Hadassah; Leon Gellman, Mizrachi; Chaim Greenberg, Poale Zion; Israel Goldstein, Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Silver's popularity continued to grow, and when the forty-eighth annual convention of the Zionist Organization gathered in Atlantic City, it was a foregone conclusion that Silver would be swept into the presidency of the organization. The convention—November 16–19, 1945—attended by about 1,000 delegates from all over the country, was one of the most outstanding and fiery in the history of American Zionism, not revolving around internal politics, but inspired by the militant policy personified in the leadership of Dr. Silver. The highlight of the convention was his acceptance speech which overshadowed even the speech of Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization.

Dr. Silver denounced British policy in Palestine, as stated by Foreign Secretary Bevin. He accused Great Britain of betraying the Jewish people and of using the United States Government as a protective device to hide its betrayal. He commended President Truman for his request that 100,000 Jewish refugees be permitted to enter Palestine, but he declared that the President "was persuaded to accept the shabby substitute of an investigating commission—that very transparent device for delay and circumvention—against his own better judgment." Dr. Silver rejected the joint commission of inquiry and warned that "we cannot be bound by the findings of any such commission."

The membership of the Zionist Organization rose from about 150,000 at the end of 1945, to approximately 200,000 by the end of April 1946. The convention adopted a budget of \$500,000 to finance an expanded program: a public relations campaign of the Committee on Unity for Palestine to counteract anti-Zionist propaganda; two radio programs, "Palestine Speaks" and "Drama of Palestine," produced and broadcast over a large number of stations throughout the country; the Zionist Youth Commission; and the expanded activities of the Palestine Economic Bureau which supplied information on the economic opportunities in Palestine for American investments. The fund also helped the Education Department, which conducted programs fos-

tering Hebrew culture in the American Jewish community; the Hebrew Arts Committee; and the Publications Department, which printed a number of books dealing with Palestine and Zionism. To the end of April 1946, \$375,000 had been collected for the expansion fund.

The Zionist Organization of America, with its entire membership, participated in the various funds on behalf of Palestine—the United Jewish Appeal, Jewish National Fund, and others.

Hadassah's activities were two-fold: Zionist educational work among its own members in the United States, and support of institutions and projects in Palestine. At the request of the Jewish Agency it also assumed administrative responsibility for the Immigrant Health Service in Palestine. Its membership increased from about 145,000 last year to about 180,000 this year, and its fund-raising activities were intensified; it is estimated that between September 1945 and September 1946, \$5,000,000 will have been raised.

Hadassah is the official fund-raising representative of Youth Aliyah in the United States and it is estimated that about \$1,500,000 will have been raised for this fund in the year from September 1945–September 1946. With the American Friends of the Hebrew University, Hadassah initiated a campaign to raise \$4,000,000 for an undergraduate medical school at the Hebrew University; \$500,000 for this purpose had been raised up to April 30.

The Labor Zionist Party, Poale Zion of America, experienced an upheaval in its leadership. At its convention in Atlantic City January 9–13, the old leaders were criticized for neglecting the English-speaking element of the Jewish community, and a new, vigorous, all-round program of Labor Zionism was demanded. The old leadership was replaced by a completely new administration headed by Professor Hayim Fineman of Philadelphia as chairman. The structure of the party was reorganized and new plans of operation put into motion, with emphasis on greater and more active participation in Zionist and general Jewish community life in America.

Five regional offices were created in the major cities of the country. The Publications Department, *Sharon*, was

expanded and a greater number of books published. Poale Zion also participated in the fund-raising activities of the Jewish National Fund, the United Jewish Appeal, and particularly in that of the National Labor Committee for Palestine (*Gewerkschaften*). A venture initiated last year and successfully carried on this year was the Habonim (Youth Division) institute for leadership training. A full term of concentrated training for a selected group of Habonim members from all over the country, in the fields of Jewish history, Hebrew literature, history of Zionism, and Palestine today, as well as in practical leadership work, was administered by a faculty of college and university teachers.

The Pioneer Women's Organization of America raised about \$500,000 during the past year for the projects which it maintains in Palestine in conjunction with the Moatzath Hapaoloth (Working Women's Council).

The League for Labor Palestine, Poale Zion, the Pioneer Women's Organization and the National Jewish Workers Alliance raised \$1,575,000 from July 1, 1945 to April 30, 1946 in the *Gewerkschaften* campaign for the institutions and projects of the General Jewish Labor Federation in Palestine (*Histadruth*).

The religious Zionist organizations of America—Mizrachi, Women's Mizrachi, Hapoel Hamizrachi—grew considerably during the last year, enlarged their educational program and participated in the fund-raising activities of the Jewish National Fund and other campaigns on behalf of Palestine.

The American Friends of the Hebrew University succeeded in obtaining Veterans Administration approval for American veterans to study at the Hebrew University, under the GI Bill of Rights. They set up a matriculation board in New York, organized intensified Hebrew courses for prospective students, and obtained visas for more than fifty students to enter Palestine for study at the University. The Friends also purchased and sent considerable quantities of chemicals and laboratory supplies and equipment to the University, and arranged for the shipment of ten thousand books which had accumulated during the war. They raised about \$500,000 for the University, and are engaged at present, in conjunction

with Hadassah, in raising funds for the establishment of an undergraduate medical school. On behalf of the University the following visited the United States last year: Sir Leon Simon, newly elected Chairman of the Executive Council of the University; Professor A. A. Fraenkel, second Rector of the University; Professor Max Bobtelsky, head of the Department of Inorganic Chemistry; Professor Leon Roth, third Rector; and Professor Leo Picard, head of the Department of Geology.

Dr. Abraham Granovsky, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem, visited the United States last fall on behalf of an extended program of land purchase in Palestine by the Fund. He estimated that this would require an investment of \$160,000,000 over a period of years; the money was expected to be made available by donation-income of the Jewish National Fund and other means. His plan was accepted by the Zionist Organization of America convention in Atlantic City in November, and subsequently by the Jewish National Fund Conference held in Pittsburgh the first week of January 1946.

The income of the Jewish National Fund for the year ending September 1945, was \$6,995,806, an increase of more than \$2,000,000 over the preceding year.

The annual conference of the United Jewish Appeal, held in Atlantic City in December, adopted a 1946 budget of \$100,000,000, of which the United Palestine Appeal is to receive \$43,082,000.

During the ten-month period—July 1, 1945–April 30, 1946—the United Palestine Appeal disbursed to the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund \$6,369,223 each, to the Mizrahi Palestine Fund \$400,000, and to the American Friends of the Hebrew University \$30,000, a total of \$13,168,446.

During 1945 the American Fund for Palestinian Institutions raised \$450,000, which was distributed among sixty-nine institutions.

The last Zionist Congress was held in 1939; because of the war emergency, the biennial congress could not be called. At the World Zionist Conference in London last summer, it was announced that the Twenty-Second Congress would be convened, if possible in Palestine, in the summer of 1946,

and in February the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem announced that the Congress would be held in that city, for the first time in Zionist history, and would open on August 8. Since the last Congress, the complexion of Jewish life has changed basically. The Jewish communities of Eastern Europe have virtually disappeared, and the two outstanding centers of Jewish life have become Palestine and the United States. The issues in the forthcoming elections to the Congress involve the control and influence of the Congress and the Executive to be elected. The struggle will be between the Labor-dominated Jewish community in Palestine and the American General Zionists. Even the site of the Congress was an issue: the Americans, particularly the General Zionists, agitated for holding the Congress in the United States, while the Executive in Palestine, with the Labor groups in America, held out for Jerusalem. The shekel campaign revolved on the major political issues, intensified by internal problems, which the Congress will have to face.

### Public Attitude Toward Zionism

During the past year two important public opinion polls were taken which revealed the attitude of the American public in general, and of Jews in particular, toward Zionism.

The Gallup poll, released January 8, 1946, showed that three out of every four voters in the United States who had followed the discussion about permitting Jews to settle in Palestine, were sympathetic to the idea. The voters were asked two questions: Have you followed the discussion about permitting Jews to settle in Palestine? If the reply was in the affirmative, the second question was posed: What is your opinion of the issue? The result:

Favoring .....	76%
Favoring if the Jews wish it .....	4
Against .....	7
Favoring leaving the question up to the British	1
Favoring leaving the question up to the Arabs	1
Miscellaneous .....	3
Do not know .....	8

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100%

The poll conducted by Elmo Roper among the Jewish population of the country in September 1945 disclosed that of every ten American Jews polled, eight favored a Jewish state in Palestine, one was opposed, and one was undecided. A cross section of American Jewry throughout the United States, covering all economic strata and all groups, was polled on two proposals:

1. A Jewish state in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish state, or commonwealth, for those who want to settle there.
2. Jews are a religious group only and not a nation and it would be bad for the Jews to try to set up a Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else.

Replies showed 80.1 per cent in the affirmative on the first proposal, 10.5 per cent in the affirmative on the second, and 9.4 per cent undecided.

The Roper Poll also reported that "decision for or against a Jewish state in Palestine seems to be taken with a high degree of firmness." The analysis revealed "pro-Palestine voters were nearly evenly distributed through all economic levels; the percentage of people in the upper economic brackets is high among the anti-Palestine voters."