

REVIEW OF THE YEAR

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REVIEW OF THE YEAR 5697*

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I. THE UNITED STATES

For the first time since the spring of 1933, when the present regime in Germany began, there were indications, during the period under review, that, although it is continuing to follow with lively attention events of Jewish interest abroad, the Jewish community of the United States is again beginning to give the major part of its thought to domestic interests. This change of trend is probably due, principally, to three factors, namely, first, the feeling that the Jewish situation in foreign lands has become more or less stabilized, albeit on a very low plane; second, the general conviction that the community's agencies for overseas relief and reconstruction have become geared to the changed conditions abroad; and, third, the consensus that the conditions in the United States were favorable for the resumption of the normal operation and development of communal activities which had been functioning on a restricted emergency basis during the depression. Events of Jewish interest abroad and happenings at home connected with foreign affairs continued, however, to engage much of the attention of the community. Unquestionably up to the end of the period, coinciding with the eve of the publication of the report of the British Royal Commission recommending the partition of Palestine, developments in, and related to, Germany remained in the foreground of this interest.

*The period covered by this review is from July 1, 1936, to June 30, 1937. It is based on reports in the Jewish and general press of the United States and a number of foreign countries.

A. OVERSEAS INTERESTS

Reaction to Events in Germany

The Olympic Games

Our account in last year's Review of the controversy regarding American participation in the Olympic Games, held in Berlin in the summer of 1936, concluded with a reference to the difficulties experienced by the American Olympic Committee in raising the funds required to enable a full contingent of American athletes to go to Berlin. (See American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 37, pp. 181-187).

On July 6, 1936, Gustavus Town Kirby, treasurer of the American Olympic Committee, denied emphatically the accuracy of widely circulated reports that anti-Nazi sentiment had anything to do with the deficit of nearly \$150,000 that confronted the Committee a little more than a week before sailing. His denial followed a statement to that effect by Jeremiah T. Mahoney, former president of the Amateur Athletic Union and the leader of the movement to boycott the games. On July 13, Mr. Kirby announced that the American Olympic team, largest numerically and strongest athletically in history, would sail for Berlin on the following day, in debt. What the total indebtedness was, Mr. Kirby did not say, but it was known that the cash deficit for the sports budget was \$57,709, that an additional \$50,000 was needed for the operating expenses of the Committee for the next four years, and to pay a \$25,000 debt.

Various incidents combined to render the games unpopular in the United States. Even before the games began, the tactics of the American Management Committee, headed by Avery Brundage, evoked much unfavorable criticism. The Committee's action in discharging Mrs. Eleanor Holm Jarret, popular swimmer, for alleged infractions of training regulations while the American team was en route, was generally deplored as an unnecessarily drastic step. But the action of the International Olympics Committee in dropping Ernest Lee Jahncke, an American member, who, in November 1936, had publicly advocated

American non-participation in the games, aroused even more criticism. In addition, the political speeches made by Goebels and other members of the Nazi cabinet, obvious evidences of the exploitation of the festival for propaganda purposes, the numerous signs of German "goose-step" discipline everywhere prevalent, the cool reception given to the American team by the Germans assembled at the stadium, reports that Hitler had declined personally to congratulate American winners of events, especially Negroes, — these and other factors considerably marred the general rejoicing with which the victories of American teams were received in the United States. Finally, the appearance of Avery Brundage as a speaker at German Day exercises at Madison Square Garden in New York City on October 4, 1936, and his speech in which he praised Germany under the Nazis, attacked the opponents of American participation in the Games, and said that America had much to learn from Germany, convinced many who had theretofore doubted, that the Olympic Games had been exploited to promote Nazi political propaganda.

On December 6, 1936, Jeremiah T. Mahoney was returned to the presidency of the Amateur Athletic Union after a bitter convention floor fight against Patrick J. Walsh, candidate of the Brundage group. The election of Mahoney who had led the opposition to American participation in the Olympics was seen as a rebuke to the group which had led America into the Olympic Games. Mr. Mahoney immediately named Ernest L. Jahncke, who had been dropped from the American Olympic Committee, one of the delegates-at-large of the A. A. U. for 1937; Mr. Mahoney vigorously attacked "athletic nationalism" and declared himself opposed "to having the Olympic Games taken over by any country which surrenders its athletic functions and prerogatives to its Government as did the German Olympic Committee."

Quite in harmony with this pronouncement, the executive and foreign relations committees of the A. A. U., at a joint meeting in Milwaukee, Wis., on July 2, 1937, declined to permit a track and field team which was to visit Sweden, the Netherlands, and Hungary, to compete in Germany.

Petition to League of Nations

On August 3, 1936, a petition signed by liberal, Jewish and refugee aid organizations appealing to the League of Nations to intercede in behalf of persecuted groups in Germany on the principal ground that their forced emigration imposed unwarranted burdens on neighboring nations was made public by the American Jewish Committee at a press conference.

Among those present at the conference were Prof. Morris R. Cohen, chairman of the Committee on Jewish Relations, who emphasized legal precedents for intercession; Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, secretary of the American Christian Committee for German Refugees, Sol M. Stroock, chairman of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee and Louis Fabricant, of B'nai B'rith.

Simultaneously, it was announced that definite assurance had been received from an important state member of the League, the name of which could not be divulged, that the petition would be formally presented to the eighteenth plenary meeting of the League Assembly in September. The petition which supported the letter of resignation of James G. McDonald, former High Commissioner for Refugees, was accompanied by a 36,000 word annex giving precedents and legal grounds for international action in behalf of persecuted groups in the Reich.

Among the organizations sponsoring the petition were the American Christian Committee for German Refugees, the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Alliance Israélite Universelle, Comité Pour la Défense des Droits des Israélites, Comité National de Secours aux Réfugiés, Comité Central d'Assistance aux Emigrants Juifs, and the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.

The petition points out that "the discriminations against and persecutions of Jews, 'non-Aryan' Christians, Catholics, Protestants and others which have been made a matter of national policy by the German National Socialist Government, and the relentless increase of this oppression, have, because of their far-reaching effects in many other countries where the oppressed are forced to seek refuge, become

issues of international concern, meriting consideration and intercession by the League of Nations."

Emphasizing the League's obligation to "achieve international peace and security," the document charges that Germany had violated fundamental principles of the law of nations and the rights of other States which have been forced to assume the burden of a refugee problem; this burden has been increased by denationalization of thousands after entering neighboring countries.

The petition quotes historic examples of such international action beginning with the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and including the United States protest in 1902 against persecution of Jews in Rumania.

Declaring that no State can be obliged to suffer in silence the consequences which may follow from the unqualified freedom of action adopted by the German state with respect to its own citizens, the annex lists the following as violations of the rights of other States: 1. The forced emigration from Germany of thousands of individuals and their imposition upon the territory of neighboring states; 2. The denationalization of and refusal to accord full diplomatic protection to thousands of individuals who have thereby been cast stateless upon other countries; 3. The attempt to exercise extraterritorial criminal jurisdiction, which has taken the form of acts of violence and terrorism in the territory of neighboring states.

Subsequently, in a newsletter circulated by the American Jewish Committee, it was reported that owing to the troubled international situation arising out of the Spanish crisis, the government which had been expected to submit the Petition to the League felt unable to do so and suggested that it be submitted as a private document to the President of the Assembly. This was done on September 30, 1936. At the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee on January 10, 1937, the Executive Committee declared in its report that although the time had not been opportune to secure a discussion by the League of Nations, of the questions raised in the Petition, yet the effort had had important results. "Wide international publicity was again given to the Nazi assault on civilization. Many important organizations and a large number of influential

individuals approved and supported the Petition. Furthermore, in that document are compiled and discussed universally recognized principles of international law which may, at a more favorable time, be the basis for that action which Mr. McDonald suggested in his letter of resignation, . . ."

American Educators and Nazi Policies

In the spring of 1936, American college authorities were divided in their reaction to invitations to the festival in celebration of the 550th anniversary of Heidelberg University. (See Vol. 38, pp. 187-8.) The manner in which that occasion was exploited for Nazi propaganda appears to have unfavorably impressed American educators.

On September 18, 1936, eighteen American philosophers announced that they had declined an invitation to attend a meeting of the German Philosophical Association in Berlin.

The German invitation was coupled with offers to refund second class traveling expenses within the borders of the Reich, to accord special privileges to the delegates and relief from any need to cope with stringent currency regulations. It also stated that, by attending the meeting, the Americans would "secure a personal independent insight into the contemporary spiritual and general situation of Germany."

In a letter to Dr. Bruno Rauch, professor at the University of Jena and president of the society, the American scholars declared: "No individual participating in your meeting would be free to discuss the present situation of philosophy inside of Germany, or would be permitted to seek and find for himself an insight into the spiritual and material character of the German scene of 1936. . . The German government has formulated and imposed an orthodoxy in its social and philosophical disciplines from which individuals may differ within the borders of Germany only at their peril. . . We would not honorably be present and, by our presence, condone a philosophical conference whose conferees are *de facto* deprived of that freedom of thought and speech without which philosophy is but an

apologetic for the ruling powers, and falls therefore under the contempt of the free minds of our own and of all future generations."

The signers of the statement were: Horace M. Kallen, John Dewey, Sidney Hook, T. V. Smith, Irwin Edman, A. N. Whitehead, H. A. Overstreet, Ralph Barton Perry, H. M. Sheffer, Wendell T. Bush, W. P. Montague, Ernest Nagel, W. A. Sheldon, A. L. Locke, Alexander Meiklejohn, M. C. Otto and J. A. Irving.

Anniversary of Goettingen University

In his report to the trustees of Columbia University on December 20, 1936, President Nicholas Murray Butler justified Columbia's participation in Heidelberg's 550th anniversary celebration, in June, by referring to the boycott as "an unworthy intellectual weapon." He stated that "if German scholarship is to be preserved and German freedom of thought and expression is to be regained, those in Germany who must be the instruments for such a development are not to be boycotted, but quite the contrary, by defenders in other lands in that freedom of thought. . . . If the unhappy developments of the past five years are permitted to wipe out all recognition of the vast achievements of the German people and the German spirit, then indeed are we yielding our university freedom to the rule of force." Dr. Butler revealed that, at a conference prior to the celebration, the presidents of Columbia, Yale and Harvard had agreed that, should any attempt be made to use the academic celebration for a political demonstration, the American universities would issue statements dissociating themselves from it; he said that "happily nothing of the kind took place," but that troops had been present, and that the Minister of Education and a member of the Heidelberg faculty had made speeches "which made a profoundly bad impression upon all present, Germans, and visitors alike."

Apparently, subsequent events caused Dr. Butler to take a different viewpoint in connection with the invitation extended to American colleges and universities to be represented at the celebration, on June 25-30, 1937, of the

250th anniversary of the University of Goettingen. In April, it was reported from Germany that America's universities and colleges were expected to send the largest delegation to the anniversary ceremonies. Seven American institutions had accepted the invitation immediately: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Pennsylvania, Haverford College, Ohio State University, University of Alabama, Wittenberg College of Springfield, Ohio, and Idaho University. Harvard and Yale had written that they are considering the invitation and have sent best wishes; eleven others had expressed the intention to send representatives, if possible.

On April 28, Carl Lohman, Secretary of Yale University, announced that Yale would not send a delegate to Goettingen University; he stated that Yale would send a brief message "in recognition of the great tradition of Goettingen and of the associations which have existed between the two universities." The announcement followed publication of an editorial in the *Yale Daily News* which declared rejection of the invitation by Yale "would certainly establish a beneficial example to those American colleges that are still debating their course, and for Yale it would do much to reaffirm our belief in free thought."

On the following day, President Harold W. Dodds, declared that Princeton University would not send an official delegation but had dispatched a formal greeting in Latin to the rector. At the same time, Harvard University announced that it would not send a special delegate to the bicentenary but that, if any senior member of its faculty were in Germany at the time of the celebration, he would be designated as the Harvard delegate. On April 30, President Thomas S. Gates of the University of Pennsylvania announced that that institution would not send a delegate to Goettingen. It was also reported that Dr. Daniel G. Shumway, professor of German, who had planned to visit Germany and to attend the Goettingen celebration, had changed his plans. On the same day, an editorial in *Tech*, undergraduate newspaper at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, declared that the Institute's acceptance of the Goettingen University invitation was a condonation of Nazi "political and racial bigotry," and

called upon President Karl T. Compton to retract or modify the Institute's acceptance. At the same time, it was announced that more than 300 students had signed a protest condemning the Institute's acceptance as "the recognition of a group that no longer upholds the ideals basic to true learning and research."

By far the greatest public interest, however, was accorded to the announcement of the decision of Columbia University, especially because of the views which had been expressed by Dr. Butler, in his annual report. On May 10, the University announced that it had declined to be represented at the Goettingen celebration, but was sending by mail a Latin message of greeting, accompanied by a letter in English signed by Dr. Butler. In this letter, Dr. Butler said: "We wish to mark our appreciation and admiration for that spirit of scholarship and culture that freedom of thought and inquiry, that absence of race and religious prejudice and persecution, which gave to the old Germany its leadership for generations in philosophy, in letters, in science, in the fine arts, in music and in industry, and which brought to the German people world-wide and grateful recognition and world-wide leadership. May that which we now celebrate and salute quickly return to help steady this rocking world!"

The Latin greetings sent by Columbia University, after reciting the past record of Goettingen University for "free investigation and fearless teaching and publication," concluded with the following significant paragraph: "With justice may you be proud of the two centuries that have passed; and we can wish for you nothing finer for the future than that your scholars may again, as in times gone by, be free to use at their own personal discretion the same acute intelligence, in the endeavor to discern the countenance of that truth, which, though one and the same for all men, yet so speaks as to be able, though at times austere, to minister to each man according to his highest interest."

On June 2, it was announced by Johns Hopkins University that its president, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, had sent a message of declination to the Goettingen authorities stating: "The change of plans at the last moment of the

Heidelberg celebration of 1936, imposed by the agencies of the government, made foreign participation appear to approve, if not to celebrate, acts and practices which democratic countries universally condemn."

When the celebration opened at Goettingen University on June 25, 1937, it was found that only six American institutions were represented, those reported in April as having accepted the invitation, except the University of Pennsylvania. The medical Library of the United States Army was also represented. All told, only thirty foreign institutions had sent delegates, whereas twenty universities in the United States, alone, had been represented at the Heidelberg festivities in 1936.

Utterances of Mayor La Guardia

In the meantime, considerable excitement had been caused by statements made in public by Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York City. At a meeting of the women's division of the American Jewish Congress in New York, on March 3, Michael Williams, editor of *The Commonwealth*, Catholic weekly, suggested that a building "devoted to human and divine liberty," erected at the 1939 New York World's Fair, would "strike a blow that would be American and universal." In his address to the same meeting, the Mayor declared: "I will add an annex to Dr. Williams' suggestion. I would have a chamber of horrors added to this temple. In it I would place that brown-shirted fanatic, who is now menacing the peace of the world."

To the surprise of many Americans, Mayor La Guardia's remark evoked vicious attacks in the German press, not only against him but also against the American people as a whole. It was reported by American newspaper correspondents in Germany that much of the language used in these attacks was unprintable in American newspapers. The day following the Mayor's remarks, Dr. Hans Thomsen, counsellor of the German Embassy, personally protested to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. The latter took occasion at a conference with newspapermen to declare that the

United States regretted all utterances calculated to be offensive to a foreign government.

On March 5, James C. Dunn, then Chief of the Division of Western European Affairs in the State Department, issued, on behalf of Secretary Hull, the text of an oral statement which had been made to Dr. Thomsen. "In this country," the statement declared, "the right of freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Constitution to every citizen and is cherished as a part of the national heritage. This, however, does not lessen the regret of the government when utterances either by private citizens or by public officials speaking in an individual capacity give offense to a government with which we have official relations." The statement concluded with an expression of regret over utterances which had given offense to the German Government, and the assurance that these did "not represent the attitude of this government toward the German Government." German-American organizations and newspapers meanwhile echoed the German attacks on La Guardia, though in much milder terms.

The State Department's Protest to Germany

In the course of one of its articles attacking Mayor La Guardia, *Der Angriff*, a Nazi newspaper published in Berlin, known to be the personal press organ of Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, referred to the women who had attended the luncheon at which the Mayor had made his "brown-shirted fanatic" remarks as "women of the streets."

On March 8, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, in a telegram to the State Department, asked that it "insist upon a disavowal of this deliberately insulting and false utterance, and an expression of regret from the Nazi government, which is responsible for everything that appears in Nazi publications." On March 11, Secretary of State Hull announced that the utterances in the Nazi press had been made the subject of "emphatic comment" to the German government. Later, it was reported from Berlin that on March 12, Ambassador William E. Dodd had called at the German Foreign Office and protested against the virulent

attacks on Americans in the Nazi press, declaring to Foreign Minister Konstantin von Neurath that they were of unprecedented indecency and shocking to all decent minds. He said that the United States could not overlook the venomous and unfounded insults heaped upon America and its people by the Government-controlled press, even though it had never before protested against the many derogatory statements concerning the United States published in the German press. The Nazi government, however, made no public apology. According to a report to the *New York Times*, Foreign Minister von Neurath merely gave an "explanation" to Ambassador Dodd. In a semi-official communique, the incident was dismissed in the following terms: "United States Ambassador Dodd called the attention of the Foreign Office yesterday to the comments of some of the German newspapers on the notorious speech in New York of Mayor La Guardia. It is assumed that the calumny La Guardia uttered was bound to produce an understandable general resentment in Germany. If the language of some of the German newspapers went, perhaps, beyond desired limits, this was due only to irritation. An insult to the American nation was by no means intended. For the rest, the assumption is justified that the American diplomat's attention was called to the continuous malicious and untrue attitude on the part of the American press respecting German problems."

Anti-Nazi Mass Meeting in New York City

Public discussion of this incident had all but subsided, when Mayor La Guardia caused a new barrage of anti-American attacks in the Nazi press. On March 15, at a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden in New York City, held under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee, Hitlerism was branded as "the gravest menace to peace, civilization and democracy." The meeting, which was attended by about 20,000 persons, pledged renewed support to the boycott on

German products and services. A resolution condemned the Nazi government for "seeking the destruction of American democracy" by propaganda and by rearing a private Nazi army here, and asked Americans to support the boycott. Another resolution, presented at the conclusion of the rally by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, was in the form of a four-point indictment of the Nazi Government, declaring that it has "destroyed all vestiges of democracy, and human and civilized procedure in Germany and substituted for law and order a reign of oppression borrowed from the barbarism of the Middle Ages."

The meeting was presided over by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and the speakers included Erika Mann, daughter of Thomas Mann, exiled German author; Dr. Frank Bohn; B. Charney Vladeck, chairman of the Jewish Labor Committee and managing director of the *Jewish Daily Forward*; Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, chairman of the Joint boycott committee of the sponsoring organizations; John L. Lewis, labor leader and head of the Committee for Industrial Organization; and General Hugh S. Johnson, one-time head of the National Recovery Administration. Mayor La Guardia, who was not scheduled to speak but was nevertheless called upon to do so by the audience, made a brief impromptu address which he concluded with the statement that the "public opinion of the world had decided that Hitler is not personally or diplomatically 'satisfaktions-fähig'." (Freely rendered, this means that a person so referred to is too low to challenge or be challenged to a duel.)

This remark drew from *Der Angriff*, in Berlin, a demand that President Roosevelt "intervene energetically" to prevent anti-Nazi "insults," and the Nazi press generally scaled new heights of invective in renewing attacks on Mayor La Guardia, American Jews, democracy, liberty, and American ideals, generally. Leading the onslaught were such papers as the *Schwarze Korps*, organ of Chancellor Hitler's Schutzstaffel (elite guards), the *Lokal Anzeiger*, and *Der Steurmer*. On March 17, the German Ambassador Hans Luther called on Secretary Hull. According to press reports, Dr. Luther declared that a repetition of such

insults could only carry a threat of strained relations between two friendly governments.

In an official report of the interview the State Department stated that the Secretary of State had informed Dr. Luther that nothing could be added to what had been said in response to a similar complaint on March 5. In issuing this report, Secretary Hull personally expressed the hope "that all who are participating in the present controversy, which is marked by bitter and vituperative utterances in this country and in Germany, may soon reach the conclusion that it would to the best interests of both countries for them to find other subjects which can be discussed more temperately."

The Forged Franklin Prophecy

In the course of the anti-American propaganda campaign, following the first La Guardia utterance, *Der Angriff* and the official German news agency gave wide circulation in Germany to the alleged text of a speech said to have been made by Benjamin Franklin during the Constitutional Convention in 1787-8. In this reputed speech, Franklin is supposed to have prophesied that if the immigration of Jews to the United States were not restricted, the Jews would ruin the country.

The Franklin "prophecy" had first appeared in the United States on February 3, 1934, in *Liberation*, an anti-Jewish publication issued by William Dudley Pelley. At that time, in an article published in the *Jewish Frontier*, New York Jewish weekly, Dr. Charles A. Beard, distinguished American historian, declared that the "alleged Franklin document is merely a forgery and a crude one at that"; that after investigation he had found that the so-called "private diary" of Charles Pinckney from which the Franklin statement was supposedly quoted did not exist; and that Franklin had high regard for Jews. When the republication of the forgery in Germany was reported in American newspapers, Dr. Beard's expose was recalled. It was corroborated by Dr. John Musser, dean of the Graduate School at New York University and authority on the life of Franklin.

“Modern Christian German Martyrs”

If anything further were needed to demonstrate the unreasonableness of the Nazi sensitiveness to public opinion in the United States, it was supplied by the Nazi reaction to the showing of a motion picture film, in which an appeal was made to Christians to contribute to a fund for the relief of Christian refugees from Germany. This film, sponsored by the American Christian Committee for Refugees from Germany, was first produced before a large audience at the Riverside Church in New York City, on April 12, 1937. The film, which was entitled “Modern Christian German Martyrs,” consisted entirely of an address by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of the Church, and a brief introduction by James G. McDonald, former High Commissioner of the League of Nations Commission to aid refugees from Germany. Preceding the exhibition, were several speeches, one of them by Erika Mann, daughter of Thomas Mann, famous German author, living in exile. The program was given very little space in the American press, but on the following day, Berlin newspapers published sensational articles, bearing such headings as “Disgraceful agitation — film about Germany in New York’s biggest church” and “Speech of hatred from altar with the cooperation of the notorious cabaret performer, Erika Mann.” Miss Mann, who is a dramatic reader, was attacked for “joining Jewish agitators against her own country.”

The addresses of Dr. Fosdick and Mr. McDonald had been actually part of the proceedings of a meeting of Protestant ministers, held in October 1936, under the auspices of the American Christian Committee for Refugees from Germany, at which it was decided to issue a public appeal for a fund of \$400,000.00.

On December 9th, the New York Board of Jewish Ministers adopted a resolution urging the support of people of all faiths for the campaign of the American Christian Committee for Refugees. On December 22, the American Christian Committee for Refugees appealed to 100,000 clergymen throughout the nation for a Christian fund of \$400,000 to relieve Christian victims of oppression in

Germany. "The number of Christian refugees is not yet so large as to prove a serious burden upon Christians in the United States," the appeal said. "The response of the Jews in America to the needs of their German brethren sets a heroic example for us to follow."

Undaunted by the injustice of attacks in the Nazi press, the American Christian Committee went forward with its campaign, employing the film "Modern Christian German Martyrs" which was shown in many churches and other public places throughout the country.

Although there were reports that the German Government was contemplating protesting to the United States Government against this film, no such protest was actually made. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the outbursts of the Nazi press were based upon a report from a newspaper correspondent in America, who gave an exaggerated and sensational description of the film and of the meeting at Riverside Church at which the film was exhibited.

• In connection with Christian aid to German exiles, it is important to note that, on April 16, 1937, Raymond B. Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, stated in the annual report of that institution, that, between 1933 and the end of 1936, it had granted a total of \$532,181 for the support of 151 scholars in exile from Germany. Most of these scholars, the report said, had found permanent posts in the countries of their adoption. The Foundation's grant involved aid to universities and research institutions in eleven countries.

Cardinal Mundelein's Protest

Much more substantial ground for Nazi objections was offered by the protest of George, Cardinal Mundelein, Catholic Archbishop of Chicago, against the anti-Catholic drive of the Nazi regime. This protest was uttered on May 18, 1937, in Chicago, at a quarterly diocesan conference, attended by more than 500 prelates and priests. In the course of a spirited appeal to American Catholics to fight back, against the anti-Catholic propaganda,

especially that based on charges of immorality in religious institutions, Cardinal Mundelein said:

“Perhaps you will ask how it is that a nation of 66,000,000 intelligent people will submit in fear and servitude to an alien — an Austrian paperhanger, and a darn poor one at that, I am told — and a few associates like Goebbels and Goering, who can, in this age of rising prices, say to an entire nation: “Wages cannot be raised.”

Perhaps we would understand if we lived in a country where every second person is a government spy, where armed forces come in and seize private books and papers without court procedure; where the father can no longer discipline his boy for fear the latter will inform on him and land him in prison; where personal savings and treasured securities are seized and sold to increase the gold supply.

Perhaps we would understand if we lived in a country where letters are opened and read, as in wartime they do only with enemy correspondence; where the young, tenderly nurtured girl is torn from the mother’s side and sent into labor camps to live with the slatterns of the street; where the candidates for the religious life are not only sent into the work camps but into the military camps as well.”

Cardinal Mundelein’s speech was immediately greeted by a barrage of angry attacks in the Nazi press in Germany. These were coupled with demands that the Vatican reprove and repudiate the Cardinal’s protest, that Catholic bishops in Germany “reply” to the Cardinal’s charge that the accusations of immorality against Catholic clerics were “atrocious propaganda.” Few, if any, demands were voiced for protest to the United States Government, but on May 20, the German embassy at Washington brought the matter to the attention of the State Department in a manner which, the latter insisted, did not constitute a “representation.” The Embassy sent Dr. Hans Thomsen, its counselor, to the State Department, where he showed a

newspaper report of the Cardinal's speech to James Clement Dunn, then chief of the Division of Western European Affairs. According to press reports, Dr. Thomsen told Mr. Dunn that the German Government deplored such remarks as "not conducive to friendly relations between his government and this country." According to a press report from Berlin, the Ambassador of the United States made representations against Nazi press attacks on American citizens and institutions. The Cardinal's stand met with general approval in the American press. When several Protestant ministers, including Bishop George Craig Stewart of the Chicago Diocese of the Episcopal Church, publicly expressed approval of the Cardinal's protest, their action was attacked by the Nazi press under such headlines as that of the *Hamburger Familienblatt*: "American Churches Unite for Hate Agitation."

Dr. Macfarland's Open Letter to Hitler

Scarcely had discussion of the Mundelein incident died down, when Jewish and Christian circles were stirred by a protest from another quarter, this time from a man who had, for a long time, publicly expressed the conviction that many of the disagreeable policies of the Nazi regime in Germany were temporary, and would be eventually abandoned. This man was the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, general secretary-emeritus of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, who, in 1934, had written a book disapproving the boycott of Nazi goods and urging Americans to give Hitler the benefit of the doubt in his attitude toward the German churches. In an open letter to Hitler, which was given to the press on June 9, Dr. Macfarland reversed the stand he had taken in the book, declaring that Hitler had violated every assurance made to him on the church problem.

In his letter, Dr. Macfarland emphasized his background of thirty-five years of friendship for Germany, his study of the German religious situation in 1933 on the invitation of Hitler, and his book "The New Church and the New Germany" published as a result of that inquiry. He pointed out that the one criticism of the book in the United

States was that he had leaned too far backwards in an effort to be fair to the Nazi regime. He further declared that he had continued his correspondence with friends of the Nazi regime and with Hitler himself, in which he had pointed to measures which were alienating the people of the United States and of other nations, and then was moved to make the present statement because, in the face of the "broken promises," his friends had asked whether the book was to be his last word on the subject. The letter then went on to enumerate the broken pledges under fair heads, as follows: "1. One does not need to go into detail, evidence or proof that you have seized control over the church, arrested multitudes of its pastors, confined many of them, and permitted not a few to be assaulted without open rebuke of their attacker; 2. Instead of uniting the church you have divided it between those who comply, those who are neutral and those who courageously oppose your domination; 3. Instead of regarding the 'confession' of the church as sacred ground, you have endeavored to crush out its basic doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind; 4. Instead of doing justice to the Jews, you have permitted them to be harassed and despoiled. Your treatment of them has been ruthless, without the slightest appearance of mercy, even reminding one of the infamous edict of Herod in stretching the hand of violence to the littlest child. Your attitude toward the little handful of Jews in Germany and your so-called Aryan and Nordic ideas have had no little effect in confusing members of the Evangelical Church, so that, in this way, you divided instead of fulfilling the desire you expressed to me of uniting the church. You undermined the most basic ideal of Christianity, on which unity alone could be secured."

Dr. Macfarland then went on to refer to the propaganda of *Der Stuermer*, to textbook material given to school children, in which they are taught to hate Jews, and to the Gentile and Christian refugees, and he concluded his letter with the following spirited paragraphs: "In the four years you asked, whatever you may have done for the economic life of Germany, you have wrecked its Christian ideals. As the conclusion of my study, I can only say that

you have, by consenting or approving, permitted the desecration of ideals of honor, integrity, truth and humanity associated with the Germany of my student days; that you are forfeiting the respect of the civilized world and that you are leading your adopted nation to an abyss, for you cannot build an enduring nation upon force and hate.

"God knows I wish that my report in 1934 might be the last word. But you have violated every assurance that you made to me. This letter is not written in ill-will and I could still wish that you would also receive this message in the spirit in which it is written. I cannot now believe that you have discerned the infectious, deadly nature of the sinister forces that you have let loose. I yet hope that I may live long enough to see the restoration, in moral terms, of the Germany of my teachers of over forty years ago, a Germany once more respected by the civilized world and the Christian Church."

At the same time, the Federal Council of Churches made public a resolution adopted by its executive committee declaring the Nazi Government's ban against German delegates attending the World Conference of the Churches on Church, State and Society, to be held in Oxford in July, was proof of its hostility to the Christian church.

Nazi Suppression of B'nai B'rith

In an editorial article on the Mundelein incident, the *New York Herald-Tribune* referred to the "cruel inclination to visit upon handy victims the vengeance which the Nazi hierarchy cannot bring down upon an American assailant." What was regarded in some quarters as such a cruel act of vengeance, was the suppression, on April 19, of the lodges in Germany of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, accompanied by the arrest in early morning raids by agents of the secret police of a number of leaders of the organization, including Rabbi Leo Baeck, president of the Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany), all of whom were held for questioning for an entire day and then released. From the nature of some of the questions they were asked it was

clear that the Nazi authorities held that Jewish organizations in Germany were somehow connected with anti-Nazi movements in the United States. This unfounded suspicion had been expressed somewhat more openly when, in April, 1937, following the violent attacks against Mayor La Guardia of New York, the Nazi government had forbidden all Jewish meetings for a period of sixty days. Incidentally, this ban was lifted simultaneously with the suppression of the B'nai B'rith lodges.

The decree dissolving these lodges was followed by the seizure of the property of the Order throughout the Reich. Early reports that the inmates of hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged, maintained by the Order, had been expelled from the institutions, were later denied. It appears that their administration was turned over to the various *Geineinden* or Jewish communities.

The reports of the dissolution of the B'nai B'rith lodges in Germany shocked the entire Jewish community of the United States and evoked severe criticism in the general American press. In a number of newspapers the action was interpreted as the beginning of an assault upon those cultural and philanthropic activities of the Jews of Germany which they had been permitted to continue. On April 21, Mr. Alfred M. Cohen, president of the organization which he described as an "American institution functioning in thirty countries, including Germany" announced that he had invoked the good offices of the United States Government to obtain confirmation of the press reports and, should these prove authentic, to do whatever was possible to persuade the German Government to resume the attitude it had theretofore taken toward the B'nai B'rith. At the same time Mr. Cohen made public the text of a message of sympathy from Dr. Cyrus Adler, president of the American Jewish Committee, offering the cooperation of that organization.

On April 25, Mr. Cohen addressed an appeal to Secretary of State Cordell Hull for American intercession on behalf of the restoration of the B'nai B'rith lodges in Germany. Similar pleas were lodged with the Secretary by Rev. Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and Dr. Cyrus

Adler, president of the American Jewish Committee. On the following day, Mr. Cohen had a personal meeting with Secretary Hull. According to an account of the interview, made public by Mr. Cohen several weeks later, Secretary Hull expressed deep concern over the latest phase of Nazi persecution of Jews in the action of the German authorities in dissolving the B'nai B'rith lodges. He assured Mr. Cohen that the matter was receiving his earnest consideration and invited him to continue his correspondence and repeat his visits as often as he thought necessary.

The Trade Boycott Movement

Several events connected with the movement to boycott German goods and services are noteworthy.

At the convention in Tampa, Florida, of the American Federation of Labor in November 1936, President William Green assailed dictatorships and declared that "today the American Federation of Labor protests against the autocrat in Germany who persecutes a noble race in that land." At the closing session of the convention, the Federation formally went on record as determined to continue the boycott of German goods until the German government stops persecution of Jews, religious leaders and union leaders.

On December 7, Samuel Untermyer, president of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League appealed to Grover A. Whalen, president of the World's Fair Corporation and Mayor La Guardia of New York City to withdraw the invitation to Germany to take part in the World's Fair to be held in New York City in 1939. In reply, Mr. Whalen pointed out that the function of inviting foreign countries was entirely in the hands of the Federal Government, the invitations were being issued by the President through the State Department. In a public statement, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum and B. C. Vladeck, heads of the Joint Boycott Council declared that the Council had been negotiating with the Fair authorities since October, and threatened to picket the Fair grounds should Germany be represented. When, on December 25, 1936, the Treasury Department announced arrangements to facilitate trade relations with

Germany, the Joint Boycott Council of the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee telegraphed Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., a protest against the negotiations which had been conducted by the Treasury Department and charging that the agreement arrived at violated the anti-dumping section of the tariff law.

Events in Poland

Up to the last days of the period under review, when forecasts of the report of the British Royal Commission to Palestine were beginning to arouse active discussion, the situation of the Jews in Poland occupied second place in the attention of American Jews, the German tragedy continuing to remain in the foreground.

During the review period, the Jewish situation in Poland became more acute than it had ever been. Physical attacks and excesses occurred much more frequently, the boycott agitation was permitted to come out more into the open, and political leaders identified with the Government fanned the flame of anti-Jewish hostility by public declarations to the effect that the country belongs to Christian Poles who have the first right to own and conduct trade and industry, while it was the duty of the Jews to go elsewhere as quickly as possible. These ominous trends in the Polish situation naturally filled the Jewish community of the United States with anxiety and dread.

On January 10, 1937, in its report to the thirtieth annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, the Executive Committee stated that, in conferences with Polish diplomatic representatives, especially Count Jerzy Potocki, Polish Ambassador to the United States, representatives of the Committee had expressed profound concern over recent developments in Poland. "It was indicated," said the Executive Committee, "that, since the death of Marshal Pilsudski, discrimination against the Jews had grown more widespread, physical outbreaks had become more numerous, and, while anti-Semitism had grown more flagrant, the authorities had apparently become more indulgent to such agitation than the previous government."

The report proceeded to state: "Pointing to such ominous signs as the verdicts of the courts in cases like the Przytyk pogrom, your Committee also expressed alarm at the apparent veering over of Poland to Nazi Germany. Confidence in the present government of Poland was particularly shaken, your Committee declared, by the proposals submitted by the Foreign Minister to the League of Nations, with respect to the emigration of eighty thousand Jews annually from Poland. Such a proposal, it was said, created the impression that the Polish authorities regard Jewish citizens as aliens, and violated the guarantees of equality of rights for Jews in Poland's Constitution."

According to the same report, in their interviews with Polish diplomats, representatives of the American Jewish Committee had made several constructive suggestions which were summarized in these words: "If Poland's rich natural resources could be exploited fully, a much larger population could be comfortably supported. But Poland is pursuing the line of least resistance in attempting to shift some of its population on other countries. To single out only the Jews for emigration serves to confirm the belief that anti-Jewish discrimination is a consistent policy practiced in many directions."

In this connection, it is interesting to note a press report that on November 16, 1936, there was a meeting of a group of Jewish leaders in New York City to discuss the possibilities of promoting Polish exports to the United States as a way of helping Polish Jews to maintain themselves economically. Among those at the meeting were George Backer, Samuel C. Lamport, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Morris D. Waldman, Benjamin Winter, and Zelig Tygel.

Protest against the emigration policy of the Polish Government was also voiced, on January 13, 1937, by the American Jewish Congress in a cablegram to Poland's Foreign Minister Josef Beck, declaring that "the solution of the problem of Jewish relations can be found only on Polish soil," and that the proposals violated minority rights clauses of the Versailles Treaty and the Polish Constitution.

Though he did not mention Poland by name, criticism of that country's agitation for mass emigration of Jews was seen in a paragraph of President Roosevelt's inaugural address on January 20. Describing economic difficulties in the United States, the President said: "It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope — because the nation seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposed to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous." Several newspaper editors pointed out that the final sentence may very well have been intended to refer to the official Polish attitude toward the Jewish population.

Because of continuing anti-Jewish outbreaks in Poland, several assuming the dimensions of pogroms, the American Jewish Congress called a conference of Jewish organizations for January 31, 1937. In advance of that conference, resentment was aroused in some Polish-American quarters by the republication, as an advertisement in *The New York Times*, on January 26, of an open letter by Samuel Margoshes, editor of *The Day*, Yiddish daily, to Consul General Gruska of Poland, declaring that American Jews are indignant over Poland's treatment of its Jews. Dr. Margoshes charged that although the Polish Government had the facilities, it did not halt anti-Jewish terrorism. He also said that "the Premier of Poland wishes to throw out three and one-half million Jews as if they were so much rubbish." Dr. Margoshes' letter was in reply to a note from the Consul General with which was enclosed a release of the *Polish Telegraphic Agency* on the Polish Premier's address on the Jewish question in the Sejm.

Dr. Margoshes' letter, evoked a reply from the Guild of Polish Newspapermen in America. In a letter signed by Felix Poplawski, president, and Thomas Jachimiak, secretary, also printed as an advertisement in *The New York Times*, the Guild declared that it is unjust to blame the Polish Government for anti-Semitism which should be attributed to economic changes, the Jews' failure to become assimilated, alleged large representation of Jews among Communists, and "religious fanaticism." The letter

warned against "reactions" against Jews that may follow Jewish protests in the United States, and declared that "something must be wrong" if millions of peoples in a variety of nations "nurse antipathy toward the Jews." The letter concluded with the statement: "Neither Jew nor Christian has offered a sane solution except emigration."

The conference, on January 31, called by the American Jewish Congress, in New York City, protested against Poland's attitude toward its Jewish population. In a formal statement addressed to the Polish Government, three major grievances were listed: (1) systematic denial by the Government of rights guaranteed Jews by the Treaty of Versailles minority clauses and the Constitution of Poland; (2) direct and indirect government support to a "system of economic discrimination, to a vicious organized anti-Semitic movement"; (3) efforts by the government to seek solution of the Jewish problem by trying to bring about "expatriation of its Jewish citizens." The Government was commended, however, for refusing to institute "ghetto" benches for Jewish students at the universities. Undoubtedly as a reaction to this protest, the newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst published on February 2, an editorial declaring that Poland cannot afford to alienate the sympathies of America by yielding to the "barbarous agitation of anti-Semitism. . . . that the Polish people, so recently persecuted, should now turn persecutors themselves is one of the incredible phenomena of modern times. . . . We can not believe that any responsible Polish statesman or any responsible Polish political party will follow such a fatal path. The precarious position of the Republic makes its own survival dependent on the sympathy of the world."

Several days later, the Jewish Labor Committee, meeting in New York City, decided to raise a fund of \$250,000 to be used chiefly to aid Polish Jews both economically and politically, and also for such other purposes as pressing the anti-Nazi boycott in this country.

On March 21st the American Committee Appeal for the Jews in Poland, which had been instituted a year before by the Federation of Polish Jews in America, announced that it had sent 300,000 *zlotys* (about \$60,000) to Poland,

during the first year of its existence. The Committee declared that its activities had also served to clear the ground for more extensive campaign operations and convincing American Jewry of the need for a separate campaign for the Polish Jews. At their twenty-ninth annual convention in New York City, on June 13, the Federation of Polish Jews discussed plans for raising \$1,000,000 as a relief fund. At the same meeting, Mr. Samuel Untermyer, president of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League who was a guest speaker, suggested consideration of organizing a boycott of Poland if the persecution of Jews was continued. Mr. Untermyer urged the Federation to combine its Polish relief activities with those of the Joint Distribution Committee, and offered to act as intermediary to compose the differences between the two organizations.

In the meantime, a new wave of anxiety and indignation had set in as a result of continued outrages in Poland, climaxed on May 13 by the anti-Jewish riot in Brescz (formerly Brest-Litovsk) which had lasted sixteen hours and had resulted in the almost complete destruction of the business and domestic property of close to 25,000 Jews of the town.

On May 17, the Federation of Polish Jews in America sent a letter to the Polish Ambassador in Washington expressing "the concern of American Jewry" over the anti-Semitic rioting in Brescz; on May 21, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, conferred with Secretary of State Hull in regard to the Brescz and other riots, with a view to possible friendly representations by the United States government.

On May 18, Alexander Kahn, chairman of the Committee on Poland of the Joint Distribution Committee, announced that upon the recommendation of Joint Distribution Committee representatives who had gone to the scene of the rioting, an emergency appropriation of \$50,000 had been made to meet situations such as those created by the rioting in Brescz and other towns in Poland.

These events led the American Jewish Congress to call another conference. This was held on June 10, in New York City. The delegates, representing national Jewish

organizations and local societies, lodges and congregations in New York City and vicinity, decided on the following steps: 1) an appeal to "civilized opinion everywhere responsible for the reestablishment of Polish independence" to unite in protesting to the Polish government against its "role of oppressor" and its breach of treaties guaranteeing minority rights; 2) a plea to the United States government, as one of the chief sponsors of Polish independence, and in view of its "good neighbor" policy, to inform the Polish government of its condemnation of the anti-Jewish campaign, coupled with the request that the American Ambassador to Poland be asked to make a survey of violations of treaty guarantees of minority rights; 3) election of a national delegation of 200 to prepare, and present to the United States government, a memorandum on Polish oppression of the Jews; 4) a call to the World Jewish Congress to petition the League of Nations, as guarantor of Polish minority rights, to act at once for the protection of the Jews of Poland. The program was adopted in a resolution which gave a detailed history of current persecutions in Poland and of the attempt to reduce Jews there to the status of "third class citizens," to deprive them of livelihood and to drive them out of the country.

At the concluding session of the convention of the Federation of Polish Jews, on June 14, the Federation urged the United States Government to carry out in full the quota for Polish immigration "in pursuit of an open door policy toward the suffering Jews in Poland." The Polish Government was asked to re-enact the law admitting free of duty packages of old clothing sent to relatives of Americans.

Other European Areas of Interest

Besides Germany and Poland, there were other areas in Europe where events affecting Jews engaged the attention of sections of the Jewish community in the United States.

Thus, on December 6, 1936, about 350 delegates attending the third annual convention of the Association of

Hungarian Jews of America, in New York City, adopted a resolution to be forwarded to Premier Daranyi of Hungary, protesting against a *numerus clausus* in Hungarian educational institutions, and appealing for equality of political and economic rights for Jews.

Again, on November 8, at a special meeting of the United Roumanian Jews in America, in New York, Herman Speier, executive secretary stressed the need for action to stem the influx of Hitlerism in Roumania. He reported on an interview he had had with Premier Tatarescu, who had promised to take measures to halt anti-Semitic agitation, but said that nothing had been done during the succeeding weeks to curb the anti-Semitic press.

The situation of Jews in Roumania was given a prominent place in the report which the Executive Committee submitted to the American Jewish Committee at the thirtieth annual meeting of that body, on January 10, 1937. The Executive Committee reported that it had just received word that a new citizenship law was projected which was likely to deprive a great many Jews in Roumania of their citizenship, and that the Committee would use its best endeavors to deal with this serious threat to the very existence of a large part of the Jewish population. The Executive Committee reported also that the situation in Roumania had prompted a visit of the Committee's secretary to that country, "in the course of which he succeeded in enlisting the aid of influential quarters inside and outside the country, both governmental and private, for the amelioration of this situation." The Committee's report on Roumania concluded, however, on a pessimistic note: "Despite these efforts there still remain tremendous difficulties in the way of substantial progress in the work of safeguarding the rights of the Jews in that country and neighboring lands."

In a resolution adopted at its twenty-eighth annual convention, held in New York City on June 6, 1937, the United Roumanian Jews of America declared that "there is grave concern for the condition of Roumanian Jewry." The resolution went on 1) to request the Roumanian govern-

ment "to remedy the unjustifiable application" to the Jews, of the ethnic origins clauses in the new National labor law, which has resulted in the discharge of many Jewish employees; 2) to condemn "the continuous, unhindered maltreatment of Jewish professionals"; 3) noting that the government had made no effort "to rectify the discrimination against the Jewish cult, by the appropriation of an increased annual subsidy" to the Jewish community; and 4) declaring that, while realizing the difficulties confronting the government and "its sincere desire to curb the Nazi factions now overrunning the country" the convention felt that "the government has been lax in curbing their activities, and that with a stronger will and more concentrated action can successfully curb, if not entirely eliminate, their activities."

The American Jewish Committee had also been active in connection with the appearance of anti-Jewish articles in some Italian newspapers in the last quarter of 1936, and with reports of the maltreatment of Jews in Tripoli, at the hands of the Italian colonial authorities, because of the refusal of these Jews to keep their shops open on Saturdays, in contravention of an order.

In connection with anti-Jewish articles in the Italian press, it is interesting to note the statement made, on June 24, by Generoso Pope, Italian-American publisher, upon his return to New York from Rome where he had seen King Victor Emmanuel and Premier Mussolini. Mr. Pope quoted Mussolini as saying, in reference to the recent anti-Jewish agitation in several Italian newspapers: "I authorize you to declare and make known, immediately upon your return to New York, to the Jews of America, that their preoccupation for their brothers living in Italy is nothing but the fruit of evil informers. I authorize you to specify that the Jews in Italy have received, receive and will continue to receive the same treatment accorded to every other Italian citizen and that no form of racial or religious discrimination is in my thought, which is devoted and faithful to the policy of equality in law and the freedom of worship."

Palestine Problems

Important events in America, up to the end of July, 1936, in connection with the anti-British and anti-Jewish riots which broke out in Palestine in April 1936, were described in last year's Review. (See Volume 38, pp. 201 et seq.) Following is a brief recital of succeeding events connected with these riots and with other Palestine problems as well.

The British Royal Commission

The reaction of the American press to the announcement in May, 1936, that the British Government had named a Royal Commission to investigate conditions in Palestine, was probably expressed in an editorial in *The New York Times*, which saw in the appointment of the Commission evidence that Great Britain "refuses to be coerced by violence and assassination." On August 16, the *New York Herald-Tribune* declared in an editorial that rumored temporary suspension of Jewish immigration into the Holy Land as a means of ending Arab disorders would be "tantamount to complete defeat" for Zionism. Referring to the Royal Commission, the editorial stated: "There is a certain unreality about the gentlemanly British vision of the Arabs abandoning their campaign, of the commission impartially carrying out its studies and, if 'legitimate grievances are found' as Mr. Ormsby-Gore puts it, announcing the impartial manner in which they are to be 'permanently removed' "

On November 29, three hundred leading Zionists, meeting as the National Council for Palestine, in New York City, adopted a resolution addressed to the Royal Commission insisting on complete fulfillment of Great Britain's obligation to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and declared American Jewry "committed to the role of guardian for those helpless Jews who have no protector other than America." On December 29, in a cabled message, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis urged the Royal Commission to "do nothing that will impair the course of rehabilitation of the Jewish national home." On Decem-

ber 20, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist organization, sent a 20,000 word report on its medical and health work in Palestine to the British Royal Commission. The report declared that the Jewish health agencies which, in the period of twenty-three years, had spent a total of \$7,500,000, did not receive subsidies from the Government commensurate with the needs of the population, and that Government health expenditures had declined steadily since 1922. The report pointed out that the modern country-wide network of Jewish medical institutions has been of benefit to all sections of the Palestine population, Jewish, Moslem and Christian.

In the spring of 1937, considerable anxiety was aroused among Zionists and Zionist sympathizers by insistent reports from England that the Royal Commission was expected to recommend the partition of Palestine into Jewish, Arab, and international sections.

On June 15, the Pro-Palestine Federation of America sent a petition to President Roosevelt, asking the United States Government to use its good offices to prevent modification of the Palestine Mandate. The delegation which presented the petition included William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Senator Robert F. Wagner, Representative John J. O'Connor of New York, and Jeremiah T. Mahoney, president of the Amateur Athletic Union. The petition pointed out that under a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, the American Government had an interest in Palestine and that no modification of the mandate should be effected without the approval of the United States. It also called attention to the fact that "an incredible reactionary wave of anti-Semitism is sweeping the Old World, threatening the destruction of the lives of millions of innocent human beings solely on account of race and creed."

The Arab Outbreaks

On August 26, 1936, in what was described as a first official statement issued by Zionist leaders in America since the disturbances in Palestine began, Judge William L. Lewis of Philadelphia, acting president of the Zionist

Organization of America reviewed the background and fundamental issues of the situation. He said that the nineteen weeks of Arab violence were not only of "utmost moment" to the 17,000,000 Jews, but of equal significance to the "entire civilized world, whose conceptions of international law and morality are involved in the fate of Palestine." The statement continued: "The Jewish people recognizes that cooperation with the Arab population is an essential of sound and steady growth, but the Jews are equally determined that no amount of violence and intimidation shall restrain or retard their upbuilding activities."

On the same day, four United States Senators and two members of the House of Representatives, in public statement, urged Great Britain to take immediate steps to halt Arab disorders. The Senators were William H. King of Utah, David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, Morris Sheppard of Texas, and Arthur Capper of Kansas. The Representatives were John J. O'Connor of New York, majority leader, and Isaac Bacharach of New Jersey.

On August 30, in a joint telegram, eleven United States Senators, asked Secretary of State Hull to make official representations to Great Britain. The telegram lauded the "restraint and discipline displayed by the Jewish pioneers" and requested Secretary Hull to express to British Ambassador Sir Ronald Lindsay, the hope "that nothing will be done at this time to penalize or hinder the Jewish people" and "that rumors of the suspension of Jewish immigration into Palestine were without foundation."

On September 1, twenty national Jewish organizations made similar representations to Secretary Hull for transmission to the British Ambassador.

On September 3, the American Christian Conference on Palestine sent to the British cabinet a cablegram urging "firm adherence to the terms of the mandate over Palestine" and citing the achievements of the Jews in the rebuilding of Palestine. Among the signers of the cable were George Battle, New York attorney; William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany; Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes; Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York; Rev. Dr. Ivan Lee

Holt, president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and Carlton J. H. Hayes,

On December 15, sponsoring an American Christian Conference on the Jewish problem, the Pro-Palestine Federation of America adopted a resolution calling upon Great Britain to "cease to obstruct" Jewish settlement in Palestine.

Investigation by United States Senators

In the meantime, three United States Senators, Royal S. Copeland of New York, Warren R. Austin of Vermont and Daniel O. Hastings of Delaware had arrived in Haifa for an unofficial investigation into conditions in Palestine. They announced that it was their intention to "file an unprejudiced report which would be helpful to millions of Americans interested in the upbuilding of Palestine." Upon the return to the United States on September 18, the Senators stated that it was their belief that "in the last analysis the British Government must take the blame for the chaos in the Holy Land." In their report, made public by Senators Copeland and Austin, the view was expressed that the United States Government "cannot be held blameless unless it calls sharply to the attention of Great Britain our feeling that the mandate is not being administered as it should be." "No matter how pressing may be the demands of a Presidential election," the statement said, "time out must be taken to have the atrocities in Palestine stopped. We cannot shed our own responsibility until we remind Great Britain of its neglected duty and insist upon its performance." The Senators based the responsibility of the United States on a treaty with Great Britain which includes the terms of the Palestine mandate. On September 22, Senator Copeland reported to Secretary Hull on conditions in Palestine, charging that the British government was responsible for the political unrest there. In a letter to Mr. Hull, Senator Copeland said the lives of 12,000 Americans in Palestine were endangered by the disorders.

The findings and views of the Senators were given in full detail in a series of ten articles, published in the Hearst press, beginning on September 27, 1936. In these articles,

Senator Copeland maintained that Palestine could be made the home of millions of Jews by the development of industry, without minimizing the role of agriculture; he praised the Jews' fortitude in the face of danger; conveyed a plea by American Jews in Palestine for the aid of their government in the face of Arab disorders; charged the mandatory administration with laxity, "unwillingness" to cope effectively with Arab terrorism and "malfeasance"; declared that "the Jews brought to Palestine an improvement in social welfare which is undreamed of in the neighboring Arab countries"; and insisted that Jewish settlement was aiding the Arab population.

Observations of B. C. Vladeck

Early in December, the observations and views of another investigator of conditions in Palestine, this time, a Jew, were published. This investigator was B. C. Vladeck, general manager of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, who had spent five weeks in Palestine. In a series of articles published in the *Forward*, Mr. Vladeck made a critical appraisal of conditions he found and developments he observed in the country during his five weeks' stay.

Visiting the country at the height of the Arab general strike, Mr. Vladeck had the opportunity to see Palestine both at its best and its worst. He found that Jewish settlement in Palestine was suffering chiefly from lack of an economic plan. "Common sense dictates," he declared, "that a country built through such a mighty movement and with the participation of so many able persons, and such constant pressure to settle as many immigrants as possible on the land at the smallest cost, should have some sort of plan. There is no such plan. There are in existence well-organized bodies to conduct propaganda, to collect money, to carry on diplomacy, etc., but there are no organized bodies to build a Jewish settlement according to a pre-conceived plan." This lack of planning, he averred, had greatly retarded Jewish agricultural as well as urban development.

Turning to the problem of Jewish-Arab relations, Mr. Vladeck declared: "All this propaganda that the Jews are

ruining the Arab masses economically is false, and just as false is the contention that the Jews are a tool in the hands of the British imperialists. British imperialism, in the guise of the mandatory power, does nothing for the Jews. The story of this is a chapter in itself with which the world is entirely unfamiliar. One need only talk with a few of the important representatives of this Power to understand how deeply rooted and premeditated is this do-nothing policy."

Declaring that the Arabs have profited tremendously from Jewish settlement, Mr. Vladeck asserted that the motive power behind the Arab movement against the Jews was not economic but "the nationalistic mania which has spread like wildfire throughout the world, including the Arab countries. The Arab wherever he is, has begun to feel that he is a member of his race and a citizen of *his* country. Since the war, he is no longer a Moslem; he now considers himself one of a powerful nation, with tens of millions of compatriots whom the West has enslaved and exploited and who, at the present moment, are endeavoring to break their chains. . . . The Arab movement is basically a reactionary, chauvinistic one, supported by forces which are openly Fascist. . . . The organized minority which is conducting the general strike and the accompanying terror, is fighting, not for the liberation of the Arab masses but for their enslavement. They deserve little sympathy."

As a solution for the strife in Palestine, Mr. Vladeck offered the renunciation of "all accepted and time-worn formulae. The situation must be judged on the basis of facts, not upon the basis of political aims or conjectures. A new policy must be formed upon the basis of truth, not upon propaganda or wild chance." He found that both Arabs and Jews are "right from their viewpoint," but that "both of them will have to make concessions because England is the real master and England can make no compromise with either Jews or Arabs. . . . England will force a compromise whether or not the opposing factions want it. And so, if the compromise is inevitable, it is much better that it be voluntary and direct."

Pro-Arab Radio Broadcast

On June 1, 1937, Dr. Izzat Tannous, a member of the Arab Supreme Council, arrived in New York for the purpose of preserving the Arab view of the Palestine conflict.

At a dinner of the Arab National League, held in New York City, on June 5, in honor of Ameen Rihani, Arab Nationalist, attacks on Zionism and prophecies of a "United States of Arabia" were voiced. Mr. Rihani, who had just completed a nation-wide lecture tour sponsored by the Institute of International Education, spoke of "the yoke of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate" and foresaw a federation of Arab states, including Palestine. He denounced plans for cantonizing Palestine, as springing from Great Britain's "divide and rule" policy and called it "the flimiest of all expedients and most fantastic of exploitations." He denied that Italy was extending material aid to the Arab nationalist movement. Mr. Rihani's remarks and those of other speakers at this dinner were broadcast from Station WNYC, New York City's municipal radio station. Garbled reports of the speeches in a New York Yiddish newspaper, which stated that the speakers had uttered anti-Jewish remarks, caused considerable excitement in Jewish circles.

On June 9th, the Board of Aldermen, on motion of Alderman Samson Inselbuch, adopted a resolution denouncing the practice of broadcasting "political propaganda" and charging the City's station was used to "spread anti-Semitism and racial hatred over the breadth of these United States through a national hook-up." The matter was soon cleared up, however, when officials of the broadcasting station produced electrical transcriptions of the speeches, which proved to the satisfaction of representatives of Jewish organizations that they had not been anti-Jewish.

On June 15, Frederick J. H. Kracke, commissioner of plants and structures, whose department controls the radio station, appeared before the Board of Alderman. He denied that the Arab broadcast of June 5 had included slights to the Jews, and defended the program on the

ground of freedom of speech, citing statements from Jewish leaders including Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, Sol. M. Stroock, chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, and representatives of the National Council of Jewish Women, B'nai B'rith and other organizations, defending the action of the station in permitting the Arab broadcast, and deploring the agitation which this had aroused. The Board of Aldermen accepted the explanation and dropped the charges of bias. Replies to the addresses were made on June 11 over the same station by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, and Louis Lipsky, under the auspices of the Zionist Organization of America.

Assistance to Overseas Communities

World Council for German Jewry

Following the visit to the United States, in January, 1936, of a delegation of British Jews, comprising Sir Herbert Samuel, Viscount Bearsted, and Simon Marks, for the purpose of arranging with American organizations for the coordination of the work of the British and American communities on behalf of the Jews in Germany, a World Council for German Jewry was established, with headquarters in London.

In August, 1936, announcement was made of the personnel of the Executive Committee of the Council. The membership was divided evenly as to Zionist and non-Zionists and Americans and Englishmen. The American group on the council consists of Felix M. Warburg, president of the Refugee Economic Corporation, chairman; Paul Baerwald, Chairman of the J. D. C.; Charles J. Liebman, vice-president of the Refugee Economic Corporation; Morris Rothenberg, chairman of the administrative committee of the Zionist Organization of America; and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the Zionist Organization of America.

The British section comprises Sir Herbert Samuel, chairman, Sir Osmond d'Avigdor Goldsmid, Simon Marks,

and Dr. Chaim Weizmann. Alternates named are James de Rothschild and Prof. L. B. Namier of England, and George Backer, David Bressler, Israel Goldstein, James N. Rosenberg and Nathan Straus, in the United States.

Activities of Joint Distribution Committee

It will be recalled that on October 28, 1935, the Executive Committee of the United Jewish Appeal had agreed to the termination of joint fund-raising. Under the name, United Jewish Appeal, the Joint Distribution Committee, whose field is European relief and reconstruction, and the American Palestine Campaign which engages in raising funds for Palestine upbuilding, had made joint efforts to secure funds, since March 1934. Under the agreement reached in October, 1935, the two bodies, the second under the name United Palestine Appeal (U.P.A.), have engaged in separate efforts, although a number of communities have conducted joint drives.

In January 1937, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds initiated a series of consultations between representatives of the two organizations, with a view of promoting the fullest cooperation between them and of securing from local Jewish Welfare Funds the maximum response to their appeals. These conferences resulted in an agreement whereunder the sums collected by local Jewish Welfare Funds jointly for the two organizations for the year 1937, were to be distributed by the Welfare Funds in the proportion of 60% to the J.D.C. and 40% to the U.P.A., with the understanding that any appropriations by local Welfare Funds to other agencies for overseas or Palestine purposes, not part of the J.D.C. and the U.P.A. campaigns, shall not be considered as entering into the amounts to be so distributed. The agreement provided also that the J.D.C. and the U.P.A., while continuing their separate fund-raising organizations and appeals, were to cooperate to the fullest extent in bringing about the most favorable response in local Jewish Welfare Fund campaigns to these suggestions. At the same time, the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds agreed to urge its member agencies to accept this basis of allocation in

determining welfare fund contributions to the two organizations.

In the meantime, on July 26, 1936, the Joint Distribution Committee announced that during 1935 it had contributed \$300,000 for relief and reconstruction work on behalf of Jews in Germany, making a total of almost one million dollars since 1933. On December 13, the J.D.C. held a national conference of leaders in New York City and the annual meeting of its board of directors to discuss the needs for the coming year and the results of the 1936 campaign. Speakers stressed the increasingly grave conditions of many of the Jewish communities in Europe and saw the need for an even more intensive campaign during 1937. No quota was set, however, but a mandate was given the Plan and Scope Committee to set a much higher quota than the \$3,500,000 of 1936 in order to provide increased aid for the Jews of Poland, Germany, Roumania and other Eastern and Central European lands during 1937.

On January 21, 1937 the J.D.C. announced that, together with its affiliate the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation, it had spent \$1,182,000 for reconstructive aid for the Jews of Poland during 1936. In addition, the J.D.C. had administered the distribution of \$250,000 raised by the United Polish Appeal of Great Britain, in accordance with a program which had been determined by the British Jews in consultation with the J.D.C. representatives.

On February 7, the Plan and Scope Committee of the J.D.C., meeting in Pittsburgh, decided upon a quota of \$4,650,000 for the 1937 campaign. The Committee stressed "the increasingly desperate situation of many sections of the Jewish population in Eastern and Central Europe" and pointed out that "the J.D.C., as the representative agency of the Jews of the United States and Canada, is called upon to continue and extend the sphere of its activity and greatly to enlarge its service of reconstructive aid and relief to Jewish people overseas." Mr. Isidor Coons, the campaign manager, reported that 1,100 cities and towns in the United States and Canada contributed a gross total of \$2,801,000 to the 1936 campaign of the J.D.C.

A fair idea of the many activities financed by the J.D.C. may be derived from the appropriations voted for the first half of 1937, which totalled \$1,145,000. This included \$542,500 for aid to Jews in Germany and refugee countries, and \$533,000 for Jews in Eastern Europe, chiefly Poland and Roumania. The remainder, \$69,000 was for administrative and emergency use. The sums assigned for Eastern Europe were augmented by credits given by the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation to cooperative loan societies. For aid of the Jews in Germany, \$201,000 was appropriated in subsidies to the General Committee for Relief and Reconstruction in Germany for service in the fields of emigration, vocational training, welfare aid, school aid, and economic assistance. The J.D.C. subsidized refugee committees in France, Holland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries of Europe to the extent of \$150,000, and made grants of \$87,000 for the assistance of German-Jewish refugees in South America. An appropriation of \$104,000 was also made for assistance to German-Jewish immigrants in the United States; this sum was to be administered by the National Coordinating Committee for German Refugees and other affiliated refugee service agencies, cooperating with the J.D.C.

For Eastern Europe, the J.D.C. budgeted \$260,000 for the operation of the various regularly subsidized welfare agencies during the first six months. Besides this, the J.D.C. allotted for the entire year a minimum of \$115,000 to ORT for vocational and agricultural training, in accordance with an agreement effected between the two organizations. In addition, the J.D.C. made special one-time allotments amounting to \$155,000 for specific purposes such as summer health colonies, feeding of children, schools, free loan societies, and special relief. On June 27, the J.D.C. announced that it had raised \$2,370,000 in the first six months of its 1937 campaign for \$4,650,000 for overseas aid. At the same time, it announced that it had already appropriated \$2,750,000 in advance of collections, or more than 14% in excess of the total pledged by contributors.

Work of HIAS

The "sink or swim" struggle of the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe for emigration was described before 2,000 delegates, representing 740 Jewish organizations, at the annual conference of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, held in New York City, on April 25, 1937. Abraham Herman, president, reported that 60,522 Jews emigrated overseas from European countries in 1936, and to Western Europe between 1926 and 1936. He promised "active cooperation in the near future" on proposals for the emigration of Jews to French colonies, but denounced the "cruel or fantastic idea" of mass emigration from Poland. With regard to Germany, Mr. Herman said Hicem (HIAS working in cooperation with the Jewish Colonization Association) had been instrumental in directing the emigration of 15,824 refugees in the past four years, spending, with the aid of the Jewish Colonization Association and the Joint Distribution Committee, a total of \$786,620 for this work. Mr. Herman reported that there are now 15,000 refugees in a precarious condition in countries adjacent to Germany. Isaac L. Asofsky, general manager of HIAS, reported increasing Jewish immigration to South American countries, and announced that \$307,357 had been spent in the preceding year on the varied activities of the organization. No fewer than 178,476 requests for information or advice on immigration questions, were received by the Society during the year.

Resolutions were adopted appealing to nations with "vast expanses of territory" to ease immigration restrictions, petitioning the United States Government to lift depression immigration curbs, and repudiating any project based on the gratuitous assumption that Jews are a "superfluous element."

Committee for Biro-Bidjan

On September 20, 1936, at a convention in New York City attended by 450 delegates, the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan launched a campaign for \$500,000 for the proposed settlement of 1,500

East European families in that region of Soviet Russia. The conference adopted a resolution emphasizing that the settlement of Jews in Biro-Bidjan is not to be regarded as a project in competition with immigration to Palestine.

Organizations for Palestine Reconstruction

Several items regarding the activities of American organizations working for Palestine reconstruction deserve recording here.

At the annual meeting of the American Palestine Campaign, fund-raising organization in the United States for the Jewish Agency for Palestine, held in New York City on October 29, 1936, it was reported that \$28,405,000 had been expended for colonization activities in Palestine during the previous sixteen years, and that the U.P.A. (United Palestine Appeal) which comprises the American Palestine Campaign and the Jewish National Fund had raised \$1,779,454 between January 1 and October 15, 1936, including sums raised by Hadassah for the Youth Aliyah. On November 5, the American Palestine Campaign announced the change of its name to Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod).

On December 27, at a meeting of the national advisory council of the Jewish National Fund, held in New York City, it was decided that the J.N.F. will devote a substantial part of its income next year for the reclamation of the area near Lake Huleh adjacent to the Palestine-Syrian border, the largest project of this kind to be undertaken in Palestine in modern times. It was pointed out that under an agreement reached between Jewish colonization authorities and the Palestine Government, 15,000 of the 57,750 dunams of the immediate zone of operations are to be reclaimed at Jewish expense for Arab cultivators, thereby aiding Arab-Jewish amity and serving as "an example of Arab-Jewish cooperation in the future." The J.N.F. is to provide half of the funds required, the remainder to be furnished by the PICA (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association), the Palestine Economic Corporation, and a South African company.

On April 18, 1937, the U.P.A. announced that the sum of \$2,649,000 had been spent by its constituent, the Palestine Foundation Fund, during the sixteen months from October, 1935, to February, 1937, for the primary needs of the 43,972 Jews who entered Palestine in that period.

In connection with the Passover festival in April 1937, the U.P.A. arranged a radio program on an international hook-up, with Sir Herbert Samuel, speaking from London, participating. Late in May, Lord Melchett, British industrialist and communal leader, arrived in the United States for a six weeks speaking tour on behalf of the United Palestine Appeal. He had previously made a tour of South American countries in the interests of fund-raising for Palestine upbuilding.

In connection with reconstruction in Palestine, the report of the Emergency Fund for Palestine which was gathered in 1929, after the anti-Jewish riots there, is noteworthy. On December 29, 1936, Felix M. Warburg and Bernard Flexner, as American liquidating trustees of the Emergency Fund, made public a report of the manner in which the Fund was handled. The voluminous document covered the period of September 1, 1929 to December 31, 1934, and contained a financial statement as of June 30, 1936.

The report revealed that contributions to the Fund amounted to \$3,000,000 and that an additional \$500,000 was received from other sources. Administration costs amounted to about two percent of the total, or less than the bank interest earned by the fund. Thus all money collected was spent productively, and there was on June 30, 1936, an unexpended balance of \$350,000.

The report explained that the Emergency Fund achieved two things. It gave immediate relief to the victims of the riots, and it made possible the reconstruction of ruined communities and generally consolidated the position of the *Yishub*.

The relief work was conducted at a total cost of £317,488. The reconstruction expenditures were as follows: rehabilitation of Safed, £19,397; rehabilitation of Hebron families,

£3,536; rural colonization, £73,765; Jerusalem and Haifa housing, £54,836; grants for land purchases, £5,886; construction of security buildings, roads, etc., £37,799; workers settlement (1,000 family plan) £50,270; consolidation of settlements, £37,458; unemployment relief, £913; development of new settlements, £32,707; transportation of German refugees from France, £1,000.

In the same connection, the announcement of the B'nai B'rith, in October 1936 of its grant of \$100,000 to the Jewish National Fund is noteworthy. The grant was made for the purchase of a 1,000 acre tract in Palestine, upon which is to be established an agricultural colony providing settlement opportunities for German-Jewish refugee families. The colony will bear the name "B'nai B'rith Alfred M. Cohen Nachla" in honor of B'nai B'rith's president.

The Hebrew University in Palestine was the beneficiary of a research fellowship and a peace scholarship, provided by the National Council of Jewish Women. According to an announcement in May, 1937, the Fellowship is to be known as the "Fanny Brin Research Fellowship in the Department of International Relations" and will be financed by Arthur Brin of Minneapolis, and the scholarship is the gift of Mrs. Ben Hirschland of Oklahoma City.

B. DOMESTIC INTERESTS

While a considerable part of the attention of the Jewish community of the United States was devoted to the variety of overseas interests which have just been chronicled, equal if not greater attention was given by the community to numerous domestic concerns, especially the everyday pursuit of those activities involved in the normal functioning of the community's agencies for religion, education, social service, and culture in general. Naturally, these everyday activities will not be recounted here, but their existence must be borne in mind if one is to avoid obtaining an illy-balanced impression by giving disproportionate weight to the unusual events which deserve recording in a Review.

Anti-Jewish Movements

It was only during the first half of the period under review, almost wholly in connection with the national election campaign, that there was any unusual anxiety in the Jewish community because of movements to exploit anti-Jewish prejudice. It may be said, however, that during this period such anxiety was widespread and profound. More than ever before in the nation's history did there appear to be indications that efforts to inject a Jewish issue into a political campaign were making headway. Happily, the event proved that, to a great extent, this anxiety was uncalled for, and that the common sense and fairmindedness of the American people were still powerful resistants to the pernicious propoganda of race hatred and religious bigotry.

Religious Issue in Election Campaign

The religious issue was injected not only into the presidential campaign, but also into the campaign of Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York State for re-election. References was made in last year's Review to the manner in which, in May 1936, the Jewish issue was raised, in connection with the New York Governorship, by former justice of the State Supreme Court, Daniel F. Cohalan. (See Vol. 38, p. 225). A few weeks later, Mr. Cohalan's action found a supporter in the person of Paul Block, newspaper publisher. On July 13, Mr. Block published a signed editorial in his chain of newspapers, reprinted as an advertisement in other organs, calling for the defeat of Herbert H. Lehman as Governor of New York, and asking: ". Why do the New Dealers want Lehman to help their ticket in New York? Is it because they believe he can deliver the vote of the people of the Jewish faith, of whom there are close to two million in Greater New York?" That this move was not endorsed by the Republican Party was indicated, when, on the next day, John D. M. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee, decried the introduction of the "Jewish question" into the presidential campaign. Mr. Hamilton declared: "I could think of nothing more

unfortunate than to have the religious issue dragged into a political campaign . . . First, let it be understood that Governor Landon is just as much opposed to religious and racial intolerance as I am. It is a dangerous thing to inject race, color and creed in a campaign and both Governor Landon and I had hoped that such issues would be left out."

While there was no evidence that the official campaign organization of either the Republican or the Democratic Party countenanced the exploitation of Jew-hatred for political purposes, yet some partisans of both President Roosevelt, Democratic, and Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas, Republican candidate for President, did engage in such exploitation. The fact that much of such anti-Jewish agitation as was going on was aimed at discrediting the "New Deal," was utilized by Democratic partisans to create the belief that Mr. Landon and the managers of his campaign held anti-Jewish views. This fact, in turn, moved Mr. Landon and his friends, including several Jews, to make declarations denying the charge.

On July 17, Rabbi Samuel S. Mayerberg and Joseph Cohen, attorney and B'nai B'rith leader, both of Kansas City, declared after an interview with Governor Alfred M. Landon: "Race and religious issues have no place in this campaign. They are un-American and are raised purely for the purpose of appealing to the baser instincts of prejudice and bigotry. Both candidates of the major parties are free from anti-Semitism and other prejudices based on race and religion. Jews and Gentiles alike should choose their candidates on the basis of the candidates' stand on the great national issues confronting this nation at this time. The record of Governor Landon is proof of the fair-minded and liberal attitude which he has always maintained—that of a wholesome respect and understanding of the peoples of all races and creeds."

It was probably also the desire to dissociate the Republican Party from anti-Jewish agitation, that led the New York State Convention of the Republican Party, which closed September 29, to include the following plank in its platform: "We again declare our insistence on the just and equal protection of all American citizens, regardless of

religion, race, color or nativity. Freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom of press, guaranteed by the American Constitution, should be enjoyed by people everywhere, and we protest against discrimination and persecution on account of race or religion wherever and however it may be perpetrated."

Mr. Landon himself made a number of statements to make his position clear. In his Labor Day address before the Kansas State convention of the American Legion, Mr. Landon urged the legionnaires to fight for preservation of American freedom, with special stress on freedom of expression. "It ought not to be necessary," he said, "to stress tolerance in America. We have a great tradition of tolerance growing out of the fundamentals of the past. Our forebears came of different stocks, different religions. Men of every nation, every clime, united in building this country. Protestants, Catholics, Jews worked here side by side, good neighbors, good citizens." In addresses made on September 27th at Madison and Fond du lac, Wis., Mr. Landon decried the rise of racial prejudice. Again, on October 1, in a formal statement given out at a press conference, Mr. Landon repudiated the support of anti-Jewish agitators. He declared: "My attention has been directed to the activities of a number of agencies which, for selfish purposes or political reasons, are endeavoring to exploit prejudice between groups of American citizens. I have no use for any elements who are endeavoring to bring racial prejudices and religious bigotries into American life and state frankly that I disclaim the support of any such organizations or groups."

On October 8, Sigmund Livingston, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, published a statement asserting that anti-Semitism as an issue in the current presidential campaign is "wholly false" since presidential candidates of "the recognized political parties" are completely free of "any religious or racial prejudice."

In the preceding Review, brief accounts were given of some of the groups which were conducting anti-Jewish agitation. (See Vol. 38, pp. 220-226). A few events involving some of these and other agitators deserve to be recorded here.

Early in August, 1936, Charles T. McCutcheon, bacteriologist of the Detroit Board of Health was discharged from his position for failing to report to his superiors that he had been approached by representatives of the Black Legion and requested to breed typhoid germs to infect milk sold to Jews. The plot, which was never put into execution, was disclosed by Duncan McCrea, Wayne County, Michigan, prosecutor who was investigating the terrorist organization.

In the same month, *The New Masses*, New York communist weekly, published a sensational article declaring that James True of Washington, D. C. who had for several years been issuing a weekly anti-Semitic sheet bearing the misleading name "Industrial Control Reports," was planning an anti-Jewish pogrom in September, for which arms and forces were being made ready. The article further pointed out that True was one of several known anti-Semites interested with other individuals in the National Conference of Clergymen and Laymen, which was to be held at Asheville, N. C. Major Ernest W. Brown, superintendent of police in Washington, D. C., who investigated the charges made against True, declared, on August 18, that he had found the charges unsubstantiated.

In the meantime, a meeting of clergymen and laymen, under the name American Forward Movement, of which True was one of the backers, took place at Asheville, N. C., on August 16. Failing to secure exclusion of Jews from the conference, the anti-Semitic supporters bolted the meeting and held one of their own at which Jews were charged with being behind communism here and abroad. The America Forward Movement voted down proposals to bar Jews and to include the word "Christian" in the organization title.

On October 8 the *New York World Telegram*, in a spectacular story, reported that Hubert W. Eldrid, an employee in the United States Treasury Department assigned to the W. P. A. procurement division, had established an unofficial, uniformed army which he hoped would eventually recruit 830,400 men. Although Eldrid denied that the organization was either anti-Jewish or anti-Communist but simply designed as a reserve for the army, he was quoted by the *World-Telegram* as saying that "Jews are getting to run the W. P. A., banks and other institutions" and that the United

States was faced with the "same trouble Germany had." On the day that these reports appeared, Eldrid was suspended by Thomas J. Ford, his immediate superior, pending an investigation.

Utterances of Father Charles E. Coughlin

The utterances during the campaign of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, Roman Catholic priest of Detroit, Michigan, who espoused the candidacy for president of William Lemke of Fargo, N. D., also attracted attention in Jewish circles, because in a number of his speeches Father Coughlin made remarks which were interpreted as "digs" at Jews. Thus, on July 16, 1936, in an address at a convention of Townsendites in Cleveland, Father Coughlin denounced war debt cancellation as surrender to the "international bankers," mentioning only "the Rothschilds." Again, on July 26, in an address to 5,000 farmers in Hankinson, N. D., Father Coughlin declared that under the Roosevelt Administration the right of Congress to coin money was being used for the benefit of "the Rothschilds of Wall Street."

But Father Coughlin did not always harp on the same string. On August 14, in an address to 11,000 persons at a convention of the National Union of Social Justice in Cleveland, he put himself on record as a defender of Jews. He urged his followers not to blame the Jews for "all" the evils of the present banking system. After denouncing usury as un-Christian, un-American and ungodly, he held up as "Christianity" and "sound, sane and patriotic Americanism," the doctrine that money should not be owned and controlled by private individuals. He declared: "The first principle of Christianity is 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' but I regret to say that our ancestors in thousands of cases did not practice what they believed. We find them persecuting Jews and driving them from every nation in Europe save the Papal States. Why? Because they were bad Christians. They forced the Jews to own the only thing a Jew could own, when every ten or fifteen years or so, Jews were kicked out and driven from pillar to post in a most un-Christian manner. Jews owned only what their ingenuity permitted them to own, namely, gold, which they

could easily carry with them. *Under this persecution the natural talents of the Jew were nurtured.* Oh, you can talk of the persecution of the Irish, the Poles and the Huguenots, but there never was such persecution as we Christians inflicted without reason upon the Jews!"

Two days later, Father Coughlin made a remark which showed that his knowledge of Jewish doctrine is, at best, elementary. In a speech at a mass meeting on August 16 in Cleveland, in which he urged American Jews to accept "Christ's principles of brotherhood," he said: "We are a Christian organization in that we believe in the principle of 'love thy neighbor as thyself.' With that principle I challenge every Jew in this nation to tell me that he does or does not believe in it. I am not asking the Jews of the United States to accept Christianity and all of its beliefs, but since their system of 'a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye' has failed, that they accept Christ's principles of brotherhood."

Father Coughlin's address evoked a great deal of criticism from Catholics, Protestants and Jews. In a leading editorial, the *New York Post* asked: "Was it not a sly way to inject discord instead of brotherhood, ill-feeling instead of Christian charity, into a campaign, bitter enough already?" Dr. Frank Gavin, professor of Church history at the General Theological Seminary in New York declared: "We need no 'Inquisition' to challenge Jews to accept a principle which they first taught the world and which is taught in every Jewish synagogue in the world. I feel certain that the highly respected and enlightened Church to which Father Coughlin belongs would not approve such a misleading and sorrow-laden statement as he has made." Monsignor John A. Ryan of the Catholic University of America was moved to remark: "Father Coughlin's reference to 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' is bad exegesis, bad history and bad argument. It is unjust to Jews and unfortunate in the political campaign." The Reverend R. A. McGowan of Washington, assistant director of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, declared: "Father Coughlin forgets the remarkable work for economic justice done by the Central Conference of American Rabbis during the past

fifteen years that I know of. The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has joined with them on at least a dozen occasions during that period in pleas for social justice." Prof. Louis Finkelstein of the Jewish Theological Seminary declared that there was no need for challenging the Jew on his love for his fellowmen or on his loyalty to the American flag. The loyalty of the Jew to the American flag is beyond doubt, he asserted, emphasizing that many may love America merely as the country of their birth, but the Jew not only loves America but reveres her as "the sacred embodiment of the fundamental principles announced by his ancestors, the prophets, to the world, that men are made in God's image."

Father Coughlin's reply to these criticisms evaded the issue of misrepresentation of Jewish doctrine which they raised, being merely a denial that he was anti-Semitic. In subsequent speeches he returned again and again to his favorite *cliché*, "the international bankers," coupling it with accusatory references to Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, and James P. Warburg who had formerly been associated with the Roosevelt administration.

In contrast to these developments, the Catholic Laymen's League, which declared itself opposed to "political ecclesiasticism," attacked Coughlin for "his appeal to bigotry, hatred, violence and virulence" and called him an "alien adventurer" whose "cowardly Jew-baiting and shameless use of his cloth to insult the President" should be repudiated.

Jewish Issue in Industrial Conflicts

That anti-Jewish prejudice was likely to be exploited in the conflict between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee on Industrial Organization (C. I. O.), was indicated in November 1936, at the same convention of the Federation which re-affirmed its stand in favor of the anti-Nazi boycott. In reporting out a resolution attacking the C. I. O., the Committee on Resolutions referred to its component bodies as "organizations composed largely of Jewish workers." Upon the protest of Max Zaritsky, head of the Hatters Union, that the section was a slight to the Jews,

John P. Frey, an opponent of the C. I. O., moved that the statement be deleted from the report.

The results of the presidential election left Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice, as he himself declared, "thoroughly discredited", and he announced his withdrawal from "all radio activity in the best interests of all the people." Father Coughlin did, however, resume broadcasting and, in connection with the industrial strife which began in an intensified form in the winter of 1936-37, he condemned the tactics of the C. I. O., and, in June 1937, he announced the organization of "Workers Councils for Social Justice." These Councils, he explained, were to be open to Christians only, because only Christians "profess the divinity of Christ and the basic doctrine that if we exploit our fellowman we exploit Christ; if we cheat our fellowman we cheat Christ . . ."

Agitation by Nazis in America

The year under review witnessed the further loss of prestige on the part of Nazi agitators within the borders of the United States. The violent anti-American press attacks in Germany, coming with particular spitefulness after the LaGuardia and the Mundelein incidents, only served to confirm American public opinion in its wish to have no part of the alien doctrines sponsored by the Nazis. Nevertheless, occasional reports of Nazi activity in America served as reminders that Hitlerite agitation had not died down altogether. This agitation rarely assumed a positive note; rather, it consisted chiefly of angry reactions to the various anti-Nazi incidents already described in this Review.

Although Nazi activity died down following the election in November, there were sporadic attempts to recall its existence. Thus, Representative Samuel Dickstein, Chairman of the House Immigration Committee, declared in Congress on January 26, 1937, that German agents were training 20,000 men in German uniforms in this country, chiefly in Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York and Michigan. Representatives from the districts named seemed inclined to regard this statement as an exaggeration. In New York City, however, there was no doubt that Nazi activity was

continuing. On February 16, New York newspapers reported that an advertisement for National Guard recruits had been inserted in a local Nazi newspaper, the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. Critics saw in the effort of the National Guard to recruit Germans the possibility that recruits would be trained at American expense for duty in the Nazi army.

At the same time, indications of a new technique on the part of the Nazi organizations in this country came in the form of a mass meeting at the New York Hippodrome on Lincoln's Birthday. Speakers at the meeting were Fritz Kuhn, national leader of the German-American Bund; Rudolf Markmann, leader of the Eastern District of the Bund; Col. P. Kartacheff, representative in America of the All Russia Fascist Party and the Russian National Organization; Nicholas Melnikoff, editor of the Fascist Russian-language newspaper, *Rossiya*; Luigi Ciancaglini, representative of Italian Fascist organizations; and Russell J. Dunn, a prominent American Nazi sympathizer. Kuhn, a chemist formerly employed in the Ford automobile plant, pleaded for a union of all peoples of the "Caucasian race" into an all-American front to combat the activities of "alien" races.

Shortly thereafter, it was reported that the German-American Bund, which was composed of those former members of the Friends of New Germany who were American citizens, had absorbed the Deutscher Kultur Gilde, whose members were not citizens of the United States. The Gilde was supplanted by the newly formed League for Prospective Citizens, which is now a subdivision of the German-American Bund. Later, the American National Labor Party, a splinter group, also rejoined the Bund.

On February 21, 1937, two men who stated that they were Germans caused a disturbance in the rectory of the Paulist Church in New York, during a sermon by Father John S. Kennedy, editor of the Hartford (Conn.) *Catholic Transcript*. The priest had severely criticized the proposal by Alfred Rosenberg, Nazi leader, to require the education of German Catholic children in Nazi schools. The two Germans were forcibly ejected from the church, but their names were not disclosed.

Meantime, the campaign conducted during the winter months by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, to prevent a boxing match between James J. Braddock and Max Schmeling on the ground that Schmeling as a boxer represented a "German commodity," provided the impetus for the creation of a new Nazi organization, the Citizens Protective League, headed by one, Kurt Mertig. The first act of this new group was the adoption of a resolution attacking the Anti-Nazi League for its boycott activities. In March, the Citizens Protective League united with the German-American Bund and other Nazi groups in a scurrilous protest against Mayor LaGuardia for his statements concerning Hitlerism; on March 15, the League staged a protest meeting against the Mayor.

In March, 1937, on the occasion of his first anniversary as national leader of the Bund, Kuhn published a statement outlining his program for the coming year. "The German-American Bund," Kuhn declared, "is definitely a political organization. It is our purpose to fight for the honor of the new Germany and against the Jewish boycott. Whatever we have accomplished until now is merely a preliminary to what we shall do in the future. There are many millions of Germans in America who have lost contact with German culture and ideals. Particularly among farmers, there are hundreds of thousands of good Germans who must be drawn into our movement. Our task is to create a united German front in America." To accomplish this aim, Kuhn proposed to bring the German churches into the movement and to set up a network of schools for German children in America.

Attempts to stop the Bund's agitation came to a head on March 29, when Kuhn appeared in the Yorkville Magistrate's Court to answer a summons served upon him by Eugene F. Grigat and Julius Hochfelder, charging him with violation of a New York State law by failing to register his organization properly. Kuhn's appearance was the signal for a demonstration by about 150 of his followers, who filled the courtroom. The charge was later dismissed.

The attitude of American citizens toward the local Nazis was clearly revealed when, in June, Justice of the Peace Gustave Neuss voiced the resentment of the residents of Yaphank, L. I., against activities at a nearby Nazi camp.

Judge Neuss charged that the visiting Nazis had committed various acts of vandalism in the neighborhood, destroying shrubbery and gardens on private property, and intimidating local residents. He also asserted that they had taken possession of public recreation facilities, ordering other citizens off the premises.

These incidents, significant only because they indicate the Nazis' total lack of understanding of the American mentality, impressed political leaders with the unimportance of Nazi agitation in America at the moment. Representative Dickstein, however, continued to charge widespread National Socialist agitation in this country, and asserted that there were 200,000 uniformed Nazis here. He introduced a resolution to investigate the activities of Nazi organizations and agents, which was approved by the House Rules Committee on April 1. Meantime, Fritz Kuhn announced that he welcomed such an investigation, and agreed with the Congressman that he had 200,000 followers. More conservative estimates, however, placed the number at less than one-tenth that figure. On April 8, the House of Representatives tabled the Dickstein resolution by a vote of 184 to 38. Leaders of the opposition to the measure pointed out that four bills had already been reported as a result of the 1933 investigation of Nazi and other subversive activities, and that none of these bills had been acted upon. They also expressed fear that a new investigation would serve as a sounding-board for the harmful publicity of crack-pots and agitators. The editorial position of the *American Hebrew* in opposition to the proposed investigation was influential in bringing about its rejection by the House of Representatives.

Movements for Better Understanding

As in past years, the forces of ill-will met with more than their match in the much more influential and reputable agencies working for the maintenance of inter-group harmony and understanding in the United States. Especially active in this direction was the National Conference of Jews and Christians. During the past year the activity of the National Conference was intensified in a number of important directions.

Activities of National Conference of Jews and Christians

The number of Seminars and Institutes of Protestants, Catholics and Jews was greater than in previous years. Four such Conferences were held in the Middle West under the auspices of the Chicago Round Table of the National Conference. In the middle of November, 1936, a Seminar on Human Relations was held at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. This was followed by an Institute of Human Relations held in Chicago at the beginning of April 1937, an Institute at Sioux City, Iowa, during the second week of May, and a Summer Institute at Rockford College, Rockford, Ill., at the end of June.

A South-wide Institute of Human Relations was held at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill the last week in June, 1937, which was attended by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders from throughout the South, under the leadership of President Frank Porter Graham of the University of North Carolina. Institutes and two-day Seminars were also held during the year under the auspices of the Southern Area of the National Conference in Wilmington, N. C., Savannah, Ga., Chattanooga, Tenn., and Birmingham, Ala. These activities were part of an intensive campaign undertaken by the National Conference to promote tolerance and goodwill throughout the South. As part of this campaign over twenty Round Table discussions were organized in as many Southern cities during the year. In connection with this southern campaign, it is significant that the Rev. E. L. Sands, pastor of St. Paul's Catholic Church, Birmingham, Ala., was appointed a Papal Chamberlain by the Vatican, mainly in recognition of the leading part he has played in the promotion of goodwill throughout the South.

Another important southern project of the National Conference was the negotiations with the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., which led to the creation of a Department of Religion whose specific purpose will be to promote greater understanding of various faiths. This proposal follows the inauguration, under the sponsorship of the National Conference, of a Department of Human Relations at the University of Newark, Newark, N. J.

Many additional Round Table discussions were organized by the National Conference during the year, chiefly as a

result of the impetus given by the various priest-rabbi-minister "pilgrimages" conducted by the National Conference in every section of the country. Whereas in 1933, when this technique was inaugurated, the National Conference had one team of priest-rabbi-minister on the road for six weeks, during the past year the Conference sponsored twenty-five travelling teams which covered a total of 38,000 miles, thus reaching "the man in the street" with its message.

On February 20 and 21, 1937, the fourth annual observance of Brotherhood Day under the auspices of the National Conference was held. The division of the country into seven areas of promotion resulted in a much wider observance of this occasion than in the three previous years.

Following the observance of Brotherhood Day, the National Conference circulated a pronouncement on civil and religious rights to the nation's clergymen, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish. The pronouncement reaffirmed those fundamental civil and religious rights which are cherished as part of the best tradition of the American people. The pronouncement concluded by saying: "Under the American tradition of liberty, we are blessed by a land wherein people of different religious convictions and differing cultural traditions may live together in amity and mutual respect. The Nation can rely upon the mobilized spiritual forces of Protestants, Catholics and Jews for the support and defense of this truly American ideal." Accompanying this pronouncement was a memorandum signed by the Hon. Newton D. Baker, General Chairman, which set forth the ends which the signing of such a document might serve. This document, beautifully engraved in two colors, was framed and posted in thousands of church vestibules. Over 50,000 clergymen of the three faiths signed the pronouncement which, together with the signatures, was made public, on June 15, 1937, in several thousand American communities.

The National Conference also announced a steady growth during the year of the N. C. J. C. News Service, which is now serving over two hundred daily newspapers and religious journals with news and features concerning Protestant, Catholic and Jewish activities.

During the year intensive efforts were made to organize the women of America for wholesome inter-group relations. This activity was undertaken by the Women's Committee of the National Conference of Jews and Christians under the direction of Mrs. Jesse M. Bader, Chairman. A conference of women was held in New York City, during February, at which 546 women, representing 287 different women's organizations were present. This was followed by a Conference in Baltimore, Md., on May 18, attended by 300 women, and a conference in Philadelphia, Pa., on May 26, at which 350 women were present. Similar conferences are planned by the Women's Committee to be held this Fall, and a program has been mapped to reach many women's groups such as clubs, parent-teachers organizations, and church and synagogue societies, with the message of understanding.

In connection with activity among women, an inter-faith women's group was projected by the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress at a Conference in New York City, at the end of May, 1937. An educational campaign was announced in which the cooperation of Catholic and Protestant women groups will be sought to combat anti-Semitism and acquaint the American public with the contributions of Jews and other minority groups to American civilization.

Committee for Religion and Welfare Recovery

Outside of the National Conference of Jews and Christians, inter-faith work was continued during the year by The National Committee for Religion and Welfare Recovery, composed of Catholics, Jews and Protestants, notably in the direction of stimulating loyalty to, and financial support of, religious institutions on the part of Americans of all faiths. The Committee sponsored a number of meetings and luncheons during the year, as well as radio programs. It also continued the annual nation-wide sponsorship of Loyalty Days, the first Saturday and Sunday in October, when the universal attendance of Catholics, Protestants and Jews at some church or synagogue was strongly urged.

Other Good Will Activities

Besides these systematic activities of organizations, a number of sporadic events, contributing to inter-group understanding, deserve being placed on record here.

In October 1936, as a result of a protest by Rabbi Leo M. Franklin of Detroit, seven noted Americans resigned as honorary vice-presidents of the Free Thinkers of America because of a letter sent by Joseph Lewis, president, to rabbis and Jewish leaders, referring to Yom Kippur as "the most degrading and humiliating day in all the superstitious annals of religion." Those who resigned were: Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Clarence E. Darrow, Rupert Hughes, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Prof. Chauncey D. Leske, Herbert Asbury, and Prof. John Dewey.

On December 16, 1936, an appeal to Lutheran pastors and church leaders from representatives of the five synods of the American Lutheran Conference to "take a firm stand against slander and falsehood" being disseminated against Jews in America was made public. It deplored "anti-Semitism in whatever form it may take as incompatible with the doctrines of the Bible and hostile to the confession and teaching of the Lutheran church as well as inconsistent with our heritage of liberty and fair play." The statement called attention to the "persistent campaign of Jew-hatred" carried on by foreign agencies, augmented by so-called Fundamentalist leaders, and fed by thousands of pamphlets, books, periodicals and radio addresses.

As a gesture of goodwill between Christians and Jews, the Rev. Dr. Edgar Allen Lowther, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, San Francisco, announced on February 25, 1937, that the church would publish the dates of all Jewish holidays in its official calendar. He expressed the hope that the "General Methodist Conference will approve the recognition and that Methodist churches throughout the nation will adopt this method of 'taking the first step' to bring Jews and Christians closer together."

At a conference of the Methodist Church, held in Philadelphia early in March, a resolution on race relations was adopted which reads in part: "We also protest against the hostile attitude of many of our Christian people towards

those of the Jewish faith. We summon our fellow-Christians to renewed efforts to break down race barriers. Let us write in this day a new proclamation of emancipation, a Christian emancipation of all distinctions of classes and privileges."

The presentation, on May 2, 1937, to Mayor La Guardia of New York, of the American Hebrew Medal for 1937, was made the occasion for the spread of the message of Christian-Jewish understanding. In the course of his address of acceptance the Mayor said: "I hope the time will come when you will run out of candidates for the medal. I hope the time will come when it will seem strange to award a medal to some one who has brought better understanding between Jews and Christians."

President Roosevelt was selected as the recipient of the tenth awarding of the Richard J. H. Gottheil medal of Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity. The citation accompanying the award declared: "When the Chief Executive of the greatest of democracies, in such times as these, repeatedly and unmistakably affirms the right of free thought, free speech, free worship, and repeatedly and unmistakably denounces intolerance and bigotry in all places and in all forms, a great service is rendered to all humanity. Of this service Jewry is the first but not the last or only beneficiary." The medal was presented on May 17 by Harold Riegelman, New York attorney.

On June 27, a synagogue in the town of Hammonton, N. J. for its eighteen Jewish families, was opened. The cost of building the synagogue had been financed largely by the 7,000 Christian residents of the town who subscribed \$4,000, or seventy-five percent of the entire building fund, in response to an appeal by the five Christian ministers of the town.

During the year, there were a number of instances of cooperation between religious bodies of the three faiths and individual religious leaders in issuing pronouncements on the industrial situation.

During early January, 1937, a joint telegram from officials of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Industrial Division of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and

the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was addressed to William S. Knudsen, Executive Vice President, General Motors Corporation, and to Homer Martin, President, United Automobile Workers of America, urging a quick understanding between the corporation and the union in connection with the auto strike, on the principle of collective bargaining through majority representation of workers.

During March, a joint telegram from the same religious bodies was sent to Benjamin F. Fairless, President, Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, Pittsburgh, and to Phillip Murray, Chairman, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, offering congratulations on their method of mutual conference "as a splendid example to industry of constructive achievement in solving problems without the necessity of strikes and lockouts."

Over one hundred prominent clergymen and rabbis also cooperated, during June, in an appeal for a settlement of the steel strike in the middle west, based on the principle of organized labor relations "with signed agreements." The signers included Monsignor John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Chairman, Social Justice Commission, Central Conference of American Rabbis; and Rev. James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of Churches.

"Jewry and Democracy"

Reference was made in last year's Review to a series of articles on "The Jewish Problem" in *The Christian Century*, a prominent undenominational Protestant weekly, published in Chicago, in which the writer warned against Judaism becoming "a permanent cultural cyst in the body of American civilization." (See Vol. 38, p. 228.) In its issue of June 9, 1937, an editorial writer returned to the subject in an article entitled "Jewry and Democracy." This article attempted to answer its own question: "Can democracy suffer a hereditary minority to perpetuate itself as a *permanent* minority, with its own distinctive culture sanctioned by its own distinctive cult forms?" The magazine continued: "The root cause of the Jewish problem is

the Jew's immemorial and pertinacious obsession with an illusion, the illusion that his race, his people, are the object of the special favor of God, who requires the maintenance of their racial integrity and separateness as the medium through which, soon or late, will be performed some mighty act involving human destiny Until Judaism is brought by its own prophets to a complete disillusionment with respect to the hoary illusion by which it has been hypnotized through the ages, there can only be a mitigation, not a solution, of the Jewish problem. And if protest is made that it is unfair to ask the Jew to yield the hopes and ideals and traditions of his fathers, the answer must be an abrupt, Why not? That is what all the rest of us have done, or are engaged in the process of doing. The many racial and cultural stocks from which we sprang were not transplanted to American soil, and where attempt is made to transplant them it justly arouses protest."

The article aroused much discussion in religious circles. A cogent reply to the article was made by Father J. Elliot Ross, in an article released by the National Conference of Jews and Christians News Service. "So far from democracy being unable to 'suffer' permanent minorities," Father Ross wrote, "I believe that when democracy ceases to 'suffer' such minorities, but strives to tar everyone with the same stick, democracy is dead. Some sort of totalitarian 'ism' has taken the place of democracy. Certainly our American democracy implies freedom, and where there is freedom there will inevitably be difference and variety. To make America safe for differences is to preserve democracy; to enforce identity, whether by civil law or by the extra-legal pressure of one group upon another, is to destroy democracy."

Miscellaneous General Items

Before proceeding to the recording of significant events, during the review period, within the Jewish community, there are a few miscellaneous general items of Jewish interest which should be included in this record.

There were two events of special interest to Jews because of their bearing on the fortunes of refugees from Germany.

On October 15, 1936, a regulation adopted by the New York State Board of Regents, became effective which requires immigrant physicians to pass a special licensing examination in order to be admitted to practice in New York State.

Considerable comment was evoked when, at a hearing before a committee of the Legislature of Missouri, in March 1937, on a bill to restrict the practice of medicine in the State by foreigners, Dr. Harry F. Parker, State Health Commissioner, supported the bill on the ground that it would stem the flow of "foreign Jew doctors" into the State. As a protest against this display of prejudice, Senator Philip M. Donnelly, who had introduced the bill, withdrew his support of the measure. The press of the State was unanimous in condemning Dr. Parker's stand. Especially interesting was the comment of the *Kansas City Journal*: "Science, including medical science, is infinitely above racial and nationalistic considerations. Sufferers throughout the world have benefited from the researches of German scientists, among whom the Jews have been heavily represented. It would be as sensible for university professors to organize against Einstein because there is an oversupply of mathematics instructors. Missouri has cause to be heartily ashamed of the attitude of its health commissioner. He has attempted to put the state in the yokel class."

A rebuke against super-patriotic intolerance was administered, on February 5, 1937, by Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania, in reply to the protest of the Patriotic Order of Sons of America, against his appointment of Albert M. Greenfield, of Philadelphia, a naturalized citizen, as chairman of the state committee to organize the celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the Constitution. In a letter to Charles B. Helms, secretary of the society, Governor Earle wrote that all American citizens, whether native or naturalized, are equal, and that race and religion are not grounds for discrimination in American life. The Governor's stand was indorsed by Federal Judge Johnson, former national president of the Society.

Jewish organizations took an active interest in immigration legislation proposed in the United States Congress.

The National Council of Jewish Women and the American Jewish Committee were represented, in June 1937, at hearings before the House Committee on Immigration, in opposition to four bills introduced in the Senate by Senator Robert R. Reynolds of North Carolina, and in the House by Representative Joe Starnes, of Alabama. These bills sought to introduce drastic cuts in the existing quotas, and the registration of all aliens, and with naive ingenuity proposed to solve the problems presented by families separated because some of their members are still abroad, by the device of returning those members here to their native lands. Mrs. Cecilia Razovsky-Davidson, associate director of the National Council of Jewish Women, who represented that organization at the hearings, and Melvin M. Fagen, who represented the American Jewish Committee, also spoke in favor of a bill introduced by Representative Martin Dies of Texas, whose provisions included one which gave the administrative authorities limited discretion in deporting non-criminal aliens liable to deportation for technical infractions of the immigration law, when deportation would result in hardship to the families or dependents of such aliens. On June 10, the House of Representatives passed this bill.

On June 10, the Illinois House of Representatives defeated, by a vote of 48 to 32, a bill which would have authorized the reading of the Bible in the public schools of Illinois. Although the bill, introduced by Lottie Holman O'Neill, stipulated that the reading be done without comment or introduction, opposition was founded on the question, "Whose Bible would be read?" Representative Solomon P. Roderick of Chicago declared that church and state should be kept separate and that the proposed measure would set "a bad precedent." John A. Wieland, Superintendent of Public Instruction, reported that although court decisions permit no interpretation of the Scriptures, there is no law in Illinois prohibiting reading of the Bible in the schools.

This section of the Review cannot be more appropriately concluded than with an item which links general events of interest to Jews with those which were concerned with inner community life—the nation-wide notice given to the

eightieth birthday of Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, on November 13, 1937. The anniversary was greeted with high tribute from Government officials and leaders throughout the country. Zionists especially took this opportunity to recall Justice Brandeis' contributions to the movement. "Brandeis and the Modern State," a new biography by Alpheus T. Mason, Professor of Politics at Princeton University, was published in an edition of 100,000 copies by the National Home Library Foundation. Hadassah announced that it would plant 10,000 trees in Palestine in honor of, and would also name the out-patient department of the Rothschild-Hadassah University Medical Center for, Justice Brandeis. The Jewish National Fund announced it would name a new colony in Palestine for him. Newspapers throughout the country paid editorial tribute to Justice Brandeis.*

Jewish Communal Life

We turn now to record the significant developments within the Jewish community, in addition to those connected with overseas interests which were recounted above.

Religion

Events in the religious field were generally connected with the activities of the congregational and rabbinical organizations which represent the three so-called wings of Judaism in the United States,—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform.

At its annual convention in Atlantic City, on May 3, 1937, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis heard Rabbi Joseph Konvitz of Newark plead that the United States admit more refugees from persecution. The convention adopted a resolution opposing cantonization or partition of Palestine.

*For other items of a personal nature, the reader is referred to the appendices which comprise lists of appointments, honors, and elections, special bequests and gifts, and necrology.

It also reaffirmed its opposition to the reform suggestion by the Rabbinical Assembly (Conservative) which would permit an agunah (deserted wife) to obtain a divorce. To counteract the movement in this direction, the Union issued a Hebrew volume "Unto the Last Generation," giving the views of 1,500 rabbinical authorities throughout the world favoring adherence to the traditional practice. It was reported at the convention that the Ezras Torah Fund had raised \$23,000 during the year for the aid of needy rabbis and scholars overseas.

Young Israel, holding its 25th annual convention in Atlantic City late in June, 1937, urged the convocation of a conference of all religious denominations for united action against Governments suppressing religious worship and observance.

The Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America held two annual conventions during the period under review. At its 36th annual convention, held at Tannersville, New York, early in July, 1936, the Assembly empowered the president to appoint a committee "to draw up a detailed formulation of the attitude of the Rabbinical Assembly toward Zionism in its practical and theoretic aspects." Other resolutions adopted supported birth control, collective bargaining, the peace movement, and a campaign to plant 100,000 trees in Palestine. At the Assembly's 37th annual convention, held in New York City in June, 1937, Rabbi Eugene Kohn, its president, declared that "the modern rabbi cannot exercise his function adequately under the conditions of modern life without being trained in the social sciences and arts." To this end he asked the inclusion of sociology, psychology and other social science courses in the curricula of rabbinical training schools. In its report, the Social Justice Commission of the Assembly proposed endorsement of the "general spirit of the New Deal," and legislation for "complete neutrality for the United States" in the event of war. The Assembly decided to postpone final action on the proposal for reforming Jewish divorce laws to permit an agunah or deserted woman, to obtain a divorce. The proposal of Rabbi Louis Epstein of Boston to that effect was referred to the committee on Jewish law of the Assembly for further study after

four hours' discussion. Continued Zionist cooperation with the Palestine government "despite the many disappointments we suffered at the hands of British officialdom" there, was indorsed. The rabbis charged the Palestine government with laxity in carrying out Mandate provisions for a survey of the country, distribution of free land, and support of Jewish educational and health institutions. They advocated promotion of better understanding between Jews and Arabs, asserting that Zionist development of the country benefited the Arabs.

At the nineteenth annual convention of the Women's League of the United Synagogue, held in Pittsburgh, Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, its president, declared that the outstanding need of American Jewry today is a well defined program of religious education and that that problem was peculiarly that of women. The convention adopted a resolution calling on Great Britain "to interpret more generously than heretofore the principles of economic absorptive capacity" in Palestine, and urging the Mandatory Power to cooperate with the Jewish Agency for Palestine especially in its efforts in behalf of German and Polish Jewish youth.

At the 35th Council of the Union of Hebrew Congregations, held in New Orleans, on January 15, 1937, simultaneously with the annual conventions of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods and the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, several speakers cited the need for improving the services of the Reform synagogue. Alfred F. Mecklenburger of Chicago, presiding at the session, declared that "our rabbis have become preachers rather than teachers." Dr. Louis Witt of Dayton emphasized the importance of prayer, urged more worship in the home and the creation of a literature of prayer for private and daily use. Rabbi Irving Reichert of San Francisco declared "most of the preaching being done in America today is appallingly mediocre" and urged that preachers be freed of extraneous tasks. Dr. Jacob Singer of Chicago, speaking on the music of the synagogue, declared that "we must recondition our people to an understanding and love of their own music."

Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron of Baltimore delivered an address on "Judaism's Message to the World" in which he attacked the Jewish secular nationalist viewpoint. His

remarks, generally regarded as the expression of the non-nationalist viewpoint, met with a storm of both protest and praise in the Jewish press. Rabbi Lazon categorically denied the view that "the plight of German Jewry shows the failure of the Emancipation," and that "the only hope for the Jews is the development everywhere of an intense Jewish nationalism which centers in Palestine." He declared that he would yield to no one in his loyalty to Palestine reconstruction, but that he believed that Palestine reconstruction was being damaged by overemphasis upon its political aspects.

The nationalist philosophy, he declared, leaves Jews open to the charge of dual allegiance and threatens the stability of the Jews in America and other parts of the world.

On June 17, the Executive Board of the Union authorized the establishment of a preaching mission of laymen and rabbis who will visit more than 300 reform congregations throughout the country "to strengthen the cause of Liberal Judaism."

The problems of Jewish orientation to the modern scene which throughout the year had been agitating social welfare, communal and religious groups, was once more the chief topic of discussion at the 48th annual convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The keynote was sounded by Dr. Felix A. Levy, president of the Conference. In his presidential message he declared that Reform Judaism had failed to make "any deep impression upon the great bulk of Jewry." Though he found Reform Judaism had made the Jew at home in the world and destroyed much of the worthless, the obsolete, and the ugly in the temple, it had not only left little impression on the great bulk of Jewry, but had even made "an inconsiderable one upon our own followers."

In his address, Dr. Levy proposed a program for Reform Judaism which would work with orthodox and conservative Jewry "to oppose the dangers of secularism." In order to achieve a united front among "religiously minded Jews" Dr. Levy recommended: 1) Appointment of a committee to "draw up a code of rules for guidance in practice . . . and thereby approximate a uniformity of ritual so sadly needed"; 2) Concurrence in a resolution for Sabbath service

presented at the Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; 3) Consideration to the problem of attracting the working classes, including the Yiddish-speaking element, the method to be determined by the Conference in conjunction with the Union; 4) Appointment of a committee to consider a method of cooperation with the Rabbinical Assembly, "with the end in view of strengthening Jewish life by a more positive attitude toward practice"; 5) Drawing up a memorandum opposing the proposed Palestine legislative council, the limiting of Jewish immigration, and "emphasizing our belief that Great Britain must live up to the spirit of the mandate to assure the Jewish people the creation of a homeland." This memorandum would be submitted to the President, the Secretary of State, and the British Ambassador by a committee representing the Conference, the Assembly, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Synagogue Council and the Union of Orthodox Congregations; 6) Appointment of a coordinator to coordinate the work of the Conference, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and its schools; 7) Adoption of a resolution that "the rabbi's services are not a marketable commodity" and that "any individual affiliated members of a community that can afford to support a congregation and do not do so shall not be entitled to the services of a minister."

The Conference adopted a program for marriage law reform, urging uniform marriage laws in all states and describing the present laws as "utterly outgrown and inadequate." On the third day of the convention, in the course of a discussion on the need of fostering democracy, Rabbi Edward Israel of Baltimore urged that an appeal be made to Catholics and Protestants to join with Jews in a cooperative alliance of religious forces in the struggle to save democracy.

The convention closed with the adoption of Dr. Levy's presidential message without dissent. A resolution was also adopted protesting "unfair limitation" of Jewish immigration into Palestine; and another condemning Fascist forces in Spain and expressing sympathy with the Loyalists.

The last resolution evoked criticism from Catholic spokesmen. On June 17, at the annual conference of the Cincin-

nati Archdiocesan Federation of the National Council of Catholic Women, Dr. Edward A. Freking, national secretary of the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade criticized the expression of sympathy for the Spanish Loyalists. He said: "It is my firm belief that the rabbis would have rendered an effective service to the Jewish cause if they had denounced both Communism and Fascism, rather than expressed sympathy for the Communist forces in the Spanish revolution."

Education

On December 15, 1936, the Jewish Education Association held a Hannukah dinner at which speakers urged the mobilization of all Jewish forces in America in behalf of Jewish education in America. Justice Samuel I. Rosenman declared that "none of the three objectives of our present generation—democracy, social justice, peace—can be attained without a religion which gives a nation and a people a sense of justice, of moral purpose." Mark Eisner, president of the Board of Higher Education of New York called for a national conference to work out plans to give "Jewish education its proper status in relation to the life of the whole American community."

Undoubtedly the most important event in connection with Jewish education was the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Jewish Theological Seminary. This was significant not alone because of the eminence of that institution, but also because the celebration took the form of a series of educational projects. To commemorate the occasion, the Seminary, under the leadership of its president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, embarked upon an extensive educational and good will program that brought to the Seminary a group of notable Christian and Jewish figures. Three public meetings, the Seminary Institute of Jewish Affairs and Institutes on the Bible and Post-Biblical Literature were the media of this educational program designed to better interpret Judaism to Jews and non-Jews. At the first public meeting held on December 17th, Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York set the tone for the entire program when he spoke on the subject: "The Problems of Present-

Day Civilization." A month later, the presidents of the Seminary's two neighboring educational institutions, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University and Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin of the Union Theological Seminary, spoke on the general theme: Judaism's Contributions to Religion and Literature. Dr. Coffin's address was entitled: "Religion and the Ethical Life," while Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler spoke on the subject: "The Contribution of Arts and Letters to Religion." The third and concluding of this series of public meetings was that held on March 15, when Dr. James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard University, visited the Seminary and delivered an address on "Learning's Necessity for an Able Minister." All three of these programs were broadcast over national radio hookups; the Conant meeting was broadcast internationally by a short wave station.

Preceding the Butler-Coffin meeting the Seminary sponsored its first annual Conference on Jewish Affairs which was attended by Jewish leaders from all over the country. Round table discussions were held on twelve themes: (1) The Place of Philanthropy in Judaism; (2) The Jew in Relation to the Larger Community; (3) The Jew in Community Organization; (4) The Organization of Jewish Education; (5) The Scope and Ideals of Jewish Education; (6) The Synagogue; (7) The Place of Palestine in the Development of Jewish Ideals; (8) The Publication and Distribution of Jewish Books; (9) Judaism and the College Student; (10) Judaism and the Adolescent; (11) The Place of the Press in Modern Jewish Life; (12) The Development of Modern Hebrew Literature.

The year's program was concluded with the seven sessions of the Institutes of Bible Study and Post-Biblical Literature which were held from May 24 through June 3. The purpose of these Institutes was to study recent Biblical and archaeological discoveries and their bearing on the interpretation and validity of the original Hebrew Scriptures, and the relation of the Scriptures to the history of religion and ethics, to world literature and the development of such American institutions as the ideals of freedom and human equality. Among those contributing papers were: Professor William F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University; Professor

Israel Davidson, of the Seminary; Professor Louis Ginzberg, of the Seminary; Dr. Alexander Marx, director of the Seminary Library; Professor James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Abraham A. Neuman of the Dropsie College; and Professor Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University. Some twenty-five other well known scholars read supplementary papers.

The celebration was concluded with the fiftieth annual Convocation on Sunday, June 6, when honorary degrees were awarded to eleven distinguished scholars and friends of the Seminary. Among them were four outstanding representatives of European Jewish culture: Dr. A. Buchler, principal of Jews' College, London; Professor Ismar Elbogen, distinguished German Jewish scholar and leader in communal life; Dr. Israel Levi, the Grand Rabbi of France; and Dr. Moses Schorr, Chief Rabbi of Poland. Of the seven American recipients of honorary degrees, two were alumni, Professor Israel Efros of the University of Buffalo and Dr. Louis M. Epstein, Rabbi of Congregation Kehillath Israel of Boston. The others honored were: Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, professor of Semitic Languages at the Hartford Theological Seminary; President Julian Morgenstern of the Hebrew Union College; Judge Irving Lehman of the New York State Court of Appeals; Lucius N. Littauer, patron of learning, and Dr. Harry A. Wolfson, professor of Semitic Languages and History, Harvard University.

The celebration was made the occasion also for the commemoration of the eightieth birthday of the late Louis Marshall (born December 14, 1856), and the ninetieth birthday of the late Jacob H. Schiff (born January 10, 1847) both, during their lives, outstanding benefactors of the institution.

The Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and Yeshivah College, the largest orthodox Jewish Theological school in the world, also celebrated its fiftieth anniversary during the review period. The celebration was opened by a dinner in New York City on November 22, 1936. On April 11, 1937, hundreds of students of Hebrew religious schools throughout the East made a "pilgrimage" to Yeshiva College. The students, accompanied by their teachers, brought as a gift to the Yeshiva, copies of the Jerusalem and

the Babylonian Talmud. Each section was presented by a student representing a different religious school, and each was accepted for the Yeshiva by a student from a different state or country.

Some interesting facts regarding the Jewish background of Jewish college students were disclosed on June 19, by Dr. A. L. Sachar, national director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, in his report to the second national conference of Hillel directors at Martinsville, Ohio. Dr. Sachar stated that less than 5% of Jewish university students have a good Jewish background when they enter college; the great majority are indifferent to Judaism upon entering, while a very small group is interested in, but abysmally ignorant of Jewish matters.

Culture

On November 24, 1936, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations announced a plan under which Sunday school pupils will be asked to contribute 10¢ each to raise \$3,000 to finance excavations by Dr. Nelson Glueck, archaeologist of the Hebrew Union College, at what he believes to be the site of Bible-famed Kadesh Barnea in the Arabian desert, where, according to the biblical account, the Israelites spent 38 of their 40 years in the wilderness after the Egyptian exodus, and where they set up the Holy Tabernacle containing the Ark of the Covenant. The Union's Commission on Jewish Education plans to keep the children, described as "partners" in the enterprise, informed of progress by means of slides and talks.

The *Jewish Daily Forward*, Yiddish newspaper, celebrated its fortieth anniversary with a 92 page anniversary issue on April 26, 1937, and a mass meeting held at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on April 25, attended by 4,000 people. The celebration also was a personal tribute to Abraham Cahan, one of the group of founders and editor of the paper for most of the two score years. Interviewed in his office, the seventy-seven year old editor said his paper had succeeded because it followed Americanization as its guiding principle.

From its founding in 1897, The Forward set an example in the treatment of news which the rest of the Yiddish press was obliged to follow.

On January 7th, the biblical spectacle, "The Eternal Road" which had been postponed for about ten times during more than a year, opened at the Manhattan Opera House, in New York City, before a brilliant audience of 2,700. It was received by dramatic critics with acclaim.

The production brought together Max Reinhardt's showmanship, Franz Werfel's literary skill and Kurt Weill's musical genius, and Norman Bel Geddes' artistry. A cast of 225 persons is employed.

A number of significant books of Jewish cultural interest were published during the period under review.

A scholarly biography of Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph, the famous Jewish teacher and martyr, written by Professor Louis Finkelstein of the Jewish Theological Seminary, was published on November 13, 1936.

On November 13, 1936, the first volume of a Karaite dictionary of the Bible, yielded up by the basement of a synagogue in Jerusalem after lying forgotten for 800 years, was published by the Yale University Press. Written in the tenth century, it is the oldest comprehensive Biblical dictionary. It was available only in manuscript form until edited by Dr. Solomon L. Skoss, professor of Arabic at Dropsie College, Philadelphia. It was published as one of the Yale Oriental Series in memory of Alexander Kohut. The dictionary, written in Arabic, but in Hebrew characters, is based on manuscripts of David ben Abraham al-Fasi, one of the Karaites, a sect which was opposed to rabbinical Judaism.

On March 30, 1937, the Jewish Publication Society of America announced a list of six books for publication in 1937. They are "Brand Plucked from the Fire" a book of poems by Jessie Sampter; "Commentary on Deuteronomy" by Professor Joseph Reider of Dropsie College; an index to Dr. Ginsberg's "Legends of the Jews" by Boaz Cohen of the Jewish Theological Seminary; the prize-winning novel in the Edwin Wolf contest; Volume 39 of the American Jewish Year Book; and a book on Hannukkah, compiled by Miss Emily Solis-Cohen, Jr. On April 27, 1937, the Jewish Publication Society announced that the twelfth printing of the Society's Bible translation, making a total

of 170,000 copies since the first edition in 1917, was to be issued shortly.

At the same time Dr. Cyrus Adler, president of Dropsie College, announced the publication of a biography of Jacob Emden, the famous rabbi of the 18th century, who had a colorful history, a feature of which was his controversy with Jonathan Eibeschuetz, chief rabbi of the Triple Community of Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbeck. Dr. Mortimer J. Cohen is the author of this biography.

The Board of Managers of the Department of Synagogue and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations announced that it would publish twelve new books during the coming fiscal year, according to plans made at the semi-annual meeting.

The "Onomasticon of Palestine," a book reclassifying names of Palestine sites mentioned in the Biblical and post-Biblical literature by Dr. Paul Romanoff, curator of the Jewish Theological Seminary Museum, was published in May 1937. The book is designed to overcome difficulties experienced by archaeologists and map-makers owing to frequent changes in names of towns and cities.

At the annual conference of the American Section of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, held in New York City, in February, 1937, a campaign for \$25,000 was announced to cover the organization's budget. A volume on the history of the Jewish press, in connection with its 250th anniversary was placed on sale for the first time at the conference.

On April 15, 1937, a "Yiddish Buch Gezelschaft, Inc." was organized by the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, the Jewish Writers' Club and the Yiddish Culture Society to make Yiddish literary works available at nominal prices. David Pinski, the well-known Yiddish author, is the president. The organization plans book exhibitions in various parts of the United States and Canada.

In connection with Hebrew drama, it is worth noting that, early in February, 1937, the Hebrew Youth Cultural Federation established a new Hebrew dramatic group, called "Pargod," to carry on the tradition of the "Habimah," and to create a permanent Hebrew theater in the United States.

Social Welfare

Following is a brief recital of interesting events connected with the numerous activities of the larger social welfare agencies of the Jewish community.

On January 11, 1937, the National Council of Jewish Women marked its forty-fourth anniversary and the seventy-ninth birthday of its founder, Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon of Chicago, by an international radio broadcast, in which seventeen women leaders in the United States and Europe participated. Birthday party meetings were held by Sections of the Council throughout the country. The board of directors of the Council, meeting in Chicago on February 3, announced that an enlarged naturalization and Americanization program aimed particularly at integrating recent arrivals (German refugees) with American life would be undertaken.

Jewish organizations played an active part in bringing relief to the victims of the tragedy created by the flood in the Middle Western states, in January and February, 1937. In Cincinnati, synagogues opened their premises to the Red Cross for depots for the collection of food, clothing, and medical supplies. Though the residential districts in which Jews are concentrated were beyond the reach of the flood, Jewish residents by the hundreds volunteered for flood relief work. The gymnasium of the Hebrew Union College was turned over for the use of Red Cross, and students enlisted as Red Cross volunteers, manning boats and relief centers. Later, the College threw open its buildings for the benefit of refugees from the flood, and permitted a church service for the refugees to be held in its chapel. On January 29, Harry H. Schaffer of Pittsburgh, commander-in-chief of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, issued orders urging all posts to help victims of the flood area with clothing, medical supplies and funds, and to cooperate with the Red Cross. Although none of the communities in the district were affected by the flood, B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge No. 1, covering Eastern United States and Canada, issued, on February 4, an appeal to all its lodges to aid the Red Cross in its flood relief work with contributions of funds and needed supplies. On February 14, in conjunction with

its District Lodge No. 2, whose lodges are in the flood area, B'nai B'rith began a survey to aid in the rehabilitation of flood victims.

The results of an unusually interesting project in statistical research, pursued under the auspices of the B'nai B'rith, were made public in the spring of 1937. Under the direction of Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, the first complete survey of the number and scholastic activities of Jewish students in the colleges and universities of the United States had been undertaken. A total of 1,319 institutions, 90% of the total, were covered by the inquiry. It disclosed that of an aggregate registration in 1935-36, of 1,150,000 students, 105,000 or 9.1% were Jews. On the assumption that the ratio of Jews to the total population of the country is 3.5%, it would appear that Jews contribute two and one-half times their numerical proportion to the colleges and universities, a phenomenon that may be largely accounted for by the concentration of Jews in or near the large cities in which the greater universities are located. It was found that 113 institutions, fewer than 10% of the total number, have 90% of all Jewish students.

The survey also revealed that "the registration of Jewish students in various types of professional schools has a considerable spread." Thus, it was learned that 40% of the Jewish students attend Arts and Science colleges. "Over the national average," the report added, "are ten professions in which we find the Jewish students having the following percentages of the total students enrolled in each profession: dentistry (26.4%), law (25.1%), pharmacy (22.3%), commerce and medicine (each about 16%), fine arts (15.5%), social work (13.6%), physical education (12.4%), veterinary medicine (11.2%), and optometry (45.1%). Near the general average, in addition to Arts and Sciences, are three: osteopathy, journalism and architecture. Below it are the rest, from engineering (6.8%) down to agriculture (2.4%) and military science (1.6%). In education, a very large field for college students, only 3% of the total students registered are Jews."

The work of the Jewish Welfare Board in war and peace, in promoting forces making for unity and harmony among American Jews was described, on April 25, 1937, at the

twentieth anniversary meeting of the organization, in New York City. The conferences were attended by delegates from 317 Y.M.H.A.'s, Y.W.H.A.'s and Jewish community centers, as well as members of directing boards, local chairmen, and committee members who participated in its activities during the War.

In his presidential report, Judge Irving Lehman reviewed the work of the Board during the War, and in peacetime, through its army and navy program and its program of Jewish center activities. He declared: "The Jewish Welfare Board has in war and peace earned and is developing an increasing influence among the Jews of the United States and the community at large by reason of its emphasis upon the forces that make for unity and harmony and its clear avoidance of issues that tend to divide." Discussing the Jewish center movement, he said it is engaged in "developing healthy Jewish personalities, sensitive to Jewish traditions and ideals." The centers, he reported, own 233 buildings having an estimated value of \$35,000,000 as compared with 138 buildings in 1928, and 75 in 1921. Membership in constituent societies is estimated at 370,000, as compared with 275,000 in 1928, and 100,000 in 1921. Some \$4,600,000 is spent annually on operating the centers.

An idea of the considerable funds contributed by Jews to the support of social welfare projects of the Jewish community may be obtained from the report made public, on December 20, 1936, by the National Council of Federations and Welfare Funds. The Council disclosed that its 89 member community organizations contributed \$48,000,000 for Jewish welfare needs in the United States and abroad. About \$43,700,000, or 91% of the total, was spent in the United States. Of the 7% spent for reconstructive and relief projects abroad, Palestinian activities received the largest share, \$1,675,000. European relief and reconstruction work was granted \$1,050,000 and other agencies operating abroad, \$526,000.

Of the monies spent for Jewish welfare work in the United States, \$18,786,000 or 39% of the total, went for hospitals and medical work; \$4,179,000 for family relief; \$5,422,000 for child care; \$2,322,000 for the care of the aged; \$5,825,000 for Jewish education; \$4,000,000 for centers and settlement

houses, and smaller amounts for other community services. The total expense of Federation and Welfare Fund administration, including the cost of fund-raising, was \$1,200,000 or 2.5% of the year's total.

A significant discussion on the most desirable orientation of American Jews toward their environment took place on January 29 and 30, at a meeting of the Council of Federations and Welfare Funds, in Philadelphia. In an address which aroused much controversy, George Backer, chairman of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, expressed the view that "Jews in America must accept the idea of democracy as the basis of their philosophies, or alternatively, if they do not accept, they must not pretend that their own conceptions do not interfere with the processes of American life. It is, of course, possible for a man to believe that Judaism is a way of life, and that he prefers that way of life to any other; but the person making this decision is not attempting to further the American experiment in democracy and must be considered as having dismissed American culture as a desirable possibility." Mr. Backer pointed out that the European Jew in the past 300 years was at all times a subject and had no rights of self-government and, therefore, quite properly reserved his allegiance to himself and to his Judaism; but the establishment of a new theory of government in America challenged the validity of this Jewish premise. Since, in a democracy, Jews hold equal citizenship with others, the old principle of Judaism as a force other than religious is invalidated, Mr. Backer declared. "Many Jews speak of themselves as the products of Jewish culture," Mr. Backer said. "They give reverence to the long line of Jewish poets and philosophers who preceded them, and insist upon some form of ancestor worship. I feel that we in America are not alone the products of Jewish culture but are even more strongly the product of the gifts of liberalism to the modern world. The free gifts to the present, from a liberal past, are much more responsible for what we are, than our Jewish heritage."

As if in reply to Mr. Backer, Justice Samuel I. Rosenman declared in a session the following day, that Jews "are no different from all of the large number of minority groups, religious or ethnic, which help to make up the pattern of

American life," though "unfortunately many members of the dominant groups regard Jews, even though native born, as essentially alien and foreign." Judge Rosenman went on to say that "it is unthinkable to me that there should be the slightest inconsistency in the statement that a man is a good American and a good Jew The American Jew refuses and will refuse to include in his Jewish thought or conduct anything which can, by any reasonable interpretation, make his Americanism suspect. That is why I say that there is no place in American life for a separate nationalism or civilization. That is why I also say that there is room for free religious and cultural expression by all minority groups within the larger unity of American life."

In connection with the progress of the Federation movement in Jewish philanthropy, the merger of the New York and the Brooklyn Federations for fund-raising and other purposes, which was announced on February 7, 1937, is noteworthy. The purpose of the merger, it was reported, was "to join forces in a single united appeal in 1937" and to "appoint committees which will study the services of the agencies supported with a view to possible merger of some of these agencies." The action was made necessary by the increasingly critical situation of the social agencies in Brooklyn, the heads of the two federations declared, since the need for social welfare work in Brooklyn has been steadily increasing while the sources of income decreased, because, while there was a decided increase in the middle and lower income groups of Jewish residents in Brooklyn during the past two decades, there was also a shift of residents with larger incomes to Manhattan. Depression conditions had served to make the situation more acute.

The theme that democracy is the keynote to the Jewish future, which has dominated many of the Jewish communal gatherings throughout the year, was again stressed at the sessions of the National Conference of Jewish Social Welfare held in Indianapolis the week of May 20, 1937. Harry L. Glucksman, president of the Conference, told the meeting that the struggle between democracy and fascism was becoming increasingly menacing and declared that social workers "must employ their specialized knowledge, talents,

time and technique in furthering movements aiding democracy." Other problems discussed were Jewish education, organization for combating persecution abroad, and the attitude Jews should assume to life about them, in this critical time when inter-group hostility is so intense in many parts of the world.

Harry Greenstein of Baltimore was elected president of the Conference.

On June 6, 1937, at the fiftieth annual convention of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, in New York City, a check for \$5,000 representing the first payment on a promised contribution of \$25,000 for establishing a colony in Palestine, was presented to Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Jewish National Fund. Resolutions were adopted to increase the scholarships maintained at the Yeshiva College, New York, from three to five.

Activities of Zionist Organizations

The thirty-ninth annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, held early in July, 1936, at Providence, Rhode Island, took place in an atmosphere of tension, caused by controversy concerning the election of the organization's president for the ensuing period. Dissension between factions supporting the reelection of Morris Rothenberg and those supporting the election of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise ended when a compromise was reached, where Dr. Wise was elected president and Mr. Rothenberg was elected chairman of the administrative committee. Mr. Rothenberg made his acceptance of his new position dependent upon enactment of a series of organizational reforms. Broadly, they provided for a separation of the functions of the "civil service" staff of the Zionist Organization, and those of the various executive bodies. It was also decided to limit the president's term to two years.

The convention adopted a resolution expressing "the sense of outrage against the forces arrayed to uproot" the Jews of Palestine, and pledging "unceasing and inflexible determination to supply moral and material support

in the fullest measure until the goal of the Jewish national home is established securely and permanently." Other resolutions expressed appreciation of the leadership of the World Zionist Executive; extended "heartfelt felicitation" to the World Jewish Congress; appealed to the British Government to "adhere to the spirit of goodwill and that desire for historic reparation to the Jewish people which animated the issuance of the Balfour Declaration"; and condemned the role of the Communists in the Palestine disorders.

Masada, Zionist youth organization, also held its annual convention, the third, in Providence, at the same time as the Zionist Organization of America with which it is affiliated. Delegates adopted resolutions establishing a *halutz* group to work in cooperation with the Hechalutz organization; expressing solidarity with the Palestine Jewish community and condemning the role of the Communists in Palestine disturbances; urging organization of junior Jewish youth councils in communities where none exists; establishing an American Jewish youth sports organization to affiliate with the Macabbi World Union; and approving a book fund campaign for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization, was active in a number of directions, during the year. On August 19, 1936, it publicly protested against the murder by Arabs of two Jewish nurses attached to the government hospital in Jaffa, Palestine. The murders were denounced as acts "which violate all laws of humanity and decent conduct."

The 22nd annual convention of Hadassah opened in Philadelphia on October 18. It was reported that the organization had raised \$600,800 during the year, the largest sum in any one year, for its projects in Palestine. This included \$264,800 for hospital maintenance, \$60,000 for the building fund of the Rothschild Hadassah University Hospital, and \$110,000 for the maintenance of German Jewish children in Palestine.

It was voted to raise \$150,000 during the coming year to complete the \$850,000 building fund for the medical

center. Resolutions were adopted urging the British Government not to halt Jewish immigration and to grant immigration certificates to Jewish children in Poland and Germany. Mrs. Edward Jacobs was elected president for the fifth term and a budget of \$406,000 was adopted.

On December 2, Hadassah announced that it had sent a petition to the Palestine Government, through the Youth Aliyah committee there, urging the Government which granted special certificates to the Youth Aliyah committee for transporting Jewish youths from Germany to the Holy Land, to extend the same service to Polish Jewish children. On May 9, 1937, Hadassah, at a two day spring conference in New York City, approved a petition, forwarded to Sir Ronald Lindsay, British Ambassador, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull, asking that Great Britain do nothing that will infringe upon Jewish rights in Palestine. The petition declared that international law and "the law of higher civilization and humanity" require that Great Britain heed the pleas for freedom and opportunity for Jews in the Holy Land.

On December 26, the thirteenth annual convention of the Junior Hadassah which was attended by 1,000 delegates from forty states, opened in Washington, D. C. In a report on Palestine activities, Pauline Englander announced the decision to enlarge Meir Shfeyah, Junior Hadassah's children's home in Tel Aviv, to accommodate at least 150 children because of the added necessity of child welfare work resulting from recent disorders. It was reported that the organization had expended a total of \$60,511 for Palestinian and other activities from July 1, 1935 to June 30, 1936. The convention adopted a budget of \$75,000 for the current year, including \$10,000 for the enlarging of the children's village of Meir Shfeyah in Tel Aviv. At the closing session, Junior Hadassah adopted a resolution calling upon the Royal Commission to facilitate the upbuilding of Palestine for "all sections of the population."

Another organization which took an active interest in Palestine, the National Labor Committee for Palestine, held a three day convention in New York on November 27,

28 and 29, 1936. It adopted a campaign quota of \$500,000 for the year to support labor projects in Palestine. On December 23, delegates from several hundred labor organizations tendered a farewell banquet to a delegation of seven labor leaders who had been appointed by National Labor Committee, to visit Palestine. Joseph Schlossberg, head of the delegation, explained the purpose of the trip, in these words: "The chief reason is the present crisis in Palestine. We owe it to the Jews in Palestine, who carry such a large share of the burden morally, financially and physically, of providing homes for victims of race persecution, to come to them at this very difficult time, with a message of cheer and solidarity from the great masses of organized Jewish workers in the greatest of the free and democratic countries."

The third annual national conference for Palestine was held in Washington on February 7, 1937. It adopted a quota of \$4,500,000 for 1937 campaign of the United Palestine Appeal. Dr. Stephen S. Wise was named chairman of the campaign and Dr. Israel Goldstein, Maurice Levin, Louis Lipsky, Judge William M. Lewis, and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver were named co-chairmen. There was a lively discussion of the activities of the British Royal Commission which had investigated the Arab disorders in Palestine, and the conference passed a resolution expressing the hope "the Royal Commission will view with understanding and compassion the plight of the Jews driven to wander from the lands to which they have given their lives and fortunes" and that the Commission "will act in the spirit of noble generosity." It was decided to appoint a delegation to make representations to the British Embassy and to express the "deep concern which American Jewry feels with regard to the findings of the Royal Commission." The conference was addressed by Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, Senators William E. Borah, George Norris, Henry Cabot Lodge, Warren Austin, Representative Hamilton Fish, and many Zionist leaders.

As the period under review drew to a close the Zionist Organization of America held its 40th annual convention,

in New York City. The meeting took place in an atmosphere of anxiety created by rumors that the forthcoming report of the British Royal Commission of Inquiry on Palestine would recommend the partition of that country. At the first open session of the convention of June 27, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, president, declared that, while Jews would not be in a position to resist the British Empire, "morally and spiritually we American Zionists declare we will never, never, never give assent to the partition of Palestine." He charged world Zionist officials with having omitted to consult or take the advice of, American Zionist leaders when proposals for partition of Palestine first appeared, and declared that "American Zionists are not willing to be simply the chief fund-raising source," but that the American Zionist movement was mature enough to act independently. The 1,000 delegates unanimously adopted a resolution opposing all proposals for partitioning Palestine "or any other restriction upon the pace of the upbuilding of the country." A second resolution reviewed the role that this country played in establishing Palestine as a Jewish homeland under British mandate, and asked that the United States Government use its good offices to safeguard the rights of Jews in Palestine.

A petition signed by the heads of seven leading American organizations operating in behalf of Palestine and addressed to Earl Peel, chairman of the Royal Commission, was also made public. The petition, in which Great Britain was urged to fulfill fairly her obligations to Jews under the mandate, also referred to the participation of the American Government in the establishment of the mandate for Palestine, declared that American Jews had contributed \$81,000,000 to Palestine's upbuilding since 1918.

Hardly had Dr. Wise ended his criticism of world Zionist leadership, when it became known that a cablegram had come from Dr. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, world Zionist chiefs, reading: "In the difficult days that lie ahead, the voice and support of American Jewry may be decisive. We greatly hope that immediately after the convention it may be possible for Dr. Wise and other lead-

ing colleagues to make themselves free to come to London to give us the benefit of their advice and assistance."

In addresses that followed, Dr. Wise, Louis Lipsky and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver declared that American leaders would take a strong stand against any efforts to partition Palestine and denounced Great Britain for having failed to carry out the spirit of the mandate and the Balfour Declaration.

Dr. Wise and Morris Rothenberg, president and chairman of the Administrative Committee respectively, were re-elected by acclamation.

As delegates to the World Zionist Congress scheduled for Switzerland (Geneva) in August, the Zionist Organization of America elected Judge Julian W. Mack, Louis Lipsky, Morris Rothenberg, and Abe Goldberg of New York; Professor Gustave Klausner of St. Louis; Rabbi Solomon Goldman and Max Shulman of Chicago; Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Cleveland, and Rabbi Edward Israel, Baltimore.

Despite the fact that the Labor Zionist Party here had polled the largest vote in the nationwide election of the delegates to the World Zionist Congress, it was revealed, at the convention, that the General Zionists would have the largest single American bloc at Geneva, when Mrs. Rose G. Jacobs, president of Hadassah, pledged that Hadassah's delegates would form a united front with the General Zionists elected by the adherents of the Z. O. A. Under this pledge, the American General Zionists will have forty mandates at the Congress, the American Labor Zionist, thirty-two, and the American Mizrahi, orthodox, eighteen.

Dr. Wise during the course of his remarks assailed the Labor Zionists for precipitating a contested election for delegates instead of agreeing to their apportionment among the various Zionist parties without voting as was done in England, as a "united front" measure.

The convention closed with a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall addressed by Senator Robert F. Wagner, Mayor La Guardia, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Ben Zion Mossessohn, Morris Rothenberg, and Judge Julian W. Mack, who presided.

II. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Great Britain

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

Anti-Semitic activity in Great Britain during the period under review centered about Sir Oswald Mosley and his British Union of Fascists who precipitated a number of serious riots in London's East End. These riots resulted in the passing of a Public Order Act that prohibits the wearing of uniforms by political parties. They also undoubtedly contributed to the defeat of the Mosleyites in the London municipal elections, and caused a split in their ranks. The riots also called forth strong defensive measures on the part of Jewish organizations and increased activity by Christian and Jewish leaders and groups seeking to foster better inter-group relations.

On July 10, 1936, a lively debate took place in the House of Commons, concerning the widespread activities of British Fascists. Members who participated warned that if allowed to go unchecked, anti-Jewish propaganda would lead to pogroms; criticized the police sharply for permitting Fascist violence and attacks against Jews. Referring to the activities of the National Workers' Party, founded by Seton Hutchison, the Duchess of Atholl warned that anti-Jewish utterances of this party tended to create prejudice that might easily lead to violence. George Lansbury, Laborite, declared that Jews residing in the East End of London were in a state of terror as a result of Fascist intimidation, and warned of "terrible reprisals" unless the Fascist activities were checked. Replying to the charges and warnings, Sir John Simon, Secretary for Home Affairs defended the police but expressed grave concern at the developments.

Disorders were narrowly averted on July 12, when a parade of thousands of anti-Fascists in London was pelted with bags of flour and soot while passing branch headquarters of the British Union of Fascists headed by Sir Oswald Mosley. Several days later, London Police officials ordered

the stationing of detectives in addition to uniformed police in the main streets of East London in order to prevent Fascists from provoking anti-Jewish incidents.

The activities of the Fascists were again the subject of Parliamentary debate on July 30. James Hall, Laborite M.P., declared that Black Shirted Fascists were growing bolder in their intimidations of Jews in London's East End. Sir Percy Harris complained that Fascists were distributing circulars urging boycott of Jewish shops. Sir John Simon, Home Secretary, said police were paying special attention to this situation. On the same day, Sir Donald Somervell, Attorney General, announced that he had given instructions that proceedings be instituted against the "Fascist," organ of the Imperial Fascist League, for publishing ritual murder charges against the Jews.

In September, Jewish organizations, under the sponsorship of the newly-established coordinating defense committee of the Board of Deputies made their first move against anti-Semitic agitators in England. On September 7, an open-air rally was held in Hyde Park where Mosley's Blackshirts and other Fascist groups had been conducting their meetings. A series of other meetings were organized in districts where Fascists were most active. At about the same time, the Board of Deputies issued an appeal for an emergency fund of \$50,000 to be used in defending the Jewish community against defamation and slander.

Undoubtedly copying the methods utilized by the German Nazis preceding their rise to power, Mosley continued to hold frequent public meetings and parades, few of which passed without untoward incidents. On October 4, 1936, an estimated crowd of 250,000 persons blocked the route of march of 5,000 Fascist Blackshirts into London's East End, forcing the Police Commissioner to prohibit the parade at the last moment. The hostile crowd gathered after the Home Office, despite protests from Jewish and anti-Fascist groups, had refused to prohibit the demonstration. The entire district was feverishly canvassed, and residents exhorted to turn out in protest. As a result, hours before the parade was supposed to begin, threatening crowds jammed the line of march, necessitating the strongest concentration of police in years to control them. Merchants in White-

chapel, the Jewish quarter of the East End, had boarded up their shops in anticipation of disorders. Fifteen minutes after the parade was supposed to start from the Royal Mint, Sir Philip Game, the Police Commissioner, notified Mosley that the march had been banned. The Fascists thereupon cancelled the meetings previously called and marched westward, away from the hostile crowd. Batches of the crowd broke away, however, and followed the Fascists. Many persons were injured and 53 arrested as members of the crowd frequently broke from control of the 3,000 police and attacked the Fascist marchers.

This incident aroused angry protest on all sides. On the following day, the British Labor Party Congress, which was meeting in Edinburgh, demanded a Government investigation of the London disorders and the activities and finances of Mosley's Fascist organization. In submitting this resolution, Herbert Morrison, left wing Labor leader, bitterly attacked Home Secretary Sir John Simon as "feeble and a coward" and asserted that the Fascist parade had been organized to provoke disorders and race war. On October 6, Sir Percy Harris, chief Liberal whip, announced that the Liberal Party will press for legislation in the next House of Commons session banning political uniforms. Declaring that it was generally agreed that the time had come for such action, the *Manchester Guardian* called upon the British Government to end anti-Semitic agitation. Sir John Simon's request for a report on the rioting was believed to be a prelude to a Cabinet discussion of the question.

On October 11, disorders broke out again in London's East End when Communists, parading in celebration of the routing of the Fascists on October 4, were attacked by Fascists. Fourteen persons were arrested and were fined or imprisoned. On the same day, in Edinburgh, anti-Fascists prevented Blackshirts from holding a meeting, and in Liverpool, Fascists attempting to march were attacked by a hostile crowd of 5,000 who lined the streets. Twelve persons were arrested, and several injured. On October 14, at a Fascist rally of 5,000 in the East End's Victoria Park, which was guarded by large detachments of police, Mosley inveighed against "the corrupt influence of international Jewish finance," and charged that the Conservatives were

allied with Socialists and Communists to fight against Fascism.

In a letter to Sir John Simon, Home Secretary, made public on October 16, Herbert Morrison, leader of the London County Council, speaking in the name of labor deputies and municipal councillors, demanded swift and decisive action to suppress Fascist provocations in London's East End. He warned that "social disaster and political chaos" will result unless such action is taken at once. Branding Fascist actions as "calculated to produce social disorders, racial hatred and strife contrary to British traditions," Mr. Morrison demanded the Government receive a deputation from the executive of the London Socialist Party and that a Government sub-committee which had been named to deal with the disorders receive a similar deputation.

On October 18, the Board of Deputies decided to issue a public statement urging Jews to steer clear of disorders inspired by Fascists, and adopted a resolution protesting against Fascist attempts to identify Jews with Communists.

On October 20, upon invitation of Sir John Simon, a delegation of Labor leaders, headed by Morrison, called upon him and demanded that immediate steps be taken to curb Fascist anti-Jewish provocation in the East End. The Home Secretary assured the delegation that the Government was giving careful attention to the situation but stated he was not in a position to anticipate an announcement to Parliament of the Government's intentions.

On October 29, the Diocesan Conference of the Church of England, meeting in London, condemned anti-Semitic disorders in London's East End as un-Christian. Speaking to 3,000 British Fascists on November 1, Mosley declared that the Government's proposed ban on the wearing of uniforms by political organizations will change nothing in the determination of British Fascists and will not halt the progress of their movement.

In his speech from the throne opening the new session of Parliament, on November 3, King Edward declared: "My Ministers have come to the conclusion that the existing law requires amendment in order to deal more effectively with persons and organizations who provoke or cause dis-

turbances of the public peace. A bill for strengthening the law without interfering with legitimate freedom of speech will be submitted to you." In the Opposition's address to the King, Clement R. Atlee, Laborite whip, demanded that the Government deal with disturbances caused by various uniformed groups. In reply, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin voiced the belief that the Cabinet's public order bill would "go very far" toward discouraging disturbances arising from Jew-baiting in London's East End. Later, Mr. Baldwin urged the House of Commons to help shape the public order bill and made a strong plea for action to preserve tolerance. On November 10, the government's public order bill was introduced in the House of Commons. It gave sweeping powers to the authorities to crush semi-military organizations; it outlawed organizations tending to usurp the functions of the police and the military; gave police the right to search premises on suspicion of an offense by members of such organizations; empowered the police to prohibit parades that might cause disorder; and designated penalties for the possession of weapons by persons at public meetings, and for the use of threatening and abusive words or behavior with intent to provoke the breach of the peace. On November 16, the public order bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons without a division of the vote, after Laborite spokesmen supported the bill in debate. Sir John Simon said the bill was not aimed against British Fascists alone, but also against the influx of extremist views from abroad.

On the same day, the Archbishop of York joined with the members of the advisory council of the Society of Jews and Christians in supporting a resolution condemning the "propaganda of hatred against Jews as an unmitigated evil which violates the teachings of religion and is detrimental to the religious life of the nation." Others supporting the resolution included the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of St. Paul's and Sir Norman Angell. On December 3, at a mass meeting in Albert Hall, London, which launched the "Defense of Freedom and Peace" movement, Winston Churchill denounced Fascism, Communism and persecution. He attacked the Nazis and made a plea for tolerance and for "stamping out the disgusting Jew-baiting which some

people are trying to import across the North Sea." He assailed Mosley for "groveling" before the Nazi dictatorship in the hope of making England grovel before him and appealed for joint action for collective security.

On December 20, after having been passed by Parliament, the public order bill was sent to the King for his signature; it was the first to be signed in the reign of King George VI. On the same day, the British Union of Fascists announced that it would forbid its members to wear uniforms at any public demonstration, in order to keep within the new law.

On February 19, 1937, announcing a slate of six candidates for the East End in the municipal election, Mosley's Fascists accused the Liberal, Conservative and Labor parties of being controlled by Jews. In a manifesto, appealing for funds, the Blackshirts declared that "a Christian penny is better than a Jewish pound." In spite of an unprecedented anti-Semitic campaign in the East End of London, all candidates of Mosley's Fascists were defeated in the election for London County Council positions, on March 4.

Several weeks later, it was revealed that a split had taken place in Mosley's British Union of Fascists, two former aides forming a rival organization. The new group, organized by William Joyce and John Beckett, called itself the National Socialist League. It claimed to number among its leaders many of Mosley's former high officials, and announced that it was "definitely anti-Jewish."

Following these events, public disorders became far less frequent, but did not altogether cease.

On April 15, five Jews were freed under pledges to maintain good behavior, in Thames Police Court, following their arrest in Whitechapel during disturbances occasioned by a parade of 100 Fascists, through the East End, where they hurled flaming torches into Jewish shops. Later, in a clash between the Fascists and Communists, several persons were injured. On May 21 Mosley's Fascists staged a parade of 5,000 persons through London's East End, but failed to attract a crowd.

During the period being reviewed, England was presented with the first race libel case in its history when, on August 14, 1936, a Fascist publisher and a printer were tried on charges of seditious libel against the Jews of England. The

defendants, Arthur S. Leese, publisher, and Walter Whitehead, printer, of the *Fascist*, organ of the Imperial Fascist League, were arraigned on charges of seditious libel and creation of public mischief in connection with the printing of a ritual murder libel against the Jews in their paper on July 4. Both pleaded not guilty and were freed on bail, pending trial. The committing Magistrate declared the document constituted seditious libel and was a prima facie case for the jury. On September 21, the defendants were found guilty on two counts. Leese was sentenced to six months imprisonment and Whitehead was fined. The jury found them guilty of publishing "diverse libelous and scandalous statements about His Majesty's subjects of the Jewish faith and effecting mischief by such publication."

Besides the activities of Fascist organizations and the Leese libel suit, there were a number of miscellaneous incidents connected with anti-Jewish agitation. On June 2, 1936, threats, bearing swastikas, were received by the Repertory Players of Bermondsey, a London suburb, warning them to withdraw the scheduled production of Friedrich Wolf's anti-Nazi play "Professor Mamlock." Posters advertising the play were torn down and marked with swastikas. On June 7, John Penfold, an auctioneer, was sentenced to two months at hard labor and bound over to be on good behavior for a year for having used insulting words against the Jews from a public platform. In passing sentence, the magistrate declared: "He intends to continue until he attains his object, which is to curtail the liberties of a section of the people. I have no alternative but to sentence him."

Christian Defense of Jews

Reference has already been made to a number of occasions, during the public discussion of Fascist activities, on which eminent Christians, protested against efforts to arouse inter-group hostility. In addition to these pronouncements, a number of pleas for tolerance and goodwill are deserving of note. In a New Year's message, on January 1, 1937, the Archbishop of Canterbury scored anti-Semitism and warned of its spread unless checked. The

message declared: "I am concerned to notice some signs of the growth of anti-Semitism in this country. It is, I know, at present confined to a few very irresponsible persons but unless it is checked it may spread. I trust we may be spared the shame of giving any sort of encouragement to the discreditable prejudice which has led to cruel persecution in other countries and especially in Germany, of a race to which our Savior in his human life belonged."

On January 5, London East End social workers and religious leaders mapped plans to establish Christian-Jewish social clubs as a means of combating the spread of anti-Semitism. A decision to establish such clubs to bring Jews and Christians into closer social contact, was adopted at a meeting of the Council of East London Citizens, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury presided.

On April 12, London newspapers told the story of a Christian pastor in the remote town of Narberth, Wales, who had performed a burial service according to Jewish rites for a Jewish war veteran, whose dying wish it was to be given a Jewish funeral. The nearest rabbi being fifty miles away, Dr. Llewelyn Davies, a gifted scholar, read the service, chanting the psalms and reading the prayers in Hebrew.

At a conference of religious and political leaders, on April 25, under the auspices of the National Council for Civil Liberties, a resolution warning that Fascist anti-Semitism was a prelude to attacks against British civil liberties, was adopted. More than 300 delegates, representing 189 political, social, and industrial organizations, participated in the sessions. In an address before the Jewish Religious Education Board, on April 28, Oliver Stanley, president of the London Board of Education denounced anti-Semitism as the "blackest treachery." He said: "During the war, we did not ask the question, Christian or Jew. None said you must not die for us because you are a Jew. Are we, during days of peace, to say because you are Jews you cannot live with us? It would be the blackest treachery to the Christians and Jews who fell in Flanders and in Palestine fighting together. They fought for the tradition of freedom in this country. It is a freedom all-embracing and knows no distinction of birth or creed."

Reaction to Nazi Policies

On July 18, 1936, addressing delegates to the International Social Workers Conference, Dr. J. J. Mallon, Warden of Toynbee Hall, branded Nazism as a "diabolical philosophy which sacrifices the individual upon the altar of the State and introduces cruelty into the benevolent principles animating social workers in the rest of the world."

Much attention was evoked in the scientific world by an address, on September 11, by Professor Julian S. Huxley, before the British Medical Association. Professor Huxley, famous as an expert on social biology, said that the German Nazi theories on race are anti-scientific; that political and pseudo-scientific usage of race terms is unjustified because the very notion of race can only be defined generally; that the idea that man has evolved by separation into distinct isolated units is false, cross-breeding having been going on for tens of thousands of years since human migrations began.

Liberal circles were troubled when, on September 18, former premier David Lloyd George, upon returning from a visit to Germany, expressed enthusiastic approval of Chancellor Hitler, whom he had visited twice. Lloyd George explained that the persecution of Jews was based on the Nazi leader's belief that the Russian Jews were responsible for Soviet press attacks on the Reich. He expressed the hope that the "ranting speeches" of Joseph Goebbels would not cause further anti-Jewish manifestations because they would unfavorably affect Germany's relationship with foreign countries. Some days later, in a speech at Blackburn, Lancashire, attacking the British Government for an indulgent attitude toward Fascism, Herbert Morrison, left wing Laborite chief, called David Lloyd George a "half-baked Nazi." In the course of his third annual Lucien Wolf Memorial Lecture, on October 17, Wickham Steed, former editor of the London *Times* denounced dictatorship which "regards freedom lightly, if not as evil in itself." He caustically criticized British liberals and newspaper proprietors who visit Germany to hearken to its leaders and return to extol Nazism, "forgetting the crime for which these leaders are responsible."

The February, 1937, issue of *Nature*, British scientific journal, contained a severe indictment of culture and science under Nazi rule, which asserted that racial obsessions were undermining the foundations of learning in Germany; that science had been "abolished" and its "spirit has abdicated." Describing conditions at Heidelberg University, the article declared that, whereas in 1932, there were 215 teachers at the University, there were only 180 in 1937, and that of these only 99 were survivors of the old regime. The majority of those dismissed were Jews or related to Jews.

Academic circles were also much interested in the discussion regarding the invitations which had been received by British Universities to participate in the celebration of the bicentennial of Goettingen University. Late in March, the influential weekly the *New Statesman and Spectator*, urged all English universities to abstain from sending representatives to the Goettingen celebration. Pointing out that the date is the third anniversary of the Hitler "blood purge," the *New Statesman* counselled the universities to send remonstrances instead of delegates. It also recalled that June 30 marks the hundredth anniversary of the expulsion of seven famous professors for protesting the revocation, by King Ernest Augustus of Hanover, of the liberal constitution of 1833. Late in April, Oxford University joined with other important British universities in refusing to send a delegate to the Goettingen University bicentenary celebration. Chancellor Alexander Lindsay warned that participation in the celebration would be interpreted by many as approval of the suppression of free scholarship by the Nazi regime.

On June 7, the House of Commons was thrown into an uproar when Arthur Henderson, Laborite, and Miss Eleanor Rathbone, Independent, challenged the right of Sir Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Berlin, to express sympathy for the National Socialist regime. They referred to a speech made by Sir Neville in Berlin June 2 in which he was said to have emphasized the urgency of erasing "misunderstanding" between the two countries, stating that these "misunderstandings" had given a false impression of the Nazi regime in England. Henderson and

Miss Rathbone asked whether the Ambassador's discourse corresponded with the view of the British Government. In reply, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden declared the question of an expression of Government views was in no wise involved.

Reaction to Other Events Abroad

There was considerable discussion in British liberal circles, during the review period, regarding the Jewish situation in Poland and in Danzig. In an article in the *Spectator*, conservative weekly, on November 13, 1936, Lord Melchett expressed the view that the Jewish problem in Poland would be considerably simplified by the systematic reduction of the Jewish population. He proposed the emigration of 35,000 Jews between the ages of 18 and 19 from Poland annually for the next twenty years. He also said that extension of the proposal to Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Roumania would result in emigration of 60,000 to 70,000 young Jews annually to Palestine, reducing the Jewish question to a simple mathematical problem.

In its issue of January 28, 1937, the *Manchester Guardian* criticized the League of Nations for what it called the abandonment of the Danzig Jews to the mercy of Poland. "No polite words and guarded phrases can conceal the fact that the League has surrendered Danzig to the Nazis," the paper said.

On April 6, 1937, in a message to a conference sponsored by the British section of the World Jewish Congress, on the situation of the Polish Jews, David Lloyd George declared the Allied Powers cannot remain indifferent to the degradation of the Polish Jews through the Polish Government's failure to fulfil treaty obligations.

Miscellaneous General Events

On July 2, 1936, by a vote of 38 to 12, the House of Lords rejected an amendment to the Sunday Closing Bill, which would have permitted Jewish shopkeepers to keep their places of business open until two o'clock. The

Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, speaking for the Government, urged that this Bill be rejected because it would give Jews a Sunday business monopoly, and because passage of the measure would result in "great feeling against the Jews." The text of the Factory Bill introduced in Parliament by the Government in February 1937, did, however, make provision for the observance of the Jewish sabbath. The bill provided: "Where the occupier of a factory is a member of the Jewish religion or a member of a body observing the Jewish sabbath any woman or young person who is Jewish may be employed there on Sunday, provided the factory be closed on Saturday."

On November 8, thirty thousand persons watched 8,500 Jewish War Veterans participate in the seventh annual British-Jewish Ex-service Men's National Remembrance Parade; the marchers were reviewed by Field Marshal Lord Milne.

On January 27, 1937, during a debate in the House of Commons on the Empire Settlement Bill which would regulate limited immigration into some of the British Dominions, Sir Robert Young, Laborite, suggested that Jews finance large-scale Jewish emigration to Australia. During the debate, however, it was indicated that Queensland and South Australia would admit a few immigrants in certain labor categories.

Speakers at a dinner in London, on February 16, marking the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the international Jewish battalion which aided Great Britain in the wartime campaign in Palestine, urged the establishment of a new Jewish legion for defense against rioting in Palestine. Col. J. H. Patterson, head of the wartime legion, declared that a Jewish national home without adequate defense was merely a "national death trap."

In accordance with centuries-old custom, a loyal address in the name of the Jews of the British Empire was presented to King George VI at Buckingham Palace by a delegation representing the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association, on March 25, 1937. The monarch voiced the thanks of himself and Queen Elizabeth, and his "great satisfaction to receive this beautiful address assuring me of the loyalty and devotion

of my Jewish subjects throughout the world." Jews throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations marked the coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Special prayers, drawn up for the occasion by Dr. Joseph H. Hertz, chief rabbi of the British Empire, were recited in synagogues throughout the Empire. In Palestine, the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, with Sir Harold Sargent conducting, gave a coronation concert. Jews throughout Palestine made a festive occasion of the coronation, but Arabs boycotted the celebration and the Arab Supreme Committee declared a "state of mourning" in connection with the coronation as a protest against the Government's granting 770 labor immigration certificates for the four months ending July 31.

Attention to India was aroused by the election, on April 13, of Dr. E. Moses, prominent physician, who is a member of the Bene Israelite community, as mayor of Bombay. His election marks the first time in history that a member of the Bene Israelite sect, legendary survivors of seven men and women who fled from Palestine in pre-Biblical times and were shipwrecked in India, has occupied the mayoralty. The sect numbers approximately 20,000 members in India out of a total of 25,000 Indian Jews.

Jewish Communal Life

Next to the anti-Jewish activities of the British Fascists and related groups, the situation of Jewish communities abroad was the chief preoccupation of the British Jewish community, during the period now under review. Reference has already been made to the community's steps in connection with anti-Jewish agitation. Following is a brief record of its reaction to events abroad and its activities in connection with other communal interests.

In its report to the Board of Deputies of British Jews, on January 15, 1937, the Joint Foreign Committee, which represents the Board, expressed grave concern at reports regarding the economic distress of Polish Jews, and particularly over the renewed agitation for mass emigration of Jews from Poland. On the same day, the Board of Deputies expressed apprehension that Italy was departing from its

tradition of tolerant treatment of the Jews, citing the flogging of two Jewish merchants in Tripoli, and anti-Jewish attacks in the Italian press. Several days later, the Board of Deputies adopted a resolution "profoundly deploring" the action of the authorities in Tripoli compelling Jews to keep stores open on the Sabbath.

At the meeting of the Board of Deputies, on February 21, Leonard Montefiore, president of the Anglo-Jewish Association, in submitting the report of the Joint Foreign Committee, charged that the German Government is seeking to spread racial and anti-Jewish propaganda throughout Europe. He said that Nazi propaganda attempts had been successful in Roumania and in Poland, but not so successful in Holland and the Scandavian countries.

Suggestions for the reorganization of the Joint Foreign Committee, which consists of representatives of the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, evoked much discussion in the Jewish community. On April 2, a committee of inquiry which had been appointed to study the matter, recommended the reorganization of the Joint Foreign Committee. The chief recommendations were (1) that the Committee's membership be reduced from 19 to 9; (2) and that the Committee be granted power to act as central authority in behalf of the Board in foreign affairs of Jewish concern. The report declared that in recent years a system had arisen whereby complete control and authority had been assumed by the joint chairmen of the Committee, while the Committee to all intents and purposes ceased to function. On May 24, the Council of the Anglo-Jewish Association approved the proposal to amend the constitution of the Joint Foreign Committee.

In its 65th annual report, made public on June 27, the Anglo-Jewish Association expressed the view that the focal point in the situation of the Jews of Europe was to be found in Germany, whose steadily worsening conditions and continuous powerful Nazi propaganda effected adversely the Jews in other European lands. The Polish Government was criticized for failing to protect adequately the life and property of Polish-Jewish citizens and for tacitly

encouraging the anti-Jewish boycott. The Roumanian Government, the report declared, was maintaining a "lenient attitude" toward anti-Semitic movements which retarded the progress of the entire country.

On January 23, 1937, the first eight volumes of a new English translation of the Talmud were published in London. The volumes had required the services of thirty translators working for five years. The editor of the translation was Rabbi I. Epstein.

On April 19, "Girls' Education Week" was launched by the Organizing Council for Jewish Education at a mass meeting at which speakers pointed out that girls needed but were not receiving adequate religious training. Dr. Joseph H. Hertz, chief rabbi of the British Empire, urged a united effort to enable every Jewish girl to receive a sound education in the fundamentals of Judaism and the elements of the Hebrew language.

The 25th anniversary celebration of Agudath Israel on May 8, was greeted in London by messages of good will from the Archbishop of Westminster and George Lansbury, Laborite leader. At its 25th annual convention, on May 9, the Agudath Israel of England urged the coordination of all relief efforts in England for Polish Jews. It adopted a resolution providing for the appointment of a delegation to approach the president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews to coordinate all relief for Poland in one campaign under the control of the Board.

On June 6, the Board of Deputies decided unanimously to seek coordination of all fund-raising drives in England for the Jews of Poland and Eastern Europe in a single campaign under its own auspices. Neville Laski, who was re-elected president of the Board declared that the community was bewildered by the large number of appeals made in behalf of the Polish and other distressed Jewries. The urgent need for relief of pogrom-stricken Jews of Brzesc, he asserted, only brought to a head the determination of responsible elements to "end the overlapping and confusion."

A resolution expressing "horror at the persecution of the Jews in Poland" and calling on the Polish Government to "restore full rights without discrimination" to the Jews

was adopted at a mass meeting of the Federation of Polish Relief Organizations, held on June 10. Dr. Moses Gaster, who presided, expressed the hope that the meeting would be the beginning of agitation from town to town and country to country in behalf of the Polish Jews. Messages of sympathy for Polish Jewry were received from David Lloyd George; the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishop of Durham and Liverpool; Clement Attlee, Laborite leader; Viscount Cecil; George Lansbury; Herbert Morrison; Capt. Victor Cazalet and Sir Archibald Sinclair.

Irish Free State

On March 15, 1937, the Dail Eirann (Parliament) applauded a spirited defense of Jews against charges by Deputy Belton that they were all Communists. Among those denouncing attempts to introduce Jew-baiting in the Dail were Sean McEntee, the Minister of Finance, and William Norton, leader of the Labor party. Deputy Briscoe, Jewish leader, protested against the charges.

In April, the Senate of Trinity College, Dublin University, third oldest university in the former British Isles, announced the creation of a chair in Hebrew; its occupant, Dr. Jacob Weingreen, became the first Jew to hold a permanent professorship in Ireland. Although Hebrew has been part of the curriculum of the College for several centuries, there has been no chair in this subject hitherto.

The new Constitution of Ireland announced by President Eamon de Valera, in May, declared Ireland to be a Catholic nation, but recognized other religions including the Jewish and guaranteed freedom of all existing sects. The Constitution declared that "the State recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the faith professed by the majority of the citizens." "The State also recognizes the Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Religious Society of Friends, as well as the Jewish congregations and the other religious denominations existing in Ireland at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution." "Freedom of conscience and the profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order

and morality, guaranteed to every citizen. The State guarantees not to endow any religion and shall not impose any disabilities or make any discrimination on the ground of religious profession, belief or status."

Canada

In September, 1936, the German film "The Dancing Duchess" was withdrawn from Canadian motion picture theatres as a result of protests from the Anti-Nazi Boycott Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress. In October, five hundred youths, believed to have been students from the University of Montreal, paraded through Montreal's East End shouting anti-Jewish threats. Raoul Rainville, law student and principal speaker at the demonstration, which was finally broken up by police, declared that French Canadians must attack "the cursed Jews" on whom a war without mercy had been declared by students. The meeting concluded with the following declaration being read by Rainville and repeated by the audience: "I promise solemnly that I shall never under any circumstances buy from a Jew." In November, at the trial of Dorothea Palmer in an Ottawa court on charges of advertising birth control information, Rabbi Samuel Sachs of Toronto testified that, according to the Talmud, Jews were not required to have more than two children; he deduced from this that birth control was allowed by the Talmud.

A step in the direction of facilitating Sabbath observance by Jews was taken in December, when the Ontario cloak industry barred work on Friday night and Saturday in an agreement reached following a joint petition from employees to the Labor Department. The agreement provides for a five-day week, and prohibits overtime work on Friday and Saturday. More than 2,000 workers are affected, most of them in the city of Toronto.

Leading representatives of church, state and labor joined, in April 1937, in protesting against the persecution of Jews in Poland. Meetings were held throughout Canada under the auspices of the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Federation of Polish Jews in Canada. Resolutions citing Jewish grievances against the Polish Government

were adopted for transmission to the League of Nations. They pleaded that the Polish Government take steps immediately to restore Jewish citizens' rights as guaranteed by law, thereby maintaining the goodwill of Canadian Jewry and the Canadian people generally.

A "goodwill" action of unusual interest was that of Alan Coatsworth, a Christian resident in Toronto, who, in May 1937, adopted a German Jewish refugee youth whom he will furnish the means of studying for the rabbinate. This was the first adoption of a refugee on record in Canada.

Union of South Africa

During the period under review, the attention of the Jewish community of the Union of South Africa continued to be concentrated on anti-Jewish agitation, but especially on a movement among nationalist elements for the restriction of the immigration of Jews. The latter was promoted by the South African Nationalist Party led by Dr. Daniel Malan, who, as Minister of the Interior, sponsored the immigration quota act of 1930. That act, it will be recalled, permitted the immigration of only 50 persons per annum from all countries, except those from which Jews were not emigrating to South Africa. (See Vol. 32, pp. 89-91.) One of the countries exempted from the quota restriction was Germany. As a result of events in that country, a considerable number of German Jews began to seek a refuge in the Union. This turn of events aroused the ire of the Nationalists, who resent the participation in the life of the country of any but so-called Anglo-Saxons, and who began an agitation for the exclusion of German Jews. This movement came to a head in January, 1937.

Immigration Restriction

On January 6, 1937, at a meeting called by the South African Nationalist Party at Bloemfontein, Dr. Malan declared that the increased Jewish immigration in past months has confronted the Government with one of its greatest problems and that the whole country would back measures

to halt the Jewish influx. He proposed a law which would 1) permit entry only of immigrants who could be assimilated, 2) require strict examination of naturalizations, 3) bar recognition of Yiddish as a European language, 4) prohibit property-holding by non-citizens except by special Government permission, and 5) authorize the Government to forbid immigrants from engaging in certain occupations or from changing their names. The Nationalist Party decided to bar Jews as members and to demand that the Government adopt, as soon as possible, a bill along the lines laid down by Dr. Malan.

On January 12, two immigration bills were introduced in Parliament, one by the anti-Jewish Nationalist Party and the other by the Government. Although it restricts immigration from all nations, the Government measure was also regarded as discriminatory as against Jews and as an effort to calm the anti-Jewish wave caused by Nationalist Party agitation. One of the most outspoken critics of the Nationalists was Gen. Jan-Christian Smuts, Minister of Justice, who, in an address in Standerton, denounced the attempts to create anti-Jewish feeling and lauded the role of the Jews in the development of South Africa. Declaring the anti-Jewish movement was still small, General Smuts warned that "we shall have impossible conditions in this country, with racial and religious persecution" if the movement is allowed to grow.

On January 13, following a two-hour defense of the Nationalist Party measure, by Dr. Malan, whose speech was the first anti-Jewish tirade ever heard in the dominion parliament, the Malan bill was tabled and the Government bill fixing an "immigration quota for foreigners of non-British origin" received its second reading. In contrast to Dr. Malan's outburst, the speech of Minister of the Interior Stuttanford, for the Government bill, was a defense of Jews, lauding their part in the development of the country, and declaring "if we are not going to stand for justice and right for every man who is legally in the country, heaven help South Africa!" In speaking in favor of the Government bill, General Smuts denounced as a "plague and curse" the anti-Jewish agitation of the Nationalists. On January 15, the Jewish deputies in the South African Parliament an-

nounced they would vote for the Government bill, which was passed by the House of Assembly, by a large majority, on January 28. A few days later it was passed by the Senate.

Early in February, the Johannesburg *Star* published the results of an investigation which it had conducted to determine the manner and extent to which refugees had adapted themselves to the economic life of the country. The inquiry showed that of 1,500 German Jewish immigrants in the city, one-fourth were gainfully occupied in their own business enterprises and employing some 600 native-born South Africans; that 32% of the immigrants were craftsmen; and that the remainder had also adapted themselves "most usefully for South Africa's interests."

The drastic effect of the new law was shown when on February 15, it was reported that, since the second of the month when the law went into effect, 93% of applications for immigration into South Africa had been rejected by the Immigration Board set up by the new law. Hardship and suffering were seen to be in store for those immigrants who had embarked for South Africa before the law came into effect when, on April 12, the Government issued a regulation forbidding issuance of temporary landing permits to aliens who sailed from home after March 31, as, under the law, permission to enter South Africa must be obtained prior to sailing. In addition, the door of South Africa was shut in the faces of "stateless" persons when, on April 19, new regulation was passed in Parliament barring from the country aliens with so-called "one-way" passports.

Miscellaneous Events

On February 19, 1937, the London *Daily Herald* reported that Jews of Johannesburg were taking out insurance policies against the possibility of German domination in South Africa; the premiums for such policies were extremely low, because such a contingency is held remote.

In March, anti-Semitic propaganda in South Africa was denounced in a resolution adopted by the Witwatersrand (Transvaal) Church Council. The resolution warned that race prejudice is dangerous to the welfare of the country,

and called on Christian churches to exercise a restraining influence through the pulpit. This example was not followed by the Dutch Church Council of Pretoria, which, at a meeting on April 27, adopted a resolution leaving the question of anti-Semitism to the members' conscience as to whether it is "justified in the public interest."

A move which was expected to curb pro-Nazi agitation in South Africa, especially in connection with demands for the return of Southwest Africa to Germany was made by the Government on April 3, when an executive decree was issued forbidding persons not of British nationality to engage in any organized political or public activity in the Union of South Africa. At the same time, British nationals were forbidden to take an oath of fealty to, or obey orders of, the sovereign or chief of any state outside the British commonwealth of nations. This move was immediately protested by the Nazi government of Germany, as depriving persons of German nationality of rights enjoyed by all other inhabitants of South Africa. On April 16, Prime Minister J. B. M. Hertzog, of the South African Union, made public his reply to the protest of the Third Reich on these restrictions. He had pointed out that this measure applies equally to all persons who are not British subjects, and does not in its terms discriminate as against German nationals.

Jewish Communal Items

On August 3, 1936, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies cabled the American Jewish Congress that it would not be represented at the World Jewish Congress in Geneva.

In January, 1937, the South African Zionist Federation contributed \$20,000 to the Jewish National Fund for the establishment of a colony in Palestine, in honor of M. M. Ussischkin, world president of the Jewish National Fund.

In March, a national Ort-Oze organization was established in Johannesburg at a conference of 200 Jewish leaders, which elected a national council which will maintain contact with the Ort-Oze in Europe and conduct local activities.

On June 16, the annual report of the executive of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies, submitted to the Board's 12th annual congress, stressed the growth of anti-Semitism in South Africa since 1933, calling particular attention to the anti-Semitic policy of the Nationalist Party headed by Dr. D. F. Malan. The Congress adopted a resolution condemning "the efforts of certain organizations and political groups within the Union to create ill-will and hatred against its Jewish inhabitants." The agitation to sow discord between Jews and non-Jews was declared "a disservice to the country as a whole." The resolution concluded with a re-affirmation of South African Jewry's "constant desire and will to live in harmony and unity with every section of its South African fellow-citizens." In another resolution, the Congress expressed gratification with "the stand taken by leaders of thought in the Church, Parliament, the Press, and elsewhere, and by the enlightened and fair-minded South African people as a whole, against the forces which aim at creating ill-will between Jews and non-Jews." The Congress also adopted a resolution urgently requesting the Government to enact legislation which shall provide legal redress against activities which engender or promote feelings of ill-will and hostility to, or contempt against, any class or group of the inhabitants of the Union of South Africa.

III. OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Belgium

A conference in Brussels, held on July 7, 1936, protested against the brutalities of the Hitler regime. It adopted a resolution expressing abhorrence of the Nazi terrorist acts and proposing that a world movement be launched against National Socialism as a threat to world peace.

On May 4, 1937, it was revealed that a group of fifteen Belgian Nazi diamond dealers had sent a memorandum to the Government asking that Jews be eliminated from the diamond industry. The memorandum moved the Associ-

ation of Belgian Diamond Industrialists and the Union of Diamond Workers of Belgium to issue a joint proclamation which declared that Jews in the field had helped the industry to achieve the high respect in which it is held in the world's diamond markets and were more important in the industry than the small group of Belgian Nazis.

France

The Madagascar Colonization Plan

World-wide attention was evoked when, on January 16, 1937, French Colonial Minister Marius Moutet issued a carefully worded statement declaring that there were possibilities for land settlement of Jews in the French colonies of Madagascar, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and French Guiana. He saw opportunities for the settlement of victims of racial and political persecution, but warned against illusions of rapid mass colonization. If the following conditions obtained, he said, good results could be expected: (1) backing by a financially powerful body; (2) careful exploration of the territories offered; (3) good selection of the prospective settlers. The Colonial Minister declared that the colonization plans had been carefully studied by his ministry in collaboration with the Colonial Governors and that the Governor of Madagascar had already gone on record in favor of the proposals.

In Warsaw the news of the plan was greeted coolly by the Jewish press, which thanked France for its good will, but doubted the possibility of success for such a project. Furthermore, the Jewish press saw in the plan grist for the anti-Semitic mill of those Polish elements seeking to further mass emigration of Jews from Poland. The anti-Semitic press, however, greeted the announcement as a "victory" for its long campaign for the emigration of Jews to Madagascar. In Germany, the official German news agency in a radio broadcast called the French proposal the result of "intrigue by the anonymous Jewish government and the Jewish bankers who wish to win away France's colonies," while Germany's demands for colonies were being

ignored. The Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland, German-Jewish emigration agency, warned that "it would be false to expect that this offer would alleviate the Jewish emigration problem," but the *Berliner Gemeindeblatt*, official organ of the Berlin Jewish community, urged that the American Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Colonization Association to investigate the possibilities of the offer. In London, the emigration agency Emcol saw possibilities in the French offer and urged Jews of the world to take an interest in it.

These and other reactions moved the French government to clarify the situation. On January 22, Colonial Under-Secretary Bouteille issued an official statement declaring: "The Quai d'Orsay has been informed that some foreign governments believe Colonial Minister Marius Moutet's project will help their plans to evacuate their Jews. Such hopes are entirely without foundation." M. Bouteille, who, together with Gaston Joseph, head of the Colonial Ministry's political department, had been entrusted with the working out of the project, further pointed out that Jewish refugees already in France would be the first admitted to the colonies included in the plan; that the project called for modest beginnings with only ten families to be settled during 1937, thirty during 1938, and fifty in 1939; that the prospective settlers were to be mostly specialists, farmers and a few physicians, artisans and merchants being barred; and that the French government was willing to accord land, administrative facilities and sanitary help for colonization work if the other expenses were guaranteed by recognized and stable Jewish organizations. This sobering statement was followed a few days later by another of the same tenor by Minister Moutet. In an address before the Foreign Press Association, the Colonial Minister warned against exaggerated hopes in connection with his settlement proposals, but emphasized that France made the proposals in all sincerity.

On May 11, Minister Moutet revealed that in the presence of the Polish Ambassador, he had warned a Polish Government commission, prior to its departure the previous week for Madagascar to investigate colonization possibilities, not to "arouse illusions among certain unfor-

tunate people." M. Moutet's announcement declared: I emphasized that the enterprise is difficult and possible only in a small experimental way with restricted numbers of healthy people possessing sufficient funds. I pointed out that experience has proved that a long time is necessary for Europeans to adapt themselves to colonial conditions. We favor colonization experiments in Madagascar for nations who have no colonies, but this does not mean we wish to provoke an exodus." The investigating commission appointed by the Polish Government was accompanied by two Jewish experts who went along not as representatives of Jewish organizations but in their private capacities.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

Outward evidences of anti-Jewish hostility in France were few and unimportant during the period under review.

In August, 1936, the French authorities prohibited the circulation, in French Morocco, of the Royalist daily *Action Française* because of a violent anti-Jewish campaign the paper was conducting.

The Central Jewish Consistory announced, on September 13, 1936, the establishment of a central bureau to study and combat anti-Semitism in France, and appealed to Jews to refrain from individual, irresponsible steps.

On September 20, an International Conference against Race Prejudice and Anti-Semitism was held in Paris. Two hundred delegates from twenty countries attended the meeting which was a demonstration in reply to the Nuremberg Nazi Congress, held a week earlier. It was sponsored by Roger Baldwin, president of the American Civil Liberties Union; Heinrich Mann and Arnold Zweig, exiled German novelists; Romain Rolland, André Gide, Léon Jauhaux, Léon Lagrange, Victor Basch, publicists; Emile Vandervelde and Camille Huysmans of Belgium; and Lord Marley of Great Britain. The agenda included a discussion of anti-Semitism as a form of social regression and of racial alignments in various countries. Formation of a world congress against anti-Semitism was planned.

On November 15, Premier Léon Blum was given an overwhelming vote of confidence by the Chamber of

Deputies after he had been attacked as a "dirty Jew" by a Nationalist deputy. The epithet was hurled at the Premier when he stepped to the rostrum to defend Minister of Interior Roger Salengro against charges that the latter had deserted to the Germans during the World War.

On June 1, 1937, the Collège de France announced that it had rejected the invitation to participate in the celebration of the Goettingen University bicentenary.

A united "Anti-Jewish Committee of France" has been formed to combat "Jewish influence" and "foreign and Jewish invasion."

The Bernhard-Poliakov Affair

In the preceding Review, attention was called to the controversy created by the action of some members of the editorial staff of the *Pariser Tageblatt*, German-language emigré daily newspaper, in charging that the publisher, Vladimir Poliakov, had agreed to convert his paper into a pro-Nazi organ. Headed by Dr. George Bernhard, these writers had begun publication of the *Pariser Tageszeitung*. M. Poliakov vigorously denied the charges, which followed his discharge of Dr. Bernhard as editor-in-chief. (See Vol. 38, pp. 262-3).

Poliakov, a Jew, referred the matter to a court of honor consisting of a number of distinguished Jews including Dr. Henry Sliosberg, former Russian Jewish communal leader, Vladimir Jabotinski, and N. Finkelstein, publisher of *Haint* of Paris. On July 20, 1936, this court completely exonerated Poliakov of the charge. A few days later, Dr. Bernhard publicly rejected the decision, declaring that the committee had been composed, in part, of Poliakov's friends.

In March, 1937, a German refugee journalists' committee found Dr. Bernhard had acted in good faith in bringing charges against Poliakov; a minority of the committee supported Poliakov.

In April, five former members of the staff of the *Tageblatt* went on trial in the Correctional Court in Paris on robbery charges arising from the controversy over the alleged sale of the *Pariser Tageblatt* to Nazi interests. The five defendants

admitted they were guilty of taking the paper's circulation lists and editorial matter, and explained that their action was prompted by a desire to save the names of German refugees from falling into the hands of Nazis, in view of the charges which had been made against Poliakov. The court fined three of the five men.

In June, Poliakov's libel suit against Dr. Bernhard was tried. Dr. Bernhard was fined two hundred francs and ordered to pay Poliakov ten thousand francs moral damages. The court declared that Bernhard had acted in bad faith when he charged Poliakov with having agreed to convert the paper to a pro-Nazi organ.

Miscellaneous Events

On September 13, 1936, the World Ort Federation at its annual meeting in Paris adopted a budget of nine million francs for 1937 for the retraining of Eastern and Central European Jews.

On December 28, 1936, a museum of Jewish antiquities was opened by Minister of Education Jean Zay. The museum, founded by the late Count Nissim de Comondo, a Jew, had been bequeathed by him to France.

On February 17, 1937, the appearance of the third volume of the General Yiddish Encyclopedia, published by the Simon Dubnow Fund, was marked by a dinner attended by Jewish social workers and journalists in Paris.

On April 26, a convention of the federated Jewish societies adopted a resolution to merge native and immigrant Jews into a united body for the aid of Jews abroad and protection of Jewish interests in France. Ninety-five delegates attended the convention. Another resolution condemned anti-Jewish developments in Poland and urged aid to Polish and German Jews. Speakers included representatives of the Central Consistory, the Jewish Colonization Association, the HIAS-ICA, and the World Jewish Congress.

A resolution strongly condemning anti-Semitic persecutions in Eastern and Central Europe was adopted unanimously by the fifteenth Congress of Pen Clubs,

meeting in Paris on June 23. The Polish delegates abstained from voting.

At the close of June a contribution of ten thousand francs was made by the Federation of Jewish Societies for the relief of the victims of the Czenstochowa pogrom in Poland.

Algeria

On July 1, 1936, two anti-Jewish demonstrators were killed by police at Oran, during a riot following the lynching by an Arab mob of a Jew suspected of having slain an Arab. (See Vol. 38, p. 265) The demonstrations were due in part to reports, later denied, that an attempt had been made on the life of Abbe Lambert, Mayor of Oran, who headed the turbulent anti-Jewish elements in the district. The unrest spread to Constantine, where police were forced to take severe measures to prevent an attack on Jewish quarters of the city. In the resulting clash, fifteen demonstrators were reported wounded. Jewish circles were gratified by the firm attitude of Governor-General Le Beau, who took measures to prevent the spreading of the agitation to Jewish sections and ordered police and soldiery to guard Jewish houses. On July 3, the Governor-General conferred with Premier Blum and Minister of the Interior Roger Salengro on the Algerian situation. At the same time, three Algerian Moslem municipal councillors warned against Jew-baiting propaganda. In an effort to quiet the rising unrest, Jewish and Moslem leaders called a meeting in Algiers at which they proclaimed their desire for order and affirmed the mutual understanding between the two peoples. A few days later, Sheik Zahiri, chief of the Arab delegation of Oran, negotiating with the Governor-General, condemned the anti-Jewish excesses in an interview with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Dr. Salah Bendjelloul, political leader of the Algerian Arabs, declared that European anti-Jewish agitators were responsible for the recent disorders. "We have, however, awakened to the true facts and the Europeans are wasting their breath in calling on us to massacre the Jews." Dr. Bendjelloul declared that the leaders of the Mohammedan population

were constantly appealing to their co-religionists not to lend ear to the anti-Jewish agitators, and that relations between Jew and Mohammedan were cordial despite the incident in Oran.

Desirous of removing one of the grounds for anti-Jewish antagonism, namely, the fact that the Jews of Algeria are French citizens whereas the Moslems are not, a delegation of Algerian Jewish leaders, on March 31, presented a memorandum to the French Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry in Algeria urging that the Algerian Moslem population be given the franchise. The memorandum refuted allegations that Jews were responsible for the maintenance of the oppressive native code in Algeria. It said in part: "Jews view with increasing sympathy the Moslem demand for equal rights, hoping for a solution of the question in the Moslems' favor."

Early in April, it was disclosed that the Government was preparing a law to prohibit scurrilous or malicious expressions of opinion regarding the religious convictions, honor, viewpoints and liberty, of racial communities. To a delegation from the Jewish Algerian Committee for Social Studies, Mr. Le Beau, Governor-General of Algiers, expressed the hope that the new law would halt anti-Jewish defamation in certain Algerian newspapers. He asked members of the committee to bring to his attention any case of such defamation.

Syria

The outbreaks of Arabs against the French authorities in Syria, which began in February 1936, (See Vol. 38, pp. 265-6), recurred during the early part of the period under review, and had their effect upon Damascus Jews, who suffered attacks in streets and cafes. At the same time, the Jewish community of Aleppo telegraphed the French Government in support of the Nationalist demands of the Arab delegation then in Paris.

Tunisia

Early in July, 1936, anti-Jewish disturbances broke out in Sousse and Gafsa, Tunisian cities, during which Moslems attacked Jews, killing one and wounding several. Troop re-enforcements were hurried to the districts. In Paris, newspapers sympathetic to the government of Premier Léon Blum asserted that the outbreaks were the result of Fascist attempts to foment racial hatred in the French protectorate. In April, 1937, *Le Temps* of Paris warned against the activities in Tunisia of an Arab nationalist group named "Destour," engaged in anti-French propaganda and anti-Jewish agitation. The paper said that sporadic anti-Jewish outbreaks in remote villages, chiefly on market days when it is easy to incite the Arabs to sack Jewish stands, are traceable entirely to that party's activity. In May, twenty-one Arabs were sentenced to prison terms of two to six months for pillaging Jewish stores in Djebelaboid, ten weeks earlier.

The Netherlands

In July, 1936, a committee, composed of several hundred intellectuals of various political faiths, was founded to fight National Socialist activities in The Netherlands. The committee proposed to "found a center of all intellectuals alive to the dangers of National Socialism and who desire to fight for spiritual freedom."

In January, 1937, the municipal government of Amsterdam opened a kosher kitchen for needy Jews, serving a complete dinner for five cents.

In February, the press condemned an anti-Jewish speech delivered in the Upper House of the Estates General by the Nazi deputy Graaf de Merchant et Donsembourg, who asserted that all Jews were Marxists and that Jewish citizens were not 100% Netherlanders. Dr. Mendels, a well-known Amsterdam attorney, who replied, was loudly applauded.

In March, the senate of Amsterdam University announced

that it would reject an invitation to send representatives to the 200th anniversary celebration of Goettingen University in Germany. The universities of Utrecht and Leyden followed the lead of Amsterdam University.

An interesting insight was given into the participation of Jews in public life in the Netherlands, in an article widely published in the Dutch press, in April, in refutation of charges by the Dutch Nazi leader, A. Mussert, that Holland is dominated by Jews. The article was written by the well-known Jewish banker, T. M. Beugel. The following facts were presented: of 50 members of the Upper House of Parliament, 5 have Jewish mothers; of 100 members of the Lower House, 5 have Jewish mothers and only three are full Jews; of 65 members of the provincial executive boards, there are only 4 Jews; of the members of the Provincial Estates, representative bodies of the local government areas which elect the members of the Upper House, 30 out of 90 are Jews; there are 5 Jewish aldermen among 73; there is no Jewish burgomaster in twenty of the country's largest towns; of 90 members of law college faculties, 46 are Jews; there is no Jew on the general staff of either army or navy; of all the large scale industries, one only, the N. V. Unilever Verkoopcentralen has 4 Jews on its board of directors of 24; 18% of brokers on the Bourse are Jews; only two banks in Holland have Jewish directors; no great daily newspaper in the country has a Jewish editor.

Three anti-Semitic parties offered candidates for the May 26 election to the Second Chamber of Parliament; twenty parties in all submitted lists. The elections resulted in a decisive victory for the Liberal Government and a reduction in the number of deputies of the Nazi-inclined Mussert party. Seven Jews were among the 100 members elected to the Second Chamber.

Portugal

In January, 1937, in a memorandum submitted to Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar, leaders of Portuguese Jewry expressed surprise at the sudden growth of anti-Semitism in Portugal. Declaring Portuguese Jews had been considered loyal citizens for generations, the memorandum protested

especially against anti-Jewish agitation in the press and at public meetings, attributing it to "odious propaganda of foreign origin which aims to disturb the harmony existing between Jews and others in Portugal." The leaders charged that the propaganda which aimed to confuse Judaism with Communism, was malicious since religious Jews could not be communists, and all Jews in Portugal are religious.

In February, the authorities ordered revision of all alien residential permits. This order chiefly affected German Jewish refugee families, many of whom had to leave the country. The HICEM, Jewish emigration agency, urgently appealed to Portuguese-Jewish Refugee Committee to help deported families to proceed to France and Belgium. A few days later, however, the authorities cancelled the deportation orders and assured Jewish leaders that the measures against foreigners had no anti-Jewish motives. In April, reports of "unmerciful deportations" of Jewish refugees from Portugal were again received by the HICEM in Paris. Because these belied official Portuguese denials to the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the HICEM asked the Commissioner to intervene a second time

Spain

Because of existing conditions in Spain, there were very few reliable reports regarding the situation of the very small number of Jews in that unhappy land. Even the following reports nearly all dealing with events in Spanish Morocco, and containing some contradictions, cover only a short period in August 1936 and may not be accurate in all details. They do indicate, however, that the Jews of Spanish Morocco have been subjected by both sides in the Civil War to such acts of oppression as are perpetrated in time of war upon the civilian population. It is not clear from these reports whether Jews were treated worse than other sections of the population.

In August, the *Manchester Guardian* reported that German documents revealing anti-Semitic propaganda in Spain and Spanish Morocco had been seized in Barcelona.

In December, the Rebel organ ABC coupled world Jewry and Soviet Russia as jointly responsible for the Spanish civil war.

Spanish Morocco

In August, alarming reports from Spanish Morocco indicated that Jewish residents there were in an extremely dangerous situation. The entire Jewish community of Melilla was reported to have been imprisoned in concentration camps, and a radio broadcast from Seville, which was under rebel domination, stated "that international Jewry is definitely siding with the government." A group of Jewish refugees from Spanish Morocco who escaped on a British steamer were landed in Gdynia, Poland. They reported that the rebels were placing all East European Jews in that territory in concentration camps, as pro-Government suspects. At the same time, wealthy Jews were reported fleeing territory held by Government forces which were confiscating all capital. It was reported also that the Spanish rebels had exacted \$60,000 from the Jewish community in Tetuan, Morocco; wealthiest Jews of the city had been forced to pawn their property to meet the demands. On August 15th, General Francisco F. Franco, Spanish rebel chief, addressed a letter to the Jews of Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, telling them to disregard anti-Jewish speeches broadcast from Seville. He admitted, however, that the Jewish community there had been asked to make a "voluntary" contribution of 500,000 pesetas to the rebel cause. It was learned from Jewish refugees from Spanish Morocco, that life in eight principal cities was more or less normal; reports of rebels having shot members of the Jewish community in Mellila were declared untrue, though some had been arrested.

Late in August, it was reported that a great proportion of the Jewish refugees who had fled from rebel-controlled Spanish Morocco, were not admitted to the international territory of Tangier, although they face reprisals on their return home. Responsibility for the refusal to admit the

refugees was attributed to the Italian consul at Tangier, who is president of the International Control Committee. At about the same time, a report of similar tenor came from another point, Casablanca, French Morocco. It was to the effect that a Danish steamer, out of Teneriffe, in the Canary Islands had debarked a number of Jewish refugees of Polish and German extraction from Spanish Morocco at Casablanca, after the refusal of the rebel authorities in the Canary Islands to permit them to disembark there. A later report asserted that the rebel authorities had ordered the dissolution of Jewish communal administrative bodies in Spanish Morocco. In April, 1937, the London *Daily Mail* reported from Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, that Rabbi Jalfon, president of the Jewish tribunal there, was among those arrested on the charge of plotting an anti-Franco revolt, but was released after a short detention.

IV. GERMANY

Events in Germany during the period under review continued to show no deviation, on the part of those in power in that country, from the path they had set out upon in 1933, a path leading to the destruction of the Jewish minority. Edicts, ordinances, and administrative regulations progressively impaired the right of Jews to make a living; the gaps left between these strands of the net were filled by judicial interpretation and by so-called "individual" action of officials of the Nazi party. In the meanwhile a large part of the intellectual energy of the nation is preoccupied with a campaign of ruthless propaganda of unprecedented virulence aimed at creating in the minds of the people the idea that Jews are untouchable, sub-human creatures, whose extirpation would automatically solve all human problems and usher in a new golden age. To create this mental caricature of the Jew, history is being twisted, distorted and deformed. At the same time, the attempt is being made to degrade religion, whose keystone is the brotherhood of man, to a tribal cult which sanctifies the destruction of those who do not "belong."

The Net of Restrictions

In every field, the Jews of Germany were burdened during the year with an amazing number of restrictions that piled up day by day and week by week, slowly circumscribing and strangling their occupational activity and their cultural life. Many of these restrictions followed well laid out patterns designed to eliminate the Jew from the economic life of the country. Others bore the imprint of "individual action" on the part of petty officials and party leaders. Every once in so often a trade or a town was able to announce jubilantly that it was "Judenrein." The net result has been the emigration of the comparatively small number who are able to leave the country, and the progressive increase in the number of those remaining who must be cared for by philanthropic agencies.

Economic Restrictions

On July 9, 1936, the Ministry of Finance reissued instructions to newly-married German couples to spend their marriage loans from the State in buying household goods at stores owned by Reich citizens. On the same day, Hans Henkel, commissioner for Jewish Culture announced that there were no longer any Jewish owners of motion picture theaters in Germany.

On July 13, *Der Angriff* announced that the authorities would not renew the licenses of Jewish rag-dealers and rag-pickers because Jews were "not sufficiently reliable." As a result of this order, which was issued because of the urgent need of waste products in supplying raw material to German industry, thousands of Jews lost their livelihood. In October, Nazi newspapers gave evidence that the Jew was being sorely missed in the waste products field. Since Jews had been ousted, German households were finding it difficult to dispose of their rags. *Der Angriff* suggested that members of the Hitler Youth organization take up this task. On September 24, Jewish and Catholic employment bureaus were ordered to liquidate their activities no later than December 31, after which date Jewish and Catholic unem-

ployed would be obliged to apply for work at the State employment offices of the Nazi Labor Front.

Early in October, authorities in Pomerania issued instructions forbidding Germans to sell food to Jews. The Nazi leader of Glowitz also warned individuals against donating food to Jews. Peasants were especially cautioned that they would be deprived of their lands or heavily fined if they were discovered dealing with Jews.

On October 4, the Reich Chamber of Culture ordered Jewish art dealers of Berlin to sell their stock and liquidate their business by the end of the year. A few days later, Jewish wholesalers were ordered to submit lists of their customers to the German Labor Front so that "Aryan" retailers could be blacklisted if they continued dealing with Jews. On October 16, a delegation of Jewish businessmen formally complained to the Reich Minister of Economics of terrorism and repression, submitted a detailed list of cases and included names of officials involved. In the same month, according to a report in *Deutsche Justiz*, the Ministry of Justice invalidated bequests by "Aryans" to Jews on the grounds that transactions delivering "Aryan" property to Jews are "immoral" and violate Nazi principles. The decision legalized concentration of capital in mixed marriages in the hands of the "Aryan" members.

On October 18, *Der Angriff* opened a drive for party control of department stores suspected of belonging to Jews. The paper alleged that many Jewish stores have been fictitiously "Aryanized" to avoid anti-Jewish boycott and asserted that Wertheim's, Berlin's largest department store, belonged in that category. In November, a congress of State accountants was held in Weimar at which elimination of Jewish business enterprises was planned within the framework of existing legislation through "economic examination" of Jewish firms. These "examinations" were aimed to bring commercial enterprises into line with Hitler's four year plan of German economic self-sufficiency. In the same month, Jewish newspapers in Germany reported that demands had been made on Jewish real estate owners that they redeem their mortgages by the end of the year. The demands were motivated, it was said, by the desire of public banks to

terminate their relations with Jewish clients. Inasmuch as many Jewish realty owners were not in a position to obtain quick credit to meet these sudden demands, Jewish organizations were urged to attempt to arrange for such credits in order to prevent foreclosures.

On November 29, the Ministry of Finance ordered all its employes to submit, by December 20, complete proof of their own and their spouses' racial origin. The order said that no official could expect promotion unless his and his mate's "racial purity" were established beyond doubt. The next day, the Labor Front launched its annual pre-Christmas campaign to keep shoppers out of Jewish owned stores; "Aryan" shops were forced to display Labor Front signs to distinguish them from Jewish stores. December 4, the Nazi official press bureau warned German manufacturers, on pain of being held responsible to the State, not to extend credit to Jews; regardless of whether the credits are issued by institutions or by individuals, the announcement declared, they belong to the State and the State loses if Jews emigrate without paying.

On December 7, H. Joseph & Co., one of Berlin's largest department stores, passed into "Aryan" hands. This left the partly British-owned firm of N. Israel the only Jewish concern in the field. On December 18, in pressing a pre-Christmas anti-Jewish boycott campaign, the Nazi authorities of Breslau published a complete list of all Jewish shops with the request that the public do not patronize them.

On January 1, 1937, employment exchange offices of all Jewish communities in Germany were liquidated under an order by authorities issued in September. The order not only seriously hampers Jewish unemployed, but also makes Jewish firms dependent on the State Labor Exchange offices which send only "Aryan" help. In the same month, Jewish bookshop owners were ordered to liquidate their businesses by March 31. One store, for the Jewish trade only, and plainly labeled as such, was to be permitted in each of the larger cities. In March, the municipalities of Kirchem and Weilheim prohibited Jewish cattle dealers from participating in local cattle markets. On May 1, two of Germany's largest Jewish concerns, M. Kempinsky & Co., famous Berlin cafe

operators, and Loeser and Wolff of Elbing, cigar makers and tobacco shop owners, were taken over by "Aryan" interests.

Professional and Cultural Restrictions

On September 8, 1936, a government order declared that only architects who are members of the Reich Chamber of Architects may practice the profession. Inasmuch as Jews are barred from membership in the Chamber, this order blasted the careers of Jewish architects who had thus far weathered the ravages of anti-Jewish legislation.

On October 7, the Berlin Medical Journal, reporting that, after three years of the Nazi regime, Jews still comprised more than one-third of the city's 6,277 physicians, announced the establishment of a union of "Aryan" physicians to counteract the "Jewish influence" in medicine. In December, it was reported that fourteen Jewish physicians still employed by reason of their exemption from the "Aryan paragraph" as war veterans, had resigned their posts on the sick-fund panels of State insurance companies in protest against continual appeals by the authorities to members of the sick fund panels not to patronize Jewish physicians. On January 22, 1937, the federal health department issued an appeal to all Germans to refrain from patronizing Jewish physicians. In March, 1937, Dr. Gerhard Wagner, Reich medical leader, announced that Jewish physicians in the provinces will not be allowed to come to Berlin without special permits. In February, 1937, a Labor Court in Magdeburg set a precedent by refusing to admit to its hearings Jewish lawyers "even when they represent Jewish cases." In the same month, according to a statement issued by the Reich Lawyers' Chamber, the percentage of "non-Aryans" among lawyers practicing in Berlin had dropped from 34.4 per cent at the end of 1935, to 33.6 per cent at the end of 1936; in 1935, out of a total of 3,007 lawyers, 1,036 were "non-Aryans" whereas at the end of 1936, there were only 934 "non-Aryan" lawyers out of a total of 2,858.

On November 8, an order by the Ministry of Education prohibited Jews, or "Aryans" married to Jews, from conducting private schools or engaging in private teaching.

In February, 1937, it was officially announced that there were no more pharmacies under Jewish ownership in Germany. Before the drive against Jewish pharmacists six percent of all pharmacies were owned by Jews. On March 5, Prof. Lehmann, president of the Reich Film Chamber, told a convention of motion picture workers and actors that not a single Jew was left in the industry in Germany.

Currency Regulations Affecting Jews

On July 10, 1936, many Jewish capitalists began transferring their capital from Germany to other lands at the enormous loss of 73%, because of their fear that there would be new and greater difficulties after the Olympic Games in Berlin. It was estimated in banking circles that at least 5,000,000 marks of Jewish capital was taken out of the country in a single week with the permission of the National Socialist authorities. The Reichsbank did not interfere, since the Government benefited by retention of almost three quarters of the capital through emigration taxes and other payments obtained from applicants desiring to export capital.

On September 24, the German Government and the German Zionist Federation concluded a special transfer agreement whereby German Jews could transfer up to 2,500,000 marks for investment in the Jewish Colonization Agency in Palestine operated by the Zionist Executive for the extension of Jewish public works and the intensification of colonization activities. The German Jewish investors, under the terms of the agreement, would receive bonds redeemable in 25 years. The capital thus invested, the agreement provided, must be spent in Germany for materials that the Agency needed in its projects. This arrangement was part of the general transfer agreement (Haavarah) between Germany and Palestine by which German Jews, emigrating to Palestine, are enabled to transfer part of their capital in the form of goods. In this connection, it is interesting to note that, in November, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* declared that Haavarah must extend its activities to

countries other than Palestine if it wishes to facilitate new emigration of Jews from Germany.

On October 29, the Currency Exchange Office published a communique offering facilities for Jews with capital up to 8,000 marks to withdraw it at a discount of 50%, in order to "promote the emigration of people of small means to a greater extent than hitherto." The regulations declared that capital must not exceed 8,000 marks, that the immigrant must leave within two months, and that he furnish written guaranty from the Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland that he will never return to Germany.

On December 2, a dispatch of the *New York Times* from Berlin stated that property of German Jews suspected of intending to go abroad permanently was being seized without legal formalities, since a new law gives the Exchange Control Service the right to seize and administer the fortune and property of any citizens suspected of intending to go abroad permanently, without paying the flight tax. The law provides that grounds for suspicion need not be stated, thus relieving the exchange control functionaries of the "embarrassing business of proving their suspicions in the courts." Later in the same month, the Exchange Control office published a statement outlining conditions under which individuals may be suspected of intending to leave the country without paying the flight tax. According to this statement such intention is indicated 1) when a person liquidates his holdings and does not invest the proceeds in a new enterprise; 2) when large sums are withdrawn from bank accounts for no ascertainable reason; 3) when large quantities of jewelry are purchased; 4) when merchandise is shipped abroad on longer term credit than usual; and 5) when merchandise is shipped abroad on a credit basis, although such transactions were usually for cash.

According to a report published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in May 1937, the proceeds from the "flight tax" imposed on all emigrants by the German Government have totaled \$70,000,000 since the Nazis came into power. The tax, introduced by Chancellor Bruening in 1931, amounted to 25% of a fortune and was levied on fortunes of \$80,000 or more, but the Nazis had reduced the exempted minimum to \$20,000.

Measures for "Protection" of "German Blood and Honor"

A number of extensions to the application of the 1935 Nuremberg Decree "For the Protection of German Blood and Honor" were devised during the period under review.

On July 29, 1936, a Court of Appeals verdict ruled that the child of a mixed marriage, whose custody is awarded to the "Aryan" father after divorce, may not visit his or her mother in her home; the mother may ask permission to meet the child outside her home. As an extension of the application of the decree excluding "Aryan" women under 45 from employment as domestics in Jewish households, Jewish restaurant owner were prohibited in August, from employing women under that age.

On August 23, two Jewish employees of the Barasch department store in Magdeburg, who had been sentenced to two years imprisonment for being on friendly terms with a number of German female employees, had their sentences quashed by the Federal Court of Appeal. The court ruled that, although the Magdeburg Criminal Court was justified in deciding that the accused had committed an offense, it was not against the honor of the girls who were of age and responsible for their actions, but against the girls' parents. The Jews, however, were not aware of having committed such an offense, the court ruled.

On September 4, a Berlin Labor Court decided that marriage to a Jewess is adequate cause for dismissal from employment.

On October 13, the Ministry of Justice announced that it had issued an order for the establishment of special courts throughout Germany, exclusively for the trial of alleged violations of the 1935 "Nuremberg Law for the protection of German blood." This was necessary, the Ministry explained, "to bring unity into the system of punishment for violation of that law."

Citing a federal court decision, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* declared, in December, that the Nuremberg marriage and citizenship laws do not constitute official grounds for "Aryans" to divorce their Jewish mates. The paper pointed out that the Nazi party had given "Aryans" a half year in 1933 during which they could divorce Jews on racial

grounds. According to a report published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in March, the Federal Court ruled that not only marriages but engagements between "Aryans" and Jews are prohibited under the marriage and citizenship laws of 1935. Such engagements were held to be contrary to the spirit of the law and to the moral code of Nazi Germany.

On March 19, 1937, a Nazi court ruled that impotence is not an acceptable defense for a Jew who is charged with "defiling the Aryan race" by relations with an "Aryan" woman.

On April 14, the Criminal District Court in Breslau announced that Jews convicted of "racial turpitude" will be sent to the penitentiary until "they realize they must keep away from Aryan women." Until then the judges had had the option of imposing fines, or of sentencing offenders to jail, concentration camp, or the penitentiary.

On May 27, it was officially announced that during the third quarter of 1936, 128 persons, ninety of them Jews, had been convicted of *Rassenschande*, or "racial defilement."

Other Restrictions on Civil Liberties

On July 25, 1936, the secret police of Frankfurt prohibited the use of Hebrew at public gatherings; all speeches at public functions were ordered to be made in German. Two days later, the Association of Jewish Front Fighters was officially notified that members blinded in the war are no longer entitled to the privileges of others similarly afflicted.

On August 4, a German Federal Court declared that a motion picture film in which a Jew collaborates, even if it is made in Germany, is subject to all the restrictions placed on foreign motion pictures.

On August 10, it became known that German-Jewish refugees from Spain who had been rescued by a German warship, had been imprisoned in concentration camps after they returned to Germany.

On September 29, it was announced that although Jews are not admitted to the army, Jews between the ages of 18 and 45, desiring to emigrate from the Reich, must apply to the War Office for certificates releasing them from military

obligations. According to an order published on November 4 in the official organ of the Reich Association of Newspaper Publishers, German newspapers were forbidden to publish notices or advertisements of Jewish religious services, because the publication of such matter was not in accordance with the duties of the press.

On November 23, a number of Jews, all holding German passports, were summoned to Gestapo headquarters in Berlin and although they pleaded they had nowhere to go, ordered to leave the Reich within 24 hours. It was learned that all those ordered deported had left the Reich at one time or another as tourists. Jewish circles feared these deportations marked the beginning of a new campaign to expel Jews by administrative order.

On January 13, 1937, it was reported that the Bavarian Ministry of Education had banned all courses in Hebrew, in the secondary schools of the province, even those offered to divinity students in preparation for advanced theological studies.

Under a new Reich conscription ordinance published on February 18, half-Jews and quarter-Jews will be compelled to do military and labor service. The new law modified legislation enacted on May 25, 1934 which specified that only "Aryans" were eligible for active army service. Henceforth, a man will not be considered a non-Aryan for military or labor camp purposes unless he has more than two Jewish grandparents and observes the Jewish religion.

According to a statement published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the racial descent of Germans living abroad, whatever their citizenship, will be recorded in an elaborate card file to be instituted by the German authorities, on the basis of an investigation into the antecedents of every person of German origin living in a foreign country, in progress since 1935. On March 22, converted Jews were expelled, by a Government order, from the League of St. Paul, an organization of baptized Jews. They were advised to join the Jewish Cultural League.

On April 11, Wilhelm Frick, Minister of Interior, issued an order depriving Jews of municipal citizenship, on the ground that municipal law is no longer in effect so far as Jews are concerned, thus extending to municipalities the

provisions of Nuremberg racial laws which deprived Jews of their Reich citizenship.

On May 9, Bernhard Rust, Education Minister, made public a decree excluding German Jews from acquiring degrees from German Universities.

On June 7, it became known that a well-known Jewish industrialist of Bielefeld had been sentenced to four months imprisonment for ordering "Aryan" employees of his textile factory to suspend operations for one and one half hours on Yom Kippur. The court ruled the manufacturer had "gravely insulted" his "Aryan" employes.

Restrictions on Jewish Communal Life

On August 2, 1936, an application for exemption from the corporation tax by a high school for poor Jewish students, was dismissed by Reich financial authorities, on the ground that the school could be considered a public institution only if it served the welfare of the *Volksgemeinschaft* (general German national community); the education of "non-Aryans" does not come under such a definition. In order probably to make the law conform to this conception, a new law promulgated on December 9, deprived all Jewish philanthropic organizations of customary tax exemptions, which will henceforth be restricted to "Aryan" institutions.

On September 20, Rabbi Emil Bernhard Cohn, outstanding Zionist leader, scholar and writer, was arrested by the Gestapo. No reason for the arrest was given, but it was presumed to be for statements made by Rabbi Cohn in a Rosh Hashanah sermon the previous week. He had been previously arrested by the Gestapo on December 20, 1935, and held for eighteen days, on a charge of criticizing the Nuremberg "ghetto laws" in an address. During the following days, two more Zionist leaders, Franz Meyer and Benno Cohen, and Rabbi Max Nussbaum one of Berlin's leading rabbis were arrested. All efforts to ascertain the reason for these arrests were vain. Rabbi Emil Bernhard Cohn was released on September 27; Rabbi Max Nussbaum the following day, but Dr. Meyer and Dr. Benno Cohn were held until October 4.

On September 27, the Association of Independent Artisans of the Jewish Faith, a mutual benefit society, founded forty-one years ago, was dissolved by authorities.

On October 1, the Berlin bureau of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency which supplies news to Jewish newspapers throughout Germany, was notified that it had been expelled from membership in the Association of News Agencies in Germany. All German Jewish newspapers in Berlin were informed that they had been expelled from the Reich Press Chamber and were placed under the supervision of Hans Hinkel, Nazi Commissar for "non-Aryan" culture. This new move extended to the press the "ghetto" regulations hitherto limited to Jewish theatres.

On November 6, the authorities withdrew an order issued previously, directing the Berlin Jewish Community to reduce the size of its council, but directed the substitution of other names for some of the Zionist candidates, on the alleged ground that the latter were radicals. Among those barred were Dr. Benno Cohn, Ernest Marcus, director of Paltreu, the German Palestine Transfer office; Dr. Arthur Rau, director of the Palestine Immigration office, Dr. Michael Traub, head of the Palestine Foundation Fund; and Dr. George Lubinski, head of the Central Office of Jewish Social Welfare.

On December 6, the Gestapo notified synagogues that sermons in connection with Hanukkah were not to be delivered in the German language as had been the custom in liberal synagogues. Jewish organizations decided not to hold public celebrations of Hanukkah, but only synagogue services. On January 16, the Gestapo ordered the dissolution of Jewish youth organizations numbering 25,000 members engaged in social, cultural and sports activities. Ten days later, a large number of Jewish organizations were suspended for a fortnight by the Gestapo. Among the organizations effected were the Jewish League of World War Veterans, Jewish sports clubs, cultural groups and occupational schools formed to help Jews prepare for emigration. In March, the Gestapo confiscated a pamphlet issued by the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany showing that the Jewish suicide rate between 1932-34 was 50 percent higher than that of the rest of the population.

In that period 334 Jews committed suicide, including 122 women. In the same month, the authorities closed the only sanatorium in Germany for Jewish male consumptives, located at Badsoden near Wiesbaden, and a number of Jewish training farms in the frontier districts, in the "interest of the State."

On March 13, the Gestapo prohibited a convention of the Federated Hebrew Youth Associations. A majority of the delegates had already arrived in Berlin from various parts of the country. No reason for the action was given, although the convention had been allowed by the authorities. The federation has a membership of 50,000 youths comprising religious, cultural, sports, and war veterans organizations, Zionists, non-Zionists and many other groups of Jewish young men and women throughout the Reich. On March 19, the Gestapo banned a group of lectures on Biblical themes arranged by the Jewish Culture League, and meetings on Goethe and Dostoevsky, scheduled by other Jewish organizations. The Gestapo also ordered the Jewish Automobile Club to pledge prospective members to counteract anti-German propaganda and promote German export trade when traveling abroad. On April 13, the police placed an absolute 60 day ban on Jewish meetings of any sort with the exception of synagogue worship. A Propaganda Ministry statement explained that the 60 day ban was imposed on all Jewish meetings as punishment for false reports about Germany allegedly published abroad and especially in America, that the ban will be lifted when such reports cease, indicating that the sixty day period may be either shortened or extended as circumstances dictate.

On April 20, the International Order B'nai B'rith was placed under prohibition throughout Germany, its lodges closed, and its property, including buildings, confiscated by the authorities. This measure was accompanied by a series of raids by the Gestapo on homes of members, in which 80 persons, including Rabbi Dr. Leo Baeck, president of the German lodges, were reported arrested for a day, in Berlin alone. The prohibition was also followed by new measures, banning Jewish classes in Hebrew and all other living languages. The moves were interpreted as retaliation for recent anti-Hitler propaganda such as the manifesto of the "Liberty

Party" for which Jews resident in Germany are held by the Nazis to be responsible.

The reason for the drastic action against B'nai B'rith, according to *The New York Times*, was obvious from the nature of the questions put to the arrested officers. They were concerned principally with connection of the lodge with similar organizations abroad, especially the United States. The intimation was given that the Gestapo held the Jewish organizations principally responsible for anti-German campaigns in America. Confiscation of B'nai B'rith property was seen as striking at Jewish communal activities since in many towns the B'nai B'rith centers were the only buildings available for Jewish activities. Intervention from influential quarters resulted in postponement of an eviction order against 140 aged Jews from a home in Lichterfelde, property of the B'nai B'rith. The authorities allowed the administration of the home to be taken over temporarily by the Jewish community of that city, although the property was still to be considered confiscated by the State.

On May 14, Hans Hinkel, Nazi Commissar for Jewish Cultural Affairs, announced that Jews were forbidden to give performances of Beethoven's or Mozart's music, or Goethe's dramas. In explanation, he said: "Jews must be allowed to develop their own spiritual and creative genius. If they are unable to, or show themselves so poor in spiritual endowments that they cannot develop their own culture, it is all the more necessary to show the world that we cannot allow them to become masters of our cultural life."

Official Hate Propaganda

In addition to the foregoing measures all of which were designed to degrade and humiliate the Jews of Germany, an incessant direct propaganda toward the same end was purposively promoted during the year by the various branches of the government and the press. There were, during the period, three events which offered special occasions for such propaganda,—the Nuremberg Party Congress in September 1936; the trial in Switzerland of David

Frankfurter for the assassination of Wilhelm Gustloff, a Nazi agent; and meetings called by the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany.

The Nuremberg Party Congress

With the annual Nazi Party conference at Nuremberg due to open the next day, nearly two thirds of the Jewish residents, fearing unpleasant incidents, left the city on September 7. On the same day, five thousand Nazis, many of them from the United States, attended a conference at Erlangen, on the propagation of Nazi doctrines abroad. These foreign delegates heard the strongest anti-Jewish speeches since the end of the Olympic Games. Revision of foreign trade policy was urged as a means of eliminating Jews and other "undesirable elements" from firms handling German exports. In connection with the Nuremberg congress, sensational anti-Jewish propaganda became the order of the day. *Der Steurmer* published a special issue featuring the spurious Protocols of the Elders of Zion. A special exhibit called "Bolshevism with the Jewish Mask Off," was erected in Berlin.

In a proclamation at Nuremberg, Hitler boasted of Nazi achievements which had been accomplished "without a single Jew in the administrative system of the German nation." Propaganda Minister Goebbels declared that Nazi Germany will be satisfied only when its war against Jews is taken up by other nations. He reiterated the keynote struck by Hitler that "Jews and Bolsheviks are identical" and must be extirpated.

Alfred Rosenberg also linked the Jews with communism, accused them of the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff, and attacked the leaders of Soviet Russia "as parasitic intellectuals," 98% of whom were Jews, who had never worked in field or factory.

In his address, Hitler made the amazing accusation that "the Jews" were responsible for the bloodshed in Spain. In another address, before 100,000 storm troops Hitler again attacked the "international bolshevik Jews." Other speakers echoed and reechoed the attacks upon the Jews

and upon Soviet Russia. Health Commissioner Adolf Wagner pointed out that the "Jewish question was not completely solved by the Nuremberg laws" and that the fight against the Jews must go on. Dr. Reischle, Nazi agrarian leader, attacked Jewish colonization in Bira-Bidjan, and Rudolph Hess, Hitler's deputy, again discussed the Gustloff assassination. The congress closed with Goebbel's outlining plans for intensive anti-Jewish and anti-Soviet propaganda.

On October 4, at the opening of a two-day conference on the "Jew in Jurisprudence," held at the German Law Front House, a program to purge the German juridical system completely of Jewish influences, drawn up by Dr. Hans Frank, Commissar of Justice, was announced. According to this program, 1) no Jew will be allowed in the future to be a spokesman for German law; 2) German justice will be reserved only for German "Aryans" as defined by the Nuremberg laws; 3) publishers will not be permitted to issue new editions of law books written by Jews; 4) law books written by Jews will be removed from all libraries and transferred to special institutes, where they will be used to expose the "evil influence" of Jews; 5) German lawyers must abstain from quoting from Jewish legal authorities, except when the quotations are intended to discredit Jews and the Jewish mentality; 6) law professors must not adhere to the "pure truth" but give preference to Nazi teachings in order to help the racial theory, remembering that "no more science for the sake of science exists in Germany."

The conference was under the chairmanship of Prof. Carl Schmidt, State Councillor of Justice, who is credited with having drafted the Nuremberg laws. Opening the session, Dr. Schmidt paid tribute to the "great and glorious fight against the Jews which Julius Streicher is conducting." On October 18, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* announced that an investigation into the family records of criminals back to 1800, to establish the proportion of such criminals who were of Jewish ancestry, had been ordered by Dr. Johann von Leers, juridical expert, at the conference of professors and lawyers on the position of the Jews in jurisprudence.

On October 21, immediately after the elevation of General

Goering to the virtual dictatorship of German economic life, Julius Streicher, publisher of *Der Stuermer*, began a new anti-Jewish crusade with a traveling circus exhibit labeled "World Enemy No. 1—Jewish Bolshevism."

On November 5, at a meeting of German Labor Front officials, Deputy Leader Klaus Selzner said that "world Jewry is encircling Germany economically, not only through the boycott campaign, but also by underground activities," and appealed to Germans to arouse their racial instincts in order to cope with the situation.

The David Frankfurter Trial

On November 6, 1936, the National Socialist Party *Korrespondenz*, Nazi news agency, said that plans were under way for an intensive propaganda campaign to be opened in connection with the forthcoming trial of David Frankfurter, young Yugoslavian Jew, in Chur, Switzerland, for the murder of Wilhelm Gustloff, former Nazi leader in Switzerland. Nazi newspapers resumed the campaign to arouse anti-Jewish hostility, in connection with the trial of Frankfurter. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* and *Der Angriff* published identical articles urging the public to read Nazi literature on the Gustloff case "to obtain a clear picture of the machinations of Jewry, which constitute a danger not only to the Third Reich but to the order of Europe." At the same time, the Executive of the Berlin Jewish Community ordered statements read from the pulpits of all synagogues in the city expressing abhorrence of assassination as contrary to Jewish teachings. The *C. V. Zeitung*, organ of the Central Union of the Jews in Germany, reiterated the organization's denunciation of the Gustloff slaying, and attacked the French League to Combat Anti-Semitism for intervening in the case, declaring its action harmful to Jewish interests. On December 4, *Der Angriff* started publication of a series of front page articles on the Gustloff case; the first article featured the usual Nazi allegations including the charge that Gustloff was murdered "by order of world Jewry." The German press greeted the opening of the Frankfurter trial on December 8, with a barrage of propaganda. Obviously inspired articles said

that an unfavorable verdict would effect "the equilibrium of Swiss-German relations" and demanded the maximum penalty for Frankfurter. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* threatened German Jews that they would be held accountable, because Jewish organizations abroad failed satisfactorily to protest against "the glorification" of Frankfurter. On December 10, the newspapers bitterly criticized the public prosecutor in the Frankfurter case for asking only for an 18 year sentence even though this is the maximum according to the law of the Grisons Canton, where the trial was being held. They were also enraged because Swiss newspapers criticized German coverage of the trial as for propaganda purposes. *Der Angriff* in turn referred to American, British and other correspondents covering the trial as "partisans of world Jewry." On the next day, thousands of anti-Jewish circulars were distributed in Germany by the Nazi party in connection with the Frankfurter trial. The entire Nazi press assailed the Swiss medical experts who testified that while Frankfurter was responsible at the time of the assassination, he was brooding over the wrongs done to the Jews in Germany. Even the abdication of King Edward VIII of England was subordinated to reports of the trial. In a brief notice, the *Jüdische Rundschau* held as unjustified the attempts of Nazi newspapers to link Frankfurter's crime with "world Jewry." On December 14, after announcement of the sentence, the newspapers declared that Frankfurter's imprisonment did not close the case. One semi-official news agency declared "if now the Reich takes this affair in hand, nobody can criticize it for mixing in the trials." The *Voelkischer Beobachter* declared that "world Judaism may be certain of one thing: neither David Frankfurter nor those behind him carried out the mission which was confided to them for the profit of world Judaism." Large posters depicting the caricature of a Jew with a gun, standing over the dead body of a uniformed Nazi, were displayed throughout Berlin. It was captioned "I killed him because I am a Jew." On the next day, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* warned the Swiss authorities not to pardon or release Frankfurter because of bad health. Reaction of Nazi officials to the verdict was reflected in the paper's headline, "Germany Wants Revenge; the Wire-

Pullers Must Be Discovered." The *Jüdische Rundschau* regarded the immediate prospects of the Jews in Germany as "very bad, very sad" in view of the anti-Jewish agitation.

Institute for History of New Germany

In November 18, 1936, declaring the collection was indispensable to the scientific work of Frankfurt University, and that it formed an inseparable part of the city's library, the city of Frankfurt-am-Main refused to turn over its priceless collection of Judaica to the anti-Jewish department of the Institute for the History of the New Germany at Munich University.

On November 19, the Institute was opened in Munich with pomp and circumstance. The Nazis began an exhaustive study of the reason for the survival of the Jews as a "nation." The solution, two professors of Tübingen University declared, must be found in the Talmud and its particular manner of "casuistic thinking." One of these men, George Kittel advanced the theory that the Jews' belief in themselves as the chosen people was largely responsible for their "refusal" to disappear or assimilate. It was announced that the Jewish department of the Institute would be divided into 12 sections each to concentrate on a particular aspect of Jewish history. A 12,000 mark essay contest on the Jews, open to "Aryans" only, was also announced.

At the closing session of the Institute, American and British publishers were blamed for "the Jewish influence in German literature." Dr. Wilhelm Stapel, Nazi literary leader, declared that were it not for American and English publishers who translated works of Emil Ludwig and Lion Feuchtwanger, thus raising them to "world fame," German literature would not have been permeated with the Jewish spirit. Prof. Franz Koch of Berlin University made similar observations about Jakob Wasserman, and Prof. Johannes Alt of Wuerzburg said that studies of Jewish influence in German literature were only important to show that anti-Jewish legislation was justified.

In April, 1937, plans for the second anti-Jewish congress under pseudo-scientific auspices were announced. The

Congress was scheduled for Munich University under the presidency of Wilhelm Grau, head of the Department for Jewish Research of the Reichs Institute for the History of New Germany. At the Second Congress of the Research Department on the Jewish Question of the Institute for the History of the New Germany on May 15, Jewish scientists and philosophers were assailed. Prof. Grau announced that the next undertaking of his Department would deal with "historical statistics of Jewish conversions and mixed marriages of the 19th and 20th centuries" and a complete bibliography of the history of the Jewish question from 1750 to 1848, the most important period of Jewish emancipation in Western Europe.

General Propaganda

Early in July 1936, with the Berlin Olympic Games a few weeks off, Nazi authorities took measures to make a favorable impression on foreign visitors. News-stands in railway stations and on the main streets of Berlin received large supplies of newly-published anti-Jewish books, with orders to display them conspicuously. On July 9, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, proclaimed a truce for Nazi propaganda within Germany, from August 1 to September 9, that is, from beginning with the Olympic games to the opening of the National Socialist Party's annual congress at Nuremberg. The proclamation explained that the pause rendered party propagandists an opportunity to prepare for "the greatest propaganda drive they will be required to conduct after the Olympiad and conclusion of the annual convention of the Nazi Party."

The Gestapo, secret State police, ordered Jewish institutions not to maintain contact with foreign visitors wishing to study the Jewish question, but to report to the Gestapo the names of visitors desiring to get into direct touch with the Jewish organizations. Special guides were detailed to conduct American and other visitors through the "ghetto cafes" on the Kurfuerstendamm, which are frequented chiefly by foreign Jews, in order to impress upon the foreigners that Jews were still free in Germany.

In its issue of July 24, *The Manchester Guardian* reported that a confidential circular had been issued by Walter Darre, German Minister of Food and Agriculture, instructing the rural population how to behave during the period of the Olympic Games with a view to giving the world at large a favorable impression of Nazi Germany. The following warning was included: "It is necessary to make special mention of the fact that there may be Jews amongst the foreigners, for the German Government has given the International Olympic Committee a pledge to guarantee the protection of all Olympic guests. Possible Jews must be treated as politely as Aryan guests. In no case must Jewish 'provocateurs' get a chance of creating incidents which will add grist to the mills of hostile propagandists abroad. For this reason, all illuminated signs, all 'Klebetzettel' (gummed labels with anti-Jewish slogans) must be removed during the period in question. The fundamental attitude of the German people towards Judaism remains unchanged." Jewish newspapers in Germany, were prohibited from reporting anything about the activities of Jews on Olympic teams.

In a special article, in its issue of September 16, on Rosh Hashanah, *Der Angriff* urged more publicity for cases of "Rassenschande," stricter punishment of Jews found guilty thereof, and an espionage system to watch German Jews traveling abroad in order to ascertain whether they maintain relations with German women, and if found guilty to make them stand trial upon their return to Germany.

On November 23, Nazi Party headquarters announced that the Government had published, under the title "List of Judicial, National and Economic Works Written by Jews," a blacklist containing the titles of approximately 2,000 books written by 650 Jewish authors, to promote the elimination of the "Jewish influence" from jurisprudence by facilitating the identification of Jewish works. In the same month, a decree of the Ministry of Propaganda banned all art, drama, and movie criticism on the ground that it was a "legacy of the Jewish influence in Germany's culture." Henceforth, all critics were to confine themselves to descriptive notices. At the same time, Dr. Goebbels, Propaganda Minister, stated at a meeting of the Reich Chamber of

Culture that "the process of purifying our culture of Jews has been completed."

On November 29, Peasant Day, celebrated annually, was made the occasion of a violent attack on democratic countries as "essentially Jewish" by Agricultural Minister Darre. He said that "Germany, Japan and Italy are the only countries able to check the Jews and Bolshevism," and that liberal and democratic governments were "Jewish conceptions." On December 4, the *Voelkischer Beobachter* included Henry Ford's "The International Jew," among a list of 67 books on Jewish and racial problems recommended for Christmas gifts.

On December 6, the official Nazi press began a campaign for the elimination of Jews from Germany's economic system on the grounds that "Jews are ruining German economic life" and that "Jewish commercial methods do not fit into Germany's four-year plan of managed economy." The signal for the drive was given at a conference of party officials, by Bernhard Kohler, chief of the economic commission of the Nazi Party, who declared that Germany could be saved from its present economic position only by a "well-planned and well-managed economy, the meaning of which Jews are unable to understand."

All German newspapers published special supplements devoted to the anti-Jewish campaign. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* called upon Nazis for "a movement to the finish" to oust the Jews from Germany. The *Beobachter* declared that the "fight to drive the Jews from Germany will be conducted without quarter being given. The German nation is now facing such critical times that it is imperative to deal with the Jewish agitation abroad without fear or favor."

On December 20, Walter Gross, head of the Nazi Racial Department, announced that a staff of 1,000 agitators would conduct a nation-wide campaign of racial propaganda, and that a special Government school would be opened to train such agitators.

On January 15, 1937, a textbook on the Jewish question by Prof. Ernest Dobers of the Berlin Teachers College, was published. The book points out that it is inadvisable to treat the Jewish question apart from other subjects, but

shows how by skilful handling the subject can be brought up in each course. He advised the free use of the *Voelkischer Beobachter* and the *Stuermer*, but regretfully admitted that it is inadvisable to give the latter to children under fourteen.

On June 17, Minister of the Interior, Wilhelm Frick, announced official recognition of the Deutsche Volkskirche as an accredited Reich religion. This church, founded by Dr. Arthur Dinter, upholds the "Aryanized" version of Christianity which excludes all "Jewish elements" from the Bible, and depicts Jesus as a pure "Aryan." On the same day an official police order warned government officials that they will be sent to jail if they or any members of their families associated with Jews, except on official business; they were permitted to call a Jewish physician only in cases of extreme urgency.

Jewish Communal Life

In July, 1936, the authorities granted permission to the Jewish Culture Union to open a "ghetto" motion picture theatre in the autumn of 1936, where films barred to the "Aryan" public would be exhibited. Thus, Jews alone were to be able to see films in which such noted stars as Charles Chaplin and Elisabeth Bergner appeared, and which were banned in the Reich because they are considered "non-Aryan."

On July 21, the *Jüdische Rundschau*, official organ of the Zionist Federation of Germany, published an editorial strongly attacking the World Jewish Congress, scheduled to be held the following month. The editorial emphasized that the Geneva meeting could do no real good for the Jews since the social, relief and immigration activities are well regulated by competent central Jewish organizations. The article also objected to "the ambitious name of 'World Jewish Congress' since it doesn't represent all Jewish groups."

In August, the Jewish community of Berlin established the first "ghetto" high school to provide advanced education for Jewish youths not admitted to the general schools.

On September 15, Jewish leaders issued instructions governing the conduct of Jews during the High Holy Days. The orders, designed to avoid unpleasant incidents, coin-

cided with preparations by the authorities to increase police guards around synagogues with a view to preventing possible provocations resulting from increased anti-Jewish feeling stimulated by speeches at the Nazi congress in Nuremberg. Jewish merchants were urged to close their shops for the holidays "in order to display their solidarity." The Jews of Germany were urged to stand courageously the test of difficult times in a New Year's message signed by Rabbi Leo Baeck, president of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany and Dr. Otto Hirsch, chairman of the Executive. Jews were urged not to leave their local communities. German Jews quietly observed Rosh Hashanah with services at synagogues which were heavily guarded by uniformed and plainclothes police. In accordance with instructions issued by Jewish leaders, detachments of ex-servicemen patrolled the synagogue areas to prevent worshipers from congregating in the streets following the services.

For want of theatres in which to present their "ghetto" performances, the Jews in the provinces turned to the use of synagogues as theatres. In November, this plan was tried out by the Berlin Jewish Community with the Biblical drama "The Letter of Uriah," written by Rabbi Emil Bernhard Cohn. To cope with a shortage of play material, brought on by restrictions under which the Jewish Culture League operates, a special department was established to find plays suitable for production on the Jewish stage.

At a meeting of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), on November 15, German Zionists appealed to the British Royal Commission not to restrict immigration to Palestine, and Dr. Weizmann was authorized to speak before the Commission in the name of the Jews of Germany.

In December, the Jewish Community of Berlin announced the introduction of courses in the Arabic language to prepare Jewish youths intending to emigrate to Palestine.

At a conference on the needs of the community during 1937, called by the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany, the central Jewish organization, and held in Berlin on December 16, the fact was stressed that the German Jews were more dependent than ever upon financial relief from America which came from the Joint Distribu-

tion Committee. A budget of 4,350,000 marks was adopted including 1,400,000 marks for emigration work, 860,000 marks for vocational training and readjustment, 500,000 marks for general welfare work, and 500,000 marks for schools. At the same time the Central Committee of Jewish Loan Kассas met in conjunction with representatives of the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation, to discuss the difficulties faced by Jews who have had their credit facilities cut off. It was decided to extend the work of the 60 kassas already functioning with the assistance of the Foundation, in order to prevent forced liquidation of Jewish enterprises.

On March 1, 1937, the Central Committee for the Relief and Reconstruction of the Jews in Germany published a lengthy report on the conditions and developments in the Jewish communities during 1936. The report noted a considerable decrease in the size of the Jewish communities. A great many had lost more than half their Jewish population, and a dozen had gone out of existence. In eight communities the synagogues had been sold because of the previous dissolution of the communities. Of the 1,400 Jewish communities in Germany, 276 were recorded in 1936 as in need of assistance from the Central Committee and could not aid in paying the expense of emigrating and training their residents.

The report also pointed out that, as the younger elements in the population left the country, the burden upon the communities became greater since the older people remaining were less able to care for themselves. By the end of 1936, 55% of the Jewish population was over 45 years of age; 30 percent, between 20 and 45 years of age; and 15% under 20 years of age. Of every hundred Jewish emigrants to leave the country, 25 were under 20 years of age, 60 between the ages of 20 and 45, and 15 over 45 years of age. The general effect was to create a Jewish population that was past middle age.

The various emigration agencies operating in cooperation with the Central Committee, the report stated, assisted 13,263 persons to leave Germany for Palestine, European countries and lands overseas. An additional 12,000 had left without assistance, bringing the total Jewish emigration from Germany from 1933 through 1936 to approximately

112,000 people. Of the assisted emigrants, 4,308 were enabled to go to Palestine by the Palestine Bureau; 5,455 were assisted by the Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland to go overseas and to other European lands; and 3,500 foreign born Jews long resident in Germany were repatriated to their native lands by the Jewish Migration Committee.

This emigration, while it served to rescue the younger generation, increased the average age of the Jewish population remaining in the country and in direct ratio increased the burden of welfare work. The homes for the aged and incurably ill were not able to care for all needs and several new small homes were established. Increased medical work was also conducted among children as the incidence of tuberculosis increased. Forty-seven free kitchens conducted by the communities supplied 2,357,250 meals to the needy during the year.

The report also stated that about one-fifth of the Jewish population had been on winter relief, the cost of which was borne by the communities, which raised 3,644,000 marks for the purpose by taxing all Jews still having incomes. The same report laid great stress on the need to develop a Jewish school system which would be able to absorb more and more of the Jewish school population. In 1935, an edict of the Minister of Education had ordered all Jewish children to be removed from the State schools. This edict was held in abeyance until Jewish schools would be able to care for these children. By the end of 1936, 22,000 or 52% of the 42,000 Jewish children of school age were attending Jewish schools established by the Education Department of the Reich Representation of Jews in Germany, the central council of Jewish community life under which Committee operates. Progress had also been made in Adult Education courses and in the preparation of school texts suitable for use in the Jewish schools. The report also brought out the growing importance, in the face of the increasing economic pressure placed by government edict and party action on the Jewish population, of the development of the work of the Economic Aid Department which operates 66 offices throughout the country to give free loans at low interest rates and other economic aid to Jewish workers and business men. By the end of 1936 there were

3,000 outstanding loans amounting to 850,000 marks. Various types of special aid for professional groups, physicians, lawyers, artists and actors were also provided.

Continued attention had been given, the report declared, to the problem of vocational training of youth, with an eye both to emigration and to improving the possibilities for a livelihood in Germany. At the close of the year, 1,850 were being retrained, and 4,806 were being given preliminary training. Besides these 920 were given training in centers in other European countries at the response fo the Central Committee. In all, 7,576 were trained during the year.

To maintain all these services, the Reich Representation of Jews had expended 4,296,565 Reichsmarks during the fiscal year. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee was the chief foreign contributor to the work giving \$470,000 or 1,188,884 Reichsmarks. The other large foreign contributors were the British Central Fund and Council for German Jewry which together gave 733,812 Reichsmarks, and the Jewish Colonization Association which had contributed 368,000 Reichsmarks. The American Joint Reconstruction Foundation extended large credits to the loan banks. The Jews of Germany, in all, had contributed 25,000,000 Reichsmarks during the year for the support of their communities and welfare organizations. Of this sum about half had been spent in relief and reconstruction work.

Miscellaneous General Events

In July, 1936, it was revealed that foreign Jews in Germany are subject to the Nuremberg laws to the same extent as are the German Jews when the American Embassy failed in its efforts to secure exemption from this law for Dr. J. Rosen, a dentist, an American citizen who has been living in Berlin for many years and whose clientele was largely American. In August, Capt. Wolfgang Fuerstner, the "non-Aryan" army officer who built and organized the Olympic Village, committed suicide in his home after he had been informed of his dismissal from active military service because he was partly of Jewish descent. He had been notified of his retirement several weeks before but had evidently believed that the service that he had done in the successful

construction and organization of the now world-famous Olympic Village would save him from the humiliation of dismissal.

In September, all Jewish public institutions and private commercial enterprises in Berlin were ordered to dismiss all Jewish employees holding foreign passports.

On November 1, Bishop Meiser of Bavaria and a number of clergymen joined in a vigorous protest against a campaign being conducted in *Der Stuermer*, to have study of the Old Testament dropped from the schools because it is "full of dirty, sinful stories which can have only a demoralising effect on Germany's youth."

In January, 1937, it was reported that the Jewish population of the Saar had fallen 80% since the territory was returned to Germany. At the beginning of 1935, the Jewish population had been 4,500; it had dropped to 1,000 by the end of 1936. In February, it was announced that all Jewish communities in the Saar had been amalgamated. Real estate of all communities no longer being able to carry on had been ordered sold, the proceeds to be used in the interests of Saar Jewry in general.

In March, it was stated in London that a protest against imposition of anti-Semitism as a cardinal doctrine of the church was contained in a statement by the Brotherhood Council of the Confessional Church of Germany, for whose transmission to the foreign press Pastor Weisler, head of the Council, had been placed in a concentration camp.

On March 12, 1937, the German authorities ordered the deportation of Boris Smolar, chief European correspondent of the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* in Berlin. The deportation order had been dated December 14 and its execution at this time was seen by many as a reprisal for anti-Nazi protests in the United States. Mr. Smolar was informed: "Your further stay in the country tends to endanger the internal security of the Reich." He was given two days in which to comply with the order, and threatened with a year's imprisonment if he returned. On March 13, as a result of intervention by the American Consulate General, the Gestapo agreed to postpone until March 18 the deportation order. A few days later, the Foreign Press Association named a committee of three noted correspondents to press

for withdrawal by the Nazi authorities of the deportation order against Smolar. It consisted of Frederick Oechsner of the United Press; Charles Albert Lambert of the *Manchester Guardian*, and G. Gordon Young of Reuter's news agency. On March 16, following a conference of Gestapo officials with American Consul General Douglas Jenkins and Consul Raymond Geist, the deportation order against Smolar was postponed indefinitely. In the meantime, Smolar was permitted to leave Germany and return at any time.

On March 22, it was reported that a young Jew, named Helmuth Hirsch, had been sentenced to death, on March 18, for "preparation to commit high treason and criminal connection with explosives." American State Department officials began an investigation into the death sentence meted out by a German court to Helmuth Hirsch, who claimed American citizenship. Despite all efforts of the American Embassy in Berlin, however, Helmuth Hirsch was beheaded at Ploetzensee prison on June 4. The German public had no information about these events until, on June 30, in an article in *Der Stuermer*, Julius Streicher accused the United States Government of having made false statements in its attempts to save Hirsch from execution.

On May 31, the National Confessional Synod, in special instructions to Protestant pastors for combating Nazi propaganda and interference in church life, criticized National Socialist deification of race. The instructions said: "The one-sided deification of racial and biological values and concrete accomplishment created a hard-heartedness regarding the 'inferior and useless' which is a contradiction of brotherly love." In a denunciation of the regime's anti-Catholic policy, Cardinal Faulhaber told 5,000 pilgrims at Tutenhausen, Bavaria, on June 14, to defend themselves from enslavement. Scouting Hitler's claim of having saved Germany from the "atheism of Soviet Russia," he said: "We are told to look to Russia. We do look to Russia. And for that reason we must defend ourselves against enslavement, against the curtailment of our freedom and human rights. Let our Government look to France, where Jews and Freemasons sit in the French Government, but where there is, nevertheless, freedom in the Catholic schools."

V. OTHER CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Albania

From Albania, with a total Jewish population of thirty-five families, came two reports of Jewish interest during the review period. On January 13, 1937, Zionist activity was launched when the Government authorized the establishment of a Jewish National Fund committee headed by Menachem Yomtov and Isaac Cohen. On April 2, the first Jewish community in Albania was officially recognized by the Government. It comprises ten Jewish families in Valona, the largest number in any one place in the country. At the same time, the construction of the first synagogue in Albania was begun in Valona.

Austria

Political Developments

On July 11, 1936, the Governments of Germany and Austria announced the signing of a pact whereunder Germany undertook to recognize the full sovereignty of Austria, and each country pledged that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of the other. While this pact was outwardly reassuring, Jewish circles in Vienna were profoundly uneasy as to its effects. While it was emphasized that Nazi activities in Austria would continue to be forbidden, it was felt that the Nazi position would be strengthened through the admission of Nazis to the Fatherland Front, and with Anschluss agitation being suspended, by Nazi concentration on other forms of propaganda, such as anti-Semitism. The *Stimme*, the principal weekly organ of the Jewish community, warned Austrian Jews of the great dangers that lay ahead as a result of the pact. The paper declared: "We have to reckon principally with the psychological effect on internal Austrian conditions of the agreement with Nazi Germany. It is certain that Austrian Jewry has every reason to regard this new development

with great anxiety. Already the economic situation of the Jews, thanks to the process of driving them out of business and commercial life, which has been progressing for a couple of years, is forcing our Jewish community in Vienna alone to support 65,000 destitute persons. The impoverishment of these Vienna Jews is increasing alarmingly."

There was, however, no change in the trend of events connected with the status of the Jews of Austria, during the period under review. In fact, the period was a comparatively peaceful one, the Government giving many indications of its intention to refrain from following Nazi German policies in respect of the Jewish population of Austria. Thus, on May 31, 1937, the official *Politische Korrespondenz* charged the German Government with a "gross breach" of the Austro-German accord of July 11, 1936, for permitting the Nazi organ, *Der Angriff*, to attack Austria in connection with the holding of the World Jewish Congress Administrative Committee session in Vienna. The attack on Germany was the first to appear in the official Austrian newspaper since the agreement was reached.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

Undoubtedly, the attitude of Chancellor Schuschnigg and other members of the Government was largely responsible for the fact that manifestations of anti-Jewish hostility, during the period, were fewer and considerably less violent than they had been for some time. These manifestations were almost entirely restricted to demands for the disfranchisement of Jews who were naturalized since the World War. Thus in February 1937, the *Vaterlandischen Front*, veterans organization spokesman, demanded that East European Jews who were naturalized in Austria after the World War be deprived of their citizenship, on the ground that they are "detrimental" to Austria's economic system and that they obtained citizenship during the Social Democratic regime. The same demand was uttered, in April, by Deputy Mayor Kresse of Vienna, in a strong anti-Jewish speech. Similar demands were voiced by Mayor Schmitz. In June, a "Pan-Aryan Union,"

which aims to become an anti-Semitic international, was formed with the participation of a number of scientists, artists and prominent anti-Semitic politicians. The union's statutes declare that its aim "is to promote interstate and international cooperation among Aryan kindred peoples for the protection of their spiritual and economic interests."

Economic Disabilities

Instances of the elimination of Jews from commercial and professional positions were also noticeably fewer than for some time past. This, however, may undoubtedly be traced to the fact that Jews had already been ousted from the more advantageous economic positions.

Early in February 1937, the *Reichspost*, Austrian Government organ, reported that there were to be further eliminations of Jews from the Austrian film industry, as a result of an Austro-German trade agreement whereunder 1,500,000 shillings worth of additional films would be exported from Austria to Germany. Up to this time, Austrian film producers had been obliged to eliminate Jewish actors, directors and technicians, but now the purge was extended even to Jewish stock-holders. The largest Austrian film company Tobis-Saecha Shareholding Corporation, ownership of which was shared equally by the German Tobisco and the Jewish Dr. Pilzer, became "aryanized" when the Creditanstalt Wiener Bankverein bought up Dr. Pilzer's shares. In the same month, more than eight hundred firms trading in fodder and forage, more than 80% of them owned by Jews, were automatically eliminated from business, under an order granting a monopoly to an "Association of Agricultural Cooperatives." On February 26, Professor Erich Meller, a converted Jew, who has been directing at the State Opera House in Vienna for twenty-six years, was dismissed because a number of German artists refused to perform under him.

Early in May, Jews were barred from membership in one of the most unusual unions in the world, the Austrian Union of Blind Musicians, who voted to apply the "Aryan paragraph" to their membership. Later, following the

intervention of the Austrian Association of the Blind, the Union decided to lift the ban against Jews.

Miscellaneous Events

Although, early in July, 1936, the Austrian sports authorities threatened to disqualify for two years the members of the Jewish Athletic Club, "Hakoah," who refused to take part in the Berlin Olympics, Dr. Otto Liftczis, president of the Austrian Maccabi Union, announced that neither the "Maccabi" nor the "Hakoah" would participate in the Games. Subsequently Judith Deutsch, Ruth Langer, and Lucie Goldner, all expert swimmers, were disqualified from participation in sporting events for two years. They were reinstated, however, in June 1937.

On July 6, 1936, the Second World Congress of Jewish Ex-Servicemen, held in Vienna, adopted resolutions calling upon Jewish parties to form a united front, establishing a permanent board, and defining measures for defense against anti-Jewish agitation. The Congress demanded that racial and Jew-baiting propaganda by word of mouth and in writing be prohibited by legislation, and urged the dissolution of all anti-Jewish organizations. On a proposal by the American delegation, the Congress unanimously decided to establish a "Memorial Conservatory of Music" in Palestine in honor of the Jewish soldiers of all countries who fell in the World War.

The elections to the executive board of the Vienna Jewish Community, held in November 1936, resulted in a victory for the Zionist groups who elected nineteen members; all other parties together named seventeen delegates.

Czechoslovakia

Press reports of overt manifestations of anti-Jewish hostility in Czecho-Slovakia invariably showed that the government and other authorities are consistently firm in stamping these out. As a result, anti-Jewish organizations do not thrive in Czecho-Slovakia, despite the efforts of native and foreign propagandists.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

On July 5, 1936, the German Actors' Union requested the authorities in Prague to withdraw the license of the director of the Eger Municipal Theatre because he had demanded proof of "Aryan" origin from the actors engaged for the Freiburg Passion Play. According to the Czechoslovak press, other theatres in the region dominated by the Sudeten movement headed by Konrad Henlein were also demanding proof of "Aryan" origin from actors. The Union announced its intention to take energetic measures against such illegal acts.

In December, the *Prager Mittag* reported from Bratislava that Slovakian Jewish circles were troubled by the increasing anti-Semitic propaganda appearing in the autonomist Slovakian press. The paper's correspondent pointed out that Slovakian autonomist youth, organized around the newspaper, *Nastup*, have fallen entirely under the spell of Nazi racial theories and that authorities are making no effort to suppress the propaganda.

In January 1937, Josef Hamsik, leader of the Slovakian Agrarian Party, formed a new organization, the National Christian Peasant Party, pledged to fight "Jewish-Communist-capitalist" domination. In the same month the newspaper *Slovenska Pravda* was confiscated for publishing false quotations from the Talmud, and two sport clubs were banned by the authorities of Sternberk, Moravia, because they had "Aryan" paragraphs in their by-laws, one of them, the Christian Sport Club, was reinstated when it dropped the discrimination clause. In February, Hamsik's anti-Semitic party was reported defunct after the secretary-treasurer of the organization was made defendent in an action for misappropriation of funds. Both the treasurer and the treasury had disappeared. In the same month Franz Kaspar, Czech industrialist, was sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment and fined two hundred kronen by a local court for having pamphlets bearing the slogan, "Czechs, Do Not Buy From Jews!" On February 19, Education Minister Franke issued an order prohibiting objectionable racial propaganda among pupils in physical training institutes.

In April, a considerable stir was created when a court sentenced Rudolph Stengel, an architect and Nazi *agent provocateur*, to two months' imprisonment for giving the police false information against certain Jews, whom he had accused of offering him 100,000 marks for the assassination of Chancellor Hitler of Germany and Konrad Henlein, Czechoslovakian Nazi leader. Acting on the information, the police had kept the accused persons under long surveillance, finally coming to the conclusion that the charges against them were baseless.

The Hans Kelsen Case

On October 21, 1936, anti-Semitic Nationalist students demonstrated against the appearance of Dr. Hans Kelsen, a German Jewish exile, as a lecturer in the law school of the Prague German University. When the anti-Semitic students refused to cease their demonstration, the University authorities closed the school. Subsequently a Cabinet sub-committee met to discuss the disorders at the University, and the German members of the Cabinet issued a statement condemning the disorders and warning of dire consequences if they continued.

Early in November, the police arrested a German student whom they charged with being the author of a death threat contained in a letter signed "Heil Hitler" sent to Dr. Kelsen. The letter, decorated with a swastika, warned Professor Kelsen that a fate similar to that of Professor Theodor Lessing awaited him unless he left the university. (Prof. Lessing, a famous German-Jewish philosopher, was killed by Nazis in 1933 following receipt of threatening letters.) In January 1937, Education Minister Franke, demanding disciplinary action for disturbers of order, instructed the academic senate of the German University to investigate anti-Semitic disorders aimed at Professor Kelsen. He ordered reconsideration of the case of three disciplined students asserting that the action taken against them had not been sufficiently severe, since the demonstration in which they had participated gave expression to feelings not in accord with the principles of the Republic.

Non-Participation of Jews in Berlin Olympics

The refusal of the Jewish sports organization, Maccabi Hagibor, to participate in the Olympic Games at Berlin in July 1936, forced Czechoslovakia to send a team hampered by lack of its best swimmers. Foreign Minister Emil Krofta advised Angelo Goldstein, Parliament deputy, that the Foreign Office did not consider it necessary for the Jewish swimming champions of Czechoslovakia to take part in the Games. He made this statement after the Czechoslovakian Sports Union had threatened to disqualify the Hagibor club if it persisted in its refusal to send its members to Berlin. On July 11, three Jewish swimming clubs were disqualified for two years and fined 4,000 kronen each by the Czechoslovak Swimming Union because of their refusal to allow their members to participate in the Olympics. The Maccabi Union immediately filed a protest. The *Prager Mittag*, in an editorial, urged the Czechoslovakian Swimming Union to rescind its action, declaring that "the Swimming Union should realize that the Jew who wishes to go to Germany to prove that he does not practise ritual murder, which at the present time is being discussed at German universities, may go; but the Jew, thinking he has no business to visit a city ornamented with *Stürmer* boxes, should not be compelled to go upon pain of a fine." On December 23, the Czechoslovakian Swimming Union announced that the ban on the two swimming clubs had been lifted and both clubs restored to good standing.

Miscellaneous General Events

According to official government statistics, made public at the end of July 1936, 187 Jews abandoned the Jewish religion during 1935, and 50 non-Jews became converted to Judaism. Of those who left the Jewish community, 140 joined no church, 29 became Roman Catholics, 10 joined the Evangelical church, and 8 the Czecho-Slovakian church.

In August, it was reported that the Jewish community of Zsilina had been bequeathed 59,000 kronen (about \$2,500) by Katherine Brycha, a Christian beggar. The

woman's will explained that she was leaving her money to the Jewish community of the town because Jews had been more generous to her than others.

Jewish Communal Life

On December 2, 1936, the first world exhibition of Hashomer Hatzair, Jewish scout movement, was opened in Kresta Maehrisch Ostrau, in celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Czech section and the tenth anniversary of the organization's settlement in Palestine. The movement includes 60,000 members in twenty-two countries.

In January, 1937, Parliament passed a law for the consolidation of all Jewish religious communities into a federation. During the debate on the law, a number of Slovakian deputies made anti-Jewish speeches to which Goldstein and Deputy Kugel replied.

In March, at a conference of the Council of the Union of Jewish Communities in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, it was reported that the third and fourth books of the Pentateuch and the Mahzor, holiday prayer book, were about to be published in Czech translations. It was also reported that Karls University in Prague had offered to establish an institute for Jewish studies and for the training of rabbis. In the same month, Premier Milan Hodza told Deputies Angelo Goldstein and Kugel that the Government would aid Jewish schools and vocational training and protect Jewish Sabbath observance. Jewish elementary schools will receive State assistance; vocational training for Jewish youth will be subsidized; and a forthcoming Sunday-closing bill will respect Jewish rights to observance of Saturday as the Sabbath, the Premier said.

In June, the Supreme Council of the Union of Jewish Communities adopted a new constitution for Jewish communities drafted in accordance with the law passed by Parliament in January. At the same time, the Council sent a message to President Eduard Benes declaring: "The Supreme Council of the Union of Jewish Religious Communities remembers you, Mr. President, at the moment when it adopts its constitution, with loyal gratitude, for in

your personality and work are incorporated those ideals of justice and humanity which form the foundation of the Czechoslovakian State and the guarantee for its future."

Danzig

The growing self-confidence of the Nazis dominating the Free City of Danzig reached a climax early in July, 1936, when Dr. Arthur Karl Greiser, president of the Danzig Senate, threatened the imminent reunion of Danzig and Germany, in a speech before the Council of the League of Nations. His appearance was described as having "surpassed in impudence anything ever known here before." Dr. Greiser bitterly attacked Sean Lester, League High Commissioner for Danzig, and, at the conclusion of his speech, the Nazi leader gave the Hitler salute to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden of Great Britain, who was acting as president of the Council, as well as to other League officials. His actions aroused a storm of protest, which was calmed by Captain Eden who declared that Herr Greiser's actions would be officially ignored. At about the same time, the Association of Polish Citizens issued a statement, in the name of the entire Polish population of the Free City, demanding continuation of League of Nations supervision over Danzig, and protesting against the Nazi campaign against High Commissioner Sean Lester and the League. In a communication to Herr Greiser, Dr. Casimir Papee, the Polish Commissioner at Danzig, warned the Danzig Nazis that Poland would not tolerate an arbitrary and one-sided change in the status of Danzig. Herr Greiser assured Dr. Papee that the political campaign against the Opposition would be conducted within the framework of the existing Constitution. A few hours after this assurance, the term of suspension of the Socialist newspaper, *Danziger Volkstimme*, was lengthened from three to five months, and a few days later, the entire opposition press of the Free City, with the exception of the Catholic *Volkszeitung*, which had abstained from publishing political news or views, was suppressed by the Danzig Senate. Thus, the opposition was completely deprived of its constitutional right of a free press.

On July 18, 1936, the Danzig Senate prohibited *shehita* and adopted a series of measures aimed at crushing all opposition to the Nazi regime, under the pretext of taking steps to ensure "public safety and order." The Committee of Jewish Delegations, headed by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, protested to the president of the League Council and to Captain Anthony Eden, *rapporteur* on Danzig, that the prohibition of *shehita* constituted a menace to civil and religious equality guaranteed by the Danzig constitution and the League. The Jewish community also decided to lodge a protest against the decree of Dr. Greiser. Deputy Emil Sommerstein of the Polish Sejm asked Foreign Minister Josef Beck to intervene.

In August, the anti-Jewish boycott was officially sanctioned in a ruling by the Free City's Supreme Court. Danzig's Jewish citizens had protested against a poster, displayed in the Municipal Health Insurance office and other public places, urging a boycott of Jewish trade. The court rejected the protest on the ground that the boycott is part of the ruling National Socialist party's program and that there is nothing in the appeal to show a violation of the rights of citizens. In December, Nazi organizations warned workers that they would be barred from receiving winter relief if found making purchases from Jews. The boycott campaigners even entered schools while teachers were instructing pupils and warned the latter not to buy in Jewish stores. In March, 1937, it was reported, in Warsaw, that riot squads had been called out in Danzig to suppress street fights between citizens and Nazi troopers who were picketing Jewish stores to dissuade customers from entering.

In February, 1937, the only two Jewish judges on the Free City bench refused to resign when called upon to do so by the Nazi-controlled Senate; they declared that the Constitution provides that they can not be removed until the age of 65. In the same month, Dr. Buckhardt, prominent Swiss professor of history, was appointed High Commissioner for the League of Nations at Danzig, replacing Sean Lester, who was named assistant Secretary General of the League, after his difficulties with the Nazi leaders of Danzig.

An official denial was issued of charges contained in a World Jewish Congress memorandum to the League of Nations that the Danzig Senate intends to introduce racial legislation on the Nazi style. "The report is entirely unfounded" the denial said. "It has been spread with the intention of stirring up trouble between the Senate and the League of Nations." But in May, it was revealed that the educational authorities of Danzig were demanding that all teachers of elementary and secondary schools provide documentary proof of "Aryan" descent back to the year 1880.

Denmark

On October, 1936, six editors of Fascist newspapers in Denmark were placed on trial on charges of anti-Semitic defamation, after an investigation by Minister of Justice Steincke who chose the occasion for a test by which the government sought power to prohibit further Fascist propaganda against Jews. The Fascist editors, who had published personal attacks on several well-known Jews including Chief Rabbi Friedeger, were indicted for violation of a provision of the penal code prohibiting public defamation or insult to any recognized religious community in Denmark.

On October 19, the Government approved the new constitution of the Copenhagen Jewish community, which was designed to democratize communal organizations by providing for the election of a representative assembly.

On January 19, 1937, the Scandinavian Conference of Rabbis decided to become a permanent body and to unify relief activities on behalf of Jewish refugees from Germany and elsewhere.

On May 18, 1937, it was officially announced that Denmark's Jewish population had presented King Christian X with 100,000 kroner (about \$45,000) as a gift in honor of his 25th jubilee as the Danish monarch. The funds are to be used to establish a model experimental farm. Special services were held on Saturday, May 15, in the Copenhagen Synagogue to mark the jubilee, with the country's most

prominent Jews attending. In his sermon, the Chief Rabbi Friediger emphasized the freedom of conscience enjoyed by the citizens of Denmark, and recalled the visit King Christian had paid to the synagogue in 1933 on the occasion of its centenary celebration.

Hungary

Anti-Jewish Manifestations

Reports from both Hungary and Germany during the review period, noted a swing to an anti-Jewish policy by the new Hungarian cabinet under Nazi influence. In December 1936, the semi-official journal *Esti Ujsag* reported that Interior Minister Nicolas Kozma would go to Berlin for a five day stay as guest of Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick. Diplomatic circles interpreted the visit as Germany's first move to regain influence over Hungary. Late in December, the Minister of Interior declared that Jewish immigration from Germany or Eastern Europe would not be permitted. He ordered police not to extend the residence permits of foreign Jews. At the same time, posters appeared in Budapest urging the public not to patronize Jewish stores for Christmas shopping.

In January, 1937, *Pester Lloyd*, semi-official organ of the Foreign Office, charged that "anti-bolshevik agitation is only a pretext used by those seeking to spread disorders for their own profit." The article, expressing the opinion of conservative circles, was aimed at pro-Nazi youth organizations, preparing for a violent anti-Jewish campaign under the guise of fighting Communism.

In April, Premier Koloman Daranyi advocated a halt in Jewish immigration from the East into Hungary on "economic" grounds in an address before Government officials and members of Parliament. He declared: "The Jewish question presents itself not on a racial, but on an economic basis. It is desirable to stop Jewish immigration from the East and to lead those Jews established in the country to collaborate more liberally in national life. It is not by demonstrations and riots that the question may be solved."

He said he was determined to maintain order against troublesome elements.

On May 12, in an address in the House of Deputies Count Stephen Bethlen, ex-premier, warned that Hungary would face economic collapse if it followed "Nazi methods" of treating Jews. "As a consequence of a policy of aping Hitler, the nation would be exposed to a world boycott which might bring about the collapse of the whole country in a very short time by bringing the whole industrial life to a standstill," he said. He pointed out however, what he termed the disproportionately large number of Jews in Hungary's industrial life, and urged the government to work out a program to correct this disparity while suppressing anti-Semitic agitation with a strong hand for "the Jewish problem will never be solved by disorders." He lauded Jewish contributions to the economic life of the country and, to discussing Jewish commercial success, he said that "there is nothing strange about that since the Jews are a people with a culture going back 5,000 years who were not allowed in most countries to pursue other professions than trade." At a subsequent session of Parliament, Premier Daranyi declared the "state forms of Germany" can have no influence on Hungary, but stressed the necessity for the continuation of German-Hungarian friendship.

In June, anti-Jewish excesses flared in the southeastern city of Hodmezovarsarhely, resulting in the serious wounding of Karl Wollner, Jewish timber merchant, and the smashing of windows in a number of Jewish homes. The disorders were organized by a band of 100 members of the Arrow and Cross, anti-Jewish organization modeled on German Nazi lines. Police dispersed the rioters.

University Disturbances

In November, 1936, a group of students submitted a memorandum to Premier Daranyi demanding the establishment of the racial principle in admissions, segregation of

Jews culturally, prohibition of immigration, and a *numerus clausus* for Jews in all branches of commerce. Later in the month, the Union of Jewish Students published a statement in which they pointed out that the number of Jewish students in Hungarian universities had steadily declined, from 1,970 in 1932-3 to 1,180 in 1936. Of the 538 Jewish students who entered the universities in 1932-3, the statement declared, only 356 remain, because poverty and misery prevented one-third of the Jewish students from continuing their studies.

In December, Premier Daranyi refused to see a delegation of the Arrow and Cross organization which wished to submit demands for anti-Jewish restrictions, including introduction of the cultural segregation of Jews. At the same time, Education Minister Valentin Homan warned students that "Hungarian authorities will take the strictest possible measures against students who cause any disturbances."

In February, 1937, the police used swords in dispersing several hundred students who had staged an anti-Jewish demonstration at Pecs University. A number of the students were wounded. In the same month, three Jewish students were injured in rioting at the Budapest and Pecs Universities. At Pecs University the rioting occurred in connection with the graduation of three Jewish students from the medical school. All three were injured. The rector tried to save them by locking them up in a room, but 100 rioters broke down the door. Premier Daranyi issued a statement declaring that "such rioting must stop in the interests of the country; the Government is ready to take the strongest measures if the riots recur." Police broke up a later demonstration in Budapest, during which windows in a synagogue, the Jewish community office, and a Jewish elementary school were broken. A few days later, Education Minister Homan ordered the closing of Pecs University for an indefinite period, following further anti-Semitic disorders, and Emmerich Kemery Nago, chief of the anti-Jewish students, was sentenced to 600 pengoes' fine or sixty days' imprisonment for participation in the riot.

Jewish Communal Life

On November 6, 1936, Jewish leaders, meeting to consider the formation of an anti-Bolshevist front, promised to support the fight against Communism in Hungary. Samuel Stern, president, pledged the Budapest Jewish Community to support the anti-Communist drive, and Samuel Kahn Frankl, president of the Orthodox Jewish Community, pledged the aid of his group.

In November, representatives of the ten Jewish communal districts in Hungary, meeting in Budapest to discuss forthcoming legislation by the Government regulating Jewish communities, expressed the hope that the new regulations would stimulate a renaissance of religious and cultural life. The delegates were received by the secretary of the Ministry of Public Worship and gave assurances that the Government would show full understanding of the Jews' religious needs.

In December, in an address before the Hungarian Cobden Union, Samuel Stern, president of the Budapest Jewish Community, pointed out the dependence of Hungarian Jews on the liberal movement of the country. He said that the bitterest foes of liberalism were in the anti-Semitic front, and that Hungarian Jews were an inseparable part of the Hungarian nation. "Contemplating the part Jews have played in the affairs of State," he said, "they believe they have the right to proclaim that in the future, too, they should continue to play such part."

On January 15, 1937, at its annual conference, the Budapest Jewish Community voted to expand its work in 1937, despite prevailing difficult economic conditions. Samuel Stern, the president declared there was no reason for Hungarian Jews to fear the persecutions facing Jews in other Central European countries, but protested against Zionist propoganda in Hungary "because it is liable to provoke separatist aspirations." The Community expansion program, he said, would include the erection of new hospital buildings, a new synagogue, and religious education efforts.

Italy

Anti-Jewish Agitation

Press reports of events of Jewish interest in Italy indicated that, during the period under review, Italian Jews were preoccupied with meeting aspersions upon their loyalty to the country. The character of these attacks, which appeared in a number of newspapers and in several books, appeared to indicate that they were largely a tribute to Italy's new political ally, Nazi Germany. The fact that they appeared in a strictly controlled press was generally interpreted as an indication that the anti-Jewish campaign was being prosecuted with the tacit approval, if not upon the direct instructions of Premier Mussolini. In statements made to several visitors from abroad, however, Mussolini insisted that there would be no change in the status of the Jews of Italy.

The anti-Jewish campaign began in September 1936, when, in *Il Regima Fascista* of Cremona, Roberto Farinacci, editor of the paper and former secretary of the Fascist Party, attacked Jewish "subversive influence." In one editorial, he declared: "From the monopoly enjoyed under the dictatorship in Bolshevist Russia to the prevalence it has achieved in the Bolshevist government of France, the subversive influence of the Jews is very evident as the cause of existing disorders. International Jewry is anti-Fascist. Never has a Jew uttered a word of admiration or gratitude for Fascism. On the contrary, moral and material aid is given by Jews to the Popular Front in France, to the Reds in Madrid, and to the destroyers of churches under every social order." On September 27, the Rome correspondent of *The New York Times* reported that the editorials did not express the official Fascist viewpoint, but only the sentiment of Farinacci. Leading Jews replied to his attack. Felice Ravenna, president of the Union of Jewish Communities referred to Italian Jewry's "unquestionable loyalty to Mussolini who has never had occasion to complain of Italian Jews," and the president of the Milan Jewish Com-

munity, denying that Jews were Bolsheviks, described Italian Jews as loyal Fascists, devoted to Premier Mussolini.

Although Jews took part in the celebration, on November 21, 1936, of the first anniversary of Italy's victory in Ethiopia, attacks on Jews continued in *Regime Fascista* and appeared also in *Vita Italiana*. Several Jewish communities sent addresses of loyalty to Mussolini, another sent a large money gift. One community contributed a rare Ark of the Covenant for the Falashas, the black Jews of Ethiopia. In December, it was noted that the Anglo-Italian negotiations, looking toward an accord in the Mediterranean, had resulted in a conspicuous decrease in anti-Jewish propaganda in Italian newspapers. In the opinion of informed political circles, an attack on French Jews in *Il Popolo d'Italia* of Milan, of which Mussolini was formerly the editor and which is regarded as his spokesman, was aimed against France and did not foreshadow an anti-Semitic policy in Italy. These circles, however, expressed surprise at the strong wording of the article, which charged that the Jews themselves were to be blamed for the revival of anti-Semitism because they were "intrusive and vicious and push themselves too conspicuously." Referring to Léon Blum and other Jewish statesmen of France as examples, the article contended that while Jews were only two percent of the entire French population, yet the proportion of Jewish statesmen was greater and this caused anti-Semitism there.

But there were voices raised in defense of Jews. Thus, on January 17, 1937, *Il Popolo di Roma*, Rome edition of Mussolini's Milan newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, published an editorial lauding Jewish achievement in Palestine and the Jews' "remarkable contributions to the world's civilization." The editorial declared that "in a land which only a few years ago was a desert, immigrant Jews have built up cities and have improved the soil . . . and even established a university. Jews may not be liked, but their genius and remarkable contributions to the world's civilization cannot be denied." In February, in a special lecture in Florence, in the presence of a number of Italian statesmen and foreign diplomatic representatives, Prof. Niccolo Castellino, president of the Union of Italian Newspaper

Publishers, rejected the Nazi theory of racial purity as "entirely baseless." Anti-Semitism will never be introduced in Italy since no "Jewish problem" exists, he asserted.

The anti-Jewish campaign was resumed on March 30, when, in a four column article, *Il Tevere* of Rome attacked Jews on the ground that they were in conflict with "Italy's destiny." There were 70,000 Jews in Italy's 43,000,000 population, the article declared, but the proportion of Jews in literature and the professions is very high. It added that "the attitudes of revolt in our intellectual world can only be explained by some defect in the purity of the blood." In April, a contribution to Italian anti-Jewish literature was made by Deputy Paolo Orano in a new book "The Jews of Italy." Dr. Orano, who is rector of Perugia University and a prominent Fascist, declared that "it is impossible to be good Italians and Zionists at the same time." Charging that creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine is inimical to the interests of the Italian State, Dr. Orano holds that Italian Jews who espouse Zionism commit a "disloyal act." Dr. Orano's book created consternation in Jewish circles, particularly among Zionist leaders.

On April 10, *Il Tevere* returned to the charge by publishing "what purports to be the completest existing list of Italian Jewish surnames." Commenting on the list's publication, the *New York Times* Rome correspondent wrote: "What the object is remains somewhat a mystery, unless the newspaper intends to suggest, as seems probable, that persons whose names appear on the list are bad or doubtful Italians of whom the mass of the population should beware. This move does not stand as an isolated instance of animosity against the Jews, but must be judged in relation to other attacks for which the Italian press has been responsible. It should be added in fairness that only a few newspapers have taken an active part in the anti-Semitic campaign, that the Government has never given any indication that it shares the views such newspapers express, and that the bulk of the Italian people have no particular feeling against Jews." In a subsequent issue, *Il Tevere* asked the Italian Government to prohibit marriage between an Italian and a member of another race. Under the headline "We Wish to Talk of Racial Problems," the daily published

the names of a number of Jewish physicians, lawyers, professors, and scientists in Italy with a demand for adoption of legislation against Jews, "half Jews" and all persons of Jewish blood. The article was reprinted in the *Journal Quadrivio*, organ of the extreme Fascists.

On April 23, *Il Regime Fascista* renewed its anti-Jewish campaign with another attack on Jews as communists, based on a report from the *Rigasche Rundschau*, pro-Nazi organ of the Germany minority in Latvia, stating that 90% of Communists recently arrested in Riga were Jews. On April 28, the charge that Jews cannot be good Italian patriots if they are Zionists was refuted by the Jewish paper *Israel*, published in Florence. Meanwhile, *Il Tevere* continued its anti-Jewish pronouncements with the assertion that in a "who's who" of contemporary Italians the relative percentage of prominent Jews is sixteen times higher than Christians. And on May 10, in an address before the Cremona Fascist Cultural Institution, Farinacci, editor of *Il Regime Fascista*, declared: "Jews preach in synagogues and masonic lodges hatred against other nations. Jewry supports decaying democracies and Communism to dominate peoples and institutions weakened through corruption."

On May 25, *Il Popolo d'Italia* of Milan published an article by Oreste Gregorio in which he demanded that Jews declare themselves enemies of "international Hebrewism," oppose Zionism, halt their protests against Nazi race principles, "and give to their manifestations a character simply and sincerely religious or renounce their Italian citizenship and residence." This demand was echoed, a few days later, by the important Rome newspaper *La Tribuna*. In an article headed "Either Rome or Zion" the paper declared: "It is no secret that European Jewry, including Soviet Russian Jewry, Blum's France, and Zionist Great Britain, entirely opposes the authoritarian regimes in Italy and Germany."

On June 1, *Le Temps* of Paris reported that the Italian Ministry of Popular Culture had denied that anti-Jewish articles in Fascist newspapers in any way reflect official opinion. The Ministry's statement declared that anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy and recalled the enthu-

siastic welcome given to Mussolini by the Jews of Libya on his recent visit to North Africa. (A similar statement was subsequently given by the Italian Embassy in Washington to the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*.) But on the next day, the dissolution or radical transformation of "Jewish settlements" in Italy on the ground that they were harmful to Fascism and too sympathetic with Great Britain was demanded by the Turin newspaper *La Stampa*.

On June 4, in the course of a visit to Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano, Chief Rabbi David Prato expressed the uneasiness of Italian Jews over the anti-Jewish articles, and received assurances that the Government's attitude toward the Jews remained unchanged. Nevertheless, the campaign continued. Zionism and the Jews were the butts of strong attacks by two important newspapers. After arguing the incompatibility of Zionism with Fascism, *Il Popolo d'Italia* printed letters from several Italian Jews in which the latter solemnly repudiated Zionism, branded as a pro-British, anti-German movement. But *Il Tevere* assailed the "sainted ingenuousness" of those who believe the Jewish problem will be solved by Jewish oaths of loyalty to Italian Fascism.

On June 14, at a conference in Florence, called to discuss the persistent anti-Jewish campaign, Jewish leaders pledged allegiance to Fascism and renounced Zionism as a political faith. In a resolution, Zionism was declared merely a religious movement and the "transformation of Palestine into a Zionist stronghold" was condemned.

On June 20, "Razzismo" (Racism), a book exalting the extreme racial idea enunciated by Alfred Rosenberg and other Nazi leaders, by the Italian writer Professor Cogni, was placed on the Index by the Vatican as "contrary to Catholic scientific and moral conceptions."

The Falashas

Early in August, 1936, with the approval of the Colonial Ministry, Carlo Alberto Viterbo, representative of the Union of Jewish Communities of Italy, left for Ethiopia with instructions to establish Jewish communal organizations in Addis Ababa and Diredawa, and to make contact

with the Falashas, the black Jews of Ethiopia. It was reported, at the end of August, that leaders of the Falashas took the oath of allegiance to Governor Pirzio Birolo and pledged their loyalty to Italy, and that the Governor had declared that the Government would allow the Falashas the same cultural freedom and respect as other religious communities in Italian East Africa. Early in September, in an audience granted to Viterbo, Marshal Graziani promised Italian support for the organization of Jewish religious communities in Ethiopia. Early in March, 1937, reporting on a survey made by Viterbo, a Propaganda Ministry communique said that grants of land had been made to Falashas by the Italian colonial authorities, who were establishing agricultural and handicrafts schools for the Falashas.

Jews in Tripoli

Early in December, 1936, Marshal Italo Balbo, the Italian Governor of Libya issued an order prohibiting the closing of Jewish shops on Saturdays in the new part of Tripoli, capital of the province. After fruitless attempts to persuade the governor to rescind or modify the order, the rabbinical authorities proclaimed a fast in protest, after which Jewish merchants opened their shops but refused to wait on customers. Subsequently, 214 Jews were arrested and three leaders of the community were publicly flogged for disobeying the order. An official statement issued in Rome described the flogging of three Jews in Tripoli as "merely symbolic." The statement said the Jews were flogged fully clothed. At the end of December, it was officially announced that Jewish merchants in Tripoli's new quarter will be compelled to keep their shops open on the Sabbath, but will be permitted to open at ten o'clock in the morning, thus enabling them to attend Sabbath services in the synagogues. Special privileges were promised to Jewish shopkeepers who employ non-Jews on the Sabbath.

In February 1937, Dr. Aldo Lattes, acting chief rabbi of Rome and former director of the Jewish Elementary School there, was appointed chief rabbi of Tripoli, succeeding

Rabbi Castel-Bolognesi, who was ousted by Governor Balbo two years ago. In March, Premier Mussolini visited the Jewish sections of Libya where he was accorded an enthusiastic reception. In a formal address of welcome Chief Rabbi Lattes voiced the hope that Italy would always follow its tradition of protecting religious freedom. Mussolini expressed satisfaction at the cordial reception.

In a newspaper interview, in the same month, Governor Balbo asserted that the Jews of Tripoli are "very backward and full of superstition." Discussing reform measures to which orthodox Jewish merchants in the city's European quarter are opposed, the Governor declared: "In Tripolitania I have tried, in my three years as Governor, to organize Jewish handicrafts and promote the physical development of Jewish youth by sports organizations. The Jewish population, however, is still in a condition similar to 2,000 years ago, very backward and full of superstition. The older generation particularly refuses to recognize the necessity of reforms."

Jewish Community Life

Early in September, 1936, Chief Rabbi David Prato of Alexandria, Egypt, was named Chief Rabbi of Rome.

Late in October, it was reported that Count Cesare de Vecchi, Minister of Public Education, had refused to permit publication, for use in Jewish schools, of special text books omitting Catholic religious references contained in government text books. As such permission had always been granted without question in previous years, this refusal was interpreted as a blow to the principle of full equality.

Early in February, 1937, formal ceremonies marked the establishment of a Jewish community in the city of San Remo. Dr. Pacifici, chief rabbi of Genoa, presided. On February 19, Dr. Prato was inducted as chief rabbi of Italy in solemn ceremonies at Rome's largest synagogue. High Government, military and Fascist dignitaries attended the ceremony. In his first sermon, Dr. Prato emphasized that Jews had lived for ages in Mediterranean countries connected with Italy, and appealed to Italian Jews to help in the work of upbuilding Palestine. Following the sermon,

an ancient Torah was taken from the Ark, to be sent to the Jews of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, as a gift from Rome's Jewish community. In March, the Jewish Community of Rome issued a memorial volume in honor of the late Chief Rabbi Angelo Sacerdoti.

As a reaction to the anti-Jewish campaign in some Italian newspapers, especially the charge that Zionism is an unpatriotic movement, differences between Zionist and non-Zionist factions became acute. As a result of internal strife caused by this issue, the Executive Board of the Union of Jewish Communities in Italy resigned in April. The Italian Government announced it would appoint a commissioner to administer the affairs of the Union pending the liquidation of the crisis. In June, upon the Government's request, the members of the Executive Board withdrew their resignations, agreed to remain in office until new elections in 1938, and issued an appeal to the Jews of Italy for unity. Naval Commander Federigo Jarach of Milan was elected to succeed the late Dr. Felice Ravenna as president.

In May, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the British Section of the Council for German Jewry made an appropriation of \$15,000 for the establishment of a Central Refugee Committee in Italy, with headquarters in Milan, to give constructive assistance to Jewish exiles from Germany. Funds contributed by the Jews of Italy were to augment those made available by the foreign organizations.

Norway

In February, 1937, a Norwegian court ruled against a cloth manufacturer in a suit brought by a Jewish merchant who charged that the manufacturer had refused to execute an order which he had previously accepted. The manufacturer said that he had refused the order because "personal animosity" forbade him to deal with Jews. The court declared that the manufacturer's action was against the law since all races and nationalities were equal under the law.

On March 21, the establishment of a voluntary "Nansen Assistance" organization to protect the rights of the estimated 2,000,000 "men without countries" throughout the world, was announced at Oslo. The organization was founded by Odd Nansen, son of Fridtjof Nansen, in anticipation of the liquidation, by the League of Nations, of the Nansen International Office for stateless refugees at Geneva. It will form branches in all European countries which will seek to continue to protect the rights of persons disfranchised through post-war changes in boundaries and other causes.

Sweden

In July, 1936, the Jewish communities of Sweden decided not to send any delegates to the approaching World Jewish Congress at Geneva.

In November, a training farm for Jewish refugees from Germany, intending eventually to emigrate to overseas countries, was established at Svartingtorp in Southern Sweden, with a fund of 50,000 kronen anonymously given for the purpose.

In March 1937, Minister of Justice Karl G. Westman announced that the law making compulsory the electric stunning of cattle before slaughter will not go into effect until July 1938. He declared that Government experiments thus far had not supported the theory that such stunning produced changes in the animals which make the meat ritually unfit, according to Jewish tradition. At the request of Rabbis of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmo, that further experiments be made, Mr. Westman deferred execution of the law until 1938.

Switzerland

Trial of David Frankfurter

The preceding Review presented the significant details of the assassination, by David Frankfurter, a young Yugoslav Jew, of Dr. Wilhelm Gustloff chief Nazi agent in Switzerland. For the details of the assassination, which

took place on February 4, 1936, and the events following it, in both Switzerland and Germany, the reader is referred to pages 267-8 and page 424 of the preceding volume of the Year Book.

After several postponements, the trial of Frankfurter opened in the Grisons Cantonal court on December 9, 1936. In an effort to prevent the trial from becoming a *cause célèbre*, the authorities barred Jews and all Nazis, except Mrs. Gustloff, as witnesses. The indictment charged Frankfurter with premeditated murder and asked the maximum penalty allowed in the Canton, 18 years' imprisonment, but repudiated the German claim that the shooting was the result of a "Judeo-Marxist-Communist plot." Frankfurter confessed all details of the assassination but denied discussing in advance, with any member of his family or acquaintance, his intention to kill Gustloff. He said he was goaded to the crime by an article in the *Stuermer*, published in Nuremberg.

Dr. Eugen Curti, chief of defense counsel, based his defense on the "moral justification" of the act. He reviewed the persecution of the Jews in Germany and quoted at length from James G. McDonald's letter of resignation as High Commissioner for German Refugees. Summing up for Gustloff's widow, Friedrich Grimm, her attorney in the civil suit against Frankfurter, admitted that the latter's act was motivated by persecutions of the Jews in Germany, but said that the court had no right to consider Nazi treatment of Jews, arguing that political murder should be treated as common murder. On December 14, Frankfurter was convicted, and sentenced to eighteen years' imprisonment.

In Switzerland and in most other European countries, the verdict was accepted by public opinion as required by the circumstances. In Germany, however, the court's decision was greeted by the Nazi press with a chorus of abusive comment. Because Frankfurter had not been condemned to death, some newspapers charged that the Swiss government in general, and the Cantonal Court in particular had been "bought" by "international Jewry."

On January 8, 1937, in a published explanation of its reasons for the conviction, the Grisons Cantonal tribunal declared that "the persecutions of Jews in the Reich on

which the defense dwelt at length had no determining influence on the jury's verdict." The statement also said: "It must be recognized, at the same time, that the solution of the Jewish problem sought by the Reich showed results which had painful impressions among the Swiss, who compare these results to their own conception of liberty of the individual and conscience. These phenomena appeared to them strange and incomprehensible."

Miscellaneous

On July 3, 1936, Stefan Lux, Czechoslovakian Jewish journalist, shot and killed himself at the last session of the Assembly of the League of Nations in a dramatic protest against Nazi persecution of German Jewry. His funeral was arranged by the Geneva Jewish Community. He left letters to Joseph A. C. Avenol, the League's Secretary General; Captain Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary; King Edward VIII; the *Times* of London, and the *Manchester Guardian*, warning against the menace of Nazi Germany to all civilization.

In August, Swiss authorities announced the dismissal of Dr. Gerlach, professor of anatomy at Basle University, following disclosures that he had been actively engaged in the pro-German Nazi movement in Switzerland. In September, two members of the German Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei), were given prison sentences to be followed by expulsion from Switzerland for plotting to kidnap former German Chancellor Heinrich Bruening.

On April 1, 1937, the Jewish community of Zurich, the largest Jewish community in Switzerland, celebrated its 75th birthday. There were only 56 Jews in Zurich in 1850 when Jews could not settle permanently in the city and had to renew their residence permits regularly. After 1856, native-born Jews received political rights, and in 1862 all remaining restrictions against Jews were abolished.

On April 16, Director Rothmund of the Aliens Department declared that the Swiss authorities' refusal to grant permanent residential permits to German Jewish refugees was not prompted by anti-Jewish motives but by the Government's anxiety not to flood the labor market.

VI. POLAND

Insofar as the Jews of Poland were concerned, the period under review differed from its predecessor only in this respect, that it became clearer during the past twelve months that those sections of Polish society which were not allied with the National Democrats (Endeks) and other professed anti-Semitic elements, were really aiming at the same goal, namely, the elimination of Jews from the economic life of the country. Though the difference in motivation is of little practical importance, yet it is interesting. The anti-Semites, frankly hostile to Jews, wish to deprive them of all rights, and, by making life intolerable for them in Poland, compel them to leave the country. Boycotting, physical attacks, and mass outbreaks are all regarded as legitimate measures to achieve this aim.

The so-called non-anti-Semitic Nationalists hold that Poland belongs to Poles (non-Jews); that its wealth and its opportunities should be in Polish hands; that such wealth and opportunities as are now in non-Polish (Jewish) hands, should be transferred by "legal" means to Polish ownership; and that Jews who are displaced or dispossessed should leave the country. The staggering problems involved in the emigration of millions of people without means, at a time when all countries have closed their doors to immigration, are politely but firmly referred to Jewish philanthropic organizations abroad and to the League of Nations. Those who advocate this program repudiate violence, as not consonant with Polish cultural traditions, but they overlook the fact that their mere espousal of this program is a direct encouragement to violence. Nor do they appear to realize that it is economic dislocation which they propose as a solution of the problem created by Poland's increasing population; that they can only succeed in the first part of their program, that is, in ruining the Jewish population, without getting rid of it; that the country as a whole can only be damaged by a campaign to ruin so large a segment of its population; that the solution lies rather in much more constructive, if far more difficult efforts to increase the efficiency of the country's agriculture, to develop its industries, and to

expand its commerce; and that such efforts will have the whole-hearted support of the Jews of Poland and the sympathy of men of good will throughout the world.

“The Camp for National Unity”

During the past year, the proposed solution of Poland's economic and social problems via the expropriation of the Jews was adopted as a government policy as part of the platform of a proposed new party calling itself “Camp for National Unity.” For sometime, there had been indications that the groups supporting the present government were planning to formulate a platform of principles upon which they would seek the support of all nationalists. Early in September, increasing concern was manifested in Jewish circles in connection with plans to reorganize the pro-Government bloc into a strong political party to take the wind out of the sails of their chief rival, the National Democratic Party (Endek), and of other opposition groups. It was learned that this reorganization of pro-Government forces had been put in the hands of Col. Adam Koc, Commander of the Polish Legion, who has been at work attempting to draw up a party program with universal appeal. Some of the points of this program became prematurely known and were widely discussed in political circles. Their nature was such as to lead two of the leading Yiddish papers in Warsaw to label the new organization “a new edition of the Endek party.” Both these papers were promptly confiscated. Rumors continued to circulate during the following months, until on February 21, the long heralded program of the “Camp for National Unity,” was announced by Colonel Adam Koc. This program, in preparation for almost a year, constituted an attempt to organize Poland on a totalitarian basis. “We no longer have a right to be divided,” Colonel Koc declared, “since in many other countries all political individualism has already long since disappeared and other nations are being led by a single will towards a common aim.”

The “Camp for National Unity” was founded on three basic principles: Nationalism, Catholicism, and social solidarity. It was designed to unite Poles of all classes and political parties on an appeal to their patriotism and na-

tionalism. The Constitution of 1935 would remain the framework of the new regime, religious tolerance would be guaranteed, and the differences between the majority and minority population respected, "up to the point where they may be harmful to the interests of the State or utilized for spreading hatreds."

In a special paragraph devoted to the Jewish question, Colonel Koc declared: "We cherish too highly the level and content of our cultural life, as well as law, peace, and order, with which no state can dispense, to approve acts of violence and brutal anti-Jewish excesses, which undermine the respect and authority of a great nation. On the other hand, the instinct of cultural self-defense is self-evident and the striving of the Polish people for economic self-sufficiency is natural."

Thus, on the one hand, physical violence against Jews was condemned as "undermining the respect and authority of a great nation," while, on the other hand, the new platform recognized the existence of an alleged conflict of economic interests between the Jewish and Polish populations. Colonel Koc emphasized the "tendency for economic self-sufficiency" by declaring: "The strengthening of the Polish middle class in our life plays not only a great economic, but also a cultural role." On March 1, the organization of the Camp for National Unity was formally announced in Warsaw at the conference of representatives of the cities in Poland.

The Jewish representatives in the Polish Parliament on several occasions emphasized the threatening situation of the Jews arising out of the declaration of Colonel Koc. On March 5, Senator Trockenheim declared that the declaration of Colonel Koc is an ideological justification for the command that the Jews be deprived of their economic positions. On March 10, Senator Schorr declared: "Colonel Koc accepts the 'economic independence of the Polish nation' as the norm of regulating the Jewish question in Poland. Must the creation of a Polish middle class necessarily mean the destruction of Jewish economic positions? Does the Jewish population interfere, or does it have the power to interfere at all with the participation of the Polish population in the economic functions in which the Jews are allegedly dominant?" On March 14, at the Conference of the Agrarian

Section of the Camp for National Unity, Colonel Koc said: "I declare to you that our Camp will do everything in order to prepare the cities to receive and to absorb the surplus population from the over-populated villages. All of us will cooperate in order to facilitate the exodus from the villages and to put a stop to the process of impoverishment of the peasant by the increasing parceling of his already too small farm in the village." The meaning of this statement was given by a village representative who stated: "We shall take our commerce into our own hands. We shall send our children to the cities so that they may build up a healthy Polish middle class."

On March 19, the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of the late Marshal Pilsudski, the President of the Polish Republic broadcast an address in which he threw the weight of authority of the government behind the Camp for National Unity. "Several weeks before the proclamation of the declaration by Colonel Koc," the President declared, "Marshal Smigly-Rydz acquainted me with the details of its content which was in full harmony with my own considerations on all the questions discussed therein." By thus committing the government to the Camp for National Unity, the President accepted the program outlined by Colonel Koc on February 21 as the official policy of the Polish government.

In the meantime, the platform of the Camp, especially its Jewish plank, was the subject of animated discussion in Jewish circles. There seemed to be a lack of agreement as to the meaning of the Jewish plank. But all illusions which may have been entertained as to the "Jewish" policy of the Camp were dispelled by the statement, made on April 20, at a press conference in Warsaw, by Colonel Jan Kowalewski, chief of staff of the new party. Replying to questions as to the position of the Camp with regard to Jews, Colonel Kowalewski reiterated that, while opposed to all anti-Jewish excesses, the Camp of National Unity will strive for an organic solution of the Jewish problem. Jews, in the sense of nationality, he declared, cannot be admitted to the Camp for National Unity, just as Poles cannot be members of the Zionist party. On the next day, Colonel Kowalewski issued a statement to the Polish Telegraphic Agency, in which he cleared up several points. One of these was that "the mere

avowal of belonging to the Polish nationality cannot open the doors to the Camp." Another was that while the Camp was basically a Catholic organization it would admit "deserving Poles" of other faiths.

"The criterion of Polishdom in these exceptional cases," Colonel Kowalewski declared, "must be not only the profession of belonging to the Polish nationality, but the sacrifice of blood, voluntarily shed, or other proof of sacrifice made on the altar of the fatherland, as well as the deeds of one's whole life which testify to the true attachment to the Polish nation." Thus, for example, "Jews who fought for the independence of the country and who are united in the Union of Jewish Veterans of the Wars for Polish Independence," . . . cannot belong to the Camp for National Unity, because of their open loyalty to the Jewish nationality. Most interesting, perhaps were Col. Kowalewski's explanation of the Jewish policy of the Camp. He said: "The Jewish problem is one of the most important questions in Poland, primarily because of the excessive number of Jews. It is for this reason that the Jewish problem can be solved principally by emigration, and it is in this way that we shall strive to solve it. Simultaneously, we cannot wait for the complete solution of this problem through emigration, and we must see to it today that the Polish population finds work in trades, industry and commerce, so that these three main branches of economic life shall become Polish, and that the Polish cities may play their proper part not only economically but culturally as well."

The attitude of Jews toward this blunt statement of the intention of a powerful political group to work for their economic destruction, was well expressed by the *Hajnt*, leading Yiddish daily in Poland, in an editorial in which it said that "the Jews do not deceive themselves about the gravity of a position where none of the political forces behind the new party is on their side. The declaration of Colonel Kowalewski shows that the Camp for National Unity is to carry on an anti-Jewish program in accordance with the methods of the Endeks. We must consider the declaration of the spokesman of the new party that it intends to fight against anti-Jewish excesses as a piece of hypocrisy. The masses of the Jewish population will not be deceived by this so-called 'human-

itarian' anti-Semitism. If the leaders of the new party have no patience and refuse to wait for the Jews to emigrate from Poland, there is no reason why the mob should wait for the results of the anti-Jewish boycott when it can achieve all it desires with the help of knives and bombs."

The National Democrats (Endeks) greeted Col. Kowalewski's statement on the Jewish policy of the Camp for National Unity as a step toward the acceptance of their own views. The Endeks, however, were not satisfied with a policy of gradual replacement of Jews in commerce and industry; they demanded depriving the Jews of political rights.

The Mass Emigration Proposal

The mass emigration of Jews proposed in the platform of the Camp for National Unity was inspired by suggestions in the early part of 1936. It will be recalled that the Polish Radical Party, a new party organized in January of that year, demanded that emigration of Jews from Poland be promoted by legal means and accorded all facilities of the Government. On February 20, 1936, two senators demanded that the Government approach American and British organizations for aid in expatriating Polish Jews. (See Vol. 38, p. 341.) After this, the emigration proposal became very popular in Polish government circles, which eagerly cited the statements of Jewish organizations and spokesmen who had, on various occasions, pointed to emigration as the solution of the economic problem of the Jews of Poland.

On August 2, 1936, an official communique of the Polish government argued that the Jewish problem can be settled in Poland only if Poland obtains colonies "in the vast and almost uninhabited regions of South Africa and South America best fitted for Polish immigration and colonization;" and pointed out that it was the duty of the League of Nations to deal with the problem as soon as possible. On August 6, Polish Political Information, semi-official organ of the Polish Foreign Office, expressed the hope that the impending World Jewish Congress in Geneva would discuss immigration of Polish Jews to new territories overseas in order to relieve Poland's overpopulation problem.

The article argued that even Jewish authorities admit that the Jewish problem is overpopulation and that 1,000,000 out of 3,000,000 have no prospect of sound employment. The Polish press of all political camps greeted the declaration of Vladimir Jabotinsky, leader of the New Zionist Organization, who on September 10th, asserted that Poland should take the initiative in summoning an international conference of governments interested in mass emigration of Jews from their respective countries; and that Poland, which has given Palestine most of its Jewish settlers, has a right to intervene with Great Britain and the League of Nations to accelerate the settlement of Jews in the Holy Land.

On September 20, in an address before the League of Nations Council, in Geneva, Foreign Minister Josef Beck of Poland asked for the extension of the membership of the Mandates Commission. Col. Beck's address was delivered at a closed meeting of the Council in commenting on appointment of Lord Hailey, British colonial expert, to the Mandates Commission to succeed Lord Lugard. On the same day, the *Polska Zbrojna* of Warsaw, an army organ which mirrors the views of General Rydz-Smigly, virtual dictator of Poland, discussed, in an editorial, a plan ascribed to Vladimir Jabotinsky for the immigration of a half million East European Jews to Palestine. The paper declared Palestine immigration restriction and economic considerations militated against this plan, but applauded the idea of an international conference of governments interested in mass emigration of Jews to Palestine.

On October 7, a communique of the Polish Foreign Office called upon foreign financiers to assist emigration of Jews from Poland to countries outside Palestine, as Palestine alone was inadequate for Polish Jewry's needs. The statement called Jewish immigration an international problem, and said financiers seeking to advance their own economic interests, as well as those concerned with the problem for sentimental reasons, ought to come to the aid of Polish Jewry. On the following day, declaring that new outlets for the Jewish populations of Eastern Europe must

be found, Poland officially asked the League of Nations to sponsor an international conference to discuss mass emigration of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe.

On November 8, Government circles in Poland voiced disappointment at the small immigration schedule announced by Great Britain for Palestine, when 1800 labor certificates were granted for the following six months. On the following day *Gazeta Polska*, organ of the Foreign Office, declared that the conditions of the Jews in Poland could only be improved by emigration because "fifty percent of the Jewish youth in Poland are vegetating"; the article repeated the plea that Jewish financiers abroad assist in expatriating Polish Jews. Meanwhile, in England, Col. Josef Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, was consulting with British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden on the possibility of obtaining England's cooperation in accelerating Polish-Jewish emigration to Palestine. It was reported that Col. Beck emphasized the importance of uninterrupted immigration from Poland to Palestine but that it pressed no claims. Col. Beck's mission was severely criticized in the British press and, on November 12, *Great Britain and the East*, a periodical which usually reflects the viewpoint of the Colonial Office, rebuked Poland for its demarches on the Palestine immigration question.

On December 2, approval of proposals for emigration of Jews from Poland was expressed during a discussion in the Sejm. Deputy Surzynski voiced satisfaction that Foreign Minister Josef Beck had taken up the question at Geneva; emphasized the necessity for the migration of Polish peasants, tradesmen and artisans from Poznan to Russian Poland; and demanded a "humanitarian" solution of the Jewish question through emigration.

On December 18, reporting to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, Foreign Minister Beck touched on the problem of Jewish emigration but failed to state whether the Government intended to continue its agitation for mass emigration of Jews, and how the plans were received at the League of Nations Council meeting.

On the same day it was reliably learned that Poland had

approached France on the immigration possibilities of the island of Madagascar. Following inquiries of its Madagascar officials, the French Government was understood to have informed Poland that, in view of climatic and other conditions, the island could absorb only a few hundred immigrants. (For further information on this point see the section on France in this article.)

When the Sejm convened on January 11, 1937, the opening session was marked by a violent outburst of anti-Jewish speeches. Colonel Boguslaw Miedzinski, Vice-Marshal of the Sejm and one of the outstanding leaders of the Pilsudski group, declared: "In trying to find an outlet for its surplus population, the Polish Government has in mind the Jews first of all. We would appreciate the Jews, if we had only 50,000 of them. Our negative attitude is caused by the fact that there are three millions. I believe that nothing must stand in the way of the Polish nation to change the abnormal situation in the composition of the population in Poland." Colonel Beck, Foreign Minister, declared the official standpoint of the Government as favoring mass emigration of Jews, and told of his several appeals to Great Britain to admit more Jews into Palestine. Another speaker on the same subject was Deputy Waleski of the Government camp who maintained that there was no place in Poland for the Jewish middle class and insisted that all towns must be cleared of Jews.

In an interview with a correspondent of *The New York Times* in Geneva, on January 30, 1937, Foreign Minister Beck explained that his mass emigration plan was merely a question of finding an outlet for the annual increase in Poland's Jewish population—50,000 yearly. He said the key to the solution of the Jewish emigration problem is economic and social rather than political and declared that if economic pressure were removed, political anti-Semitism would subside. The difficulties in Palestine, Beck said, have made that outlet "much too small to suffice"; that he believed that "with a little more good will we will find outlets, possibly some this year"; and that Poland hoped to finance emigration through clearing arrangements.

On June 16, during a debate in the Sejm, General Zieligowski, conqueror of Wilno, declared: "There is no place

in Poland for the Jews. They must be evacuated." He urged the setting up of a special fund to be raised by taxation for the financing of Jewish evacuation. In replying to this speech, Deputy Emil Sommerstein declared: "We will not allow ourselves to be driven from Poland." In the same month, an all-Polish congress of peasant youth, held under the patronage of Marshall Smigly-Rydz, adopted a resolution which read in part: "While condemning all acts of violence, which harm the spirit of the Polish people, we state that, in the overcrowded Polish State, emigration must be the first concern of the Jewish masses as an element which is alien to the Polish people and injurious to the economic life of Poland." On June 23, J. Rutkowski, deputy leader of the Youth Sector of the Camp for National Unity, announced in a radio address that emigration of the Jews will be pushed "regardless of consequences." We have only a few reports of the reaction of the Jews of Poland to this agitation for their mass emigration.

On October 15, declaring that "Polish Jews belong on Polish soil," the Jewish Economic Council issued a strong protest against the Government's proposals to the League of Nations for the solution of the Jewish problem by mass emigration of Jews from Poland and other central and eastern European countries. On December 2, in an address in the Sejm, Deputy Leib Minzberg compared the treatment of the Jews in Poland to that of the Israelites in Egypt. He declared nationalist economists must agree that the economic problems of Poland cannot be solved by Jewish emigration and a boycott against the Jews. At a conference of the Jewish Emigration Aid Society, held in Warsaw, on February 2, 1937, it was declared that while the problem of emigration must be carefully considered, Jews must reject all talk of mass emigration. In the meantime, on November 16, the Migration Committee of the International Labor Office, before which Poland had placed its proposal for the emigration of 80,000 Polish Jews annually, opened its sessions in Geneva. Tytus Komarnicki, the Polish delegate, addressed the opening meeting on the problems of surplus population and declared the countries of emigration were unable to finance the expatriation to other lands. On February 6, 1937, despite the objections

of Komarnicki, an International Labor Office conference adopted a report by its immigration committee recommending the creation of a commission of experts to investigate immigration possibilities and to report its findings for action in 1938. Komarnicki objected on the ground that Poland needed relief from overpopulation immediately. Representatives of Brazil and Argentina declared that their countries were open to immigration of agricultural workers but not to others, but that all American countries had resolved at the Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires to investigate immigration possibilities. On June 13, Polish representatives at the International Labor Office meeting at Geneva, stressed the demographic problems of Poland and the great importance of emigration. Komarnicki, who was again Polish delegate, said that Poland was an overpopulated country with a strong natural increase in population; that the government considers emigration of surplus rural population more important than that of industrial workers; and that emigration problem is closely connected with financial questions, and international organizations must find the means for emigration.

The "Jewish Question" in Parliament

The attitude of circles close to the government and of other conservative groups toward the so-called Jewish question was indicated also in the utterances of members of Parliament. Some of these utterances have already been quoted in the preceding section.

On January 12, 1937, the second day of the Sejm sessions was marked by demands by several Deputies for special anti-Jewish laws on the ground that "equality before the law is a dangerous illusion created by the French revolution." Deputy Bakon announced that a bill would be introduced to bar Jews from military services on the ground that "Jews are poor soldiers" and that "special laws, adapted to the Jewish mentality, are required for Jews." He also asserted that "compulsory exemption" of Jews from military service would greatly benefit the Polish state. His proposal was supported by Nationalist Deputies. In

his reply to the many anti-Jewish pronouncements, Deputy Leib Minzberg of the Agudah (organization of Orthodox Jews) protested that the current debates on the Jewish question were creating the impression that Jews were no longer Polish citizens since the question appeared to have resolved itself into a discussion of how to force them to emigrate. The "Jewish question" continued to be the subject of discussion in Parliament on January 14, when Deputy Budzinski, former Government Party Secretary of the District of Lodz, attacked the Jews with the warning that any administration which would not fight against the "internal occupation" of the Jews, "will lose its contact with the Polish people."

The Jewish question continued to be the subject of heated discussion in Parliament throughout the month of February. "The Polish Parliament," Deputy Sommerstein declared, "has become the advance guard of that movement (the Endeks) which did not enter the present Parliament." On February 4, speaking in the Senate of the necessity of Government regulation of Jewish emigration from Poland, Prince Radziwill stated: "The monopolization of many branches by the Jewish element is not a natural thing. The rush of the village population to the city is fully understandable. There is only one way out of the situation. The Government itself must take the initiative in order to impress upon the people that the Jewish question is not left to take its own course; that it cannot be solved by pogroms, but that it will be regulated in a cultural way." On the same day, the Premier stated: "Prince Radziwill is right in declaring that the Jewish question can be solved partly by the Government and partly by society "

Meantime, Polish anti-Semitism was placed on a sociological basis by Senator Petrarzycki who said on February 13: "Today, anti-Semitism embraces ever wider circles in Poland. This is a sociological law which implies that, if the autochthonous nation reaches economic maturity, the immigrant nation must step aside. . . The negative attitude of the Jews in the matter of emigration is like water in the mill of anti-Semitism . . . Sociological laws cannot be changed in an arbitrary way." A particularly painful impression was made by the speech of General Lucjan

Zeligowski, Polish popular hero: "I do not have to say that all of us are shocked by the excesses and that we agree with the Premier that an end must be put to them," he declared. "But the Jews themselves must understand that it is a question of an economic struggle and that the Polish nation must spread its wings. . . You must understand that the Polish nation is afraid lest you do to us what your General Trotzky has done to Russia. You have begun to build up your State in Palestine, which makes us happy. You want to have your fatherland—we want to have ours."

Under these circumstances, the position of the Jewish deputies and senators became more and more untenable. Their speeches were interrupted by shouts of "Go to Palestine!" to the accompaniment of applause and insults. This situation aroused in a part of the Jewish public the feeling that the Jewish Deputies had no reason to remain in that body. "The fact that the Jewish deputies remain in the Sejm is not only useless, but simply harmful," said an editorial in the *Hajnt*, organ of the General Zionists. "It only serves to exhibit the complete desolation and powerlessness of the Jews and adds fuel to the sadistic feelings of our enemies to become ever more aggressive and insolent. The Jewish Deputies are simply being laughed at; their speeches are passed over in dead silence and reach nobody but the Jews themselves. It would, therefore, be the most solemn and honorable form of protest, if the Jewish Deputies were to lay down their mandates." It was because of such sentiment that, on February 25, the Jewish deputies voted against the Government budget for 1936-1937. In a public statement, the Jewish deputies declared: "The three and a half million Jews of Poland are entirely conscious of their duties as citizens. The Jews of Poland are ready to make the necessary sacrifices in defense of the country but they demand full equality of rights, employment, economic security and protection of life and property." Deputy Leib Minzberg abstained from voting, explaining that "the anti-Jewish policy is not disavowed by the Government, which actually furthers it." This was the first time that a representative of the Agudath Israel, extreme orthodox organization, took such action.

On March 23, the Polish Parliament was closed. It was, by common consent of the press of Poland, the most anti-Semitic Parliament in the history of Polish independence. The vehement attacks on the Jewish population pointed to a profound revision in the official and unofficial attitude towards the Jews. Jewish members of the Parliament alluded to the contrast between the days of 1926 when Prime Minister Bartel, the first Prime Minister of the Pilsudski regime, declared that the Government will not permit the rights of the non-Polish nationalities to be endangered, and that the Government will strive to lessen the antagonism between the nationalities and religions and will endeavor to establish harmonious conditions for co-operation, with the recent months of 1937 and the neutral policy of Prime Minister Skladkowski and the current declaration that while the government does not approve the excesses against the Jews, it justifies the elimination of Jews from the field of economic endeavor.

Government Policies Affecting Jews

The Shehitah Law

The developments leading up to the adoption of the law restricting the practice of shehitah (ritual slaughtering of animals) to the requirements of Jews, Moslems, and Karaites, were described in detail in last year's Review. (See Vol. 38, pp. 342-5). The law was to go into effect on January 1, 1937.

In July, 1936, a delegation of Jewish Sejm deputies and senators called upon Professor Swietoslowski, Minister of Education and Public Worship, and discussed with him the economic consequences of the shehitah law, pointing out that the administrative regulations which were being drawn up by the Ministry of Agriculture, would raise the price of kosher meat so high that it would become an article of luxury. On November 29, the Minister of Agriculture assured a delegation from the Jewish Union of Traders that provision will be made for the kosher meat butchers, by permitting them to become partners of those who

receive the Government concessions for sale of kosher meat as provided by the law; the quota of kosher meat will be set at 60% of the total meat slaughtered, he stated. On December 6, statistics published revealed that, in 188 Polish towns, 70,000 people were dependent for their livelihood on the Jewish meat trade; thousands of these, it was declared, face loss of employment when the law goes into effect.

On January 1, when the shehitah law went into effect, the Jewish newspapers published appeals to the Jews, not to celebrate the New Year as it had brought tragedy to 20,000 Jewish meat dealers who will lose their livelihood as a result of the restrictions imposed by the law. According to press reports, thousands of Jewish families, who had earned a livelihood from the butcher trade are in despair; there were several suicides. In many cities, the Jewish population remained entirely without meat since the authorities were either slow in issuing the licenses to Jewish butchers or failed to issue them at all. The administration of the shehitah law caused dissatisfaction also among the non-Jewish population. On January 8, Polish officials of Slupiano accompanied by a Christian butcher and a rabbi appeared before the starosta of Kielce and asked him to restore the practice of shehitah in their township, on the ground that the city government had lost a substantial part of its revenue as a result of the shut-down of the local slaughter house, made necessary by the new law. The loss of revenue from shehitah also caused great damage to the Jewish communal organizations, particularly in the small towns.

Notwithstanding these signs of dissatisfaction, the practice of shehitah has been entirely forbidden in townships in the district of Lodz by a special interpretation of the new law. Furthermore, the protests against the shehitah law, which has produced chaos in the livestock market, evoked the threat of Madam Prystor, author of the law, who declared on January 26 in the Sejm, that a bill for the complete prohibition of shehitah will be introduced, if the Jews continued what she called "sabotage of the present legislation." Demands for the prohibition of shehitah began to be heard during February, when non-Jewish

butchers expressed resentment at the fact that Jewish butchers are forced to sell the hind part of the cattle, forbidden to Jews, unless *porged*, at a low price to Christians. The non-Jewish butchers demanded that the quota of kosher meat be reduced; that Jewish butchers be forbidden to deal in non-kosher meat; that Jewish butchers be forced to *porge* the hind parts, which should be recognized as kosher meat; that the price of kosher meat be fixed by administrative authorities; and that additional measures to protect Christian butchers against Jewish competition be enacted. These demands did not go entirely unanswered. It was disclosed on February 4 that the Ministry of Agriculture had decreased the quota of meat allowed to Jewish butchers by approximately 50% over the preceding month, in order to compel them to *porge* the hind parts of the cattle, contrary to the wishes of the rabbis. On February 12, the Ministry of Agriculture informed a delegation of the Jewish Butcher's Association and Butcher Workers' Union of Lodz that, as long as the Rabbis do not change their negative attitude towards *porging*, the quotas will be further reduced.

In March, there were indications that the situation was reaching a stage of gradual "adjustment." The pressure which was brought to bear upon the Jewish community to adapt itself to the new conditions forced the rabbis to introduce the practice of *porging* of the hind part of the cattle. Nevertheless, in spite of the rigid execution of the law, demands for the complete prohibition of *shehitah* have not altogether ceased. And these demands are motivated not by kindness to animals but by the prevailing idea,—to eliminate the Jews from the industry. Even the government admitted this. On March 9, Jules Poniatowski, Minister of Agriculture, expressed surprise at the impatience displayed with the results of the *shehitah* law. The law has been in force only two months, the Minister declared, and it is impossible that during such a short time it should have had the desired result. Thanks to the law, 50% of the meat trade has already been taken out of Jewish hands. "I can assure you," the Minister concluded, "that before long the larger part of the meat trade will be found in Polish hands. We must have patience and wait."

The Manufacture and Distribution of Religious Objects

On March 21, the Sejm unanimously adopted a bill prohibiting the manufacture and distribution of religious objects of one faith by members of another faith, and providing that the workers in these industries must be members of the respective faiths. These provisions, however, do not apply to religious objects produced for the purpose of export. In moving the adoption of the bill, Deputy Downar, Roman Catholic Priest and sponsor of the bill declared: "The present situation is an insult to our religious and national sentiments and contributes to the antagonism between Jews and Poles . . . We want Catholic religious objects to be manufactured only by Catholics since the Jew is not in a position to manufacture correctly such objects which he can neither understand nor have any feeling for" . . . "To ask of us to look calmly upon the increasing domination of our economic life by Jews," Deputy Downar concluded, "would be suicidal humanitarianism . . ."

Early in April five thousand Poles of the City of Chorzow in Polish Silesia submitted to the Governor and the Mayor a petition requesting them to issue a decree "prohibiting the manufacture of, and traffic in, objects of our faith and religious cult by non-Christians in general and by Jews in particular." The petition went on to say: "Keeping in mind the shocking events in Spain and apprehensive lest the Jews destroy in the future what they dare to sell us today, we affirm the necessity of putting an end to Jewish insolence which permits them to traffic in our holy objects."

Law Relating to the Legal Profession

On March 3, the Government introduced a bill to regulate the legal profession, article 10 of which provides that into the legal profession may be admitted only those who 1) possess Polish citizenship and enjoy full civil and citizenship rights; 2) are of unblemished character; 3) have complete command of the Polish language in speech and writing; 4) have completed their law studies at the Universities and passed all prescribed examinations; 5) have served their court apprenticeships and passed the respective examina-

tions; 6) and have subsequently served their clerkships in law offices and passed the bar examination. The bill further provides that the Minister of Justice has the right, upon consulting the Chief Council of the Bar Association, to close by administrative decree the list of lawyers or law applicants, or both, for a definite period of time in particular provinces or localities, or to limit the number of newly registered lawyers or law applicants. The Jewish and Ukrainian representatives in the Polish Parliament strongly opposed this bill which they believed was designed to block the admission of members of the minorities, who, among other things, are rarely admitted as court applicants, into the legal profession. Of particular importance is the circumstance that the rapporteur of this bill, Deputy Sioda, declared on February 16: "The legal profession must fight against the apparent surplus of elements of the national minorities in order to assure the Polish element a dominant position."

Other Laws, Regulations, and Decisions

On January 1, 1937, when the law for the mechanization of bakeries went into effect, fifty Jewish bakeries in Warsaw had already been closed, while 150 additional Jewish bakeries were threatened, unless they introduce mechanical ovens. As the majority of the Jewish bakers are too poor to modernize their bakeries, two hundred Jewish families were thus threatened with the loss of their livelihood. However, since then it has been announced that the execution of this law has been postponed for three years.

According to an announcement, made on January 18, the Polish Highest Tribunal ruled that leaflets instigating a boycott against Jews are lawful, since their distribution does not disturb public order. Simultaneously, it was announced that a ruling of the Interior Minister permits Polish artisans to display special emblems, showing a cross, to distinguish their shops from Jewish establishments.

On June 1, the Senate voted to delete from the statutes of the Marshal Pilsudski Fund for National Culture, the clause permitting grants to Jews and members of national minorities; the Sejm also approved the change.

Anti-Jewish Discrimination by Municipalities

During the month of March, a number of municipalities voted their budget for the fiscal year 1937-1938 in which customary subventions to Jewish institutions are either reduced to an insignificant sum or completely struck out. These municipalities included Krakow, with 25% Jews, which assigned 7,627 zlotys to Jewish institutions out of a total of 23,690,000 zlotys; Lublin, where the Jews constitute 40% of the population, which struck out all subventions to Jewish institutions from the budget for 1937-1938; Sosnowiec, 25% of whose population is Jewish, which allotted 20,000 zlotys to Jewish institutions, out of a total budget of 3,700,000 zlotys; and Lwow with 24% of its population Jewish, which cancelled all subventions to Jewish institutions to the accompaniment of vehement anti-Semitic speeches.

In April, it was reported that the authorities of Lwow had been conducting a campaign to remove indiscriminately Hebrew signs from Jewish stores, such as the word *Kosher* on Jewish restaurants and butcher shops and stores dealing with Jewish religious objects, on the ground that they distort the esthetic view of the city. At the same time, it was reported that the boycott of a number of Government institutions against Jewish purveyors had increased. Without reason, Jewish purveyors are being refused orders, even though they may be the only sources of supply for certain articles. All orders and purchases are made either directly from, or indirectly through, Christian purveyors. As a result, a number of Jewish industrialists, merchants and purveyors have lost their markets. Jewish physicians in Warsaw expressed concern over the practice of appointing Christian midwives and laboratory workers in Jewish hospitals which receive a subsidy from the municipality, which was being extended to apply also to physicians as all such appointments are made by the city president. On April 7, the Tax Department of Lublin requested Jewish liquor dealers of the Province to keep their shops open on Saturdays on the ground that their closing injures the Government Treasury. (Alcoholic beverages are a Government monopoly.)

The *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy* of May 13, 1937, reported that the City Council of Bydgoszcz unanimously adopted a resolution to authorize the Communal Savings Bank of the city to establish a special fund for the purpose of financing Polish commercial and handicraft establishments in sections where the influence of the Jews in the economic field still predominates. The initial fund of 50,000 zlotys will be guaranteed by the city which will pay the interest on the credits extended by the Communal Savings Bank in order that those who wish to establish Polish enterprises in "judaized" branches may obtain credits without interest.

On May 15, the City Council of Otwock near Warsaw ordered the removal of all Jewish market stalls in the town market halls, as the Jews had failed to appear in the City Hall on Saturday on general notice; all merchandise from these Jewish stalls was taken away.

Anti-Jewish Boycott

With government espousing a policy of displacing Jews from the economic life of the country, in order to make room for the Polish population, it is not at all surprising that the anti-Jewish boycott movement should have made giant strides during the past year.

In mid-July, 1936, General Slawoj-Skladkowski, the Prime Minister, received a delegation of Jewish commercial organizations, who asked him to intervene against the anti-Jewish boycott, pointing out it was injuring the trade and industry of the country. The Prime Minister assured the delegation that the Government was determined to maintain law and order in the country and "would not permit that anyone should be unfairly treated." On December 10, a delegation from the Union of Jewish small traders protested to the chief of the minorities department of the Interior Ministry that 36 magistrates in the Pomorze and Poznan provinces were prohibiting Jews from trading in local markets. The delegation received reassuring promises. On December 16, a delegation from the Jewish Traders' Union asked the Ministry of Interior for protection against a campaign of anti-Jewish propaganda which, they said,

was being waged in connection with the Christmas holidays; the delegation was assured the authorities would investigate the complaint. On December 22, a delegation representing the Jewish Small Traders Association, placed before the Minister of Interior charges of widespread terrorism accompanying a nation-wide anti-Jewish boycott. They pointed out that Jewish stores were being picketed and that Nationalist students and others had caused disturbances and molested persons entering Jewish stores in a number of cities and towns.

The frequent visits of delegations of Jewish businessmen bear witness to the extent and virulence of the boycott movement. Space is not available for recording many details of this movement, which touched almost every walk of life.

There was a veritable epidemic of the institution of the so-called "Aryan paragraph" by professional and trade organizations, by the insertion of a clause in the organization by-laws excluding Jews from membership. In some cases where the number of Jewish members made such a step awkward, the Christian members would withdraw and organize a new association. Either of these steps was taken by organizations of physicians, engineers, barbers, lawyers, electricians, war veterans, athletes, agronomists, law clerks, landlords, mechanics, teachers, restaurateurs, gardeners, bookkeepers, and many other occupational societies. Very often the introduction of the "Aryan paragraph" would be accompanied by the adoption of a resolution urging the public not to buy from, or employ the services of Jews. Thus, on March 2, 1937, the Warsaw Chapter of the Association of Polish Electricians, adopted a resolution recommending a change in the statutes of the national Association to bar Jews and persons of Jewish descent from membership, and calling upon all Poles, members of the Association, to realize their most important duty of the present moment, "as a condition precedent to the maintaining and the consolidation of the independent existence and the strengthening of the potential defense of the Polish nation and state," is "to fight for the complete economic independence as well as for the removal of the destructive Jewish influences from all fields of our cultural and social life."

On May 19, the Annual General Conference of the Association of Polish Merchants in Warsaw, held behind closed doors, unanimously adopted a resolution, proposed by the delegation from Piotrkow, to introduce the "Aryan paragraph." A second resolution read: "In connection with the action for the de-Judaization of our economic life, the General Conference of the Association of Polish Merchants recognizes as a burning and pressing problem the question of the education and the influx of professionally equipped Polish forces for the purpose of the earliest replacement of Jews everywhere where they thrive at the expense of the Polish middle class. Therefore, the General Conference begs the Government to introduce a change in the policy of the Minister of Education with a view of assuring to the Polish youth in professional training the best conditions for work and development."

Perhaps the most portentous actions of this kind were those taken by the Union of Polish Lawyers and by the Union of Physicians of the Polish Republic. The action of the lawyers was taken in May, 1937, at a national conference in Warsaw attended by some of the highest government officials, including the Vice Minister of Justice and the first president of the Supreme Court. After a long series of speeches, all dealing with the necessity of protecting "the legal profession and Polish society against the Jewish influences," the conference unanimously adopted a resolution recommending that, in formulating the law for the regulation of the legal profession, the government introduce a percentage norm for Jews not exceeding the ratio of Jews to the total population; that, in bar associations in which Jewish lawyers and candidates exceed this percentage, no more Jews be admitted; and that the above principles be applied also to law schools. The resolutions of the conference also included the recommendations that members of the Union of Polish Lawyers do not employ Jewish law clerks, and that self-help funds be established for the support of Polish youth in the legal profession by the creation of new positions and the support of professional publications.

On the same day, the Union of Physicians in the Polish Republic adopted the "Aryan paragraph" by a vote of 140

against 103; the forty Jewish physicians present left the conference.

In the meantime, on March 11, the Association of Polish Engineers in the Oil Industry, meeting in Boryslaw, adopted a resolution calling attention "to the disturbing state of control of this industry by foreign elements, mostly by Jews, graduates of national and foreign polytechnic institutes," demanding that only Polish engineers be employed in the industry, and protesting against the recognition of diplomas obtained in foreign schools, seeing in this "a tendency to flood the intelligentsia with Jews." It was resolved to send this resolution to the senates of the higher technical schools. On March 12, a conference of Christian tailors of Southern Great Poland at Ostrow, at which representatives of the Poznan Chamber of Handicraft were present, adopted a resolution demanding that the work of supplying uniforms be taken away from Jewish workshops, and given to them.

In addition to "Aryan paragraphs" and resolutions of trade and professional associations, the boycott was sedulously promoted by the Endeks and the Naras (National Radicals) by means of many other devices, besides a purposeful and unrelenting agitation in the press. Among these devices were the establishment of rival shops, subsidized by political parties; the setting up of loan funds to aid non-Jews to undersell Jews; the establishment of consumer cooperatives, which buy their supplies only from non-Jews; the special marking of articles produced by non-Jews; the publication of maps (this was done in Warsaw) showing where non-Jewish businesses are located; and the like. The setting aside of special weeks or days, including Sundays, for intensive boycott agitation was another weapon. Following is a typical example of how this was done, illustrating also the part played by the church in the boycott movement: The Endek Party in Krasnosielec, together with the local Association of Polish Merchants proclaimed May 2, as "A Day for the De-Judaizing of Poland and Propaganda for Polish Commerce and Handicraft." The Catholic houses were decorated with religious and national emblems and all organizations marched with their banners to a solemn mass

in the church. The local priest "in mighty words called upon the people to unite in the fight against the Jews and Communists for the good of the church and fatherland. The organizations then marched to the tomb of the unknown soldier where they solemnly swore to defend, to the last drop of their blood, all that is Polish and Catholic against all external and internal enemies." In the evening, a gala performance in honor of the guests from the neighbouring towns took place in the theater.

Besides the foregoing devices, other ways of ousting Jews from business were employed. Here are a few illustrations: In a memorandum submitted during the week of March 8, 1937, to the Union of Chambers of Commerce, the Association of Wine Manufacturers in the district of Poznan recommended the prohibition of the manufacture of wine from imported fruits such as raisins, figs, grapes, etc. The Jewish Merchants' Association opposed this recommendation on the ground that it is directed against Jewish wine manufacturers some of whom produce wine from imported fruits. On May 10, a group of Polish Christian porters in Warsaw submitted a memorandum to the Government Commissioner demanding the introduction of a *numerus clausus* for Jews on the ground that "the Jews monopolized their profession and occupied the best places in the best districts." In addition, the porters demanded that Jewish porters be forbidden to work in Polish and central sections of Warsaw; that the total number of Jewish porters shall be limited, and that they shall wear a special insignia in order that "Polish merchants may be able to distinguish between Jewish and non-Jewish porters so that Polish money shall not get into Jewish hands." On June 4, the union of non-Jewish restaurateurs of Poland submitted a memorandum to the Government demanding that Jews be forbidden to open restaurants in districts inhabited by Christians.

This persistent agitation could not but have the effect sought by those conducting it, namely, the progressive impoverishment of the small Jewish traders, shopkeepers, artisans, and manufacturers. Here are a few specimens showing the results.

In publishing reviews of the year 1936, early in 1937, the Endek press noted with great satisfaction that the past year was particularly favorable for the anti-Semitic cause in Poland. Figures published by these newspapers disclosed that, in 1936, the number of Jewish shops in Lodz decreased by 500, while the number of Polish shops increased by 2000; at the same time, 30% to 40% of the Jewish shops in Lodz are on the point of liquidation. The Endek press also noted with satisfaction that during 1936 no less than 4000 Polish kiosks were established. In the same month, the Economic Department of the Endek Party published a report of its two-year activities in the town of Sieradz, stating that: 1) the number of Jewish shops had been reduced to 28, while at the same time 42 new Christian shops had been opened; 2) Polish workshops had been increased by 10, whereas Jewish workshops had been reduced by 11; 3) the number of Polish market stalls had been increased by 40, while the number of Jewish stalls had been decreased by 55. The report concludes that, as a result of the activities of the Endek Party, 73 Jewish families were forced to leave town.

In April, describing the liquidation of Jewish commerce in Sokolow-Podlaski and in the neighboring towns and villages, the Nara organ *ABC* declared: "The results of the anti-Jewish boycott are highly positive. The last Jewish creamery was liquidated almost a year ago as were the Jewish grocery stores in the villages. Jewish merchants are excluded from the villages which carry signs: 'Jews are forbidden to enter under pain of punishment.' In the small towns the Jews offer resistance which results in 'disturbances.' In Sokolow there still remain a number of Jewish shops. They do not want to give in. They believe they will survive the boycott and they think they will succeed. They refuse to sell their shops although there are many Polish applicants for them. They resort to such means as the lowering of prices, and it is rumored that they received \$10,000. for the purpose of combating the boycott. But these methods will be of no avail. . . The boycott is increasing. This is not a trifling matter as the entire population participates in this action." The *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy* of April 12 published a report from Pabianice,

an industrial town of 50,000 inhabitants, where, as a result of the boycott, 88 new Polish enterprises were established during the past three years. During the same period, 26 Jewish businesses were liquidated. Most of the owners of the new Polish enterprises are people of the same town, although there are a number of peasants among them. The correspondence concludes: "The Polish population of the town eagerly awaits the moment when Pabianice, freed of Jews, will become entirely Polish." On April 29, nationalist newspapers reported that the last six Jewish families in the town of Middle Ziedzige, in the Wilno District, had emigrated as a result of the boycott.

On May 2, Leon Najmrodski, chairman of the Economic Committee of the Endek Party in Warsaw, reported that several thousand new Polish economic positions had been established in the provinces of Warsaw as a result of the activities of the Committee. Najmrodski concluded: "Notwithstanding their desperate resistance, the Jews were almost completely expelled from the villages and are now threatened with the loss of their positions in the towns and in the cities. As a result of the economic activities of the Endek Party, thousands of Polish families were provided with new livelihoods, thus contributing to a very large degree to the de-Judaization of the urban centers in the province of Warsaw."

Physical Attacks

The methods of ruining the business of Jews described in the foregoing paragraphs were all of a more or less peaceful character. But the use of violence was by no means eschewed by the Endeks and the Naras. In places where other methods were not effective, the property of Jews was destroyed by fires of incendiary origin, by bombs thrown into shops and homes, by raids of peasants from nearby farms, and similar methods. During the past year the record of such outrages undoubtedly surpassed that of any previous year since the death of Marshal Pilsudski in May, 1935. Besides hundreds of sporadic attacks, there were, during the review period, two major atrocities, which may justly be referred to as massacres,—at Brzesc, on May 13, 1937, and at Czenstochow, on June 19 1937.

Sporadic Incidents

Following is a selection of the more serious of the multitude of sporadic assaults, raids, riots, and similar acts of terrorism,—all stemming from the propaganda of hatred carried on by those elements whose slogan is "Poland for the Poles," a slogan which has been adopted by Col. Koc's Camp for National Unity, whose principles have been accepted by the government.

On July 25, 1936, the authorities suppressed the National Democratic Party (Endeks) in the Cracow district as a result of a raid on the town of Myslenice on June 23, during which police had been disarmed, communications cut, and depredations carried out against Jews. On June 6, 1937, the Cracow District Court sentenced 34 men, convicted of participation in this raid, to prison terms of 10 to 20 months.

On August 2, 25 houses of Jews were burned in the town of Derazhni, and other fires were reported in Yakevitche, Polduzhne, Berestowitz, Kartchvola and Kostopol, all in the Wolyn district. In the same month, M. Zichlinski, a representative of the Joint Distribution Committee, was injured in Truskolas when anti-Semites stoned Jews attempting to extinguish a fire in the Jewish quarter, the third case of suspected arson in the town in six weeks. On August 28, a court sentenced the beadle of a Catholic church in Truskolas to 30 months imprisonment for the desecration of his church, which had led to anti-Semitic disorders when the act was blamed on Jews. On September 2, 29 Endeks convicted of participation in the Truskolas riots were given prison sentences which were immediately suspended. On August 23, police in Wiszonki-Wibichi, a village about 60 miles from Warsaw, were investigating a raid of 150 peasants who took possession of the village and demolished houses and places of business belonging to Jews.

On September 9, in a riot instigated by 100 Endeks, one Jew was killed and several wounded in Tykosin, a town near Bialystok. A number of Endeks were arrested. In the same month, it was reported that more than 50 Jews were wounded in violent anti-Jewish disorders that raged in the town of Wysokie-Mazowiecki, between Bialystok and

Warsaw; Jewish homes and shops were raided and Jews brutally beaten. The next day the Jewish population in the town was in a state of panic and all Jewish shops remained closed. Six young Nationalist peasants were arrested.

On December 15, in a riot in the town of Czyczew, a number of Jews were beaten and shops and homes looted. On that day, the Grodno District Court sentenced two Endeks for the bombing of the Jewish health society headquarters in Grodno, on March 16, 1935; the Endeks failed to supply legal counsel for one of the defendants because he repented "his blind, unjustified hatred" of Jews. On December 25, nine members of the Nara Party were sentenced by a Lomza court to prison terms ranging from six to fifteen months for having organized anti-Jewish excesses at Mishonki in August, 1936. In January 1936, two Jews were seriously wounded in street attacks in Lodz, and anti-Jewish rioting was reported in a number of towns in the provinces in which market stalls of Jews were demolished. In Lomiaki, near Warsaw, Jews were warned to leave the town. On January 5, serious riots broke out in Czyzew, in the District of Bialystok, following the conviction and internment in concentration camps of two Endek agitators for participation in earlier anti-Jewish outbreaks. The rioting resulted in the death of one Jew and the injuring of thirty, eleven seriously. In addition, over a hundred peasants and twenty-three policemen were injured. Thirty-one Nationalist agitators were arrested and a special prosecutor was dispatched to the town to investigate. While the riots were raging in Czyzew, windows of fifty Jewish houses in the nearby town of Nur were smashed and seven Jews beaten. On the same day, Jewish delegations from Jedwabna, District of Lomza and Dzialszyne near Czestochow, arrived in Warsaw to petition the Government to increase the police forces in their respective towns in order to protect the Jews against Endek terrorism. On January 12, two women, one of them a Christian, were wounded when terrorists bombed and demolished a Jewish cafe in the heart of the city of Warsaw. On January 15, gangs raided the town of Piekuti, region of Novominsk, wrecked every Jewish shop, smashed windows of Jewish homes, and forced the entire Jewish popula-

tion to flee. In the same month, a bomb was also thrown onto the premises of the Jewish newspaper *Tog*, demolishing the buildings, and two Jewish shops were demolished by bombs on succeeding days. A Jewish restaurant in Vilno was bombed and partially destroyed. In East Galicia, Jewish houses and farms, including grain and livestock, were destroyed in a fire of incendiary origin. Anti-Jewish agitation also caused increased tension in the District of Bialystok where peasants were being terrorized into boycotting Jews.

Forty persons were injured in anti-Jewish riots in Dzialoszyn, on January 29. The same town was the scene of the murder of a Jewish girl on February 15.

On March 4, during the weekly fair, hundreds of peasants from the neighboring towns and villages, armed with canes, came into Sokolow-Podliaski. Pickets were stationed in front of all Jewish stores and market stalls to prevent anyone from entering them. When some of the pickets were arrested, the mob started a demonstration which was quelled by the police, thus preventing serious consequences. On March 11, the town was the scene of bloody riots in which several hundred Polish school children participated. Endek hooligans, accompanied by these children, went from one Jewish house to another, smashing their windows; they also demolished synagogues, the Jewish community house, as well as other religious and secular buildings. Several Jews were seriously injured.

In March, bomb explosions became so frequent in Wilno that the Government proscribed the Endek Party in that city and undertook the investigation of their activities in a number of other places.

A compilation, made in April, by a contributor to the *Jewish Daily Forward*, in New York City, shows that during the first three months of 1937, eleven Jews were killed and four hundred and sixty-seven Jews wounded, many of them seriously. During the same period, 14 bombs were exploded in Jewish stores causing great damage; in 57 towns, Jews were beaten, their shops picketed, their market stalls demolished, their merchandise destroyed, numberless windows of Jewish homes smashed and many Jews driven out of the market places. From seven villages, all

Jews were completely expelled, and there were six cases of incendiarism which aimed at the same result.

The month of April was an active one for anti-Jewish assaults. Window-smashing, attacks on synagogues, bomb-throwings and stabbings were reported almost every day of the month from various places in all parts of the country.

The month of May also had its share in the excesses and attacks against Jews which have become traditional. A tentative compilation of reported cases of assaults, reported in at least one newspaper, shows the following: eight towns were the scene of serious anti-Jewish excesses; three cases of bomb explosions in Jewish stores were reported; in eleven towns and cities, eighteen cases of street attacks upon Jewish pedestrians were reported, in which scores of Jews were more or less seriously injured; and innumerable cases of window-smashing took place.

In June, anti-Jewish excesses took place in Gura-Kalwarja, seat of famous Chassidic spiritual leader, the Gerrer Rebbe, where Jewish merchants were beaten by Naras after they had been compelled to close their stores, and where market stalls were wrecked and homes and two synagogues damaged; in Rawa, southwest of Warsaw, where the 70 Jewish families of the town were forced to evacuate because of merciless anti-Jewish agitation; in a riot in Marszalska Street, in Warsaw, a main thoroughfare, where ten Jews were injured; and Mulczyce, Sarny District, where sixty Jewish families fled on June 14 to neighboring towns after a night attack, in which a number of Jews were hurt. June was also the month of the major assault in Czenstochow, which will be described below.

Major Outbreaks

Before proceeding to describe the major anti-Jewish outbreaks of the review period, several events relating to the most violent riot of the preceding period, that which occurred in Przytyk on March 9, 1936, should be recorded. (See Vol. 38, pp. 333-350.) It will be recalled that the trial in June, 1936, of fifty-six persons, of whom fourteen were Jews, on charges growing out of the Przytyk affair, resulted in the sentencing of eleven of the Jewish defendants to

prison terms ranging from six months to eight years, while none of the non-Jews was sentenced to more than a year's imprisonment.

In August 1936, the Polish District Court, in response to an appeal by the convicted Jews for a retrial, announced that the moral responsibility for the disturbances rested with the Jewish residents in the town. On August 17, a court in Baranowicz, eastern Poland, sentenced 20 Jews to jail terms, ranging from three months to a year, for participating in the general strike on June 30, in protest against the verdict of the court in the Przytyk pogrom trial. On the following day, Premier Skladkowski conferred the silver cross medals for "social and cultural service," on two elementary school teachers of Przytyk who testified in defense of the Poles accused of participation in the pogrom.

At the same time, the public prosecutor in Warsaw filed a motion to increase the prison terms of two of the convicted Jews. In the meantime, counsel for the 11 Jews filed motions for an appeal with the Court of Appeals, charging that the trial court had disregarded testimony favoring the Jewish defendants and was motivated by bias against them. On September 24 the Radom District Court rejected these motions, but granted similar motions on behalf of Polish defendants.

On November 24, the Court of Appeals confirmed the sentences by a lower court against three of the Jews convicted of participation in the Przytyk pogrom, increased the terms of eight others, and sentenced three Nationalists who had been previously acquitted of murder, to 18 months imprisonment each.

On May 9, 1937, the Supreme Court, Poland's highest tribunal, set aside the jail terms of five to eight years against three Jews, and ordered a new trial in Lublin, where in November, a Court of Appeals had upheld their conviction by the Radom District court. At the same time, the court confirmed the sentences, varying from six to ten months of eight other Jews convicted. It also confirmed one year sentences against three Poles convicted of killing a Jewish couple during the pogrom, but annulled the 18 month sentence against a fourth Pole, and the minor sentences of three others.

We shall also briefly describe the events attending the trial of the Jew accused of the killing of a Polish sergeant, which led to an uprising in Minsk-Mazowieci, on June 1, 1936.

On June 1, 1936, the first anniversary of the riots in Minsk-Mazowieci, Nationalist groups conducted anti-Jewish demonstrations in connection with a memorial service for the Polish sergeant, Bujak, whose death had been the spark that set off the riots. The following day Judah Leib Chatzkelewicz, slayer of the sergeant, who was declared insane by medical authorities, went on trial in Warsaw. After a week's trial, Chatzkelewicz was sentenced to death for the murder of the Polish sergeant. The court disregarded the plea of insanity and declared that Chatzkelewicz had been "influenced by a certain section of Jewish society and the Jewish press; and that the death sentence was imposed to show that "the blood of a Polish soldier is not cheap." The defense had produced considerable testimony that Chatzkelewicz was insane and had previously threatened to kill an uncle, and the defendant told incoherently of the slain sergeant having tried to drown him.

On the following day, Jewish newspapers throughout Poland were confiscated for printing a declaration that the Warsaw court's blaming of the Jewish press and people for the Minsk-Mazowieci slaying would precipitate new pogroms. At the same time, Deputy Emil Sommerstein protested the wording of the court's verdict to the Under Secretary of Justice. On June 13, two separate declarations of protest were issued by Jewish organizations against the court verdict in the Chatzkelewicz case. The first was signed by the Central Committee of Polish Zionists, the Right Poale-Zion, the Hitachduth, and the Jewish People's Party; the other by the five Jewish members of parliament, the Agudath Israel, the Group B Zionists, the Zionist Revisionists, the Jewish State Party, and the Poale Agudah. The refusal of the first group to sign the "united protest" was motivated by their negative attitude toward the Jewish members of Parliament. The Polish-language Jewish daily *Nasz Przegląd* was confiscated for publishing the texts of the protests. On June 11, Government action

to counteract the possibly dangerous effects of the Warsaw District Court's indictment of Polish Jewry was asked by Senator Moses Schorr in an interpellation to the Premier and Minister of Justice in the Senate.

The Brzesc Pogrom

On May 13, 1937, in Brzesc, a Polish police inspector, Stefan Kedzior, while confiscating meat ritually slaughtered, outside the prescribed quota for the month, was stabbed to death in the butcher shop of Isaac Szczerbowski. Subsequent investigation by the police placed the responsibility for the stabbing upon the 18-year old son of the butcher. The circulation of the news was followed by a widespread anti-Jewish outburst which lasted sixteen hours. By one o'clock on the following morning, two score Jews had been wounded, (two of whom later succumbed to their wounds), and Jewish sections of Brzesc and its suburbs as well as all Jewish businesses in mixed quarters lay in complete ruin. According to an account in the *Warszawski Dziennik Narodowy*, Endek newspaper, of May 16, the anti-Jewish outbreaks began at the market stalls in the vicinity of the place of the murder, when Polish stall-keepers began to over-turn Jewish stalls destroying their merchandise. The account goes on to say:

"The panic-stricken Jews began to shut their stores and barricaded themselves in their homes, but nothing could stop the fury of the people who dashed into the business district — it must not be forgotten that 90% of the commercial enterprises of Brzesc are Jewish. They began to smash the shutters of stores and shops. The excesses lasted from 9 A.M. until 1 A.M. of the following morning, and occurred also in the suburbs of Szpanowicz, Wolyinka, and Grajewska. The people battered down the shutters, opened the Jewish stores and threw all merchandise and fixtures into the streets, and completely destroyed them. Furniture from Jewish houses was also thrown into the streets and broken. Great care was taken that nothing was robbed but that all Jewish property was destroyed. As a result, no cases of robbery were noted. The business district of Brzesc presented a confused scene. The streets were littered with destroyed merchandise and broken

furniture and it was impossible either to pass or ride through them. Not even Jewish apothecaries and drug stores were spared, their entire stocks being destroyed. The mob also broke into Jewish jewelry shops from which watches and jewelry were thrown into the streets and crushed under foot. In the streets of Brzesc, there had been many Jewish refreshment stands. No trace of them is left. In one of the suburbs a Jewish family was asked to evacuate their wooden shack, whereupon the mob demolished the entire interior and, within fifteen minutes, the house was torn down to its foundations. . . There is hardly a Jewish house in Brzesc where the windows were not smashed. Worthy of emphasis is the very meager number of cases where Jews were beaten. They did not beat, they did not rob — they only destroyed. The excitement of the mob was so great that the small local police force was nowhere in a position to dominate the situation. At the same time, throughout the entire day, there were no clashes between the police and the crowds."

An official investigation was instituted to establish the responsibility for the events in Brzesc. The removal, on May 21, of Franciszek Czernik from his office as prefect of the district of Brzesc and the transfer of Kazimerz Rolewicz, head of the political department of the province of Polesie, to the province of Nowogrodek "for misinforming the central authorities and for failure to take decisive steps to quell the disturbances in the town at their start" betray the fact that persons who were called upon to maintain peace and order bear the guilt for the events in Brzesc, which had all the characteristics of an organized pogrom. The fact that eighty persons were arrested for looting belies the attempts of the Polish press to minimize the cases of looting and robbery.

In an interpellation addressed to the Prime Minister of the Interior, on May 28, Senator Jakob Trockenheim, representative of the Agudah, sheds much light on what happened in Brzesc. It reveals that, when the excesses broke out, delegations of Jews immediately informed the authorities, but the latter delayed action until the attack had all but spent its force; and that there were cases in

which the police did not permit Jews to protect and salvage their own property.

Endek newspapers hailed the Brzesc riot, expressing the view that "the events in Brzesc will probably hasten considerably the process of Polonization of this hitherto so Judaized city. Many, perhaps the majority, of the Jewish enterprises will never be restored and in their place Polish enterprises will arise."

With the same aim in mind, the Endek press protested vigorously against plans to reconstruct the ruined homes and shops. It was suggested that it would be better for the Jews to use the energy and the money to promote Jewish emigration to Palestine.

On June 4, the Sejm rejected the demand by the three Jewish deputies that the Government indemnify the victims of the Brzesc pogrom. On the same day, the Council of Polish Trade Unions, representing 50,000 workers, protested against the Brzesc outrages.

On June 15, Wolf Szczerbowski, 18-year old son of a Jewish butcher, who was charged with the murder of the policeman whose death set off the Brzesc pogrom, pleaded guilty to the crime and on the following day was sentenced to death.

On June 18, nine Poles were sentenced to prison terms of from one week to one year for participation in the Brzesc riots; the one year sentences were given to three who had attempted to desecrate a synagogue. On June 20, the Endek Party in Brzesc began a campaign to oust the Jews from Brzesc for military reasons, declaring that Jews should be banned from all strategic military districts.

The Czenstochow Riots

On June 19, riots broke out in the city of Czenstochow that rivaled the Brzesc pogrom in ferocity. The spark which set off the conflagration was a brawl between a Polish porter and a Jew, in which the former was killed. The rioting continued for three days and was only brought under control when police reinforcements were sent into the city after the Jewish community had appealed to Warsaw.

The disorders spread to the suburbs of the city and

scores of Jewish families were forced to flee from their homes. Within the city, there was widespread damage to shops, businesses, and homes of Jews. In an appeal on June 21, the mayor of the city declared: "Such regrettable incidents harm not only the name of Czenstochowa as a religious center of Poland, but the whole Polish state and people."

There were evidences after the rioting had ended that the pogrom had not been "spontaneous," but developed by well-planned agitation. As in Brzesc, the entire Jewish population was blamed for a crime in which one Jew was involved. The pogrom did not start until ten hours after the death of the porter, when the anti-Semitic Endek party had been able to rouse the town population and peasant youth from the surrounding villages, to a feverish pitch. The mob seemed to have accurate information as to every Jewish dwelling or shop in the city and, on the second and third day of the pogrom, *Gaiec Czenstochowa*, the Endek newspaper, published lists of streets in which the Jews had not yet been robbed. Eventually the police had to occupy every street in the city.

Bishop Theodore Kubia, the Catholic prelate of Czenstochowa, finally issued a statement asking a halt to the disorders, but he declared that "a terrible crime had been committed in Czenstochowa, which created just resentment. . . . We rightly demand satisfaction for this crime and also that measures be taken to prevent recurrence of such crimes." The anti-Semitic press, however, in reporting the statement, featured the justification of "resentment" rather than the reprimand of the looters.

After normal conditions had been restored, about three hundred persons were placed under arrest; many of them were accused of possessing loot. Estimates of the damage done by the rioters placed the property losses at about 400,000 zlotys. About 250 stores were damaged, of which 25 were completely wrecked; nearly every Jewish dwelling suffered to some extent; every synagogue was badly damaged; the number of persons injured, however, was comparatively small. Relief efforts were immediately organized by the Jewish community and assistance was rendered by the Joint Distribution Committee.

Joseph Bendrak, the Jew accused of the murder of the

Polish porter, pleaded not guilty to the charge when brought before a court in the town of Piotrikow, a change of venue having been obtained because of the tension in Czenstochow.

Anti-Jewish Excesses at Universities

Anti-Jewish disorders at Polish institutions of higher learning appear to have become a regular extra-curricular activity. With the number of Jewish students perceptibly lowered, the anti-Jewish agitators appear to have abandoned the demand for the limitation of the enrollment of Jews, and have begun a movement for the segregation of Jews in lecture halls and laboratories. The natural and expected resistance of Jewish students to this humiliating demand has enraged the Polish disciples of the German Nazis, and they have turned to terrorism. The record of the period under review is filled with hundreds of instances of rioting. In the midst of it all, the government has shown remarkable forbearance, and the university authorities a surprising lack of decision, as though they were not altogether sure that rioting was out of place at institutions of higher learning. No attempt will be made here to chronicle all the incidents; limitations of space make possible reference only to the most flagrant examples.

Anti-Jewish disorders marked the opening of the fall term of 1936. The Universities of Warsaw, Lwow, Wilno, Cracow, and Poznan, and various colleges and higher schools in those cities, were the scenes of rioting, when Jewish students refused to occupy separate benches in lecture and class rooms.

On October 20, authorities closed the Warsaw Trade School, following anti-Jewish excesses by Endek students. At the same time, the Rector of Lwow University announced that the proportion of Jews in the student body had dropped from 43.6% in 1921 to 14% in 1936. Nevertheless, disorders continued and, on October 23, both the University of Lwow and Lwow Technical High School had to be closed. On the next day ten Jewish students were seriously injured at Warsaw University and minor disturbances took place at the Warsaw Trade School; disorders continued for two days at Lwow Poly-

technic, where some 40 Jewish students were injured. On October 26, the Minister of Education ordered the rectors of the educational institutions to check the "disgraceful scenes" by firm measures.

But despite this, the disorders continued and a veritable siege was staged at Warsaw University, on October 28, when police surrounded the University grounds but could not enter because of the University's autonomy. The Warsaw Trade Academy which had reopened after a brief suspension was again closed indefinitely. The rector of the University, the Technical School, and the Agricultural High School in Warsaw protested against police penetration into the schools and demanded honoring of the University's ancient right of autonomy. The Ministry of Education, however, declared that the Government could not be expected to remain tolerant and passive in the face of the disorders. Premier Skladkowski expressed his determination not to allow "liberty to degenerate into anarchy." Nevertheless, of 200 students arrested on October 27, all but 40 were released on the following day, and the 40 a day later. On October 21 three Jewish students were injured during disorders at Wilno University.

At about the same time, the Polish Students Union appealed to the rector of the Warsaw University to "clean up the University of criminal terrorist elements," and the City Council of Lwow adopted a similar resolution condemning "the criminal actions of certain student elements," and calling upon students in the name of Christian ethics to oppose "anarchy."

But the disorders continued throughout November. They were all more or less alike, were frequently followed by arrests and, sometimes, by the closing of the institutions. These measures, however, proved ineffectual. Occasionally, the closing of a university would be followed by anti-Jewish demonstrations on the streets of the city, as was the case in Wilno when, after disorders in which twenty Jewish students and two instructors were injured, the University was closed on November 13. Shortly afterwards, students went on a hunger strike and, on November 22, two thousands Endeks paraded through the streets injuring 20 Jews and destroying Jewish property.

The closing of the universities was eventually countered by the students with "stay-in" strikes, in which students seized control of the institutions. Late in November, such strikes were in effect in Poznan and in Warsaw. At the latter university, police stormed the building and, with tear gas bombs, drove out the students who had defied the Education Ministry, and at the University of Poznan, the students evacuated the premises after stern demands by university authorities. The month of December saw no change in the situation. Up to the Christmas holidays, disorders occurred almost daily in the universities and technical schools. On December 1, the Rector of Cracow University postponed the scheduled reopening of the institution after Jewish students refused his suggestion that they accept segregation. The University was reopened without incident on December 5. The Minister of Education Swietoslowski received a delegation of Jewish students who told him they would never agree to institution of "ghetto" benches in the schools.

An example of the manner in which student rioting was encouraged by the leniency of the courts was given on December 24 when eleven students were sentenced in Lwow to six months imprisonment as the ringleaders of a band of 100 who had, on March 16, 1936, injured five Jewish students and four policemen. Execution of the sentence was suspended for three years. The reopening of the universities on January 4, 1937 was marked by renewed outbreaks against Jewish students and by an intensified campaign for the introduction of a "ghetto" in the universities, notwithstanding the announcement, on January 7, of disciplinary measures to be taken against three hundred students, seventy of them women, at the University of Warsaw for participation in anti-Jewish outbreaks during November and December.

On January 11, a number of Jewish students were wounded at the University of Warsaw, where nationalist students had posted placards demanding that the Jewish students occupy seats at the left side of lecture halls, and barred their entrance to the main building of the University. At the same time, Jewish students representatives rejected a suggestion of the rector of the Wilno University

to accept segregation in separate benches as a means of ending the recurring disorders which had in the past led to the closing of the University. Following this refusal, a plebiscite was held at the Medical School of the University on the question of instituting "ghetto" benches. The result was a victory for the Jews, as students in the higher classes voted against segregation. But the plebiscite failed to terminate the disorder and the University was closed following the resignation of its rector. Similar plebiscites were scheduled to be held in the liberal arts and medical schools of the Warsaw University, on order of the University Senate. The Jewish students protested on the ground that such a plebiscite was a farce, since there were only five hundred Jews among the four thousand five hundred students. The rector dismissed the protest with the explanation that the plebiscite was not binding upon the University authorities but was merely intended to test student opinion.

The Socialist press attacked the rector of the University of Wilno for having carried out the plebiscite. On January 15, Polish Socialist students at the University of Warsaw joined the Jewish students in a "stand-up" strike as a protest against the introduction of a "ghetto" for Jewish students in the classrooms. This strike spread to the other schools, where efforts were being made to enforce segregation of Jewish students. The anti-Jewish excesses in the universities of Poland were also condemned as degrading to Polish prestige at a meeting of the pro-Government students. This meeting, however, urged solution of the Jewish problem "in civilized fashion, by emigration."

The Nationalist students of the University submitted a memorandum to the rector threatening to continue anti-Jewish excesses, unless the University decided to introduce "ghetto" benches in the classrooms and laboratories. Toward the middle of January the Nationalist press began publishing editorials advocating the establishment of a "ghetto" university for Jews. *ABC*, organ of the Naras declared: "Only a separate university for Jews will restore order in our universities." On the same day, the Endek students in Warsaw issued an ultimatum to the Government stating that, in case a ghetto for Jewish students is

not introduced, they will declare a protest strike. On January 24, the Minister of Education, Swietoslawski, declared in Parliament that the drive to segregate Jews in universities might weaken the country and "push Poland to anarchy." "I consider it impossible to order segregation," he declared. The Minister warned that other universities would be closed, like that of Wilno, if necessary; emphasized that 50,000 students risked losing a year's study if the institutions were closed; and expressed regret that some older persons were supporting the demands of anti-Jewish youths for the segregation of Jews. In a discussion on the budget of the Ministry of Education, a government spokesman declared that the number of Jews in Polish universities and colleges had dropped to the point where it does not exceed the ratio of Jews in the general population. In reply to this statement, the anti-Semitic Deputies declared that the Government has to choose between introducing the demanded "ghetto" or to close the universities throughout the country. Endeck students, they declared, will not be satisfied unless this is done.

The tragic situation of Jewish students was described by Thadeus Kotarbinski, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw, in an article published in the pro-Government newspaper *Kurjer Poranny* of January 26, in which he declared: "I enter the university grounds with a feeling of shame. I admire the determination of Jews who come to lectures. Those who have the courage to take their seats on the right side deserve the deepest esteem." Professor Kotarbinski asked why no effort was made to prevent rioting and attacks on Jews; suggested that special guards, subordinated to the University rector, be recruited to perform police duty in classes, and appealed to his colleagues to enlighten Polish students and organize a self-defence force against the Fascists, as there seems to be little hope of outside assistance. In an interview on February 3, Professor Kotarbinski declared that the rectors of the universities could do much to suppress anti-Jewish excesses if they exercised the rights given them by the Universities Law. The same sentiment was expressed by Senator Marian Malinowski, former Socialist leader. This was tacitly admitted by the Minister of Education

who, on February 20, declared in the Sejm: "The education of youth can bring good results only when it is carried on in an atmosphere of quiet. Unfortunately, the present atmosphere is a suffocating one and filled with prejudice and mutual distrust. For the benefit of education and, consequently, for the benefit of our future, we must cleanse this atmosphere at any cost. In this, there is needed goodwill on the part of the school authorities and forces of instruction, as well as on the part of society."

Robotnik, chief organ of the Polish Socialist Party, openly accused the Government, on January 29, of encouraging the Endek students in their terroristic activities against the Jews. Declaring that the Government could easily end the incessant riots in the University of Warsaw, where only three score students are the instigators, the Socialist organ accused the Government of exploiting the student riots for its own benefit. That not only rectors, but also professors are to blame for the continuance of the disorders is shown by such incidents as this: On February 5, in the School of Agriculture, University of Wilno, Professor Jagmin requested the Jewish students to move from the right to the left side of the room. When the Jewish students left the classroom the professor warned his assistants to see to it that the Jewish students do not occupy any other seats during his absence. Other professors took similar action. On the other hand, when, in a mathematics class, Professor Rudnicki demonstrated his sympathy with Jewish students by sitting at the left side of the table, the Nationalist students left the classroom. On February 9 the Jewish students at the University of Wilno launched a 24-hour strike in protest against "the indifference of the University authorities to anti-Jewish outbreaks. On the next day, at a meeting of the Senate of the University, many professors criticized Rector Staniewicz because he did not display proper energy in suppressing disorders at the University, and voted to call the police if disorders recurred. The *Starosta* (prefect) of Wilno told Deputy Rabbi Rubinstein he would disregard the University's autonomy and send police into its grounds upon the first repetition of anti-Jewish excesses. Nevertheless, rioting was renewed the next day. Two students were arrested in a

police raid on the Polish Students Home in Wilno, in which incriminating documents dealing with anti-Jewish riots at the University were discovered. On the other hand, Dr. Joseph Reichman, lecturer at the University of Warsaw, was dismissed for having written an article in the *Dzennik Popularny* (recently suppressed by the police), condemning anti-Jewish riots at the University.

On February 15 a virtual "ghetto" was introduced at the University of Wilno when orders issued by University authorities gave the professors full discretion in the matter of assigning special seats in classrooms and laboratories to Jewish students; refusal to obey the regulations of the professors would be punished with suspension or permanent expulsion, it was declared. For the alleged purpose of maintaining order at the University, Jewish students will henceforth work in the laboratories on special days and may not appear while Christian students are present; certain lectures are to be repeated especially for Jewish students. The rector of the University refused the request of a delegation of Jewish medical and chemistry students to halt segregation of Jewish students in the laboratories on the ground that professors have full discretion in the matter. Following this unsatisfactory declaration, the Jewish students began boycotting classes in which they were ordered to sit on separate benches, but they were warned that they would lose a year's credit in these courses if they continued to remain away. On February 24, the Jewish students issued a public declaration, excerpts from which follow: "We Jewish students at the University of Wilno can no longer pass over in silence the moral and physical tortures to which we are being subjected daily. With profound gratitude we acknowledge the fact that there are professors who do not permit us to be robbed of our rights and that a part of the Polish academic youth is with us. But since the reopening of the University in January our situation has become worse. Although the University authorities have not officially introduced a 'ghetto,' they want to force us into an actual 'ghetto' with every means at their disposal. Sensing their complete impunity, assailants are encouraged to become more and more brutal. As an answer to the complaints of the victims,

the authorities recommend that the Jewish students 'be not provocative.' During most of the lectures the Jewish students are forced to stand for hours and there are a number of cases where they faint because of sheer exhaustion. However, we categorically declare that, notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear upon us, we shall not renounce our rights and we shall not permit ourselves to be removed from our seats. We Jewish students at the University of Wilno categorically declare that we shall not submit to a 'ghetto' under any form whatsoever . . . We shall not attend the laboratories, seminars and other exercises as long as our equality of rights will not be restored in full measure. We are convinced that our decision will bring about the rectification of the injustice perpetrated against us and will contribute to restoration of a normal atmosphere at the universities."

On March 1, the rector of the University told a delegation of Jewish representatives, who described to him the difficult situation of the Jewish students, that, in line with the declaration of the Minister of Education, he would not introduce a ghetto, but that arrangements in the classrooms and laboratories were left to the discretion of the individual professors over whom he has no authority. On March 10, the rector of the University suggested to a Jewish students' delegation that if they agreed to the present "arrangement" he would persuade the Polish democratic students to sit together with the Jews. The Jewish students, however, refused to accept this suggestion and, thereupon, were warned that unless they attended classes and laboratories they would be expelled from the University. On March 13, 54 Jewish students were expelled, but were re-admitted on the following day and promised to end their boycott of the laboratories, when a compromise was reached whereby the Jews, White Russians, and Lithuanians, as well as the Polish democratic students would sit on separate benches in the lecture halls and at separate tables in the laboratories.

During the annual elections to a number of student organizations which took place in March, the Endeks scored a number of victories, especially because in a number of schools their lists were the only ones voted upon. At

the University of Krakow, the last stronghold of pro-Government students, the Endek candidates polled 907 out of a total of 1519 votes. At the same time it was disclosed that, with the exception of the University of Krakow, only a very limited number of the student body in Poland, precisely those who carry on the excesses and disturbances at the universities and professional schools, take part in the elections. Thus, for example, only 150 out of a total of 8000 Polish students at the University of Warsaw, participated. On March 15, the day of the elections at the University, Polytechnic Institute and School of Agriculture, in Warsaw, a fight between the Endek and Nara students for the control of the organizations led to riots marked by acts of terrorism against University officials and Jewish students, twenty of whom were seriously wounded. The institutions were thereupon closed. These events caused considerable apprehension among the school authorities. On March 16, the rectors of the Warsaw schools discussed the situation with the Minister for Education and it was decided to take energetic steps to restore order in the universities and other schools of higher education. Anti-Jewish attacks continued during March, especially at the University of Lwow.

On March 10, the Law Students Library Society of that University adopted resolutions: 1) expressing solidarity with the Polish lawyers association in their fight for the de-Judaizing of the Bar; 2) appealing to the Polish lawyers to employ only Polish clerks, and to the Polish people at large to employ only Polish lawyers; 3) demanding the introduction of a *numerus nullus* against Jewish law professors, instructors and assistants "who are foreign to the spirit of legal traditions of Poland."

The March elections to the students organizations in the universities brought into the open the forces responsible for the disorders. Consequently, on April 2, Professor Swietoslowski, the Minister of Education, dissolved all political student organizations in the schools of Warsaw, and two organizations at the University of Wilno. In addition, the Minister suspended the activities of the Mutual Aid Societies at the three Warsaw Institutions on the ground that they had become centers of political

intrigue. Following the dissolution of these organizations, a number of raids were made on their premises, many of which were sealed by the police. The Minister also recommended that the rectors of the institutions warn all other academic organizations not to overstep the legal bounds of their activities, under the threat of dissolution.

Despite the repressive measures of the Minister of Education, a new wave of violence broke out in the University and other schools in Warsaw, which continued through the entire month. A number of bombs exploded in the various schools; some schools which were opened were closed again. In view of the continued outbreaks, at a special conference of university rectors, the Minister of Education submitted a plan to amend the University Laws so as to give the authorities broader powers in the matter of maintaining order.

An emergency meeting, on April 2 and 3, of the Endek student organization in Warsaw, attended by prominent Endek leaders, decided that, in view of the fact that anti-Jewish excesses had not brought about the desired results, it is necessary to press the demand for a *numerus clausus* which, the Endek leaders held, will not meet with obstacles. It was also decided to continue the fight for "ghetto" benches in the universities. At a meeting in Wilno, on April 8, a similar resolution was adopted.

On June 14, the Education Ministry ordered the re-opening of all student self-help organizations which had been closed because of the university riots.

Opposition to Jew-Baiting

During the period under review, not all social and political elements in Poland were ranged on the side of the Jew-baiters. Now and then, voices were raised in condemnation of the drift of the country toward a condition of barbarism. It must be admitted, however, that these voices were little heard above the din created by the Endeks and the Naras. Furthermore, what influence could a handful of liberals wield in the face of the virtual alliance of the government circles, through the Camp for National

Unity, with the Endeks and the Naras? Following is the brief record of the open opposition to the Jew-baiting.

In October in an interview with *Chwila*, Lemberg Jewish newspaper, Dr. Jan Butchko, Greek-Catholic Bishop of Lemberg, declared that anti-Semitism is anti-Christianity. "The fight against anti-Semitism is a fight for the defense of Christianity," he stated, "I personally warn all the faithful, in my sermons, against anti-Semitism." The Polish cleric condemned "the barbarous attacks on the sorely-ried Jewish inhabitants of the villages" in Eastern Galicia and charged that the terrorism had been "organized by anti-Semitic agitators." "The villagers who are themselves poor," he added, "are really very good-natured. I hope that the relations between the peasants and the Jews will improve and that both will live together in friendship and peace."

In the same month, at a conference of the Ukrainian Nationalist Party held in Lwow, a resolution denouncing recent attacks by Ukrainian peasants on Jews in Galician villages was adopted; the resolutions warned that anti-Jewish excesses place the Ukrainian people in a bad light.

On November 28, the Warsaw bar association, by a vote of 1,000 to 400, rejected a proposal to bar Jews from the legal profession. M. Szumanski, Jewish attorney, prominent defender of the Jews in Przytyk trials, was elected a member of the Warsaw association's council. On the same date, after the Cracow bar association had rejected a proposal identical with the one offered in Warsaw, 40 adherents of the Endek Party walked out of the meeting in protest.

On January 6, the Central Committee of the Zionists in Poland decided to support the Polish Left Parties in future elections, on the sole ground that these Parties are opposed to anti-Semitism. In an interview given in January to the Jewish newspaper *Radio* of Warsaw, M. Niedzialkowski, President of the Executive Committee of the Polish Socialist Party and Chief Editor of the *Robotnik*, declared: "The struggle against anti-Semitism is not only a defense of the Jews, but also a defense of Poles against the attempts to lower the cultural standards of the Polish masses. The

Jewish population in Poland shares in the responsibility for the fate of the Polish nation. It must fulfill all of its duties and benefit from all its privileges. If the Jews are not allowed equal rights, they cannot be held equally responsible. A victory over active anti-Semitism is something which we must achieve without waiting until history will bring us an ideal solution. Poland cannot and must not be the cultural province of the standard bearers of race-hatred." At about the same time, Dr. Szumanski, Polish Socialist leader, declared that the Socialists will carry on an energetic fight against anti-Semitism in Poland, adding that the Polish workers have come to realize that the terrorism of the Endeks is directed not only against the Jews but against all democratic forces in the country, and, therefore, made the fight against anti-Semitism one of the chief points in its program. The growth of anti-Semitism was condemned also by Bishop Burshe, head of the Evangelical Church of Poland, in an interview to the press. In declaring that "anti-Jewish excesses are a violation of Christian ethics," he added that the Jewish problem in Poland will not be solved by force, but by greater understanding between Christians and Jews.

On February 4, the Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party, at its Annual Congress in Radom, adopted a resolution declaring that "the reaction seizes ever more upon the slogans of brutal anti-Semitism, seeing therein one of the last resorts of supporting the rule of the propertied classes. To arouse antagonism and murderous civil strife between Polish and Jewish workers is the aim of the anti-Semitic instigators. The workers, however, will not permit the methods of the Black Hundreds of Czarist Russia to be transplanted into Poland. The Socialist Movement remains faithful to its standpoint of absolute equality of the entire population of the country regardless of nationality, race, creed or origin, and will categorically combat all exploiters and all kinds of reactionaries, Polish as well as Jewish, on its road to the new order."

On February 10, the Union of Polish Swimming Clubs rejected a proposal by Poznan delegates to expel all Jewish clubs from the Union; the convention elected Aron Raskin, a Jew, as chairman of the disciplinary committee. In

March, the Polish Artists Union adopted a resolution rejecting "the racial principle as a criterion," but declaring that "the conference maintains the view that the Polish theater must be Polish in every respect." The Society for the Protection of Cruelty to Animals, meeting in Warsaw, rejected a proposal to exclude Jews and Mohammedans as members of the administration, on the ground that their religions permit shehitah.

On April 28, the Union of Polish municipalities conference, in Warsaw, declined to vote on a resolution providing that "only a Pole of Christian origin may be a member of the Executive Council and a delegate to the Conference," as contrary to the Constitution. On the same day, the Bakers' Union of Wilno, rejected a resolution to introduce the "Aryan" paragraph.

On June 9, 1937, the Socialist press in Poland published a manifesto against anti-Semitism, issued over the common signature of the Central Committee of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund, condemning the Endek-Government Camp reaction "which strives to drown in anti-Semitic adventures the movement of the working masses for political and social freedom." The manifesto goes on to say: "Face to face with these absolutely unrestrained attempts of the reaction, which aim at diverting the wave of progress which carries in its train the destruction of all reaction and Fascism—the organized forces of the Polish and Jewish workers are opposing with all their energy the Fascistic manoeuvres which aim at diverting the wrath and bitterness of the masses into the blind alley of internal nationalities struggles. The organized working class will not let it come to pass that Fascism shall play out the false anti-Semitic card against democracy and that it shall change the life of the State into an arena of hooligan 'heroic deeds,' which bring anarchy and demoralize the great masses of society."

On the same date, the Central Committee of the Trade Unions in Poland, at its meeting in Warsaw, adopted a resolution in which it very sharply condemned any and all anti-Semitic agitation and warned the entire working class of Poland against the imminent danger of anti-Semitism. "The present anti-Semitic movement," the resolution

declares, "is only a conscious action in order to destroy all efforts of the working class to achieve freedom and salvation, and to divert into the false channels of racial hatred, the sentiment of hatred against those who are actually guilty of the misery of the population exploited by the capitalist class."

Jewish Communal Life

On August 19, the Zionist Coordination Committee in Warsaw announced a campaign in protest against Arab terrorism in Palestine and against alleged British laxity; the Revisionists announced they would hold separate demonstrations. About a week later, Jews throughout Poland held meetings and demonstrations in protest against the threatened suspension, by Great Britain, of Jewish immigration into Palestine; a delegation called upon the British Ambassador in Warsaw to make representations.

In the meantime, it became known on July 28, that the Jewish Agency for Palestine had submitted to the Polish government a proposal for a \$10,000,000 transfer agreement which would permit Polish Jews to emigrate to Palestine with their capital in the form of goods, instead of currency. The Agency's proposal made the following points: Jews in Palestine sent \$4,000,000 to relatives in Poland in 1935; Poland's trade balance with Palestine is favorable; there are 5,000 Polish Jews ready to emigrate to Palestine in the capitalist category if permitted to take at least \$5,000 of their possessions with them. On November 19, it was reported that the negotiations for the transfer agreement had been concluded and awaited final ratification by the Jewish Agency; Isaac Gruenbaum, who had conducted the negotiations, declared that the agreement was far more satisfactory than the German-Palestine transfer. On January 13, however, the transfer negotiations were reported to have hit a snag, when the Polish Government changed its view and refused to accept Palestine oranges in exchange for Polish lumber, but on January 25, it was announced that the difficulties had been ironed out. On March 4, the Polish Government signed an

agreement with the Jewish Agency for Palestine providing for export of Polish Jewish capital to the Palestine. The agreement can be terminated by either side on three months' notice. Clearing offices were to be established in Warsaw and Tel Aviv, and the Jewish Agency and the Anglo-Palestine Bank would establish a firm to supervise the clearing. The pact was said to cover exchange of goods, the clearing of Zionist funds raised in Poland, and tourist traffic.

A "march to Palestine" of 150 Jewish youths, organized by William Ryppeł, Warsaw lawyer and Zionist, came to grief on November 16 after it had only proceeded 25 miles out of Warsaw. Police dispersed the marchers who had proposed to parade through Europe to Palestine in order to call the attention of the world to the plight of Polish Jewry. The marchers possessed no passports or visas. Ryppeł and thirteen of the marchers were arrested, charged with forming an illicit organization and resisting the police; they were released to await trial.

On November 6, the Hias-Ica Emigration Association made public in Paris that between 1925 and 1935, 186,134 Jews emigrated from Poland. The peak of the Jewish exodus was in 1935 when 30,717 Jews emigrated. During these ten years, 67,242 settled in Palestine; 27,755 in the United States; 15,466 in Canada, 4,689 in Central American republics, 31,098 in Argentine, 13,098 in Brazil, 4,378 in Uruguay, 1,150 in Australia, 17,169 in European countries, and 3,774 in other overseas countries.

Early in August, Toz, the association for the preservation of health among Jews in Poland, revealed that at least 25,000 Jewish school children would have to be fed by relief organizations, and that at least 325,000 zlotys would be required for this work. It was said that half of this sum would be covered by local funds and it was hoped that the remainder will come from Jewish relief organizations abroad, including the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which regularly subsidizes Toz.

On September 7, the Jewish community elections in Warsaw failed to return expected majorities for the Jewish labor party, the Zionists or the Agudath Israel blocs. As a result, difficulties were expected when a working majority

is needed. The communists supported the labor bloc. On September 22, the newly elected Board adopted a resolution demanding equal treatment for the Jewish population "which fulfills all the duties of citizenship." The Board found it "necessary to assist any emigration efforts, particularly emigration to Palestine" but expressed "the strongest possible opposition to the view that emigration alone can solve the Jewish problem."

On December 25, reports that the Jewish community of Warsaw would lose its autonomy through replacement of the communal council by a Government-nominated commissar were confirmed in a semi-official statement which said that the Council will be dissolved because it constantly acted on matters "beyond its competence." Jewish newspapers were officially warned not to criticize the forthcoming appointment of a commissar, and a number of them were confiscated for printing reports and articles on the question. Nevertheless, all Jewish parties joined in calling a conference at which it was decided to protest the appointment of a Government commissariat and to boycott the proposed Government appointed "advisory council." The Agudath Israel abstained from voting for the resolution of protest. The Jewish National Bloc voted to expel Maurice Meisel, director of the Palestine Foundation Fund, who was to be proclaimed the commissar. On December 30 the Agudath Israel announced that it would support the Government appointed administration. On January 5, 1937, the Government announced the appointment of Maurice Meisel as commissar for Warsaw Jewish communal affairs. The announcement said he would be assisted by an advisory council of ten including representatives of the extreme orthodox Agudath Israel, Jewish war veterans, and persons unaffiliated with Jewish parties. All other Jewish groups are boycotting the council. The elected council of the Warsaw Kehilla, at its last meeting before dissolution, on January 10, protested against being replaced by a commissar and voted to contribute \$2,500 to the Palestine emergency campaign.

In December, a museum of Jewish art through the ages and some rare examples of contemporary Jewish art was established by Dr. Otto Schnaid, the Jewish art historian

who arrived from Vienna; the collection will be housed in the Jewish Cultural Institute in Wilno and eventually moved to Warsaw.

Late in January, 1937, Dr. Bernard Kahn, European director of the J. D. C., and David Schweitzer, financial administrator, visited Poland to survey the Polish Jewish situation and to discuss ameliorative measures with local leaders. On January 29, Polish Jewish newspapers in leading articles pointed out that starvation was affecting a large section of Polish Jewry more acutely than in the War period; they cited the inability of charity organizations to meet the needs, and declared that simple charity was more necessary at the moment than constructive relief. At his first conference with local leaders, Dr. Kahn declared that "the J. D. C. and entire American Jewry are deeply distressed over the Polish Jews' plight, as I am convinced after my visit to America six weeks ago." He said that the J. D. C. would continue and expand its aid to the Jews of Poland.

At a conference of Centos, central Jewish child care organization, on February 1, attended by Dr. Kahn and Mr. Schweitzer, it was revealed that funds of the J. D. C. helped care for 27,000 children annually. It was pointed out that the conditions in Poland had a particularly disastrous effect upon the children, and the J. D. C. leaders were urged to help Centos expand its activity. Dr. Kahn and Mr. Schweitzer continued to hold daily conferences with delegations from various Polish towns in need of help, who pointed to the J. D. C. achievements in rehabilitating Przytyk as a model of the procedure to be followed in other distressed sectors.

Constructive relief measures for Polish Jewry were discussed also at a conference of the Jewish Economic Committee of Poland and Dr. Kahn and Mr. Schweitzer of the J. D. C. The economic committee was composed of the Jewish Merchants Association, the Jewish Artisans Association, the Small Traders' Union, the Engineers Union, and similar bodies. Measures were outlined for the organization of a Jewish export trade and for readjustment to economic conditions resulting from recent Government ordinances. It was shown that Jewish artisans and merchants could be

helped to conform to the new measures. Dr. Kahn urged that a solid business organization should be formed to develop a Polish Jewish export trade, but warned against linking the project to the charity spirit.

On March 22, 1937, the Jewish community of Plock celebrated its 700th anniversary. A special committee of historians and Jewish social workers issued a Yiddish memorial volume entitled "History of the Jews of Plock from 1237" containing essays and historical sketches.

To counteract false views of Jewry's role in Poland's history, being disseminated by Polish newspapers and historians, the Yiddish scientific Institute of Wilno undertook, in March, to compile an authoritative history of Polish Jewry. A special committee was constituted in Warsaw, under the leadership of Dr. Isaac Schipper, historian, to start collecting material. The committee has established contact with Prof. Simeon Dubnow, famous historian now living in Riga, Latvia, who will assist it in an advisory capacity. The first task set by the committee is to prepare monographs on the various cities in which Jews have had an important role in founding industries. The importance of Jews in Polish economic life, particularly in the nineteenth century, will be stressed.

VII. ROUMANIA

During the past year, events of Jewish interest in Roumania followed the well-known pattern existing since the close of the World War—a pattern which was a modification, to suit new conditions, of that which, before the war, had given Roumania international notoriety as a country in which Jew-baiting in its crudest and most vulgar forms still existed and was not only countenanced but even fostered and promoted by intellectual circles. Events during the past year again revealed vividly the persistence of this condition. An active anti-Jewish propaganda of unequalled truculence, went on right under the nose of the government, whose declarations of intention to suppress the agitation appear only to have stimulated the impudence and arrogance of the agitation. Even government edicts were

disdainfully ignored. And this was not strange because the government itself gave indications that it was not entirely free from a Jew-baiting taint, inherited from previous regimes. In its efforts to secure the revision of the citizenship law of 1925, and to secure the passage of a national labor law—both entirely lacking in justifying conditions—the government gave clear indications of its readiness to make concessions to the extreme Jew-baiters. The demonstrations of, and the disturbances created by, the latter, were invariably followed by fine speeches but seldom by action which showed that the speeches were anything more than empty phrases.

Anti-Jewish Agitation

On July 5, 1936, professors Cuza, Goga, and other academicians whose avocation is Jew-baiting, were joined by a new ally in the person of Professor Istrate Micesco, president of the Bucharest Bar Association, who announced in a speech that he had resigned from the Government Party to devote himself to the uniting of all anti-Jewish groups into a single body. In the same month, in a ceremony performed with the blessings of Greek Orthodox priests, and under the leadership of George Cuza, son of Professor Cuza, 30,000 Roumanian peasants, gathered at Orhei, Bessarabia, took an oath under the swastika flag of the Fascist Party to rid Roumania of Jews. On July 20, headed by Cuza and Goga, an assembly in the Greek Orthodox Cathedral at Romnicu Sarat consecrated 100 swastika banners of the Fascist party. Archdeacon Drugasco declared that "a new way to the Roumanian soul had been opened by the Cuza-Goga National Christian party."

Several other incidents involving Roumanian church leaders should be cited here. In November, 1936, Archbishop Nicodemus, the Metropolitan of Moldavia, ordered the eviction of all Jewish tenants from houses and shops belonging to the Jassy Metropolitan estate, one of the largest in the city. Early in March, 1937, in an effort to do something about anti-Jewish agitation, the Government wrote to Patriarch Miron Christea, leader of the Orthodox Church, asking him to instruct priests to abstain from anti-

Jewish propaganda and participation in political activities. The effect of this polite request was indicated in a letter which the Patriarch wrote later, in the same month to *Porunca Vremya*, anti-Jewish daily. In the letter, which stated that the Patriarch was prevented by illness from joining a committee sponsoring a birthday celebration for Prof. Cuza, the Patriarch said: "I admire his energy and nationalism, which are an example to the youth and large masses of Roumanians, and I wish him many years of useful and tireless work." Partriarchs Gure of Bessarabia, Bageru of Transylvania, and Viserio of Bukowina participated in the celebration.

On July 14, 1936, the Union of Roumanian Veteran Army Officers issued a manifesto demanding the "immediate deportation of several hundred thousand Jews who have established themselves since the War and who aggravate the danger with which the country is menaced." The manifesto also demanded that only "pure-blooded" Roumanians be permitted to write for newspapers, and that the principal branches of industry, such as those working in metals, foodstuffs and agriculture, be prohibited from employing Jews.

In September, despite a shake-up in Premier Tatarescu's cabinet and his statement that all terroristic activities would be suppressed, Nazi and Jew-baiting disorders continued throughout Roumania. The new cabinet made public a decision to dissolve and disarm all shock troops affiliated with various political parties and to punish all acts of terrorism severely. The cabinet also announced the formation of a compulsory labor army in which will be enrolled all unemployed youths between the ages of 18 and 21. Most of the terrorism, it has been established, is the work of unemployed youngsters.

Shortly following the publication of these announcements, a virtual reign of terror was conducted in Salina by Cuzist "Blueshirts" who had taken control of the seaport. Despite the cabinet's ban on political demonstrations, uniformed storm-troopers paraded through the town, performing military manoeuvres. German ships passing the port were given the Hitler salute. At the same time, the National Christian Party openly defied the cabinet's edict dissolving

"political armies," and Professor Goga bluntly refused to disband his uniformed "Blueshirts." The democratic National Peasants Party at the same time declared it would not disband the Peasant Guard. As a result, the Government extended for six months the execution of existing emergency decrees and press censorship.

On November 5, 1936, in a manifesto denouncing Roumanian statesmen as "tools of Jews and Freemasons," the anti-Jewish Iron Guard warned Government officials they must "guarantee with their heads the success of their policies." The declaration caused uneasiness in official circles in view of the Iron Guard's past record of assassinations and other terroristic activities. On November 15, the establishment of a new anti-Jewish organization, the "Friends of the Iron Guards" was announced. Its membership was to be composed of Government officials, university officials, members of the aristocracy, and others, who for various reasons, are unable to join the Iron Guard, yet desire to give it moral and material assistance.

On November 8, the National Christian Party staged the greatest anti-Semitic demonstration in the history of Roumania, as 280,000 of its members paraded through Bucharest carrying signs bearing anti-Jewish slogans. A few minor incidents were reported, and no damage was done to Jewish property. The demonstration passed off quietly because Cuza and Goga wished to show how well their party was organized. The Government did nothing to deal with the wearing of the prohibited blue shirt uniforms, and placed 2,100 railway cars at the disposal of the party free of charge. It was estimated that the demonstration cost \$200,000. Though the demonstration in Bucharest was orderly, many Jews were reported injured in widespread disorders that followed in its wake, when participants, returning home from the parade, beat Jews on trains, and attacked Jewish neighbors on arriving at their villages.

Even the Roumanian Senate was utilized as a forum for Jew-baiting speeches. When the sessions of Parliament opened in mid-November, King Carol appealed for unity, and urged all parties not to waste the resources of the nation on "internal hatred." His statement was taken as a rebuke to the anti-Jewish extremist parties. After King

Carol's opening address, Prof. Cuza delivered a fiery speech in which he assailed the Talmud and the Jewish religion as immoral, accused the Jews of practising ritual murder and white slavery, lauded Hitler, and declared that he had advocated the Nazi racial views before Hitler was born. When Senator Niemirower rose to reply, Cuza and his followers left the hall. The chief rabbi accused Cuza of willful falsification of the Talmud, denied the identity of Judaism and Bolshevism, describing persecution of the Jewish religion in Russia, and concluded with a declaration of Jewish loyalty to "King and fatherland." In December, in another speech in the Senate, Prof. Cuza demanded that Jewish property be confiscated and that Jews be prohibited from earning a living in Roumania. At the same time, he made wild anti-Jewish charges. Senator Niemirower sharply assailed Cuza's description of the Jews as "a nation of thieves and murderers"; the chief rabbi pleaded the high mission of the Jewish religion and stressed the loyalty of the Jews to Roumania, declaring they would not "lose faith in the Roumanian sense of justice."

In April, 1937, a nationwide anti-Jewish campaign of extreme virulence was launched by the National Christian Party in connection with the municipal elections of April 16. The ultra-nationalist press redoubled the fury of its attacks on the Jews. Of special interest was the anomalous situation in the town of Deva, Transylvania, where Jews and anti-Semites concluded an election pact aimed against the Socialist Plowman's Party, and the name of Dr. Eugene Loering, president of the town's Jewish community, appeared on the same slate with those of National Christians and the Roumanian Frontists. Despite an intensive propaganda drive, anti-Jewish parties failed to win a single council seat in the municipal elections. The results were regarded as significant forecasts of the general elections to be held at the end of the summer.

Agitation for Anti-Jewish Restrictions

In addition to the foregoing general forms of Jew-baiting, there was also, during the period being reviewed, agitation for the imposition upon Jews, of economic and political

restrictions. In several instances, this agitation was promoted by trade and professional associations.

Thus, a general meeting of the Union of Roumanian Engineers, in October, 1936, adopted a resolution favoring restriction of the number of Jewish engineers to the proportion in the population. At the same time, the Union of Private Employees withdrew its representatives from the Chamber of Labor in protest against the Chamber's refusal to admit, to its council, representatives from the union on the ground that they were Jews. In December, a committee representing the Union of Roumanian Engineers called upon Dr. Valeriu Pop, Minister of Commerce, and demanded that all industrial enterprises be administered by persons of "pure Roumanian origin."

On December 9, the Bar Association of Braila, a city of 67,000, banned prospective Jewish attorneys as members, thus preventing them from practising, since membership in the Association is necessary for admission to the Bar; Jews already members were not affected by the decision of the Association.

Early in February, 1937, the general assembly of the Bar Association adopted a resolution to exclude Jews from membership. Although the resolution can not be applied officially, since such discrimination would violate the Roumanian constitution, yet the bar associations control registration of lawyers and could virtually prevent Jews from practicing by refusing to register them. This form of discrimination was already in vogue in many parts of Roumania, and the resolution merely lent moral support to such action. In April, Dr. Wilhelm Filderman, president of the Union of Roumanian Jews, protested to the Minister of Labor against the reported intention of the Bucharest Bar Association and the Federation of Roumanian Free Professional Associations to bar Jews. Dr. Filderman also gave the minister a memorandum charging bar associations with usurping Parliament's functions. In May, three hundred delegates of the Democratic Lawyers Association of Roumania protested against the anti-Jewish policy of the Roumanian Bar Association. A resolution emphasized the necessity of maintaining democratic principles. Notwithstanding these protests, at a general meeting, on May 15,

the Union of Roumanian Lawyers decided to bar from membership all persons not of "pure Roumanian blood." All dissenters from this viewpoint were evicted from the conference hall in Bucharest. In order to overcome constitutional prohibitions on discrimination against minorities, it was decided to strike Jews from the membership rolls "on technical grounds." Liberal lawyers, evicted from the meeting, held a conference of their own and sent a telegram to King Carol protesting against the action of the Union.

On May 17, a resolution adopted by a conference of the Federation of Roumanian Free Professional Associations, demanded the elimination of Jews and members of national minorities from Roumanian professional life. The federation, which comprises unions of university professors, physicians, architects, chemists and teachers among others, recommended application of the "ethnic" principle in effecting the desired *numerus nullus* in the professions. Concern was expressed in Jewish circles over this resolution because, while it was of a general nature, its consequences were expected to be far-reaching because the federation can execute the program concerning Jews and members of minorities in an arbitrary manner.

The first effect of the Union of Roumanian Lawyers' decision to bar from membership persons not of "pure Roumanian blood" was the exclusion, in June, of six Jewish advocates from the Jassy Bar Association on the ground that they had acquired membership through "technical error." These lawyers had been members of the Bar Association for five years. In the same month, election of the Council of the Bucharest Bar Association was postponed indefinitely as Nationalists boycotted the balloting and the Government surrounded the Palace of Justice, where the voting was to take place, in order to prevent anti-Jewish rioting. Democratic groups said Nationalists abstained from voting because they knew they could not defeat the democratic pro-Jewish ticket in a protected election. In the meantime, the National Jewish Party demanded that the Government take measures to protect the rights of Jews, and expressed anxiety over the tendencies to oust Jews from trade, commerce and the professions.

Anti-Jewish Attacks

It were entirely unreasonable to expect that this continuous and widespread agitation, supported as it was by a large section of the press, should not lead to outbreaks of violence, and there were many during the period under review. Following is a brief enumeration of only those which were reported in the foreign press.

In July, 1936, sporadic attacks on Jews were reported in various sections in Roumania. The Czernowitz *Morgenblatt* declared inaction of police authorities was encouraging new excesses.

On July 16, an execution squad of eight members of the Iron Guard assassinated Michael Stelescu, the leader of the Roumanian Crusaders, a Fascist group which did not have anti-Jewish tendencies. M. Stelescu had a short time previously declared that he was not a Jew-baiter and that, although his party was nationalist, it was inspired by genuine Christian principles. The terrorist outrage took place only twenty-four hours after the Government had issued a statement assuring the country that strict measures would be taken to maintain order throughout the country. In October, Jon Caratanescu, theological student in jail with seven others pending trial on charges of assassinating Michael Stelescu, was elected president of the National Union of Roumanian Students. At the trial of the students charged with the murder, in April, 1937, eight of the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor, and the remaining two were given 10 year terms. The severe verdict aroused considerable comment, particularly in view of the fact that the courts had in the past shown themselves indulgent toward partisans of the Iron Guard.

In September, 1936, as a gesture of defiance to the new cabinet's anti-terrorist edicts, members of the anti-Jewish Iron Guard boarded a Czernowitz-Bucharest train and beat Jewish passengers as well as non-Jews who tried to protect the Jews. In the same month, a crowd of anti-Jewish demonstrators sought to mob Motzi Spakov, Jewish heavy-weight champion, when judges announced a decision in his favor. Disorders were reported, in the same month, from Balotina in Bessarabia, where demonstrators dragged Jews

from their homes, beat them and wrecked their homes and shops. After an all night riot, police arrived and arrested 15 persons.

In October, two non-Jews were seriously wounded and scores of persons suffered minor injuries in disorders that broke out after a Jewish soccer team had defeated a non-Jewish squad. In the same month, several Jews were beaten on the Chisinau-Jassy express by anti-Semites who boarded the train, demanded contributions from Jewish passengers, and were dissatisfied with the amounts received. Peasants in the town of Sibiu attacked Herman Kinzlicher, 64 year old rabbi, as he was leaving the synagogue, dragged him through the street by the beard and beat him, until he was rescued by bystanders.

In December 9, a strike of anti-Jewish Nationalist students, who had unsuccessfully demanded the exclusion of Jews from the school, forced the closing of the medical school of the University of Cluj.

In January, 1937, new bombings of Jewish homes in Bukovina were reported; several persons were injured and homes destroyed. In the village of Stradauti, local Jews were ordered to leave the district within five days or be killed.

In February, the Union of Jewish Students published an appeal to its members urging them to attend university lectures even at the risk of violence, and to defend their rights in face of the anti-Jewish feeling at the universities, aiming at complete elimination of Jews from the liberal professions. Women were among a number of Jewish medical students beaten in a renewal of disorders at the University of Bucharest. In the same month, police arrested four important members of the Iron Guard charged with kidnapping the president of the Liberal University Students Union. On February 27, thirty Jews, including several women, were seriously wounded by Cuzists in an outbreak of violence attending municipal elections in Bacau, Moldavia. Troops, rushed to the city, succeeded in restoring order, but made no arrests. In the meantime, because of the outbreak, Jews had been prevented from voting. Premier Tatarescu dismissed the police prefect of Bacau and ordered the town's entire police force tried by a dis-

ciplinary committee in connection with the anti-Jewish election riot.

Toward the end of April, Sinaia, site of King Carol's summer home, was the scene of an anti-Jewish demonstration that culminated in a raid by hundreds of pre-military conscripts on the town's Jewish cemetery.

Governmental Policies

The events recited in the foregoing sections indicate that, except for occasional spurts, the Roumanian Government's policies *vis à vis* militant nationalist movements were far from vigorous enough to have a deferrent effect. At the same time, the government's policies in dealing with Jews and their problems appear to have been calculated to avoid creating the impression among the extremists that the government was Judeophile.

In September, 1936, a military court sentenced five Jews, two of them women, to ten years imprisonment each for having shouted "Down with Fascism!" during a demonstration; the court explained the shout was an insult to Roumanian nationalism.

In October, Dr. Constantin Anghelescu, the Minister of Education announced that the Jewish religion would no longer be taught in the State schools, during those periods when Christian pupils attend classes in the Christian religion. Later in the month, however, Dr. Anghelescu, in an audience granted Senator Jacob Niemirower, the chief rabbi, promised to rescind the order.

On November 15, the Ministry of Labor announced that German refugees would not be permitted to establish themselves in Roumania. In the same month, Prof. Octavian Goga, co-leader with Cuza of the extreme anti-Jewish faction, was appointed professor of Modern Roumanian Culture at the University of Cluj by the Minister of Education; his "nationalist activities" were cited in the letter of appointment.

In January, 1937, forty-five boys and girls, members of the Hashomer Hatzair, labor Zionist scout organization

which trains youths for pioneer work in Palestine, were arrested in Chisinau on charges of plotting against the safety of the state. It was understood that eight would be held for court martial and the rest released for lack of evidence.

The issuance, in February, of permits to three new anti-Jewish publications brought the total of such publications, in Roumania, to 59.

In March, Senator Niemirower, as president of B'nai B'rith, announced that, in order to avoid confusion with the banned Freemason organizations, the word "lodge" would be dropped as a descriptive term for Roumanian branches of the B'nai B'rith. He said the Government would take no action on the demand voiced in Parliament by Prof. Alexander Cuza, for inclusion of the B'nai B'rith in Premier Tatarescu's ban on freemasonry, as there was no connection between Freemasons and the B'nai B'rith, the latter holding legally registered meetings, that were open and not marked by secret proceedings. Toward the end of May, however, it was learned that on orders of the Interior Ministry the local authorities had closed the B'nai B'rith branch in Czernowitz and raided the fraternal order's headquarters in Strada, Janku and Plondor, selling the buildings. B'nai B'rith administered a number of philanthropic and welfare institutions there, including the Jewish Tuberculosis Union and the Jewish Society for the Protection of Children.

On March 27, the Legislative Council, Roumania's highest legal authority, declared unconstitutional and violative of treaty obligations a bill for State expropriation of all rural properties belonging to "non-Roumanians," situated within 100 kilometers of the Hungarian frontier. The bill, introduced in Parliament recently by anti-Jewish deputies, had been submitted to the council for an advisory opinion. In June, the authorities ordered *Die Wahrheit*, a Transylvanian Jewish weekly, to discontinue publishing Yiddish and Hungarian sections and confine itself to the Roumanian language. Later in the same month, ruling that the swastika was neither a political nor a religious emblem, the Court of Appeals dismissed a case against two leaders of the anti-Jewish National Christian Party accused of wearing prohibited political emblems.

Proposed Revision of Citizenship

On December 17, 1936, a bill was introduced in the Parliament providing for the complete revision of naturalizations acquired under the citizenship law of 1924. The bill provided that the lists of such naturalizations be posted, and that if the validity of any be questioned either by officials or private citizens the burden of proving that naturalization was legal would fall upon the naturalized citizens. The bill was obviously aimed at the Jews of the annexed provinces. In January, 1937, a group of anti-Semitic deputies, led by Dr. Goga, introduced a bill into Parliament barring automatic citizenship to women marrying Roumanian subjects, granting citizenship only to women whose husbands are of "Roumanian ethnic origin," and providing that foreign wives of Roumanian Jews must reside in the country ten years before acquiring citizenship. The bill was referred to the Legislative Council which also had under consideration the citizenship revision bill of December 17. Toward the end of the same month, Dr. William Filderman, president of the Union of Roumanian Jews, submitted three memoranda to Premier Tatarescu protesting against these two proposals, as well as the proposal of the Union of Roumanian Lawyers for the restriction of the admission of Jews to the bar.

Early in February, it was announced that the proposal to revise the naturalization lists of those persons who acquired Roumanian citizenship under the law of 1924 would be dropped and replaced by a new scheme, to be drafted by the Government which will comply with treaties guaranteeing rights of minorities.

At the same time, a conference of Jewish organizations, convoked by the Yiddische Reichspartei held in Bucharest, charged that the Roumanian Government is trying to solve the Jewish problem in a way to satisfy extremist elements. The conference voted to increase anti-defamation work, instruct Jews on how to act during projected revision of citizenship lists, and to prepare for the forthcoming parliamentary elections.

On March 21, Parliament adjourned without having acted on proposals to revise post-war naturalizations and

to restrict employment of aliens and members of minorities, but there were indications that these proposals had not been dropped by the Government. In fact, it was reported that the administrative authorities had been quietly revising the naturalization lists and cancelling citizenships. Thus in May it became known that 1,000 persons, 900 of them Jews, who had acquired Roumanian citizenship under the international treaties of 1920 and 1924, had been stripped of their Roumanian nationality by the police of Czernowitz, acting under instructions of the War Ministry. The official reason given was that these persons had obtained "citizenship illegally or by officials' mistakes." Revision of post-war naturalizations had been, it was reported, started by the Roumanian Government in January.

Proposed National Labor Law

Early in February 1937, it became known that Valeriu Pop, Minister of Commerce, had been compiling data on the racial origin of employes of banks and commercial enterprises. The purpose of these statistics became known early in March, when it was learned that a bill had been drafted providing that 75% of the employes of commercial, industrial, and financial enterprises must be of "Roumanian ethnic origin." The remaining 25% could be Jews, Hungarians, Germans and others who acquired Roumanian citizenship after the World War. The only foreigners to be permitted to be employed were specialists not available in Roumania. It was generally believed that the Government hoped the bill would serve as a sop to the extreme nationalists who were protesting against the curbing of the Iron Guard. Although Commerce Minister Pop denied that such a bill had been drafted, the Union of Roumanian Jews appealed to the King and the Premier to guard the constitutional rights of the Jews, and reiterated the devotion of Roumanian Jews to King and country.

On March 12, by a vote of 67 to 31, the Senate defeated an amendment to the law establishing workmen's credit funds, offered by Prof. Cuza, which would have limited benefits from these funds to "pure-blooded Roumanians." When the Senator representing the German minority pro-

tested against the amendment, Prof. Jorga declared that Germans had no right to object to racial discriminations. In the same month, the Supreme Council of Roumanian Jews submitted a memorandum to Premier Tatarescu protesting against the proposed measure to restrict employment of foreigners and members of national minorities in Roumania. The memorandum declared the bill constituted direct incitement to racial hatred and would thus act as a boomerang against the State. It would also violate post-war peace treaties. In April, newspapers published the purported text of a decree for "protection of national labor" which even right wing editors described as unconstitutional and communistic. According to the published text, the edict would give the Ministry of Industries the right to take arbitrary measures in connection with employment in all public or private enterprises, which would be obliged to submit necessary information, under penalty of confiscation.

Early in June, representatives of Hungarian and German minorities announced they would protest to the League of Nations against enactment of the law. Jewish groups decided to forward to King Carol a telegram similar to that sent by the Union of Roumanian Jews on March 9, appealing to him to guard the constitutional rights of Jews and other minorities. Late in the same month, it became evident that Commerce Minister Pop's bill for "protection of national labor" had been dropped by the Tatarescu Government. Among the various reasons given for the dropping of the law were the facts that the Government was faced with an election in the Fall, and that large industrial and financial enterprises were opposed to the measure.

Anti-Zionist Measures

Late in December 1936, the government began to take measures which seemed to be prompted by a willful desire to annoy and harass the Jews of the country. On December 29, the Minister of the Interior issued an order providing that organizations wishing to collect funds for Zionist purposes must obtain governmental permission to do so. On January 1, 1937, police raided the headquarters of the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Foundation Fund, and

the Zionist Organization, and seized their account books and funds. Esther Kaplan, a delegate of the Jewish National Fund from Palestine, was ordered to leave Roumania within twenty-four hours. At the same time, the police confiscated all collection boxes of the Jewish National Fund.

It was charged by the Jewish press that the prohibition of the collection of Zionist funds was part of a general anti-Zionist drive. The press reported arrests of Zionist leaders, prohibition of Zionist meetings and conferences, and arrests and beatings of *Halutzim*. According to the Zionist press, this situation had been precipitated by the anti-Jewish newspapers *Universul* and *Curentul*, which had raised an alarm against "the heavy Roumanian cash that goes to Palestine." The transfer of Zionist funds to Palestine, up to this time, had been made in accordance with an agreement between the Palestine-Roumanian Chamber of Commerce and the Roumanian National Bank, on the basis of Roumanian exports to Palestine.

On January 9, the Minister of the Interior told Samuel Singer, president of the Roumanian Jewish National Fund, who had submitted proof that Zionist organizations were functioning legally, that he would reconsider the ban on Zionist collections. Nevertheless, the virtual prohibition of fund collection was extended by Bukovina authorities to the Agudath Israel, non-Zionist orthodox group, and no modification of the restrictions against the Jewish National Fund or the Palestine Foundation Fund were announced. On January 24, the Minister of Interior ordered the dissolution of the Zionist Jewish State Party and prohibited all its activities.

Miscellaneous Events

Early in July, 1936, at a convention in Bucharest of the Federation of National Labor, Roumania's official trade union organization, Ilie Peter Calciu, president, appealed for cooperation between inhabitants of town and country, irrespective of race and religion. He declared: "As long as the national minorities living among us do not interfere with the unity of the State, they may be assured of our protection. Our duty is to assimilate them and make them feel

like good Roumanians. We cannot divide the country up into concentration camps and sow discord amongst its citizens."

On July 7, King Carol decorated 22 Roumanian Jews with the insignia of the Order of King Ferdinand, and conferred public health decorations on five Jewish physicians "for exceptional patriotic merit."

On July 31, at its annual congress in Czernowitz, the National Peasant Party pledged itself to fight for equal rights for national minorities and against Nazi propaganda; a resolution was adopted inviting Jews to join the Party.

On September 20, at the risk of their lives, eight peasants saved a young Jew from an attack by a group of "Blueshirts" in the village of Tisni. While one of the peasants forced his way through the assailants and shielded the Jew with his own body, his companions routed the "Blueshirts."

On October 5, addressing a mass meeting of the People's Party at Chisinau, Field Marshal Alexander Averescu, Roumanian War hero, denounced extremist parties and condemned the confusing of Communism with Judaism for the purpose of creating racial friction "which is to the disadvantage of the country." On the same day, addressing 40,000 peasants at Satumare, Dr. Nicholas Lupu, vice-president of the National Peasant Party, accused the anti-Semites of delivering Roumania into the hands of Germany in return for heavy subsidies.

On October 23, Premier Tatarescu received Herman Speier and Abraham Falik of the United Roumanian Jews of America. He told them that in his opinion, the anti-Jewish movement in Roumania would not last much longer and was not supported by the greater part of the population.

On January 24, 1937, a shareholders meeting of the Adeverul Company, owner of the democratic dailies *Adeverul* and *Dimineata*, accepted the resignation of four Jewish publishers, replacing them with a board of "all Roumanian" directors. The publishers, whose resignation was forced by a violent anti-Jewish campaign, were M. Constantine, Michael Graur, Emanuel Pauker and M. Labin.

Late in February, it was announced that a group of 30 outstanding Jewish philosophers, theologians, scientists,

writers and artists had formed an academic center known as the "Cultural Institute of the Choral Temple." Chief Rabbi Jacob Niemirower is honorary president of the institute and Dr. I. Brucar, noted philosopher is chairman; the object of the Institute is to develop and spread scientific, literary and artistic knowledge, especially pertaining to Roumanian Jewry.

VIII. OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Bulgaria

On February 27, 1937, the Central Consistory of Bulgarian Jews decided to open a seminary for training of Hebrew teachers, to publish books on Jewish lore, to approve subsidies for Hebrew schools operated by the Tarbuth Association, to promote religious education of Jewish youth, and to establish a committee for combating anti-Semitism.

On April 2, police served notice on one hundred and fifty Jewish families of Turkish nationality to leave the country unless they can present documents establishing their nationality. The Turkish Consulate refused either to furnish the families with certificates of citizenship, or documents attesting the willingness of the Turkish Government to permit them to acquire Bulgarian citizenship.

In May, growth of a Bulgarian Fascist organization was reported from Sofia. The organization known as the Union for Action for Progress of the Bulgarian Nation, is led by Professor Kontardjiev of the Agricultural Institute of Sofia. Its aims are to limit the number of Jewish and foreign commercial enterprises in Bulgaria, to prohibit settlement of Jews, and to seek cancellation of the peace treaty between Bulgaria and the Allies in the World War, in order to permit free rearmament to the former.

Early in June it was revealed that one of two anti-Semitic organizations in Bulgaria had dispatched a special delegation to Berlin to study Nazi anti-Jewish propaganda methods. Later in the same month two bombs were thrown by anti-Semitic demonstrators in the town of Varna. One

exploded near a Jewish cooperative bank, and the other near the home of a prominent Jewish resident. No one was hurt and there was but slight damage. A few days later, Minister of Interior Sapoff received a delegation from the Central Consistory of Bulgarian Jews who presented a memorandum on the bombings in Varna and anti-Jewish activities of the recently formed National Socialist Party. Minister Sapoff assured the delegation that the Government would not permit any organization to conduct propaganda against any section of the population and further declared: "The Jewish population may calmly go about its business. The Government will give protection to all sections of the population without distinction of race or creed."

Official criminal statistics made public early in June, revealed that Jews constituted the smallest percentage of criminals. A statement accompanying the statistics declared: "Jews are a law-abiding element occupied solely with commerce, showing no interest in political and social strife."

Estonia

On January 4, 1937, President Constantin Paets, of Estonia, who appoints ten of the eighty members of the Senate, announced that one of these will be a member of the Jewish minority, elected by the cultural board of the Jews of Estonia. In February, Heinrich Gutkin, vice president of the Jewish Community, the first Jew to sit in the upper house, was appointed by Presidential decree.

In March, Jaan Tonisson, aged Estonian democratic statesman, refused to accept an Olympic medal awarded by Chancellor Adolf Hitler.

Greece

In August, 1936, the Government announced that it had allocated 7,000,000 drachmas for establishing an independent organization to construct cheap lodgings for Jews in Salonica.

In the same month, Kyriakau Venizelos, son of the late ex-Premier whose Liberal Party was at times accused of

anti-Semitism, offered to do all in his power to eliminate any misunderstanding between Jews and the Liberal Party.

In a message to Chief Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Koretz of Salonica, in August, General John Metaxas, Greek dictator, offered reassurances that the Greek Government would continue "to nourish the same feeling of sympathy for Jewish citizens which has previously existed" and which the premier has "personally always felt." In December, it was officially announced that two new Jewish schools would be established in Jewish populated sections of the city of Salonica. In February, 1937, a Palestine-Greece transfer agreement was concluded. In March, Finance Minister Rediadis informed Chief Rabbi Koretz that the Government grant to Salonica Jewish schools would be increased 500,000 drachmas.

In June, drastic measures to prevent the bankruptcy of the Salonica Jewish Community were adopted by its executive committee. The measures were designed to reduce the community's deficit from 850,000 to 200,000 drachmas. The committee decided on wholesale dismissal of teachers from Jewish communal schools, cancellation of subventions except to the Palestine Foundation Fund, and removal of the community's offices to less expensive premises.

Lithuania

Early in July, 1936, following expression by Jews of resentment against the striking out of the names of Jewish candidates during the Parliamentary elections in June, despite the promise of the Minister of the Interior that there would be at least two Jewish members of Parliament, Julius Caplikas, Minister of the Interior, announced that the Government would introduce a special bill in Parliament to assure Jewish representation by co-opting Jewish members.

In the same month, severe anti-Jewish excesses were reported in Kaunas following spread of the ancient ritual murder libel in connection with the disappearance of a Christian girl in Memel. In August, three Jews, members of the Lithuanian Olympic chess team, departed for Munich after being assured that they would not have to play against

Germany. In November, three Jews were arrested after a brawl which involved an Italian traveling salesman whose singing of Fascist songs had been resented. The matter was raised to an international incident when a report of it was broadcast in Italy, and the Italian consul in Kaunas asked the Foreign Ministry for information about the incident.

On January 1, 1937, the Lithuanian rabbinate announced that it would no longer convert to Judaism Christians who wish to marry Jewish girls. In February, Minister Caplikas declared that the Government would do nothing to meet the demands of anti-Jewish elements for restrictions on shehita, Jewish ritual slaughtering. In the same month, as a protest against a statement made by Dr. Chaim Weizmann before the Royal Commission in November in which he allegedly listed Lithuania among anti-Semitic countries, Interior Minister Caplikas issued the following press statement: "On behalf of the Government, I declare that this has made a deep impression on public opinion and Government circles in Lithuania, since under no circumstances is it justified to list us among countries where official anti-Semitism prevails; for Jews in Lithuania enjoy formal and actual equality, Jewish organizations receive Government subsidies, and the Government reacts promptly against irresponsible elements attempting to stimulate anti-Jewish riots."

On February 9, 1937, in response to proposals submitted by the anti-Jewish Verslininki organization and the Union of Small Traders that Jews be prohibited from keeping their shops open on Sunday, the Government announced that it did not intend to alter the present Sunday closing law, pointing out that because Jews kept their shops open on Sunday peasants have an opportunity to make purchases in towns at savings. Later in the same month, Foreign Minister Stasys Lozoraitis promised to support, before the League of Nations, demands that immigration to Palestine be not halted.

At a press conference, on February 23, 1937, War Minister Stasys Dirmantas warmly lauded the role of the Jews in the Lithuanian army in war and peace and declared that no racial antagonism could exist in the army "because we

consider all soldiers equal." In the same month, the Governor of Memel vetoed a bill passed by the German majority in the Sejm of the Memel District which would have deprived Jewish artisans of work. A united front of Lithuanians and Jews, in the former German territory turned over to Lithuania in 1923, was urged by Kibrancas and Kauskas, important Lithuanian leaders.

In May, 1937, the Cabinet announced that it decided to spend part of the income derived from the Lithuanian Government lottery on a number of Jewish social and philanthropic institutions.

Soviet Russia

As has been the case for a number of years, comparatively few reports of events of Jewish interest in Soviet Russia have reached the American press, general or Jewish. Reports which do come deal mainly with such activities as engage the interest of Jewish organizations in America, chiefly the Joint Distribution Committee which, through the Joint Agricultural Foundation (Agro-Joint) has been engaged in aiding Russian Jews to settle on the land; and the several organizations, chiefly Icor, which are interested in the settlement of Jews in Bira-Bidjan, a territory in the Far Eastern provinces.

The Bira-Bidjan Project

In July, 1936, the Regional Executive Committee for Bira-Bidjan announced the establishment of an institute to explore the mineral resources of the region.

In September, in its first statement on Jewish policy, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union outlined revised plans for the work in Bira-Bidjan, which placed greater emphasis on agriculture, and instructed the commissariat of Agriculture to organize the development of 250,000 acres. The statement, signed by President Kalinin, noted increased desire on the part of Russian Jews and Jews from abroad to migrate to Bira-Bidjan.

In October, in an address before the Comzet and Ozet, Commissar of Agriculture Tchernov announced the estab-

lishment of a special bureau to stimulate agricultural settlement in Bira-Bidjan. In the same month, Michael Katell, who was president of the Ukrainian Ozet, organization for the settlement of Jews on the land, was appointed to succeed Prof. Joseph Liberberg, removed as an alleged Trotskyist, as president of the Central Committee for the Bira-Bidjan project. Another administrative change was made in April, 1937, when the authorities announced the dismissal of M. P. Chavkin as secretary of the Central Communist Committee of Bira-Bidjan, on the charge of having patronized alleged Trotskyists and using his position to advance personal interests. Chavkin was also charged with employing political blackmail methods in operating his office, and with responsibility for the breakdown in the 1936 settlement plans for the territory.

Later in October, 1936, the State Planning Commission announced that it had formulated a budget calling for the expenditure of forty million rubles for new collective farms in Bira-Bidjan during 1937.

That Jewish immigration to Bira-Bidjan had lagged 30% behind schedule during 1936, and that the Jewish population of the region was actually 2,000 less than at the end of 1933, was revealed in a report submitted to the Comzet, late in November 1936, by Boris Trotsky, acting president of the Committee. "Of the 10,000 immigrants who should have been settled in Bira-Bidjan this year, only 6,300 have been settled," Trotsky declared. He ascribed the plan's failure chiefly to slow progress in the erection of new houses for immigrants and in the development of industry in the region.

In January 1937, the Ozet, organization for settlement of Jews on land, assigned 300,000 rubles for rebuilding the Jewish theatre in Bira-Bidjan and granted for the maintenance of the theatre a subsidy of 150,000 rubles in addition to grants to be made the Government. In the same month, the Government announced that it had assigned 100,000,000 rubles for the 1937 budget of Bira-Bidjan, twice as much as the 1936 budget, and that, during 1937, the territory is expected to absorb 20,000 new settlers.

In April, 1937, it was reported that only 469 Jews had entered Bira-Bidjan in the first quarter of 1937. At the

same time, preparations went forward to celebrate, in 1938, the tenth anniversary of the declaration of Bira-Bidjan as autonomous Jewish territory. A special commission of Jewish writers and experts from Bira-Bidjan will be appointed by the Council of the Comzet to formulate a celebration program. The Comzet Cultural Commission allotted 50,000 rubles for prizes for the best Jewish play on "Twenty Years since the October Revolution, and the Rebuilding of the Life of the Jewish Masses."

In June, at a press conference, Boris Trotsky, deputy president of the Comzet, presented a new five-year plan for development of Bira-Bidjan, calling for the settlement of 100,000 Jews, of whom 30,000 individuals and 6,500 families will be placed on collective farms. Other features of the plan include the establishment of a university, a publishing centre, music and art academies, a museum, and a Jewish theatre. Further details of the plan were supplied by Trotsky to *Emess*, the Yiddish Communist daily. The 100,000 new settlers are to be brought in as follows: 10,000 in 1938; 15,000 in 1939; 20,000 in 1940; 25,000 in 1941 and 30,000 in 1942. The aims of the agricultural settlement, he said, would be to create a compact Jewish agricultural population, increase the sowing area of the region, and create a source of fodder to satisfy the growing needs of cattle-raising.

On June 15, the Comzet formally approved the new five year plan. On June 25, the first installment of the five year plan for the development of Bira-Bidjan was ratified by the Council of People's Commissars, which appropriated 9,000,000 rubles for the settlement of the immigrants. A few days later, it was reported that the Council had also ratified a plan for settling 2,244 Jewish families in the Soviet Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and the Crimea during 1937, and had appropriated 2,500,000 rubles for the work.

The Agro-Joint Colonies

In December 1936, Russian newspapers reported unparalleled prosperity in the Jewish collective farms in the Crimea. It was said that the individual daily earnings on these farms averaged about six rubles, in addition to four

kilos of bread, and dairy and vegetable products. The newspapers praised the work of the Agro-Joint, operating agency in Russia of the Joint Distribution Committee, and attributed the success of the colonies chiefly to the work of Dr. Joseph A. Rosen, the Agro-Joint's American director, in developing vineyards, vegetable farming and electrification. It was pointed out that of 85 Jewish collectives 55 have electricity, enabling them to have irrigation plants, from the lack of which the Crimea has suffered. The Crimean collectives maintain more than 80 schools, six hospitals and an agricultural and technical school.

In February, 1937, Dr. Rosen announced a budget of 10,000,000 rubles (about \$2,000,000) for the further development during 1937 of the Ukrainian and Crimean Jewish colonies established by the Agro-Joint. The budget was to further electrification, irrigation and industrial projects and to continue the colonization work begun by the Agro-Joint in 1924. The funds are to be provided jointly by the Government, the Agro-Joint, and the colonies themselves. In addition, the Government Agricultural Bank will make available to the colonies credits of 5,400,000 rubles to finance the settlement on farms of 500 additional families during the year.

Miscellaneous

Celebration of the Jewish New Year passed off quietly in Moscow on September 18, 1936, as the annual anti-religious campaign sponsored by the Society of the Godless failed almost completely to obtain support. The Society had issued a brochure and other propagandist material, but the Yiddish newspapers disregarded it. *Emess*, Yiddish communist paper, sharply criticized the Society and the character of its brochure, particularly for referring to the Arab anti-Jewish disorders as pogroms inspired by British imperialism. The paper pointed out indignantly that "that was no way to refer to the Arabs' heroic struggle for freedom."

In November, the Minister of Education approved a series of lectures to be delivered before the Jewish section

of the Moscow Pedagogic and Literary Institute by Alexander Chasis. The lectures were to cover Talmudic literature, and medieval and modern Hebrew literature. The sanctioning of the lectures was seen as foreshadowing lifting of the government ban on Hebrew and Zionism.

On November 29, in an address to the All-Union Congress of Soviets, Premier Viacheslav Molotoff denounced the German Nazis for persecuting the Jews. He asserted: "The Nazi leaders have well earned the appellation, modern cannibals. Their persecution of the Jews is in marked contrast to our respect for this race which gave us Karl Marx. Our attitude toward national minorities is one of friendliness and kindness. The Nazi attitude is one of barbarism and cruelty. The Fascists are the destroyers of culture and the advocates of monstrous social theories."

Rumors that the Soviet Government had prohibited the baking of matzoth were denied in Moscow on March 7, 1937, and it was pointed out that such prohibition would be a violation of the new Soviet constitution guaranteeing full religious freedom to all creeds. Difficulty arose, however, because of the prohibition against the use of hired labor for private purposes. Jews had offered to bake the matzoth in the State bakeries, and a group of rabbis had applied for permission to supervise the baking. A week later, it was officially announced that the baking of matzoth had begun in special Government bakeries in Moscow, Leningrad and other large cities. The baking, it was stated, was being done in accordance with Jewish ritual, under rabbinical supervision. This report, however, was later followed by another to the effect that matzoth were being baked in specially designated municipal bakeries but without religious supervision. Orthodox Jews, it was said, were preparing the unleavened bread in their own homes.

On April 8th, the government of Uzbekistan celebrated the tenth anniversary of the establishment of Jewish collective farms in the Republic. It was reported that thirteen percent of the 25,000 Jews of the Republic are engaged in farming; that they have their own dialect; and that they publish a newspaper in that language and another in Yiddish.

IX. PALESTINE

Arab Riots and Strike

The unrest in Palestine, described in the Review of the preceding period, continued during the year now under review. Skirmishes between Arab bands and British troops, or between Arabs and Jews, and bombings, shootings, and killings were almost daily occurrences during July and August. In a radio address, on July 7, 1936, Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, British High Commissioner for Palestine, declared that "the forces at the Government's disposal have been greatly increased and will be further increased if need be." He continued: "Sabotage acts, shooting on troops, murder of innocent people by shooting and bombing may continue for a time, but eventually the end is certain. I believe everyone knows the Government has power and will use it to put an end to these criminal acts and restore peace. There is, therefore, no object to be gained by continuance except to cause more misery for many innocents." On the next day, a group of 137 Arab officials submitted a memorandum to the Government, asking for a halt in Jewish immigration. On the following day, Dr. Hussein Khalidi, mayor of Jerusalem, declared, in behalf of the Arab High Committee, that the Arabs would not halt their general strike until demands for the stoppage of immigration and sale of land to Jews were fulfilled. The civil strife became increasingly violent through the summer months. On July 12, the British War Office confirmed orders for moving three more infantry battalions into Palestine from Malta. During the weeks that followed, several more regiments were brought into Palestine, raising the garrison to 15,000 troops. In a statement to the British House of Commons, on July 17, William Ormsby-Gore, Secretary of State for the Colonies, reported that, between April 19 and July 15, 1936, 86 Moslems, 4 Christians, and 38 Jews—all civilians—had been killed in the Palestine disturbances; in addition, one British constable, two Moslem constables, and 4 men in the Army and Royal Air Force had been killed.

On July 19, a military train was derailed by Arabs. Numerous minor incidents were reported and bombs were discovered near the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Tel Aviv, in Gaza and Petach Tikvah; police and troops drove off an attack in the Jewish settlement of Ein Herod. The 100th day of the strike, July 27 was marked by a number of demonstrations and clashes. Two Jews and twelve Arabs were injured in a riot lasting several hours in Tiberias, and numerous other injuries were reported all over the country. Four days later, it became evident that the Arab High Committee was about ready to call off the general strike because of the heavy losses suffered by Arab rebels in battles with troops, and the evident determination of the British government not to yield to violence, as indicated by its refusal to send the Royal Commission to Palestine until the disorders had stopped. On the following day, the Arab High Committee met, but took no action, seeming inclined to let the strike die out by itself. Nevertheless, sporadic outbreaks continued.

On July 31, the Palestine Supreme Court handed down a decision which ordered the Palestine Government to refund to the Arab city of Gaza a collective fine placed upon it by the High Commission as a punishment for strike disturbances; similar fines had been placed against a number of Arab towns for acts of terrorism. The decision was seen to upset the emergency system of fines established by the government. On August 5, however, the High Commissioner struck back at the Supreme Court, declaring collectives fines lawful and validly levied. On August 6, Jewish women and children refugees from disorders in Tel Aviv staged a hunger march to the Government offices where they made formal demand for food.

The 17th week of the disorders, beginning on August 9, brought a threat of an extension of the general strike to the port of Haifa which serves as a British naval base and the terminal of the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipeline. A strike of government employees and railway workers went partially into effect, and Arab workers of the Iraq Petroleum Co.'s plant called a strike; 17 Arabs were arrested in Haifa on charges of intimidating workers. The government took a vigorous offensive but acts of violence continued all over

the country. The Jewish National Assembly held an extraordinary session on August 17, at which measures taken to strengthen the Jewish community's position during the disturbances, were listed. It was reported that the armed Jewish special police totaled 1920, a third of whose expense was being met by the Government. Progress was also reported on the Tel Aviv port project undertaken when the general strike made access to Jaffa harbor impossible. On September 1, the *Palestine Post* reported the terms on which the Arabs would reputedly abandon the general strike. These were: general amnesty to all Arabs arrested during the disorders, suspension of immigration until the Royal Commission finishes its investigation, with a guaranty that the Commission would recommend restriction of immigration in the future, assurance that Foreign Minister Nuri Pasha of Iraq would appear before the Royal Commission to support Arab demands, and that Iraq would be allowed to continue its efforts to insure execution of the Commission's findings.

The following day, Government figures revealed that 1424 casualties of which 261 were deaths, had been reported during the first 145 days of the disorders (April 19 to August 31). The Jewish dead were listed as 73; Moslem, 156; British soldiers, 17; Christians, 6; Arab policemen, 6; British policemen, 2.

On the same day, the administrative committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine opened a two day conference in London when Dr. Weizmann reported on the critical developments in Palestine, and on a conference he had had with Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore earlier in the week; the sessions were attended by both Zionist and non-Zionist members of the Agency. On the second day of the conference, a letter from the Colonial Secretary to Dr. Weizmann was read, in which Mr. Ormsby-Gore referred to the *Palestine Post's* forecast of the proposed Arab terms for peace. The letter said in part: "No such terms have been agreed to either by the High Commissioner or His Majesty's Government. No promises have been made to Nuri Pasha by the High Commissioner or by His Majesty's

Government as regards either suspension of immigration, or his position as mediator in the affairs of Palestine."

On September 7, the British Government announced in London that the entire first division would be sent to Palestine, where Lieut.-General J. G. Dill would assume supreme military control. The imposition of martial law, it was revealed, would depend upon the decisions of General Dill. The first of the troops sailed on September 12. The announcement of the troop movements by the Colonial office was accompanied by a long communique which reviewed the events of the preceding five months and declared that "the situation which has been created is a direct challenge to the authority of the British Government."

On September 9, violent skirmishes took place between British soldiers and police and Arab rebels, resulting in the death of 40 persons. During the 21 weeks of the riots, the death toll was estimated at 340 persons of whom 225 were Arabs, 81 Jews, and 34 British soldiers and policemen. Financial losses since April 19, 1936, were estimated by insurance companies at \$13,750,000. Jews sustained losses of \$7,500,000; Arabs, \$4,000,000; and the Government, \$2,250,000.

General Dill arrived in Jerusalem on September 13, the 22nd week of the disorders, to make ready for the arrival of the reinforcements which were eventually to bring the Palestine garrison to a strength of 30,000 troops, the largest British force in Palestine since the World War. But peaceful settlement for the time being seemed out of the question as acts of violence continued all over the country and the Arab High Committee failed to take a definite stand on cessation of the general strike. On September 22, the first of Gen. Dill's military reinforcements arrived in Palestine, and Gen. Dill pressed forward in his efforts to end Arab violence. Military activity seemed, however, to increase the number of casualties. In one skirmish on September 24, 44 Arabs were killed and, on September 27, the president of the Haifa Moslem Council died of wounds received. On September 29, the British cabinet finally published an Order

in Council authorizing High Commissioner Wauchope to proclaim martial law by delegating "all or any of his powers" to General Dill. The High Commissioner was granted wide powers of censorship and control in order to secure public safety. But even in the shadow of imminent martial law, the disorders and violence continued and the Arab High Committee, meeting on September 30, failed to act on ending the 24-weeks old strike.

Peace came to Palestine nominally, if not actually, after 125 days of disorders, when, on October 12, the Arab High Committee ordered an end to the general strike. But sporadic acts of violence continued throughout the country, and the Arab newspapers greeted the strike's termination with dissatisfaction. Intervention of the Arab kings of Iraq, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, and the Emir of Transjordan, was reported to have been the deciding factor in forcing the Arab Committee's action. Slowly, Arab stores and businesses began to reopen.

A source of constant irritation between Jews and Arabs was the continued economic rivalry between Tel Aviv and Jaffa, the latter a predominantly Arab city. Jewish manufacturers in Tel Aviv were urged to boycott Jaffa harbor and to assist in making the temporary harbor in Tel Aviv into a permanent one. On October 19, the Arab press launched a vigorous attack on the Tel Aviv project, warning that if the harbor is completed it would be the cause of future outbreaks. Two days later, the first launching of a boat in Tel Aviv harbor was celebrated. The economic friction between Jews and Arabs continued as the excesses dropped off. On October 23, Arab leaders launched a "Buy Arab" campaign and called for a boycott of Jewish enterprises. A new committee was formed to popularize Arab-made products. On October 25, the High Commissioner refused to entertain a demand, presented by the Arab High Committee, that the construction on the Tel Aviv harbor be halted, but promised to consider an alternative demand that restrictions be imposed on the type of freight to be handled in the new port. Though sporadic acts of violence continued over the country, the Government nevertheless proceeded with preparations for the arrival of the Royal Commission. On October 29, the curfew restriction which

had been in force for nearly six months but, since the end of the strike, had been gradually cut down, were completely lifted.

According to a report of the political department of the Jewish Agency, there were, between April and October 1936, 1,996 Arab attacks in which 82 Jews were murdered and 369 wounded; property damage included 200,000 trees destroyed and 17,000 dunams of land under grain, razed; there were also 795 Arab attacks on police, the military and Government representatives; 380 raids on railways, buses and other conveyances; and 305 Arab assaults on other Arabs; Arabs used 1,369 bombs, mines and infernal machines; 263 bombs were confiscated by police; authorities arrested 3,111 Arabs for taking part in disturbances, in addition to Arab leaders detained in concentration camps.

On October 29, Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore announced in the House of Commons that the casualties during the disorders from April 10 to October 12, when the strike officially terminated, were 1,651; of this number, 341 were fatalities, of whom 187 were Moslems; 80, Jews; 21, British troops, 10, Christians; 8, Moslem policemen; 7, Palestine and British officials, and one Jewish official. He estimated the population of Palestine as 1,335,000 of whom 370,000 were Jews.

On December 7, there was a clash between British troops and Arab bands near Nablus, when Arabs attacked a military car,—the first clash of this kind since the cessation of the strike. Sporadic acts of violence had continued throughout the hearings of the Royal Commission which was sitting at this time.

On December 13, Arab leaders met in Jaffa to discuss launching a campaign for a fund of \$250,000, to fight the British and the Jews, and to widen the anti-Jewish boycott. The Arab High Committee also discussed the future of the Jaffa port which it held menaced by the development of the Tel Aviv harbor. Toward the latter part of December, unrest among the Arabs began to grow again; Jewish circles became alarmed by reports of sporadic violence; and military authorities intensified their activity. The High Commissioner also took steps to provide greater security for the colonists.

The British Royal Commission

It will be recalled that on May 18, 1936, Mr. J. H. Thomas, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, announced in the House of Commons the government's intention to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the Palestine disturbances. Subsequently, government spokesmen, especially William Ormsby-Gore who succeeded Thomas as Colonial Secretary, made it clear that the Commission would not be dispatched to Palestine while disorders were still going on. On July 1, 1936, Mr. Ormsby-Gore reaffirmed the Government's determination not to send the proposed Royal Commission to Palestine until order was completely restored.

About the middle of July, reports were published to the effect that immigration to Palestine would be stopped during the deliberations of the Royal Commission and pending the publication of the Commission's findings. Dr. Chaim Weizmann vigorously denied that, as president of the Jewish Agency, he had agreed to a temporary stoppage of immigration. That such a suggestion was being considered by the British government however, was clearly indicated when, on July 30, in reply to a direct question in Parliament, the Colonial Secretary declared: "I am unable to reply definitely whether immigration will be stopped during the inquiry, because the matter has not yet been decided."

In the meantime, on July 29, the Colonial Secretary announced the personnel of the Royal Commission to investigate the Palestine disorders. The six members were: Viscount Peel, chairman; Sir Horace Rumbold, vice-chairman; Sir Laurie Hammond, Sir Harold Morris, Sir Morris Carter, and Reginald Coupland. The functions of the Commission were defined as follows: 1) to inquire into the manner in which the Mandate has been carried out in relation to the obligations of the mandatory power towards Arabs and Jews respectively; 2) to ascertain where there are proper grounds for complaint either by the Arabs or the Jews with respect to the grievances under the Mandate, and; 3) to made recommendations, if the grievances are well founded, for elimination of their sources and prevention of their recurrence.

On the next day, the *Manchester Guardian* warned the Government against suspension of Jewish immigration, holding that it would be prejudicial to the conclusions of the Commission. On the same day, Arab leaders in Palestine expressed disappointment with the Colonial Secretary's statement that there would be no immediate suspension of immigration.

In a letter published in the London *Times*, on the same day, twenty members of Parliament, led by Lord Winterton, pledged themselves to fight to carry out any pro-Arab recommendations made by the Royal Commission. The letter declared that they seek to "allay Arab fears that recommendations in their favor might not be carried out owing to Zionist influence in Parliament." On August 19, in a vigorous editorial article, the London *Times* argued against the suspension of immigration on the ground that it would bias the Royal Commission's inquiry, shake the confidence of the Jews, and not satisfy Arab terrorists. The same position was taken by the *Manchester Guardian* in its issue of August 24.

With the cessation of hostilities in Palestine the various groups began making preparations for the Royal Commission's investigation. The World Zionist Organization turned over to a political sub-committee, the formulation of plans for Jewish representation before the Commission and the Arab High Committee also designated a special committee.

On November 5, all rumors regarding the suspension of immigration were set at rest, when the Colonial Secretary announced the immigration schedule to Palestine for the six months ending April, 1937 and declared that the Government had decided the demands for temporary suspension of immigration during the Royal Commission's inquiry were unjustified. This declaration was comforting to Zionist circles, but the fact that the Jewish Agency was allotted only 1,800 labor certificates caused bitter disappointment because the schedule represented a steep drop in the immigration rate, the previous six months' schedule having called for 4,500 certificates. Palestine Arabs immediately protested against the new immigration schedule and the Arab High Committee submitted a written protest to the High

Commissioner. Jamal Husseini, president of the Palestine Arab Party, said that Arabs would consider a boycott of the Royal Commission. On November 6, the Arab High Committee announced that it would boycott the Royal Commission. At the same time, in London, Dr. Chaim Weizmann described the schedule as "measly," but saw in it a victory for the Jews, because it indicated an "open door policy" in Palestine "despite many attempts to close it."

Tension in Palestine grew as Arab agitators sought to whip up popular indignation against the Government's failure to suspend Jewish immigration. Two Arabs in Government employ were killed by agitators. Pressure, however, was brought to bear on the Arab High Committee by rulers of neighboring Moslem nations and, upon the urging of a representative of Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, the Committee decided, on November 10, not to amend its decision to boycott the Commission's inquiry but send a delegation to meet the Commission on its arrival to explain the motives underlying the Arab boycott proclamation.

Administration and Jewish Testimony

On November 11, the 18th anniversary of the Armistice, the British Royal Commission arrived in Jerusalem, to undertake its special inquiry. Armistice Day was celebrated in an impressive manner by all elements of the population except the Arabs, who boycotted the celebration but sent a memorandum to the Commission outlining its attitude towards the investigation. On the following day, the Royal Commission opened its investigation with a public session, attended by the diplomatic corps, representatives of the Jewish Agency and Jewish National Council, and government officials. The only Arabs present were those who held Government offices. In his opening address, Lord Peel deplored the Arab decision to boycott the inquiry, declaring that "it will be most unfortunate if we are compelled to arrive at conclusions and decisions without their advice." The following day, in a letter to the Commission, the Arab High Committee declared: "The Government is Judaizing

the country. The continuation of Jewish immigration indicated no change in British policy. Therefore, there is no advantage in cooperating."

Following the opening session, the Royal Commission toured a number of the trouble areas and then, for two days, High Commissioner Wauchope testified in closed session. On November 18, Immigration Director Eric Mills testified at a public session on the technical aspect of Palestine immigration. He denied that there was unemployment among Arabs and that immigration was a political as well as an economic question. Col. George W. Heron, director of the Health Department, testified and emphasized that the Arabs had to depend entirely upon the Government for health services, whereas the Jews, receiving assistance from abroad, were better equipped for health protection. His testimony was regarded by Jews as definitely hostile. The Commission then resumed closed hearings, and Mills continued his testimony. On November 20, the Commission started on a second tour of trouble centers.

In the next public session, on November 24, the Commission took up the Government's land policy and questioned land officials on such issues as the amount of Government arable land available; the replacement, on Government land, of Arabs whose land had been purchased by Jews; and the extent of the Government's assistance to the Jewish Agency's colonization activities. Government land officials testified that only 664 Arabs had been replaced and 347 approved for replacement on Government land, but that the majority who had sold their holdings were either working in the cities, or had refused to occupy Government land under existing conditions. L. Y. Andrews, deputy director of land development, testified that only a few thousand Arabs remained displaced by Jews and that the others had been absorbed in industry. He said: "The Government has not received complaints. We have sought for applicants [for land replacement] and have not found them. There aren't more displaced Arabs."

On November 25, in a three hour address, Dr. Weizmann presented the Jewish case to the Royal Commission. He outlined the plight of the Jews throughout the world and pointed out the importance of Palestine to Jews and to

mankind at large. "There should be one place in this wide world where we can live as we want to live," he said. He asked that fair application be made of the principle of absorptive capacity so that Jews would not find the frontiers closed. Referring to Arab nationalism, he pointed out that Arabs had profited from the World War by creation of five states. Dr. Weizmann declared that Transjordan had been included in the Balfour Declaration but "for reasons, known only to Sir Herbert Samuel, was torn away."* He urged the Commission to consider existing possibilities for development in Transjordan. He asserted that the rights of non-Jews had not been injured by Jewish activity but that, on the contrary, the Arabs had benefited by this activity; that there was still a great deal of good land available; and that only a dynamic government development policy was needed to realize the possibilities.

The Jewish Agency submitted a memorandum to the Royal Commission on November 20 setting forth its position, but it was not made public for several months. In summary it stated: "It is the duty of the Mandatory Power actively to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish national home and to use its best endeavors to facilitate Jewish immigration. The essence of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate is that the Jews be not merely permitted but encouraged to settle in Palestine to the full extent of its capacity to absorb. It is the duty of the Mandatory Power to make every effort to increase the absorptive capacity of Palestine by energetic development, economic use of land and resources, and by active encouragement of Palestinian industry. The development of self-governing institutions should proceed on lines appropriate to the conditions prevailing in Palestine and in conformity with the principle that between Jews and Arabs there will be no domination by either side. That principle once accepted, the Jewish Agency will be ready to discuss the means of establishing harmonious relations between

*On December 17, 1936, before the Anglo-Palestine Club, in London, Sir Herbert Samuel replied indirectly to Weizmann; he declared that Transjordan had not been included with Palestine in the Balfour Declaration because a pledge had been given to King Hussein that Transjordan was, like Iraq and Hedjaz, to be included in the Arab domains.

the two races on the basis of common interest in the well-being of a common home."

On November 27, the Commission heard the testimony of Government officials on the operation of the school system and on agriculture. Education Director H. E. Bowman declared the Government had done little to promote Jewish education, its budget providing for it only to a small extent. He declared that Jewish elementary schools supported by Jewish organizations were efficient. W. T. Dawne, Director of Agriculture, declared that the Government was considering the possibilities of using orange cultivation as a means of industrializing the country.

On November 30, in a public session of the Commission, Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, declared that the Government's restrictive policy was responsible for illegal immigration to Palestine; defended the use of Jewish labor in the upbuilding work, and denied it is displacing Arabs. Shertok continued his testimony on December 1, declaring that Palestine faced a labor shortage because of curtailed Jewish immigration. Shertok also told the Commission that the Jewish Agency was doing its utmost to prevent immigration of communists into Palestine, in reply to question by Sir Horace Rumbold. Dr. Werner Senator, head of the Jewish Agency's immigration department, also testified the same day and outlined the problems involved in immigration. Shertok continued his testimony on December 8. He asserted that a stoppage of immigration would precipitate a crisis because the economy of Palestine is based on a continuous flow of immigrants to feed expanding industry and building; he suggested several methods of easing immigration restrictions, especially in the capitalist category, and expressed the view that the Government underestimated the absorptive capacity of the country, because it had become saturated with Arabs who had entered the land illegally.

At the same session, Dr. Arthur Ruppin, head of the special economic department of the Zionist Executive, outlined the history of Jewish colonization and cited its advantages to the Arabs. He said that land prices had increased tenfold, that the discovery of water resources

by Jews had enabled agriculture to expand greatly, and that no one could foresee the limits of development made possible by irrigation. To a question whether speculation had caused the land price rise, he replied that, in every country of large immigration, prices rise. Continuing his testimony on December 9, Dr. Ruppin urged that the Government promote close Jewish settlement of Palestine, asserting that there were great possibilities for energetic development even if the Beer Sheba and Transjordan land reserves were not considered. Similar testimony was offered by Dr. Maurice Hexter, who succeeded Dr. Ruppin on the stand. Dr. Hexter, who completed his testimony on December 14, urged that the Government speed up a survey of the extent, value and ownership of land in Palestine; give assistance to the system of concentrated small holdings as well as to cooperatives; aid irrigation in the Beersheba District; and allocate a fair portion of the state waste lands to Jews.

Following the testimony on land problems, the matter of trade development came before the Royal Commission. Siegfried Hoofien, managing director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, testifying on December 16, urged higher tariffs to protect local industry, and emphasized that development of Jewish industry makes possible more elastic economic absorptive capacity. He said that the Jewish community was built on a solid economic foundation; that Jewish activities had resulted in increased revenues for the Government, permitting lower Arab agricultural taxes; and that the Government's delay in developing public works was not caused by a lack of funds but a lack of confidence in the future. S. Tolkowsky, general manager of the Jaffa Citrus Exchange, urged that British imperial preference be given to Palestine products, and that the Government subsidize the orange industry.

On December 21, Jewish orthodox leaders appeared before the Royal Commission and pleaded that immigration and land sales be not restricted. Rabbi Joseph Zvi Dushinsky, chief rabbi of the Agudath Israel, and Rabbi Moshe Blau, Agudah leader, asked for taxation powers for the Agudah, grants for education, equal rights for the rabbinical courts, and a share in public works and civil service

posts. On December 28, Isaac Ben Zvi, testifying for the Jewish Community, declared that on several occasions, Palestine Jews had made peace overtures to the Arabs; together with Rabbi Frank, who spoke on Jewish religious courts, and Rabbi Amalieh, representing Oriental Jews in Palestine, Ben Zvi stressed the unity of the Jews in Palestine.

Henrietta Szold, head of Hadassah, and Dr. Israel J. Kligler, director of the Hygiene Department of the Hebrew University and the Straus Health Center, asserted in their testimony that the Palestine Government was not allotting enough funds for health activities and social work, and similar complaints, in relation to education, were made by Joseph Lurie and Eliahu Berligne of the Jewish National Council of Palestine. In reply to these assertions, Sir Laurie Hammond argued that public security needs came first.

Moshe Shertok again testified at the public hearing on December 29. He urged that Jews be given a greater share of public works and civil service jobs, since they contributed 60% of the money in the Palestine treasury. He pointed out that although Jews comprise 65% of railway passengers, only 7% of railway employes were Jewish. He also urged that the municipal administration of Jerusalem and Haifa be instructed to increase to 50% their Jewish personnel in accordance with the Jewish proportion in the population. Asked by Lord Peel whether it would not be better to consider Palestinians generally, instead of Jewish-Arab percentages, Shertok replied that that may be allright in the future, but not while Jews were virtually excluded from public works. When Lord Peel asked Shertok whether Jews were ready to work on the Sabbath in public works positions, the latter replied that the Jewish Agency was eager to make it possible for the Jews to rest on the Sabbath, but if this were impossible, the Jews were ready to work, although the matter should be negotiated. In protest against this statement, Rabbi J. L. Fishman, representative of the Mizrahi on the Agency, resigned the following day. His resignation, however, was not accepted, and an amendment of the testimony which dispelled Mizrahi objections, was sent to the Royal Commission.

The amendment stated that the Agency held that the Jews should not work on Saturday, but that this did not affect their right to employment on public works.

On December 30, Berl Katznelson, editor of *Davar*, Hebrew Laborite paper, testified that about 2,500 Jews were jobless at that time, and that Jews could provide 3,000 enlisted men for the police department if the Government asked for them or gave Jews an equal share in Government employment. He reiterated Shertok's charges that Jews did not get an equitable share of public employment. Goldie Meyerson, member of the executive of the Histadruth, in her testimony before the Commission, asked for equal rights for Jewish women in Palestine.

On December 31, in a long address before the Commission, Leonard Stein, legal adviser to the Jewish Agency, emphasized that the absorptive capacity principle was not only consistent with the League of Nations Mandate, but a positive obligation. He urged facilitation of Jewish immigration, and declared that the Mandate does not specify whether the Jewish national home does, or does not, mean a Jewish majority. Lord Peel was moved to remark after the address was finished: "Thank you for your very able exposition, which now makes the document (the Mandate) more obscure to me than ever before." Continuing his testimony on January 5, Leonard Stein declared that proposals to divide Palestine into cantons were not in harmony with the Mandate; that the Balfour Declaration meant the ultimate development of a Jewish State; and that the consent of the United States would be needed to effect a change in the Mandate, in accordance with the Anglo-American convention ratifying it.

Following the advice of the rulers of neighboring Moslem countries who contended that the boycott injured the Arab cause, the High Arab Committee decided, on January 6, to end the boycott of the Royal Commission hearings. On that day, Arabs attended the Commission public sessions for the first time and heard David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency's Palestine Executive, declare that "our aim is to make the Jewish people master of its own destiny" and that "the Bible is our mandate." He declared the Jews were in Palestine on their own rights

and proposed to build up a Jewish home without dominating anybody. "The formula of the Jewish national home is larger than a Jewish state, because Jewish rights are secured through international law. Our movement is constructive, while the Arabs are engaged in politics." On January 7, the Palestine Economic Corporation, largest wholly American-owned organization operating in Palestine, and affiliate of the Joint Distribution Committee, submitted a memorandum to the Royal Commission describing its activity, since 1921, in promoting the co-operative movement, housing, irrigation and water development, and other industrial and economic projects. The memorandum pointed out that the P. E. C. "looked forward to increasing usefulness in four important fields: in the extension of its aid to the cooperative movement; in water development to aid both sections of the population; in promoting low cost housing for Jewish and Arab workers; and in the planned development of the industrial and residential districts of the Haifa Bay region."

Arab Testimony Before the Commission

Presentation of the Arab case was begun, on January 12, by Haj al Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and president of the Arab High Committee, with all members of the Committee present. The Grand Mufti told the Royal Commission that independence was the aim of Palestine Arabs; that full military and civil rights were enjoyed by the Arabs under the Ottoman constitution; that Palestine Arabs had participated in the revolt against Turkey and entered the World War on the side of the Allied Powers in order to gain full independence; that, in return for this service, the Arabs were made certain promises embodied in Article 20 of the League of Nations Covenant. He could not specify these obligations, when questioned by Lord Peel who recalled that the Balfour Declaration were issued five years before the Covenant was ratified. The Mufti further declared that the Palestine Government was endangering Arab national aims; that Arabs feared they would be greatly harmed by the Jews, if the latter ever became a majority in Palestine; that the Jews intend to

deprive the Moslems of their holy places, and plan to restore Solomon's Temple.

After the day's session, the Royal Commission issued an official communique summing up the Arab demands as follows: Immediate abandonment of the Jewish national home project for Palestine; immediate and complete stoppage of all immigration; complete prohibition of land sales; and substitution for the League of Nations Mandate of a treaty to be concluded between Great Britain and Palestine providing for an independent, constitutional Government.

On January 13, Auni Bey Abdul Hadi, militant Arab nationalist leader who had spent weeks in a Government concentration camp during the disorders, declared before the Commission that "Palestine is not British" and made an implied threat of Arab declaration of independence. He reiterated the demands expressed by the Grand Mufti and declared Arabs would never accept a compromise. He also opposed cantonization proposals; said Arabs were not ready for round table discussions with Zionist leaders; opposed even fixing of the Jewish population at its existing figure; urged expulsion of all Jews who were not citizens; charged that Jews monopolized the country's natural resources; and painted a rosy picture of the Arab situation under Turkish rule. On January 13, Jamal Husseini, nephew of the Grand Mufti, charged that the Mandate was illegal; that Arabs are being ruined by high taxes; and that the Palestine Government was not developing self-governing institutions. When Lord Peel pointed out that Arabs had refused to participate in a legislature, Jamal declared that the refusal was based on the fact that the proposed legislature would not have given the Arabs the same competence as given the populations of Iraq and Syria. Fuad Saba, another member of the Arab High Committee, testified on the economic causes of the uprising.

Mayor Hussein Khalidi of Jerusalem told the Royal Commission on January 16 that loss of confidence in Great Britain was a contributory factor to the disturbances; that the administration was hampering development of the country, burdening the budget with three official languages and restricted municipalities; that the Jews held half the seats in the Jerusalem Council. When Sir Horace Rumbold

pointed out that Jews constituted a majority of the Jerusalem population and were entitled to the seats, Khalidi retorted: "From this, it may be imagined what will happen when there is a Jewish majority in Palestine." The next witness was A. Mansur, mayor of a Jerusalem suburb, who held that the Palestine Government was responsible for the "bad situation of Arab labor" and that Jewish immigration was forcing Arab labor out. The final Arab witness, George Antonius, Christian Arab representative of the American endowed Near East Institute of World Current Affairs, voiced the belief that an Arab-Jewish compromise could not be reached, and that the cause of the recent disturbances was Arab loss of confidence in the Government which, they felt, was favoring the Jews. Greek Catholic Bishop Hajjar testified that Jews wished to dominate Palestine and would force removal of churches from the Temple area, if they become a majority in Palestine. Dr. Totah of the Quaker School at Ramallah said that 85% of Arab men and 93% of Arab women were illiterate. The Royal Commission concluded its investigation in Palestine on January 18, after 11 weeks, hearing Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, the High Commissioner, as the final witness, at a session held *in camera*.

The Commission's Hearings on London

Upon the arrival of the Royal Commission in England, on January 30, Lord Peel announced that the Commission would continue to take testimony in London. The inquiry in Palestine had lasted 70 days, comprising 53 sessions, 32 of which had been public hearings; seventy-one witnesses, including 20 Britons, 37 Jews and 14 Arabs, had testified.

The Royal Commission held its first London session on February 11 and heard the testimony of Col. Josiah Wedgwood, Laborite Member of Parliament, long a protagonist of the Jewish cause in Palestine. Col. Wedgwood criticized the entire Palestine administrative setup including the judiciary, charging that certain sections of it were pro-Arab and anti-Jewish; he urged that 1,500,000 Jews be permitted to enter Palestine in the next ten years. Ap-

pearing at the same session was Vladimir Jabotinsky, world leader of the right wing New Zionist Organization, who had been refused a visa to enter Palestine in order to testify before the Commission there. Jabotinsky criticized the British Government for what he called its "muddling through" policy in Palestine, and advanced the proposal of an "alternative mandatory" if Britain did not feel itself able to fulfill the purpose of the Mandate which, he declared, was to facilitate "a Jewish majority without hardship to the Arab minority." Jabotinsky rejected all compromises such as cantonization, Arab-Jewish parity, or a legislative council, and blamed the Palestine troubles on the "Mandatory Power's failure to produce a planned policy" on the principle of a Jewish majority, which, in turn, fostered the conviction among Arabs that violence could kill Zionism. He offered a five point program: 1) reform of civil service and budget; 2) agrarian reform; 3) opening of the Transjordan to Jews; 4) a Jewish contingent in the British garrison, Jewish police units and legalized self-defence units; and 5) adoption of his ten year plan for admitting 1,500,000 Jews into Palestine. He refused to entertain the idea that there were formidable obstacles to such a plan. After the testimony by Wedgewood and Jabotinsky, the Commission held a closed session, on February 14, at which it heard Sir John Robert Chancellor, Palestine High Commissioner from 1928 to 1931. On March 14, the Royal Commission announced that it had heard testimony from Earl Winterton, Sir Herbert Samuel, Winston Churchill, and Sir Francis Humphreys.

In April, there appeared in the British press persistent reports that the Royal Commission was veering toward a "geographical" solution of the problem—partition or cantonization. These reports aroused a storm of criticism in the Palestinian press, the British press, and among leaders of both Arabs and Jews. All factions seemed to regard the suggestions as unfortunate, and the *Palestine Post* declared that the proposals were the "counsel of despair." Parliamentary circles expressed concern over the reports and the hope that Commons would be consulted before a final

solution would be made. On May 5, the British Colonial Office announced that the hearings of the Royal Commission had been concluded with closed sessions, at which David Lloyd George, Lord Lytton and Lord Lloyd had given evidence. Rumors of the various plans said to be favored by the Royal Commission continued to fly. On May 24, the Colonial Secretary told Parliament that the report would be ready late in June and that Parliament would have the opportunity to discuss it together with the Cabinet's conclusions.

In the meantime, in Palestine, reports that the Royal Commission would recommend the partition of the country continued to be circulated. On June 15, the High Commissioner told an Arab delegation that such reports were "premature," and Emir Abdullah told the correspondent of *The New York Times* that the partition proposal had been abandoned. Nevertheless, Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, former Mayor of Jerusalem, was reported forming an Arab group favorable to partition with Emir Abdullah as the head of the proposed Arab state. At the same time, M. M. Ussischkin, president of the Jewish National Fund, urged the annual conference of General Zionists, Group A, to reject all partition plans. In a demonstration in Amann, Transjordan, on June 21, Arab groups favoring partition hailed Emir Abdullah as their leader.

On June 22, the report of the Commission was signed and submitted to the King for his approval, and, on June 30, Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore announced, in the House of Commons, that the report would be published on July 8 together with a short statement of policy by the Government. The report was issued as announced. It recommended the partition of Palestine into 1) a Jewish state and 2) an Arab state to be united with Transjordan, leaving Jerusalem and Bethlehem together with a corridor to the sea under the control of Great Britain which was also to have "temporary" control over several major cities such as Haifa. The text of the official summary of the report, released to the press, is given elsewhere in this volume. (See pp. 503 to 556).

Renewed Arab Disorders

Sporadic violence, which had continued through most of the period that the Royal Commission was in session, flared up with new intensity after the Commission left. On January 22, an attempt was made to assassinate the Arab Mayor of Haifa, and bombings, arson and holdups in Northern Palestine marked the days that followed. In February, following announcement of an anti-Jewish boycott and a counter-boycott by Jews, fresh riots broke out in Tiberias, resulting in the death of a German Jewish youth and injuries to scores of others. The month of March saw an increasing recurrence of Arab violence, and a number of Jews were killed. Five were murdered in the Galilee area on March 14. Shootings also took place in Haifa and Jerusalem. Following the Galilee murders, a delegation of Jewish leaders from northern Palestine demanded that martial law be invoked in that area. On March 16, violence flared anew and another Jew was killed in Rosh Pina. David Ben Gurion demanded that the authorities give the Jews the right to arm for self-defense, and Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope left London by plane for Jerusalem because of alarm over the new violence.

On March 17, four bomb outrages occurred in Jerusalem and another bomb was thrown on March 18, injuring 32 persons, and killing one, an Arab. Reports of other outbreaks were received from the rest of the country. A seven o'clock curfew was invoked in Jerusalem, and Jewish organizations decided to hold a political demonstration in protest against the excesses. Following the bombings, the Arab High Committee called on Arabs to maintain peace, pending the report of the Royal Commission. In London, the Colonial Secretary declared in Parliament that the British Government was reluctant to invoke martial law to cope with the violence, because it would mean the end of civil government.

The High Commissioner arrived in Jerusalem on March 19 and began a tour of the Galilee area where much of the violence had taken place. It was announced that the death sentences of six Arabs, condemned for participating in the

general strike disorders, had been commuted to life imprisonment by the High Commissioner, in reciprocation, it was believed, for the Arab High Committee's appeal to Arabs for peace. While at Safed, the High Commissioner promised special measures to relieve the conditions of the Jewish population which was being subjected to terrorism and boycott. A bomb was thrown in a Jaffa cafe on March 23, injuring five Arabs. Similar acts of violence, resulting in injuries and deaths, continued throughout the rest of the month.

In a conference in Glasgow, on March 30, the Independent Labor Party condemned the British authorities, Arab feudal lords and "reactionary elements" among Jews and Arabs for the Palestine troubles. A resolution to this effect, voted by a narrow margin, called upon peasants and workers in Palestine to resist "every attempt of reactionary elements, Jewish and Arab, sometimes supported by the British authorities, to arouse antagonism among them."

Isolated cases of terrorism were reported throughout April. On April 1, the Arab deputy mayor of Tiberias, another Arab, and a Jewish woman colonist were killed. April 19, anniversary of the calling of the Arab general strike, passed off without incident. Arab newspapers urged that the day be made an Arab national holiday, and Hebrew newspapers printed reviews of the year's incidents and eulogies of the Jewish victims. One hundred and two Jews had been killed since April 19, 1936, it was reported at a session of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization which opened on April 20. The discussions were participated in by many of the world's leading Zionists, who again condemned all partition schemes.

On May 10, the long-awaited immigration schedule of labor certificates for the spring period was announced by the High Commissioner. The schedule provided for the issuance of 770 certificates during the four months, April through July; of these, 660 were assigned to the Jewish Agency, and 150 reserved for the Government immigration Department. The schedule aroused a storm of protest and criticism from both Jews and Arabs. Hebrew newspapers were bitter in their comment, calling the Government action an "insult to Jewry, the Mandate and Palestine,"

a "Pharoanic decree" and a "declaration of war." The Arabs were equally outspoken and violent in their criticism. On May 12, the day of the coronation of King George VI, the Arab High Committee cabled to Prime Minister Baldwin that it had declared "a state of mourning" and that nothing short of complete stoppage of Jewish immigration would satisfy the Arabs. Because of the coronation, the Jewish Agency deferred issuing a statement. The city of Tel Aviv sent a coronation message to the King, on behalf of the Jews of Palestine. Coronation observances were held throughout the Jewish communities of Palestine, while Arabs abstained. On May 18, the Jewish Agency made an official statement rejecting the certificates assigned to it,—an unprecedented act. The Agency declared that the schedule "chained" the Jewish immigration movement, virtually "limiting it to zero," and revealed that it had applied for 11,250 certificates for the six month period April to October. This request, the statement declared, had been filed with the Government after long and accurate research of the needs, in which Government representatives participated. On June 9, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, British Colonial Secretary, indicated that the Government would take no action on the Jewish Agency's rejection of the immigration schedule allotment of immigration certificates. On June 16, in a debate in Parliament on the Palestine immigration schedule Mr. Ormsby-Gore declared that there was considerable Arab and Jewish unemployment in the country.

On May 31, a number of excesses were reported, including the deaths of an Arab gang leader near Acre, and of an Arab man and woman in Haifa. At a general meeting of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, Director Louis Istorik declared that the uncertainty of Great Britain's Palestine policy was causing commercial stagnation in the country. On June 1, the Arab High Committee announced uncompromising opposition to partition of Palestine, reported under consideration by the Royal Commission. On June 7, High Commissioner Wauchope rejected requests of the Nazareth municipality for public works projects, on the ground that the Government's income had been seriously affected by the general strike. On June 13, Roy G. B. Spicer, the

Inspector-General of Palestine Police, while driving in Jerusalem, was fired upon by Arabs, and his chauffeur was seriously injured. On June 26, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden declared in the House of Commons that Great Britain had protested anti-British broadcasts to Palestine from the Italian station at Bari, and that the protest had been effective.

Miscellaneous Events

Meetings of Zionist Actions Committee

On August 25, 1936, near the beginning of the period under review, a very important meeting of the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization took place in Zurich, Switzerland. With the Arab disorders still raging in Palestine, fear was expressed lest these influence Great Britain to suspend Jewish immigration to Palestine. Dr. Weizmann's opening remarks moved his auditors to tears as he drew a pessimistic picture of the Zionist situation, declaring that the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland was being adversely affected by the decline of liberalism in Europe. In a two-hour address, David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, reviewed the political situation, and warned of the danger of "Arab hordes," within and outside Palestine. Among the major questions on the agenda was a proposed proclamation of a world-wide appeal for funds to carry on emergency work in Palestine and the question of cooperation with the Royal Commission to inquire into the disorders in Palestine. Mr. Ussischkin eulogized the Jews who fell in the Palestine disorders, and a memorial service was held for Dr. Nahum Sokolow, Zionist leader, who had died in London recently.

The Committee was told that Jewish unemployment was reduced by 2,000 from the February, 1936, figure of 6,000. The executive committee of the Jewish Agency told the Committee that among the measures taken to combat unemployment was the creation of an unemployment fund and financial stimulation of Jewish public works.

On August 27, Dr. Weizmann revealed that the Palestine Government had not yet been authorized by Great Britain

to announce temporary suspension of Jewish immigration to Palestine, despite a Jerusalem news agency report which was said to have emanated from Arab sources. The fear, however, that temporary suspension of immigration would be put into effect was expressed and Dr. Weizmann announced that the Jewish Agency would fight to the end to prevent this. A report of the economic damage caused by the disorders was presented at this session by Eliezer Kaplan, treasurer of the Palestine Executive of the Jewish Agency. He said that great sums would be needed to hold the Jewish economic position and to safeguard Jewish lives and property; urged a two-months campaign for funds to continue the upbuilding of Palestine and to provide safety; and charged the Government of Palestine with failing to meet Jewish requirements for road construction in certain districts where roads are necessary for security purposes. He reported that, through the Palestine Foundation Fund, the Jewish Agency for Palestine had expended \$1,250,000 for colonization work, including \$750,000 for settlement of German Jews. The work of building the Jewish homeland has not been interrupted for a day despite the disorders, and "though there is a heavy depression in the country, there cannot be any talk of a crisis."

In another report to the Committee, Mr. Ussischkin, president of the Jewish National Fund, stressed the need for buying land. He reported that America was first and Germany second in contributions to the Jewish National Fund. The total income of the year was \$2,000,000 which represented a 16% increase over last year.

On August 28, following a Sabbath adjournment of the World Zionist Actions Committee, Dr. Weizmann left for London to make efforts to forestall expected suspension of immigration of Jews to Palestine by the British Government. On August 30, delegates heard reports from Isaac Gruenbaum, head of organization department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and Dr. Arthur Hantke, head of the Keren Hayesod. At its final session, the Committee decided upon establishment of an economic council, with branches in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and Haifa, to cooperate with the Zionist Executive in all economic matters affecting Palestine Jewry; adopted a budget of \$1,635,000 for 1937; and

proclaimed a world emergency campaign for September and October, for \$1,500,000 to assure security in Palestine. In a public manifesto, the Committee sharply criticized the Palestine government for its actions in the disorders and appealed to the conscience of Great Britain and the civilized world not to betray the hopes of the Jewish people.

A special committee of nineteen was appointed to act in conjunction with the Zionist Executive in formulating the Zionist attitude on the Royal Commission. A budget of \$1,250,000 for 1937 for the Keren Hayesod was adopted.

The Hebrew University

Meetings of the Hebrew University Board of Governors were also held in Zurich in August, 1936. At the first meeting of the Governors, Dr. Hugo Bergmann, Rector of the University, delivered a eulogy on Levi Billig, lecturer in Arabic, who had been killed at the University, on August 20, by an Arab assassin.

Z. Schocken, the treasurer, reported that the University grounds had been enlarged by the acquisition of new land with the aid of a loan of \$125,000 by the Jewish National Fund. The report also showed that almost half of the \$380,000 budget for 1935-6 had been defrayed by American Jews. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, chairman of the University's Council, and A. H. Frankel, acting dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, urged the expansion of that department at a cost of \$250,000 to be spread over a number of years.

The Board of Governors approved a \$435,000 budget for the year 1936-7, and announced the establishment of four new departments, in the Institute of Jewish Studies: Jewish History and Sociology, Archaeology, Arabic Languages and Literature, and the Science of Semitic Languages. The Board accepted an offer to establish a chair in English Literature in memory of Sir Moses Montefiore, noted Jewish philanthropist. In addition, the Board authorized the establishment of a chair of Theoretical Pedagogy and endorsed, in principle, the establishment of a chair of Talmudic law. Dr. Nathan Ratnoff of New York City, president of the American Jewish Physicians Committee.

was named liaison representative between the University and Hadassah, in connection with joint establishment of a hospital and medical center on Mt. Scopus.

Actual construction of the Medical Center at Mt. Scopus was started on October 20, after impressive ceremonies in which Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah, and Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of the University, took part.

Economic Conditions

According to the Palestine Economic Corporation, indices for the economic life of Palestine during 1936 showed a recession from the levels of 1935, as was to be expected considering the disturbed conditions of the country. Nevertheless, it was demonstrated that the economic foundations built up during the past twenty years by the Jewish settlement were able to withstand a serious assault. A total of 29,727 Jews were registered as immigrants during 1936 as against 61,854 in 1935. The decrease affected all categories of immigrants about equally. The Government estimated the total Jewish population of the country, at the end of 1936, as 384,085; the estimate of the Jewish Agency was 403,850. Government revenue dropped about 26% during the year, largely because of a decrease in imports and disruption of business activity. But despite these facts, the treasury showed a surplus of £P6,366.194 as compared with the £P6,267,810 surplus at the end of 1935. (In the course of a debate in the House of Commons, in February, 1937, it was stated that £P1,084,410 was to be charged against this surplus as Palestine's share of the cost of suppressing the disorders.) Sharp declines were recorded in foreign trade, with imports down 21.7% and exports 14%, as compared with 1935. The largest losses were in import of manufactured articles, industrial machinery and building materials. The small citrus crop of the 1935-36 season was largely responsible for the export decline, but there was a welcome 12.7% increase in the export of articles wholly or mainly manufactured, for which the activity of Palestine Potash, Ltd., was largely responsible. The visible adverse balance of commodity trade fell from £P13,337,336 in 1935 to £P9,711,497 for 1936.

Prospects for the 1936-37 citrus season were quite favorable, with a record crop of ten to eleven million cases anticipated. The year 1936, however, was generally a poor one for agriculture, with grain, cereal and melon crops generally lower, and the disturbances further served to disrupt the market; grapes and fruits, however obtained larger yields than in 1935. At the close of 1936, there were 203 Jewish agricultural settlements with a total population of 97,000. The largest increases in settlement were recorded in the Emek and in Southern Judaea. Industrial progress during the year continued at a slower pace than in 1935 and was visibly affected by the "open door" policy of the Government which enabled foreign countries to dump goods at low prices. There was a noticeable falling off in the number of new companies and their authorized share capital during 1936. The total new authorized capital for both new and established companies was £P1,870,831, a drop of 62% from 1935. Palestine's economic life was further reflected in a number of other fields. The Levant Fair, which, despite the disturbances, had opened on April 30, 1936, had total admissions of 320,000, a decided drop from the 600,000 of the 1934 Fair. Of the 2,178 exhibitors, 698 were Palestinian, and 1,480 were foreign firms.

The cooperative movement showed an encouraging increase from 769 functioning societies in 1935, to 849 in 1936. Of these, 767 were Jewish groups, 75, Arab groups, and seven unclassified. Jews established 129 new societies in 1936, and the Arabs 2. The Department of Posts and Telegraphs reported a 10% increase in business for the year, but railroads and the shipping trade were affected adversely by the disturbed conditions. The number of railway passengers decreased by 2.2%, and the volume of freight by 10.6%; gross revenue, however, was 6.1% higher. Cargo discharged at Haifa Harbor during 1936 was 3.9% less than in 1935, but the amount of cargo cleared on ships leaving the harbor was 18.5% higher. The disturbances drastically curtailed activity in Jaffa harbor where 59% less cargo was discharged, and 31.8% less cargo loaded, than in 1935. The tourist trade, too, suffered greatly. There were 56,665 foreign visitors in 1936, a decrease of 47% from 1935. The drastic effect of this decline can be

seen from the fact that the tourist trade brought more money into Palestine in recent years than the export of oranges.

The Record of the Jewish Agency

According to a report issued by the Palestine Foundation Fund, on January 5, 1937, the Jewish Agency for Palestine had expended \$2,500,000 for its settlement activities in the fiscal year ending October 1, 1936. A total of 30,000 immigrated to Palestine in 1936 bringing the Jewish population to an estimated 410,000. The report stated the Jewish Agency had spent \$1,148,920 for agricultural colonization, \$290,000 for immigrant-training, \$255,000 for housing and public works, \$211,000 for maintenance of national institutions and provision of security during the recent disturbances, \$175,000 additional for the settlement of German Jews, \$140,000 for educational and cultural activities, and \$105,000 for trade and industry. The largest part of the Jewish Agency's budget was provided by the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) which received its greatest income from the United States, with South Africa, Great Britain and Palestine following in order. In addition to funds directly collected by the Jewish Agency through subsidiaries in various countries, it used \$425,000 received from the Council for German Jewry to settle 990 German-Jewish immigrants in 38 colonies, most of which had been previously established by the Keren Hayesod.

Miscellaneous Items

On July 8, 1936, a \$100,000 project to build roads connecting Tel Aviv and the Jewish settlements of Herzliah and Ramat Sharon, as an unemployment relief measure, was launched. The project was financed jointly by the Anglo-Palestine Bank, the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and the unemployment fund of the Histadruth, Jewish general federation of labor.

On December 3, 1936, it was disclosed that the recently inaugurated Government radio station was completing arrangements to broadcast part of the first concert of the

Palestine Symphony Orchestra composed of musicians in exile from Germany, under the baton of world-famed Arturo Toscanini. Toscanini and Bronislaw Huberman, founder of the orchestra, arrived in Jerusalem on December 17, to begin rehearsals with the orchestra. On December 26, a capacity audience filled the Levant Fair Hall as Toscanini conducted the opening concert of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra in Tel Aviv, the most important cultural event in Palestine's recent history. Leaders in every walk of life, excepting only the Arabs, attended. After the concert, Toscanini was honored at a banquet. The preparations for the premiere took on the aspects of a national holiday, the business of dressmakers, confectioners, and other tradesmen being greatly stimulated. Tickets for the concert were at a premium, and the final rehearsal was turned into a public concert for the unemployed, at which both Toscanini and Huberman were given ovations.

On December 1, 1936, Dr. Isaac Herzog, chief rabbi of the Irish Free State, was elected chief rabbi of the Ashkenazic Community of Palestine, to fill the post left vacant by the death of Rabbi A. I. Ha-Cohen Kook, in 1935. Dr. Herzog, who is a leader of the Mizrachi, orthodox Zionist group, arrived in Jerusalem on January 14, 1936; the following day he received his nomination papers at an impressive ceremony attended by many Jewish notables.

On January 2, 1937, the world executive of the Zionist Revisionists issued a proclamation in London, declaring "war" on the Jewish Agency and asserting that Revisionists were being "robbed" of immigration certificates to Palestine. Revisionists were urged "to organize a bitter campaign" for rights to the certificates, rousing public opinion, by all methods possible, "to the robbery committed."

On January 11, 1937, the Jewish Agency and Haavara jointly announced the establishment of the Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association, Ltd., with a capital stock of £50,000, to finance colonization projects, including irrigation, and to purchase pipe and other materials. from Germany, through Haavara. The Government granted the new organization permission to issue debentures up to £200,000, the Anglo-Palestine Bank guaranteeing payment of dividends during the first five years.

On February 26, it was announced in London that the British Government had approved an eight year plan for the development of the shore of Tel-Aviv. The plan includes the erection of a sea wall and the reclamation of a mile along the shore for construction of a promenade 75 feet wide, a parallel road, an esplanade, and an arcade; in the center of the reclaimed land a two acre public park, a $3\frac{1}{2}$ acre sports ground, and a swimming pool are to be built. A \$3,500,000 company was to be formed to execute the reclamation work, to be completed in two and a half years.

X. OTHER COUNTRIES

Argentina

On September 11, 1936, H. Leivick of New York, representing the Yiddish P.E.N. Club, was booed by Nazi sympathizers when he told the International P.E.N. Congress, in session in Buenos Aires, that decadence in literature was serving oppression and race hatred. Mr. Leivick, famous as author of "The Golem" and other plays, demanded that the assembled writers protest against Jewish persecution throughout the world and charged the Polish P.E.N. Club with maintaining silence in the face of pogroms in Poland.

On December 5, at a plenary session of the Inter-American Conference for Maintenance of Peace, Carlos Saavedra Lamas, Foreign Minister of Argentina, urged upon Latin countries a policy of selective immigration. Declaring they could not support "continental isolation," the winner of the 1936 Nobel Peace Prize said the Latin-American countries are ready to and must, open their doors to foreign enterprise and immigration; he warned that this new blood must not be tainted by subversive elements and doctrines.

On April 16, 1937, an Argentine section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was formed under the supervision of Lord Melchett, who visited Argentina on tour of the Americas. The sum of \$10,000 was raised for the Palestine emergency campaign, at a reception to Lord and Lady Melchett at the home of Ezra Toubal, well-known industrialist.

On May 27, the Argentine police raided 11 Jewish schools,

in which it was charged, communism was being taught. The teachers were arrested and alleged propaganda material seized. The event was exploited by anti-Jewish agitators. On June 4, in a petition to Congress for the re-opening of the schools, the directors denied that communist doctrines had been taught in them. In the meantime, all but three of the twenty-two teachers arrested, were freed. Four days later, absolving them of teaching communism, the police permitted the reopening of the eleven schools, released the teachers then still under arrest, and returned the books and documents confiscated at the time of the raids.

Brazil

In July, 1936, a call to Arabs in Brazil to help their brothers in Palestine was issued by the Syrian Patriotic League in Sao Paulo; the appeal declared that "Palestine is being flooded with thousands of Jews who have fled from Germany and are being supported in Palestine by England."

In October, the Brazilian Government vetoed a privately sponsored project to settle 10,000 German-Jewish refugees in the state of Matto Grosso, although the project had been approved by the state; the plan, which was sponsored by the Latifundists, an organization of large estate owners, was rejected on the ground that the territory was unsuitable for colonization by Europeans. On November 12, the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies adopted regulatory measures affecting tourists, immigrants and alien residents, requiring immigrants and tourists to register with the police and report their movements about the country, and requiring alien residents to obtain residence permits from the police. On January 15, 1937, sixteen Jewish refugees from Germany who arrived on tourist visas were denied admission to the country at Sao Paulo. Seven others, arrested on information furnished authorities by reputed Nazi groups were released. On January 25, eighty Jewish refugees from Germany, residing in Brazil on tourist visas, were arrested and held for deportation. Jewish communal leaders intervened with authorities in an attempt to have the status of the refugees legalized.

Cuba

On July 18, 1936, Dr. William I. Sirovich, member of the U. S. House of Representatives, conferred with President Miguel Gomez and presented a proposal that Cuba open her doors for at least 100,000, perhaps more, persecuted German Jews. The announcement aroused bitter anti-Jewish comment in the Cuban press and on the radio, plainly indicating that the proposal was very unpopular in some circles. Jewish communal leaders feared that the agitation aroused by Dr. Sirovitch's proposal might lead to increased restriction of the small normal immigration. On July 22, Dr. Sirovich announced that Louis B. Mayer, head of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Film Studios, had agreed to become temporary chairman to direct the proposed settlement project.

When on July 31, news of the proposed settlement project reached Luis Machado Ortago, Cuban Secretary of State, who happened to be in Prague, Czechoslovakia, he declared the plan was fantastic, there being no colonization possibilities.

In December, Dr. Sirovich announced that he had discussed a much more modest plan with Frederico Laredo Bru, then president of Cuba. The revised plan called for the colonization of 25,000 over a period of five years, requiring the investment of between fifty million and one hundred million dollars in industrial and scientific enterprises. This time, press comment, though again hostile was not quite as harsh and abusive as when the earlier plan was broached.

Iraq

On October, 1936, after two had been killed, Jews of Bagdad proclaimed a strike as a demonstration of protest against Arab terrorism, an effect of reaction to the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine. The strike was called off after three days, when the Government issued a statement promising protection to the Jews. At the same time, Arab leaders

ordered discontinuance of anti-Jewish terrorism which, up to that point, had taken fifteen Jewish lives. Despite the manifesto, two Jews, one a Government official, were later killed.

On October 29, the Iraq Cabinet was overthrown as a result of an army coup. The Cairo correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* reported that this was partly the result of dissatisfaction with the Palestine strike settlement. *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency* reported that there was no improvement in the Jewish position in Iraq following the coup, and that 19 Jews had been killed during 16 months despite Government appeals. The situation was declared to be due almost entirely to the activities of Palestine agitators who were flooding the country with anti-Jewish libels, with the tacit consent, it was said, of high Government officials.

In November, a Government spokesman in the British House of Commons declared that there was nothing to show that the safety of the Iraqi Jews and other minorities had been jeopardized by the overturn of the Iraq Government, and that the British Ambassador in Bagdad had informed Sikmat Bey Suleiman, the new premier, that the criterion by which the new regime would be judged was the treatment of minorities. In the same month, Khekman Suleiman, Iraq's new dictator, visited the leaders of all religious communities in Bagdad and pledged himself to maintain friendly relations among the various religious groups and national minorities.

Japan

One of the by-products of the Japanese "anti-Communist" agreement with Germany was a flood of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda into Japan which apparently had little effect on the population. The militaristic and nationalist group took the propaganda seriously only because it came from Germany, but, being too busy with other things to take up the "Jewish problem," they sent on most of the propaganda to Manchukuo, where the Fascist "Soo-Kay-Kow," headed

by Russian White Guardists, reproduced and spread it. The Japanese masses do not understand Julius Streicher's and Paul Joseph Goebbels' dicta on anti-Semitism, while the intelligentsia, for the most part, reject it. There are only 400 Jewish families in Japan, mostly in Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, Yokohama, Kakadoto and Kakaido. Most of them are foreign nationals and they are regarded as occupying a useful place in Japan's foreign trade. In Manchukuo, under the influence of White Russian emigres, anti-Semitism has obtained a foothold. In Japan, proper, anti-Semitism, has had only a slight influence.

In May, 1937, leaders of the United Palestine Campaign, conducted by the Tokio and Yokohama Jewish communities, were invited to the foreign division of police headquarters and asked to submit proof that money collected for Palestine purposes would not be diverted to Moscow. According to the authorities the proof was not convincing and permission was refused to transfer the funds. The action was believed to be a direct result of Nazi anti-Jewish agitation which had spread the myth of a Jew-Communist link.

Anti-Jewish Manifestations in Manchukuo

In July, 1936, the highest court of Manchukuo ordered a new trial for four former Czarist army officers sentenced to death, and two sentenced to life imprisonment, in June, 1936, for complicity in the kidnaping and murder in 1933 of Simon Kaspi, a young Jewish musician of French citizenship. Russian White Guardists made the verdict a springboard for a new anti-Jewish drive, but their newspaper, *Nash Put*, was confiscated an hour after it had appeared with an attack on the decision, and police took down the names of its subscribers. In February, 1937, however, the Court reversed the sentences which had been imposed on the Russian White Guardists for the kidnaping and murder of Simon Kaspi, and all the defendants, former Czarist army officers, were acquitted.

In January, 1937, the Board of Deputies of British Jews communicated with the Japanese Ambassador in London concerning reports of continued anti-Jewish activities in Harbin, published by *Israel's Messenger*, a Jewish weekly in Shanghai. In the same month, Japanese and White Russians staged an anti-Communist demonstration, featured by violent anti-Jewish manifestations. Demonstrators carried anti-Jewish banners and shouted "Kill the Jews!" Jewish families still remaining in the city hid in cellars and prepared to leave.

Turkey

In February, 1937, acting under orders of the Attorney General to whom the Jewish community had complained, police in Istanbul seized anti-Jewish pamphlets which were being distributed in a school for non-commissioned officers and similar institutions.

In March, Turkish newspapers in Istanbul were reported to be conducting a campaign against public use of all languages except Turkish. The drive was particularly aimed against Ladino, Spanish-Hebrew dialect, used by Jews, but Greek and Armenian were also targets of the campaign. In April, a report from Mizmir (Smyrna) stated that, at public assemblies held in all synagogues of the city, the Jews had decided thereafter to speak only Turkish publicly. An order compelling all foreign-language schools, including Greek, Armenian and Jewish, to employ "pure Turkish" assistant headmasters or managers, was issued in April, by the Ministry of Public Education. The order was said to threaten the existence of a number of the Jewish schools since they are unable to stand the increased costs involved. A plea has been made to the Ministry to postpone execution of the order until October to prevent the schools from closing.

XI. INTERNATIONAL MATTERS

Following is a brief review of important events which cannot conveniently be included under any one country.

Refugees from Germany

In July, 1936, an inter-governmental conference to establish the legal status of refugees from Germany was held in Geneva under the chairmanship of Sir Neill Malcolm, League of Nations High Commissioner for German Refugees. Nations taking part in the conference were Belgium, the United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Irish Free State, Latvia, Norway, Poland, the Netherlands, Roumania, Sweden, Switzerland and Uruguay; the United States and Finland sent observers. Sir Neill declared that the first duty of the conference was to make provisional arrangements covering the legal status of German refugees, pending some long-term arrangement governed by treaty. The Conference decided that countries signing the agreement provisionally regulating the status of refugees should issue identity certificates to refugees authorized to reside in their territory, which would take the place of passports. The arrangement defined a German refugee as "a person who has been settled in that country, possesses no other nationality than the German nationality and is proved in law and fact not to enjoy the protection of the Government of the Reich." The Conference decided to submit its provisional arrangement to the participating nations, urging immediate enforcement. By July 7, five nations had signed the provisional agreement: France, Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. On September 24, the League of Nations Assembly, in Geneva, appointed a subcommittee headed by Giuseppe Motta of Switzerland, to submit recommendations as a basis for permanent plans for dealing with refugee problems. On September 27, Sir Neill Malcolm recommended continuation of his office until 1938 and reconsideration of the problem by the Assembly at that time.

On October 7, the political commission of the League of Nations Assembly recommended the acceptance of Sir Neill's proposals; asked all League members to ratify the agreement reached at the intergovernmental conference in July, defining the juridical status of refugees in foreign countries; nominated Michael Hanssen as president of the Nansen office and Sir Neill Malcolm as High Commissioner for German Refugees, and recommended an appropriation of 400,000 Swiss francs for aid to Saar refugees to settle in Paraguay.

At its closing session, on October 10, the League Assembly voted the continuation of the High Commission, and the Council of the League reappointed Sir Neill and outlined the High Commissioner's tasks as follows: 1) to induce the various governments to ratify the agreements for refugee legal status; 2) to assist private organizations to study emigration and colonization projects; 3) to maintain contact with private organizations; 4) to prepare a report for the 1938 meeting of the Assembly containing concrete proposals for future conduct of refugee work. The Assembly allotted 82,500 Swiss francs for the work of the High Commission and appropriated 200,000 Swiss francs, instead of the 400,000 recommended, to transport 200 refugees from the Saar to Paraguay.

On January 9, the League of Nations Secretariat announced receipt of a communication from Valencia stating that the Government was prepared to grant citizenship to refugees from Germany and to help refugees find employment and to settle permanently.

Plans for intensification of Jewish colonization work in South America by the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) were outlined at a meeting in London on November 22, 1936. Sir Osmond d'Avigdor-Goldsmid, president, declared that the first experiment with the settlement of German-Jewish families in the Argentine and Brazil had proved "highly satisfactory"; that this work would be continued on a larger scale; that the ICA planned to accelerate "the development of the vast resources which it possesses in that country." At the same meeting it was reported that the ICA colonies in Canada had been injured by crop failure but were being assisted by the Government and the Asso-

ciation itself; the colonies in Bessarabia and sub-Carpathia were reported in satisfactory condition. Sir Osmond also revealed that the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation, in which the ICA and the JDC are partners, was engaged in setting up cooperative loan societies in seven South American countries.

On January 27, 1937, representatives of the Joint Distribution Committee; the Jewish Colonization Association, HICEM, and refugee committees in England, France, Holland, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Jugoslavia met in Vienna. Estimates of refugees needing or receiving help in various countries at that time were: England, 3,500; France, 8,000; Italy, 555; Czecho-Slovakia, 560; Roumania, 200; Poland (chiefly repatriates) 10,000 to 20,000; Holland, 847; Switzerland, 704;—total, from 25,000 to 35,000. On May 21, the J. D. C. announced that it was then estimated that there were approximately 35,500 refugees from Germany in the west European countries; of these, about 29,000 were Jews, and 6,500, non-Jews.

Agudath Israel International Conventions

The international convention of the Agudath Israel, world Jewish orthodox organization, was held at Marienbad, Czecho slovakia, on August 4, 1936. Jacob Rosenheim, president of the organization announced that the Executive had decided that the Agudah should not participate in the World Jewish Congress, to be established a few days later at Geneva. The convention revealed the renewal of the old breach in the ranks of the Palestine Labor movement along religious lines. Isaac Breauer, head of the Agudath Israel labor unit, announced that the Poal Mizrachi, orthodox labor Zionist group, had proposed an alliance with the Agudah whereby the two organizations could break the socialist majority power in the Histadruth, Palestine Labor Federation. At the World Zionist Congress in Lucerne in 1935 a peace agreement had been reached between the orthodox and the non-orthodox majority, whereunder the Histadruth undertook to observe Kashruth and the Sabbath on Jewish national property. The convention approved the creation of a labor exchange to be sponsored

by the two orthodox groups. At a reception to Agudath Israel leaders following the convention, President Benes of Czecho-Slovakia promised to defend Jewish rights in Palestine, before the League of Nations, on the basis of the Balfour declaration.

The World Jewish Congress

Meeting to establish a World Jewish Congress, which had been the subject of widespread debate and agitation for several years, began in Geneva on August 8, 1936. Special precautions were taken by Swiss authorities to prevent any untoward incidents that might have been precipitated by anti-Semitic elements. On the day before the opening of the Congress, the executive committee for the Congress announced an eight point program which was to be placed before the delegates: 1) establishment of a permanent agency to represent the various Jewish communities for the defense of Jewish rights; 2) defense of civil, political and economic rights of Jewish minorities, wherever minority rights are recognized; 3) defense against anti-Semitic propaganda; 4) regulation and coordination of Jewish migration by establishment of a central migration bureau; 5) defense of Jewish interests by a central migration bureau; 5) defense of Jewish interests against the destructive policies of the Nazi Reich; 6) coordination, under public control, of Jewish relief efforts receiving support through public appeals; 7) reconstruction and rehabilitation of the economic life of those unable to emigrate; 8) facilitation of immigration into Palestine with the cooperation of the Jewish Agency.

In a statement issued prior to the opening of the Congress, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the Executive, declared: "I must make clear that the Congress is not a parliament nor an attempt at a parliament. It is nothing more than an assembly of representatives of those Jewries which choose to associate themselves in the defense of Jewish rights. The Congress will not be wholly representative until all Jews choose to be represented by it." He declared that the 230 delegates to the Congress represented about one-third of the Jewish population in 32 countries.

In the meantime, five American delegates, who claimed election by a conference in New York, on July 12, representing 512 Jewish labor and welfare organizations in 34 cities, had arrived in Geneva and presented demands to the executive of the World Jewish Congress that they be seated at the opening session. A special commission was appointed by the executive to negotiate with the delegates who were William Weiner, chairman of the International Workers' Order; Dr. Charles Kuntz, chairman of ICOR; Rabbi Greenfield of Brooklyn; H. Upatschinsky of the Fur Workers' Joint Board, and R. Salzman of the Jewish Section of the International Workers' Order. On August 9, the five delegates were denied admission to the Congress, when they refused to sign a pledge condemning the action of Palestine communists in siding with the Arabs in the riots then going on. On August 13, the five men presented a memorandum to the praesidium of the Congress, denying that they approved attacks on the Palestine Jews, and declaring that Communists were ready to defend the interests of the Jewish masses with their very lives.

At the opening session of the Congress, Dr. Leon Kubzowski of Belgium presented a report which suggested that all Jews assume the duty of paying a voluntary tax to finance the Congress. He urged that the World Executive be divided into four departments: 1) political, to fight anti-Semitism; 2) social-economic, to control relief work; 3) propaganda, and 4) financial.

The delegates at the opening sessions heard a number of addresses on various phases of Jewish life. Dr. Israel Efroykin, president of the Federation of Jewish Societies of France, urged the creation of a central bureau of Jewish social relief; Dr. Arieh Tartakover of Poland urged the creation of a similar bureau to facilitate migration; and Jacob Lestschinsky, noted Polish Jewish economist, reviewed current conditions among the Jews of Eastern and Central Europe. Others who spoke were Sholom Asch, the author; William Rappard, rector of Geneva University, and M. Ehrler, on behalf of the Geneva canton.

In his opening address, Dr. Wise declared that "anti-Semitism is a challenge not only to Jews, but to civilization. Christendom cannot afford morally and spiritually to

leave the answer to anti-Semitism to be given solely by Jews who are its victims." He expressed the view that "the lack of organization on the part of Jews has been an inducement and an encouragement to our enemies"; urged those organizations which had refused to participate in the Congress to change their stand; and minimized the strength of the opposition groups and the value of their arguments. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, member of the Congress executive, declared that the League of Nations' minorities guarantees were no longer effective because the League did not have the power to enforce these guarantees. He attacked the philosophy of racialism and the totalitarian state and urged Soviet Russia to change its "antiquated policy" toward Zionism and Hebrew culture.

On August 10, it became evident that the delegates from those countries where Jewish problems were most acute would not be able to place their grievances before the Congress. The delegations from Poland, Roumania, Austria, Lithuania, and Latvia, which had been named by speakers as among the sore spots on the map, announced they would not be able to report on conditions in their respective countries. Pressure had been brought to bear on these delegations by their diplomatic and consular legations in Geneva. The Congress executive thereupon decided to permit discussion to proceed, but that such discussion be of a general nature without specific reference to any of the countries in question.

Among the other speakers at the August 10 sessions were I. Naiditch of Paris who proposed establishment of an international bank for Jewish economic rehabilitation; Rabbi Edward I. Israel of Baltimore; Meyer Ebner of Roumania; Dr. Nurok of Latvia; Berl Locker of Palestine; Robert Stricker of Austria who advised against establishing of political factions within the Congress; Dr. Samuel Margoshes who saw the United States as the "silver lining" in the dark cloud of world anti-Semitism; Angelo Orviato of Italy who praised Mussolini and declared Italy the noblest example of perfect equality for Jews; Morris Myer, editor of the London *Jewish Times*; H. Stransky, of Czechoslovakia; Dr. Gregory Wolse of Lithuania, and Mrs. Israel Zangwill, widow of the noted novelist.

The subject of winning over to the Congress the opposition groups such as the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, came up for discussion again on August 11 when Abraham Goldberg, American Zionist leader, urged the naming of a committee to negotiate with these groups. Among the other speakers of the day were Nathan Barou, labor delegate from England, who demanded a complete change of administration in Palestine; A. Reiss, Jewish laborite of Poland, who criticized the Joint Distribution Committee because Polish Jews were, he averred, not given a voice in the distribution of the American funds; H. Caiserman who told of the successful fight against anti-Semitism in Canada; and Sir Neill Malcolm, High Commissioner for German refugees who greeted the delegates.

At the sessions of August 12, a series of resolutions was submitted by the committee on anti-Semitism, and another, by the committee on migration, which were adopted the following day. The resolutions on anti-Semitism branded Nazi Germany as "Enemy No. 1 of world Jewry"; called for intensification of the anti-Nazi boycott; warned the League of Nations that Nazi propaganda was threatening the peace of the world; and provided for the establishment of a central bureau to coordinate activities in fighting anti-Semitism. The report of the migration committee invited all Jewish immigration organizations to coordinate their activities; proposed the establishment of bureaus in various countries to carry out well-planned emigration; proposed negotiation with governments to ascertain the possibilities for absorbing immigrants; and recommended that the Jewish Colonization Association be approached to aid in the transfer of East European Jews to new lands, if governments permit.

The budget committee adopted a budget for the first year of \$75,000 of which 50% was to be raised in the United States, 10% in England, 7% in France, 5% in Poland, and the remainder in other countries.

On August 14 the Congress again considered the question whether it would claim representation of world Jewry.

At a plenary session, however, a constitutional clause making such claim, was rejected by a vote of 87 to 26. The delegates also adopted resolutions directing the Congress, in cooperation with other organizations, to assist in readjustment of Jews to new vocations; establishing a department for economic defense; and appealing to Great Britain not to suspend immigration to Palestine. On August 14, the Congress adopted a series of resolutions which asked that Russia permit those Jews who wished to leave the country to do so; that the teaching of Hebrew be permitted; that the ban on Zionism be discontinued; and that the Government permit the establishment of Jewish religious organizations.

The Congress closed on August 16, after the election of officers. Dr. Stephen S. Wise was named chairman of the Executive of the Congress, and Judge Julian W. Mack, honorary president. Those named to the Executive included Marc Jarblum, Israel Efroykin, and I. Naiditch of France; Leon Kubrowitski of Belgium, Dr. Mordecai Nurok of Latvia, and the Rev. Maurice L. Perlsweig of London. The nominations committee had recommended elimination of East European delegates from the Executive, in order not to hamper its activities in behalf of Jews in those countries. Dr. Nahum Goldmann was named chairman of the administrative Committee of the Congress, Louis Lipsky, chairman of the council, and Louis Sturtz of New York, treasurer.

On December 17, the World Jewish Congress demanded that the League of Nations provide greater protection for national minorities when and if the League Covenant is revised. In a memorandum to the League's committee for studying the application of the principles of the Covenant, the Congress executive asked that a revised Covenant include provisions assuring the protection of the rights of minorities by all League members, and requiring countries seeking to join the League to accept the obligation guaranteeing equality of rights to national minorities.

On April 8, the World Jewish Congress executive committee made representations to the League of Nations regarding reports that the Danzig Senate was planning to

introduce Nazi racial legislation in violation of the Free City's constitution. The executive also sent a memorandum to the League's Committee of Three on Danzig and to the Polish Foreign Minister, and telegraphed an appeal to Dr. Karl Burkhardt, the League's High Commissioner for Danzig, against the proposed law. The memorandum expressed the view that the League should not permit the introduction of racial legislation modeled on the German Nuremberg laws, in territory subject the League's control.