

of B'nai B'rith. The record of Jewish participation is publicized with restraint and dignity, not in the spirit of boastfulness but in the mood of a people that in every generation and in every land feels the historic sense of carrying forward a noble tradition. In this task of the moment the Jewish Welfare Board contributes to the growth of the Jewish spirit, and in its demonstration that Jewish history is proof of the unconquerable strength of ideals of right and freedom, it contributes also to the strength of the heroic American spirit.

### Intergroup Relations

By ELLEN POSNER\*

DURING the period under review, organized anti-Semitism in the United States completed a half swing of the pendulum, from quiescence to organized agitation. The attack on Pearl Harbor and our declaration of war were followed by temporary suspension of overt anti-Semitic activity and propaganda coupled with the disintegration of organized isolationism. As the country became accustomed to its role in a global war, however, the pro-fascist elements revived and soon abandoned their protestations of loyalty to, and cooperation in, the war effort and resumed their attempts to cause disunity by sowing hatred and suspicion.

The Department of Justice in the period of 1942 and 1943 embarked upon a twofold policy of protection: the arrest of actual foreign agents and saboteurs and the indictment of native American fascists.

On July 21, 1942, the Federal Grand Jury in Washington which had been investigating Axis propaganda activity in the United States under the direction of William Power Maloney, Special Assistant to the Attorney General, indicted twenty-eight individuals on charges of conspiracy designed to promote disloyalty and impair the morale of the military and naval forces of the United States. Thirty

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publications and twenty-eight organizations were named as agencies through which the indicted individuals were accused of creating disaffection.

On January 4, 1943, all of the twenty-eight individuals were re-indicted and to their number were added six more defendants, namely, George E. Deatherage, Mrs. Lois de Lafayette Washburn, Frank W. Clark, Paquita de Shishmareff alias Leslie Fry, Frank K. Ferenz, and *The New York Evening Enquirer, Inc.* In addition, twelve other publications and thirteen organizations were added to the list of "agencies employed."

The indictments became the pivot of anti-democratic outbursts. Around them emerged a definite campaign, having strong anti-Semitic undertones, to exonerate the defendant who time and again have charged that they are the victims of a "Jewish Gestapo" plot. Men of national reputation have rallied to the defense of the alleged seditionists. Other persons who are active in creating disunity and have not as yet been apprehended have raised their voices in protest. Gerald L. K. Smith, whose publication *The Cross and the Flag* was named in the indictment as an agency used in a subversive conspiracy, has declared that there exists "a diabolical conspiracy gang in America." George E. Sullivan, who uses the United States mails to distribute anti-Semitic statements and to vilify public officials, has deluged Congress and the President with letters and petitions against the "smear plot." Rev. Harvey H. Springer, editor and publisher of the Fundamentalist *Western Voice*, Englewood, Colorado, has organized a "Committee for the Preservation of Christ's Cause in America." He has appealed to Christian clergymen and laymen for funds and support in his fight against the "political persecution" of Gerald B. Winrod, veteran anti-Semite under indictment. Springer attacks the indictments by quoting whole speeches of Representatives Martin Dies (Dem., Tex.), Clare E. Hoffman (Rep., Mich.) and Hamilton Fish (Rep., N. Y.), and Senators Burton K. Wheeler (Dem., Mont.), Gerald P. Nye (Rep. N. D.) and Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio). *Bible News Flashes*, Minneapolis, Minnesota, another Fundamentalist periodical, edited by William D. Herrstrom, has also been loud in defense of Winrod.

E. J. Garner, named in the indictment, has frequently

described the federal indictments as the work of a Jewish "Octopus" and has threatened "if Jews do go daffy and murder somebody who is opposing Communism . . . like is being talked about these days [sic], then pogroms will break out in this country of ours overnight."

The indicted alleged seditionists have received strong support from the isolationist bloc in Congress. Thus, in a letter to Attorney General Francis Biddle, Senator Wheeler called the indictment "one of the most disgraceful proceedings that has ever been carried on in this country"; Representative Hoffman charged that the indictment was a "conspiracy to smear and purge" members of Congress; Senator Nye said on the floor of the Senate: "They are no more guilty of conspiracy than I am." Others who have espoused the cause of the indicted were: Senator Robert R. Reynolds (Dem., N. C.), chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee; Representative John E. Rankin (Dem., Miss.) who charged in the House that the Department of Justice was turning into a "Gestapo for the persecution of white gentiles." Representative Fish, whose secretary had been convicted on charges of collaborating with George Sylvester Viereck, self-acknowledged Nazi agent, introduced a bill which, if passed, would have made it impossible to convict the individuals awaiting trial on charges of seditious conspiracy.

The defendants have distributed speeches and letters of the isolationist Congressmen who have come to their defense. Thus, Winrod has circulated a copy of a letter written to him by Senator Taft in which the federal indictment was vigorously attacked. *The Cross and the Flag* is using a letter of endorsement from Senator Reynolds for promotional purposes.

GREATLY elated and encouraged by the support they are receiving from the above-mentioned members of Congress and by the results of the 1942 Congressional election, the thirty-three indicted propagandists and other American fifth columnists have launched a new offensive closely allied to Hitler's methods of "divide and conquer" and exhibited to a large degree by anti-Semitic slanders. The hue and cry raised against the indictments and against Special Prosecutor Maloney have been paralleled in Congress by demands

for a Congressional investigation of the Department of Justice and of anti-fascist organizations and individuals by Representatives Hoffman and Dies, and by Senators Taft and Wheeler; by slurs and statements made by Congressmen on the floor of both Houses, and by attacks upon the character and integrity of individual Jews through whom American Jewry has been threatened.

The opposition interpreted as a victory the removal of Maloney as Special Prosecutor. John Rogge was appointed in his place. Court Asher, overt anti-Semite and obstructionist, retold with great glee in many issues of his publication, *The X-Ray*, Muncie, Indiana, of the "booting" received by Maloney as if by it he had secured personal revenge.

Martin Dies, who has expressed his eagerness to conduct an investigation of anti-fascist activity and of the Department of Justice, was accused of suppressing facts on anti-Semitic agitation by Representative Jerry Voorhis, then a member of the Dies Committee. Dies denied in Congress that anti-Semites were necessarily pro-Nazi and that fascism was necessarily anti-Semitic. By the same token, Fish, in speaking against the War Security Act which would have expedited the trial and punishment of American fifth columnists, said: "We want no Americans indicted under this law for mere criticism . . . or maybe because they are anti-Communists or even anti-Semites [sic]. Even that is not a crime under the Constitution of the United States."

Extremist anti-New Dealers attacked with increasing frequency such members or advisers of the Administration as Justice Felix Frankfurter, Bernard M. Baruch, David Niles, Ben Cohen and Judge Samuel I. Rosenman. C. David Ginsburg, general counsel of the Office of Price Administration, attacked as a "draft dodger," was forced to resign his post, despite strong laudation by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, because of heavy pressure of an anti-Semitic nature brought to bear by such Congressmen as J. W. Flannagan, Jr. (Dem., Va.). A campaign directed against outspoken Walter Winchell also occupied the attention of the pro-fascist press. One such journal threatened that his activities would "create a wave of anti-Semitism strong enough to dissolve the whole new deal."

Despite their position of uncertainty in the eyes of the

law, the defendants have not shunned publicity but have gone out of their way to seek it. Men like Winrod and Garner are still distributing leaflets and letters seeking financial aid, addressed to "Christian" Americans. Mrs. Dilling sends out lengthy propaganda bulletins from her "Patriotic Research Bureau" and speaks at many well-advertised meetings in the Middle West, especially at William J. Grace's Citizens U. S. A. Committee. Still being circulated in many cases through the mails as second-class matter, although named in the indictment are: Court Asher's *The X-Ray*; Gerald B. Winrod's *Defender*; Charles B. Hudson's *America in Danger*, Omaha, Nebraska; C. Leon de Aryan's *The Broom*, San Diego, California; Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling's *Patriotic Research Bureau News Letter*, Chicago, Illinois; and Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag*, Detroit, Michigan.

The Constitutional Educational League, named in the indictment, has continued, under the leadership of Joseph P. Kamp, to issue and distribute literature with strong anti-Semitic implications violently attacking the Administration, deriding the war effort, vilifying prominent liberals, and contriving to stir up class antagonisms through anti-labor propaganda.

Not named in the indictment but engaging in the same practices as the publications listed in the indictments are the following periodicals which appear regularly: *The Individualist*, Lincoln, Nebraska, edited by Charles W. Phillips; *The American Vindicator*, Washington, D. C., now known as the *National Record*, organ of Senator Reynolds, which is anti-labor and anti-immigration; *The Gaelic American*, New York City, edited by James MacDermott, which praises and defends Father Coughlin, is anti-Semitic and has Father Edward Lodge Curran — henchman of Father Coughlin — as a columnist; *Western Voice*, which decries the "World Control of Jews"; *The Commonwealth*, Bradentown, Florida, edited and published by Walter F. Burrows, which urges appeasement and a negotiated peace; *Bible News Flashes*, an anti-Semitic prophetic periodical; and *The National Republic*, Washington, D. C., edited by Walter B. Steele, whose main theme is that "this is not a democracy but a republic."

In the last year several new subversive and pro-Axis publications have made their appearance. Of these the following are noteworthy: Carl Mote's *America Preferred*, Indianapolis, Indiana; David Gordon's anti-Semitic *Catholic International*, New York City; and, Edward A. Koch's *The Guildsman*, Germantown, Illinois, which advocates a Corporative Order and the overthrow of "capitalist democracy." In addition, Joseph E. McWilliams, former New York leader of the Christian Mobilizers and of the American Destiny Party, has written a book calling for a very generous government bonus to all returning servicemen; with this publication McWilliams has apparently made a demagogic attempt to stage a comeback.

Many of the less wholesome elements of the America First Committee, which saw fit to disband soon after Pearl Harbor, have rallied round Gerald L. K. Smith, lieutenant to the late Huey Long, once a member of William D. Pelley's Silver Shirts and friend of Father Coughlin. Formerly head of the Committee of One Million, he became in January 1943 national chairman of the America First Party, a nationalistic political party. Although confined at present to the Midwestern States, the party, according to Smith, will invade the East. Through his organ *The Cross and the Flag* and his meetings, Smith is engaged in flagrantly disruptive and defeatist propaganda which specializes in attacks on public leaders, campaigns against our Allies and a barrage of abuse directed at individual Jews in public office. He has announced that if neither the Republican nor Democratic parties nominate a presidential candidate to his liking, he will campaign for Senator Nye or Charles A. Lindbergh in 1944.

Working with Smith as his organizers and representatives are Mote, McWilliams, and Earl Southard; the last named had been removed as Illinois Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars because of disruptive activities and then reinstated.

Another organization closely allied and working with the America First Party is William J. Grace's Citizens U. S. A. Committee which presents such speakers as Mrs. Ernest Lundeen, Senator Nye, Mrs. Dilling, McWilliams, Southard, Smith and Mote. At these meetings Coughlin is cheered and

Roosevelt and Churchill are booed. Senator Nye appeared before the Committee to condemn the policy of bringing refugees into this country.

THE Department of Justice has been successful in convicting several outstanding seditionists. Ellis O. Jones, organizer of the National Copperheads, an isolationist group in California, who has admitted being an admirer of Hitler and has demanded the impeachment of President Roosevelt, and Robert Noble were convicted of sedition on August 11, 1942, and sentenced to four and five years imprisonment respectively.

George Sylvester Viereck, leading Nazi agent, was sentenced in March 1942 to from two to six years imprisonment on a charge of failing to give the State Department full information concerning his activities as a Nazi agent in this country. Although his sentence was upheld by the United States Court of Appeals, the Supreme Court one year later by a five to two decision reversed the conviction on a technical ground. Within a month Viereck was reindicted on more specific allegations that he used various members of Congress to further Nazi propaganda. On July 17, 1943, Viereck was again found guilty by a federal jury and faced a maximum sentence of twelve years and a \$6000 fine.

Horace J. Haase, editor of a bulletin called *America's Hope*, was arrested on charges of evading the draft. He had distributed propaganda attacking the United Nations, the foreign policy of the Administration and calling for a negotiated peace.

The Department of Justice has been bolstered, despite the Viereck reversal, by the decision later reached by the Supreme Court in upholding the constitutionality of the laws under which the thirty-four persons have been indicted on charges of conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces, and the indications were, as the review period closed, that Special Prosecutor Rogge would soon present his case.

Anti-Semites have been exploiting the "gag" and doggerel. Anonymously published and surreptitiously distributed mimeographed, typed or printed sheets are used to spread the Nazi-created lie that the war is the result of the machinations of "World Jewry," that Jews are draft dodgers and

are reaping huge profits on the black market. In addition to these false charges penned in catchy phrases are deliberate instigations to soldiers and civilians alike to "revenge themselves upon the Jews when the Germans and Japs have been defeated."

### **Goodwill Activities**

Anti-Semitic activities during the year were offset by numerous expressions of goodwill toward Jews by Congressmen, by many community and national leaders, and by continuing efforts of groups and individuals of all faiths to strengthen and develop interfaith harmony. These expressions were highlighted by sharpened interest in the problem of rehabilitating the persecuted and homeless Jews in Nazi-controlled Europe.

Mass meetings were held in some cities to condemn the pogroms and persecutions of Jews. A number of church conventions adopted forthright resolutions denouncing anti-Semitic practices and teachings, and urging the United Nations to take all possible steps to rescue the Jews of Europe from their present plight.

Top-ranking leaders of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches led the chorus of protests against the persecutions in Europe. Meeting in November, 1942, the Roman Catholic hierarchy condemned the "satanic technique" used to oppress the people of occupied countries.

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, at its biennial meeting at Cleveland in December, 1942, adopted a resolution which referred to the "incredible cruelties" inflicted upon the Jews in Nazi-occupied areas and called upon all affiliated denominations to "intensify their efforts for full justice for the Jews."

In connection with the designation of May 2 as a "Day of Compassion" for the Jews, observed in Christian churches throughout the country, the Federal Council, which represents 25,000,000 Protestants affiliated with 25 religious bodies, urged the government to give financial assistance for the support of refugees from Nazism in places of temporary asylum to which they may be removed pending their repatriation after the war.



Under the signatures of 75 Christian clergymen and laymen, statements were issued by the newly-organized Christian Council on Palestine pleading for the free and unqualified admission of "pauperized, persecuted and reduced" Jews to Palestine after the war.

Among other groups which joined the Federal Council of Churches in focusing attention on the situation of the Jews were the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the Home Missions Council of North America, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern), and the American Unitarian Association.

In cooperation with the Federal Council of Churches and the National Council of Catholic Men, the National Conference of Christians and Jews also observed the nationwide Day of Compassion. A pamphlet, entitled *Christians Protest Persecution* by the editors of Religious News Service, which summarized the protests against anti-Semitism made by church leaders throughout the world, was printed and distributed by the Conference for this occasion.

The National Conference greatly extended its goodwill program during the year. Launched by the Conference for the first time during March, Religious Book Week featured a list of two hundred religious books for reading by the lay public. The list included fifty Jewish and fifty goodwill books. Book lists were sent to six thousand libraries and hundreds of special exhibits were held throughout the country in connection with the observance.

With the assistance of the Chief of Chaplains of both the Army and the Navy, a program of education for goodwill in the military training centers was started under the direction of Mr. Andrew W. Gottschall. To date, programs of speakers have been arranged by the Conference in more than 145 military centers, with audiences totaling more than 2,400,000 men; 3,000,000 pieces of literature have been distributed through the Chaplains.

The Conference in 1943 organized the Commission on Educational Organizations, under the direction of Herbert L. Seamans. The Commission will work with colleges, secondary and primary schools, teacher training groups, textbook publishers and religious educators in the development of

literature and methods to promote intercultural goodwill and for the elimination of biased matter from religious teaching materials.\* The correction of a footnote to Apocalypse 2:9 in the Roman Catholic New Testament, which is being distributed to servicemen, was arranged after consultation between Catholic authorities and Conference representatives.

Also established during this year, the Commission on Religious Organizations, headed by John Elliott, recruited religious bodies to carry the Conference's program into local churches, synagogues, seminaries, and other religious institutions.

The emphasis on intercultural education was an outstanding feature of interfaith activities during the year. A report prepared by the Seminar on Race Issues and presented to the Conference on Christian Bases of World Order, jointly sponsored by Ohio Wesleyan University and the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Church, called for a greater effort on the part of churches to bring about a better understanding of the Jewish people through Sunday schools and other educational means. The report called for a careful study of Christian literature in order to eliminate references "which make for anti-Semitism" and recommended a more frequent interchange of pastors and rabbis in churches.

In recognition of the "impact made by Hillel Foundation cultural courses among Christian students who have taken Hillel credit courses in Jewish history and literature," Dr. Abram L. Sachar, national director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation Commission, was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Humanities by Illinois Wesleyan University, the first non-Methodist so honored in the eighty-three-year history of the institution.

The Catholic University of America has published several readers for Catholic parochial schools, known as the "Faith and Freedom" series, which stress religious and racial tolerance, and have been described as "primarily focused against anti-Semitism." On the whole there has been a noticeable improvement in Catholic-Jewish relations.

\*See page 148 ff., *supra*.

In New York City, the Burton J. Furman Memorial Fund was created in June to further better relations between Jewish and non-Jewish students in colleges and universities in the metropolitan area. The fund was made possible through an initial gift of \$1,500 from the family of Morris Furman of New York City, and was named in memory of Burton J. Furman, U. S. N., who died on the aircraft carrier U. S. S. "Lexington" during the battle of the Coral Sea.

### Reaction to Events Overseas

By LIBBY BENEDICT\*

By the beginning of the year 5703, the second World War had so completely carried both Eastern and Western civilizations into its vortex that the whole scene of relief and other overseas activities in the United States lost its pattern, as elastic as that pattern had always been. Unparalleled tragedy held the possibilities of action to limits that were miserably circumscribed in comparison with the known need. The Jews surviving in the Nazi-occupied countries required aid as never before. But not only were they isolated; their coming extinction was announced and vaunted by the Nazi regime. Against this program of extermination, a surge of protests arose in the United States, many of them prompted by Jewish organizations, others initiated and carried through entirely by non-Jewish groups, and still others sponsored by both.

The first of these major protests took place on July 21, 1942, in Madison Square Garden in New York City. Called by the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith and the Jewish Labor Committee, the meeting attracted twenty thousand persons. Dr. Stephen S. Wise presided. Among the speakers who expressed their horror at the Nazi slaughters and the resolve to exact retribution from the guilty were

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Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (Rep., Mass.), Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York City, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, Johnny Green, president of the Marine and Ship Builders Union, Frank Goldman, vice-president of B'nai B'rith, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell, head of the Methodist Church of New York. In a message to the meeting, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said: "The American people will hold the perpetrators of these crimes to strict accountability on the day of reckoning which will surely come." A special message from Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain emphasized the contribution the Jews of Palestine were making to the war effort of the United Nations.

Two days after the Madison Square Garden meeting, on Tishe'ah b'Ab, July 23, 1942, the Reverend James S. Montgomery, chaplain of the House of Representatives, opened the session of the House with a special prayer for the Jewish victims of Nazi persecutions. On the same day the Federal Council of Churches and the Church Peace Union sent messages of sympathy to the Synagogue Council of America, and various representatives of the clergy throughout the United States made individual statements condemning the Nazi persecutions. Jews themselves signaled the events by observing August 12, 1942, as a day of fasting and prayer throughout the country in sympathy with the sufferers abroad. The call for the fast day was issued by the Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada.

The deportation of Jewish refugees from that part of France which was then still unoccupied evoked a special protest to the State Department of the United States on August 27, 1942, by the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, and the Jewish Labor Committee. Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, in his reply, said that representations had already been made by the United States Government to the Vichy Government. The month of August also saw protest demonstrations held in Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles and St. Paul.

Once more on August 22, President Roosevelt reiterated his earlier promise that retaliation for the persecution of Jews would come and invited "any trustworthy sources"

to submit information "which would assist in keeping our growing fund of information and evidence up to date and reliable." And on October 7, he expressed the willingness of the United States Government "to cooperate with the British and other governments in establishing a United Nations commission for the investigation of war crimes."

But the desperation of the Axis powers was increasing as the strength of the United Nations was brought to bear. Even more violent programs of deportation and execution were loosed on the Jews. Documents reached the State Department of the United States proving the existence of Hitler's order to exterminate all Jews in Europe before the end of 1942. These documents were turned over to Dr. Stephen S. Wise by Under Secretary of State Welles on November 25, 1942. Data collected by Jewish agencies supplemented these reports.

World-wide demonstrations of sympathy on December 2, 1942, brought Jews and non-Jews in the United States into full participation. In New York City, about half a million Jewish workers stopped work for ten minutes, and many of their non-Jewish fellow-workers shared the tribute with them. Mayor La Guardia called on the people of the city, regardless of creed, to join the prayers. Two-minute periods of silence were observed by several of the radio stations in the metropolitan area, and a special memorial service was broadcast at 4:30 P. M. over the Blue Network of the National Broadcasting Company. Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Los Angeles also held special services on December 2. Yiddish newspapers in all cities appeared with black borders and demanded in concert that the United Nations take measures to stop the systematic extermination of the Jews by the Nazis. A proclamation signed by the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith and other organizations summarized the extent of the tragedy that had overtaken Jewish life, but expressed triumphant belief in "Him who has been the Guide and Guardian of Israel throughout all generations."

On December 8, 1942, President Roosevelt received a delegation of prominent Jewish community leaders, who appealed for action to stop the Nazi massacres of Jews and urged "that an American commission be appointed at once to

receive and examine all evidence of Nazi barbarities against civilian populations, and to submit that evidence to the bar of public opinion and to the conscience of the world."

The President also received a comprehensive memorandum detailing the annihilation of the Jewish populations of Europe. He did not hesitate to voice his horror. Regarding retribution, he said: "The wheels of the gods grind slowly but they grind exceedingly small."

On December 17, 1942, the United States, Great Britain, Russia, the Fighting French and eight other Allied governments simultaneously issued a joint declaration in Washington, London and Moscow. After cursorily repeating some of the facts about deportations and executions, the statement reaffirmed the "solemn resolution" of the United Nations "to insure that those responsible for these crimes shall not escape retribution and to press on with the necessary practical measures to this end."

Later in December, the B'nai B'rith, through its president, Henry Monsky, asked the United Nations to go beyond their proclamation and to assure rescue of the survivors, intervention with neutral countries for their admission and a tribunal to punish the perpetrators. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, issued separate statements, in behalf of their respective organizations, condemning the atrocities. On December 29, a mass meeting under the auspices of the Jewish People's Committee was held in New York, where Representative Emanuel Celler (Dem., N. Y.) demanded immediate trial of the guilty Nazis.

First among the protests of 1943 was a children's demonstration in Chicago, where the Jewish Labor Committee sponsored the mass appearance at the City Council chambers of Jewish school children, on January 8, to protest specifically against the murder of children. A children's demonstration also occurred in New York on February 22; here three thousand children, under the supervision of the Jewish Education Committee, held memorial services at Mecca Temple.

Additional official documentation of the atrocities was provided on February 14, 1943, when the Office of War

Information published a report on events in Warsaw. February 26 was declared a day of protest and mourning by the Jewish Labor Committee and the Workmen's Circle.

PRIVATE reports brought more and more appalling data, and once again the populace of New York City gathered in Madison Square Garden to make its voice heard. With 20,000 within the building on the evening of March 1, some 75,000 crowded the surrounding streets. The meeting had been called by the American Jewish Congress, the Church Peace Union, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Jewish Committee associated themselves with its purposes. A resolution adopted by the assemblage demanded release of the Jews from German-occupied territories, establishment of sanctuaries, revision of United States immigration laws, admission to Great Britain, approach to Latin American countries for altered immigration laws, admission to Palestine, and financial guarantees to countries asked to serve as refuge. The demand for the punishment of the criminals was reiterated.

Eight days later, on March 9, already declared a day of prayer for the Jews by Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, two performances were given in Madison Square Garden of "We Will Never Die," a pageant depicting the contribution of Jews to civilization. The work was written by Ben Hecht, produced by Billy Rose and staged by Moss Hart, with a musical score by Kurt Weill.

The same day, the United States Senate adopted a joint resolution introduced by Senator Alben W. Barkley (Dem., Ky.), majority leader, condemning the atrocities. The resolution was adopted by the House of Representatives on March 18. In ringing language, the Congress decried the inexcusable slaughter and mistreatment and urged "that those guilty, directly or indirectly, of these criminal acts shall be held accountable and punished in a manner commensurate with the offenses for which they are responsible."

A protest meeting in Washington on March 30 heard a further demand from Senator Barkley for United States action. In the Chicago Stadium on April 14, some twenty

thousand people heard Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Henry Monsky, Adolph Held, Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois, Senator C. Wayland Brooks of Illinois, and Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, make the same demands for intervention and sanctuary as had been made in New York the previous month.

To all these outbursts of protest and condemnation, the general press of the country contributed editorial support. The March protests were echoed in positive demands for sanctuary, as well as for punishment of the criminals. Almost all the newspapers in New York City, and many throughout the country, joined in an editorial demand for a relaxation of the "cold formalism" of United States immigration restrictions.

Another type of appeal and protest was the publication of full-page paid advertisements in newspapers. The Committee for a Jewish Army sponsored a number of such advertisements, as did various other organizations. On December 28, 1942, the Americans of German Descent published a full-page advertisement in the New York press, condemning the Nazi persecutions.

THE unrelenting terror in Europe finally brought about in the United States the establishment of the Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Affairs, which came into being in April, and represented the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Hadassah, Mizrahi, Poale Zion, the Synagogue Council of America, the Agudath Israel of America and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis.

The first major act of the Joint Emergency Committee was the transmission of a memorandum to the Anglo-American Refugee Conference, which opened in Bermuda on April 19. This memorandum proposed negotiations with the Axis powers to permit the release of Jews, the creation of temporary and permanent sanctuaries, and the feeding of those who are released. From the United States, also, Dr. Chaim Weizmann sent an appeal to the Bermuda conference on behalf of the Jewish Agency, while the World Jewish Congress and the ORT addressed separate appeals.



THE invasion of North Africa by the military forces of the United Nations on November 7 at once precipitated action on the part of French and other communal groups in the United States to urge the revocation of the Nazi anti-Jewish laws. Their appeal seemed to be answered in a message on November 17 by President Roosevelt, who said: "I have requested the liberation of all persons in North Africa who had been imprisoned because they opposed the efforts of the Nazis to dominate the world and I have asked for the abrogation of all laws and decrees inspired by Nazi governments or Nazi ideologists." In spite of this, a long period of uncertainty followed, during which the attitude to be taken toward the Jews by Admiral Jean Darlan and, later, by General Henri Giraud and Marcel Peyrouton, Governor of Algeria, remained unclear.

On February 26, the French Jewish Representative Committee, affiliated with the World Jewish Congress, demanded the restoration of rights to the Jews of North Africa, in a statement signed by Henri Torres, Baron Edouard de Rothschild, Marc Chagall, André Spire, Pierre Dreyfus and Jacques Hadamard.

A violent retrogressive step was taken, however, on March 14, when General Giraud, in a public address revoking the 62 anti-Jewish decrees of the Vichy regime, announced the abrogation of the Crémieux decree, which had granted French citizenship to Algerian Jews in 1870. On March 18, a delegation headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, representing the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress, visited Under Secretary of State Welles. The same day Baron Edouard de Rothschild, president of the Consistoire Central des Israélites de France et d'Algérie, issued a statement vigorously condemning the annulment of the Crémieux decree.

Baron Rothschild's sharp commentary evoked a reply from Welles on March 28, contending that the abrogation of the Crémieux decree, while depriving native Algerian Jews of automatic citizenship, did not deprive them of the right to obtain voting power or of the right to practice all the professions and occupy all posts. Protests poured forth, however, from individual Frenchmen in the United States, including Professor Henri Perrin and Jacques Maritain, and

from the leading liberal publications in the country. On May 20, a delegation consisting of Henri Torres, Paul Jacob, Paul Weill and Pierre Dreyfus, representing the French Jewish Representative Committee, and accompanied by Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress, again visited Welles at the State Department. In a memorandum presented to him the delegation gave the history of the Crémieux decree and pointed out that its abrogation was prejudicial to the legal principles of the Republic.

While at first the State Department accepted the revocation of the Crémieux decree as a step necessary to placate the Nazi-incited Arab population, the complete victory in North Africa greatly changed this point of view. Moreover, the establishment of the French Committee of Liberation and General Charles de Gaulle's insistence that the laws of the French Republic be restored after the war, seem to presage the early restoration of the rights enjoyed by the Algerian Jews before the fall of France.

Thus the period ended with hope beginning to brighten. And with the Jewish community uniting its efforts through the Joint Emergency Committee, it seemed that protest would at least be canalized and strengthened. All these matters were expected to be given an airing at the American Jewish Conference, planned for the late summer and beyond the period of review.

### Overseas Relief

By BETTY PELCOVITS\*

THE American Jewish community could hardly content itself with merely voicing its protest and sympathy with suffering Jewish communities overseas. More than ever before, the tragic circumstances of the year 5703 called for concrete measures of assistance. As in the past, American Jewish agencies continued their work of relief and rescue despite almost insurmountable obstacles.

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While various governments of the United Nations had been dealing with the problem of aid to refugees, and the formation of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, in November 1942, under former Governor Herbert H. Lehman pointed to increasing participation of the government in large-scale rehabilitation abroad, the continued importance of the role of private agencies in this area was emphasized by many government leaders, including President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In his endorsement of the United Jewish Appeal's 1943 campaign, President Roosevelt praised the work of private relief agencies and emphasized that "the reconstructive help that has been extended through the United Jewish Appeal has been a great physical and spiritual bulwark for many victims of oppression."

"Continuation of such voluntary relief work" was characterized "as a distinctive service . . . to complement public resources and services," in a joint statement released on January 10, 1943, by Mr. Lehman, Norman H. Davis, chairman of the American Red Cross, and Joseph E. Davies, chairman of the President's War Relief Control Board. The statement declared that "there are many essential services which can be provided by private agencies that can not be provided by the government."

SINCE its establishment in January 1939, the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine has been the unified fund-raising instrument for the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the United Palestine Appeal and the National Refugee Service. From the date of its inception to the end of 1942, the United Jewish Appeal collected over \$50,000,000. The total raised by the U. J. A. for the year 1942 (as reported in June 1943) was \$14,428,252. The terms of the agreement signed by the constituent agencies of the U. J. A. for that year provided for the distribution of the first \$9,100,000 raised as follows: \$4,525,000 to the Joint Distribution Committee; \$2,575,000 to the United Palestine Appeal; and \$2,000,000 to the National Refugee Service. All funds collected in excess of the initial sum of \$9,100,000 were distributed between the J. D. C. and the U. P. A. by the Allotment Committee in accordance with the provisions of the agreement. The N. R. S. received

a fixed grant for the year. Membership of the 1942 Allotment Committee was composed of representatives of the J. D. C. and the U. P. A., as well as of welfare fund communities. Following the decision of the Committee, the J. D. C. received an additional sum of \$1,860,000 and the U. P. A. \$1,140,000.

For 1943 the initial sum for distribution among the affiliated agencies was again fixed by agreement at \$9,100,000 to be divided as follows: \$4,840,000 to the J. D. C.; \$2,760,000 to the U. P. A.; and \$1,500,000 to the N. R. S. All three agencies are eligible to apply to the 1943 Allotment Committee for a share of the funds collected for this year in excess of \$9,100,000.

The United Jewish Appeal of 1943 set itself a national quota of \$25,000,000 as the minimum required to meet the expanded needs of the participating relief agencies. In the first six months of 1943 a total of \$11,500,000 was raised by the U. J. A., according to an Executive Committee report released on June 25, 1943. The unprecedented results of the Spring phase of the 1943 campaign indicated that American Jews are prepared to assume broader obligations to insure greater activities of relief and rescue of Jews oppressed by Hitlerism. A record number of 3,095 communities participated in spring campaigns this year, and the number which have already achieved their goals is greater this year than ever before.

THE Joint Distribution Committee, the largest American Jewish overseas relief agency, continued, as in the past, to meet the challenge presented by swiftly changing world events. An increasing need for relief, although accompanied by increasing difficulties, brought an expansion in J. D. C. activities during the period under review. Total expenditures by the J. D. C. between July 1942 and June 1943 amounted to \$8,831,420, an increase of \$2,246,910 over a similar period in 1941-1942.

At the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the J. D. C. on December 4, 1942, James H. Becker, chairman of its National Council, reported that \$7,250,000 had been appropriated by the J. D. C. for the calendar year 1942 to provide relief, emigration assistance, educational and reconstructive aid to

795,000 people. More than 7,700 persons were helped to escape from Europe during the year, he said.

An announcement on June 27, 1943, by the executive vice-chairman, Joseph C. Hyman, revealed that the J. D. C. had allocated \$5,208,400 for its relief work overseas for the first six months of 1943. This represents an increase of \$1,582,090 over allocations for a similar period in 1942.

At the beginning of the period under review, in July 1942, unoccupied France was the center of the J. D. C.'s program of emergency aid in Europe. Through local cooperating committees, it had been providing necessities of life to Jews in internment and labor camps; caring for thousands of refugees and orphaned children; aiding adult refugees who still had freedom of movement, yet because of discriminatory Vichy laws, were not permitted to work; giving advice and help on emigration matters. The J. D. C. supplied 90 per cent of all funds required for refugee aid in France.

After German forces occupied all of France on November 11, 1942, the J. D. C. was compelled to close its headquarters in Marseille, but the organization made arrangements for the continuation of its work through responsible local committees to whom funds were entrusted. These committees were authorized to borrow additional necessary funds and commodities from any available local sources against the J. D. C.'s promise of repayment after the war. Information received from reliable contacts in the spring of 1943 indicated that this procedure was being followed and that child care, refugee aid and other essential activities in France were continuing, despite innumerable difficulties.

Under a similar arrangement it has been possible for the J. D. C. to continue some relief in Poland and Rumania. Upon his return to the United States in February 1943, Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, European chairman of the J. D. C.; reported that some Jewish community institutions in those countries were still functioning, and local committees set up by the J. D. C. were still carrying on limited programs of assistance. At the same time, J. D. C. attempted to bring additional relief to Jews in occupied lands by shipping food packages from Switzerland and Portugal. U. S. Treasury licenses were granted for food package shipments from this

country to Poland and to Terezin, the internment camp in Czechoslovakia.

The spotlight gradually swung to Spain and Switzerland, as the period drew on. According to a J. D. C. announcement in April 1943, 6,000 persons had crossed the border from France into Switzerland since the summer of 1942 when the Laval Government began to deport Jews to Eastern Europe. The J. D. C. assumed the major portion of the cost of caring for these recent refugees from France as well as 3,000 other refugees who had previously entered. A total of approximately \$1,100,000 was allocated for Switzerland for 1943.

In Spain, with its precarious neutrality and high cost of living, the J. D. C. was confronted with more difficult problems. Numerous refugees, crossing the Pyrenees and arriving without adequate documents or funds, were imprisoned or placed in internment camps. During their detention, the J. D. C. supplied them with food, clothing, medical care and other necessities. It was also successful in securing the release of women, children and men of non-military age, by giving guarantees of maintenance. Some 5,000 non-interned refugees in Spain received aid from the J. D. C. in recent months. Its 1943 budget for Spain is over \$1,000,000.

Additional problems arose in November 1942. Jewish communities in North Africa faced added responsibilities after the landing of American troops (November 7, 1942). The release of refugees from labor and internment camps was contingent upon immediate provision of maintenance for persons released. J. D. C. made funds available to its local committees in Casablanca and Algiers, providing for transportation for former internees, and maintenance until employment was found.

Foremost among J. D. C.'s achievements during the year was its continued sponsorship of emigration from Europe, with Spain and Portugal as the chief exit points. Since America's entry into the war to date (June 1943), it has enabled approximately 10,000 persons to migrate to Palestine and to countries in the Western Hemisphere. This number includes the transfer of 270 Jewish children from Hungary and Rumania to Palestine, via Turkey, and of 90 Bulgarian refugees who went from Turkey to Cyprus. It also allocated funds to bring 600 destitute Yemenite Jews

from Aden to Palestine. At the request of the Jewish Agency, a special appropriation of \$200,000 for war relief purposes in Palestine was made by the J. D. C. in September 1942. This was over and above the grants customarily made for cultural, religious purposes in that country and for transportation of refugees to Palestine. The emigration of children proceeded on a limited scale out of Spain and Portugal. Four groups of children emigrated from Lisbon during the first six months of 1943 with a large proportion of the costs borne by the J. D. C.

Thousands of Jewish refugees were the beneficiaries of medical and surgical supplies sent to Soviet Asia through the J. D. C. during the period under review. Additional aid for these destitute refugees is now being made available through packages of food and clothing sent to designated individuals in this region from Iran and other Middle East countries.

J. D. C. aid to many of Latin America's 125,000 new immigrants continued during this period with emphasis shifting from temporary relief to long-range constructive aid. Support was extended to children's and old age homes, hospitals and clinics. A second refugee loan cooperative was established in Rio de Janeiro.

Refugees reaching the neutral areas of Sweden, Turkey and Portugal also received J. D. C. aid in maintaining themselves there during the past year.

THE Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) also continued its work of aid and rescue in the face of mounting difficulties. At the Society's annual convention on March 7, 1943, the report submitted by Abraham Herman, president, and Isaac L. Asofsky, executive director, indicated that the resources of the HIAS and its European instrumentality, the HIAS-ICA Emigration Association (HICEM), now functioning at Lisbon, had been devoted during the year to the rescue of refugees who succeeded in escaping from Nazi and Nazi-occupied countries. The report showed that the HIAS-ICA had been instrumental in organizing and aiding the emigration of 4,750 refugees from Europe during 1942. In addition, at least twice as many refugees received various kinds of assistance and guidance from

HIAS-ICA prior to their departure from Europe. A total of 2,500 refugees who were guided and assisted by the organization arrived in South American countries and 2,200 found refuge in Central America.

From the beginning of the war up to January 1, 1943, the "Rescue through Emigration" program of the HIAS-ICA has enabled 125,000 Jewish refugees to leave Europe, according to a report presented to the HIAS board of directors in May 1943 by Dr. James Bernstein, director of the HIAS-ICA, upon his return from Lisbon.

To finance its "Rescue through Emigration" program in 1942 HIAS obtained \$1,156,653 from American relatives and friends of the refugees aided, and raised \$820,785 from other sources; it expended the sum of \$838,150 for the maintenance of its services at home and abroad.

As in the past, HIAS continued its services to refugees after their arrival here, as well as handling inquiries about immigration and naturalization from their American relatives and friends. Boats were met by the Society's pier service, petitions for visas were drawn up, shelter and meals to new arrivals were provided by its shelter department, employment was obtained by its employment department, and legal advice and aid were provided in appeals before the Department of Justice and to applicants for citizenship.

THE work of the American ORT Federation, as an affiliate of the World ORT Union, during the past year was characterized by increased activity in the Western Hemisphere. As in the past ORT continued to help Jews throughout the world adjust themselves by training them in trades and agriculture. The Buenos Aires ORT school in Argentina, established in 1942, greatly expanded its activities during the period under review. Other ORT schools, opened during 1942 in the Americas included a technical school in Quebec, Canada, at the refugee camp at Ile aux Noix; the Montreal ORT Training School; and a trade school for refugees in New York City. During the first half of 1943 an ORT school for refugees was opened in Havana, Cuba, and an ORT technical school began its operations in Montevideo, Uruguay. In Mexico, constructive aid has been given by the local ORT Committee since June 1942 in the form of provid-



ing needy artisans with funds for acquiring machinery and instruments to enable them to establish their own workshops.

Parallel to this increased activity in the Western Hemisphere, ORT continued its work in Europe as far as the situation permitted. In Switzerland, because of the great influx of refugees during this period, ORT established six workshops in internment camps for refugees. According to recent information, the American ORT Federation reports, the ORT Committees in France, Hungary, and Shanghai have continued to function through the past year.

To support the above program, the American ORT Federation raised in 1942 the sum of \$370,898.

THE American Committee of OSE\* continued, as in previous years, to assist OSE branches abroad in their vital work of providing hygienic and medical services and child care to Europe's suffering Jewish communities. With the United States a belligerent country, direct contact with Nazi-occupied areas was naturally impossible. The American OSE Committee was therefore compelled to delegate the supervision of its work abroad to the neutral Swiss Committee of the OSE, with its legal possibilities of communication with foreign countries and its opportunity for collaboration with the International Red Cross.

The report of the chairman of the Swiss OSE, Dr. B. Tschlenoff, on the activity of his committee for 1942 revealed that its aid to the TOZ\*\* medical institutions in Poland was continued during the year in spite of great difficulties. With the aid of the Union of Jewish Communities in Switzerland, the OSE purchased and shipped medicines, vaccines, vitamins, milk and other products so sorely needed by the TOZ for its services in the Polish ghettos. This assistance was directed through the International Red Cross and proceeded under its supervision.

After the Nazi occupation of southern France in November 1942, the Swiss committee also assumed the task of aiding the French OSE which continued to function there. Dr.

\*Initial letters of three Russian words meaning an organization for protection of the health of Jews.

\*\*Initial letters of three Polish words having the same meaning.

Tschlenoff's report indicated that 4,500 children are now maintained in the OSE children's homes in southern France.

The American Committee of OSE maintained regular contact with the Swiss OSE during the past year, taking particular interest in its relief action in Switzerland itself on behalf of the many thousands of refugees gathered there. The American OSE was instrumental in getting financial support for this relief action from sources here.

In the year under review, the American OSE established new branches in Mexico, Brazil and Uruguay. It also expanded its activities in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The Mexican OSE set up a policlinic in Mexico City, called the Medical Center, where medical assistance is given free of charge to needy patients, both among the Mexican population and the recent immigrants. The OSE branch in Brazil has undertaken special preventive medical work among infants and school children, and in Uruguay a free policlinic is being set up. The Argentine OSE has been engaging in psychotherapy for children and vocational guidance, as well as continuing its work of medical supervision in Jewish schools and kindergartens in Buenos Aires.

OSE activities in European countries during the past year were supported mainly from appropriations granted by the Joint Distribution Committee. Outside of Europe, OSE activities were supported by local groups which contributed also to OSE work in European countries.

### **Pro-Palestine and Zionist Activities**

By ISAAC LEVITATS\*

TOWARD the end of the last review period the Zionist Organization adopted a resolution which was destined to dominate almost all Zionist platforms up to the present. An extraordinary Zionist Conference held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City on May 9-11, 1942, placed on record its demand "that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth." The presence at the conference of Dr. Chaim Weiz-

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mann, president of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency, and of David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Zionist Executive, lent added weight to this enunciation of principle.

This so-called Biltmore Program constituted a fundamental departure from traditional Zionist policy. Heretofore official Zionism steadfastly refused to formulate the ultimate aim of the movement preferring instead to concentrate on the practical task of building the Jewish National Home. But the British White Paper of 1939, which interpreted the terms of the Mandate in a way that would freeze "the Jewish community to a permanent minority status," and the war situation, which will eventually bring international factors to bear upon the future fate of Palestine, prompted the Zionist leaders to take a firm, unequivocal stand. This demand for a Jewish Commonwealth was subsequently endorsed by all major Zionist groups (except Hashomer Hatzair) and was particularly reaffirmed at the concurrent conventions of the Zionist Organization of America and Hadassah at a joint session held on October 17. Both organizations consequently repudiated the program of Ihud, the Union Party, for a bi-national state in Palestine. (This party was launched in Palestine by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of The Hebrew University, and caused a great deal of discussion in Zionist circles here.)

The Biltmore Program was finally sanctioned also by the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem. In the absence of a World Zionist Congress, which met last in 1939 and may not meet again for the duration of the war, this may be regarded as the official Zionist stand on the ultimate aim of the movement.

The fact that such a major event occurred here and not in London or Jerusalem, hitherto the headquarters for Zionist political work, clearly indicates that the United States has become the main center for Zionist political activities. This is the natural result of the latest developments. The impotence and gradual destruction of European Jewries, the British Government's negative attitude to Zionism, America's prospective important role in the peace settlement and Dr. Weizmann's lengthy visits here have combined to place this country, the largest center of Jews, in the fore-

ground of events. Diplomatic activity is being conducted in Washington, D. C. In February this work was intensified on the occasion of a visit here by Moshe Shertok, chief of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. It culminated in May in the establishment in Washington of an office of the Political Department of the executive of the Jewish Agency, directed by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, in cooperation with Louis Lipsky and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Every opportunity was utilized by Zionist groups and sympathizers to voice their demands for a Jewish National Home. The National Conference for Palestine of the United Palestine Appeal, held in Philadelphia on May 1-2, 1943, in which representatives of many Jewish organizations participated, condemned the White Paper of 1939 as illegal, unjust and inhuman, and called upon the Government of the United States to ask Great Britain for assurances "that Jewish immigration into Palestine shall not be abridged nor shall the purchase of land by Jews be restricted." On the occasion of a visit to this country in May by Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, all Zionist groups joined in appealing to him to keep England's promise to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine and to repudiate the White Paper. And the New Zionist Organization of America used one of its full-page newspaper advertisements to say bluntly, on May 18, 1943: "Mr. Churchill, drop the Mandate!"

To increase the effectiveness of its political endeavor the Zionist Organization of America launched an extensive membership campaign. A special feature has been the affiliation of the entire memberships of synagogues with the Zionist Organization; thus far over forty synagogues have joined en masse. A campaign to enlighten the indifferent and to influence public opinion in favor of Zionism was launched in the month of November; it was dedicated to the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and of the twentieth anniversary of the unanimous adoption by the Congress of the United States in 1922 of the joint resolution endorsing the Declaration. The Zionist idea was disseminated through mass meetings, radio broadcasts, pamphlets and articles in the press.

Support for Zionism came from other sources. Early in

December the American Palestine Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner, and with a membership of approximately 1,000 prominent persons throughout the country, including 23 governors, 63 senators and 181 representatives of both parties, sent a petition to President Roosevelt asking that large numbers of the Jewish survivors of the war be enabled "to reconstruct their lives in Palestine where the Jewish people may once more assume a position of dignity and equality among the peoples of the earth." They stressed their support of this country's "declared and traditional policy" favoring the restoration of a Jewish homeland. And on December 14, in New York City, representatives of five hundred Christian leaders, clergymen and laymen of all denominations throughout the country organized a Christian Council on Palestine and adopted a statement of Principles which pointed out that "of all lands available for the mass migration of Jews in the post-war world, Palestine is the most practicable." The Council, meeting at the Hotel Pennsylvania, committed itself to "the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine." In June 1943, they adopted a resolution demanding that "an international commission, composed of competent Christian leaders, be sent to Palestine at an early date to study and analyze the problems of Jews and Arabs and return with specific solutions to meet that issue in a spirit of wise and sympathetic statesmanship." The Church Peace Union also urged the opening of Palestine to large-scale immigration now and in the postwar period.

Pro-Zionist resolutions were adopted by 12 state legislatures — Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Texas. Prominent Americans also made favorable statements. Wendell L. Willkie, for example, declared that "the door of Palestine will have to be opened to the homeless Jews of central and eastern Europe who will survive this war." His best-selling book, *One World*, contained favorable references to Zionist activities in Palestine. Former Governor Herbert H. Lehman predicted soon after his appointment as Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation in November that the survival of large numbers of Jews would hinge upon Palestine.

AMERICAN Jews exerted every effort to focus the attention of the Anglo-American Refugee Conference at Bermuda on Palestine as a place of immigration. The Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, representing all the larger Jewish national organizations, submitted on April 14 a Program for the Rescue of Jews from Nazi-Occupied Europe. It asked that "overriding pre-war political considerations, England should be persuaded to open the doors of Palestine for Jewish immigration and the offer of hospitality made by the Jewish Community of Palestine should be accepted." Dr. Weizmann presented a supporting memorandum by the Jewish Agency. These representations, however, were of no avail; on April 23, George Henry Hall of the British delegation announced that "the conference would not alter the British Government's White Paper policy, restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine." The Jewish press voiced its unequivocal disappointment with the Bermuda Conference; Representative Sol Bloom of the American delegation was also severely criticized for his failure to support the program of the Joint Emergency Committee.

Another major Zionist activity was the demand for a Jewish fighting force. Early in July 1942, while the threat of a Nazi invasion of Palestine was still close, the demands in America that the Jews of Palestine be used for its defense were particularly urgent. A group of Zionist leaders cabled Churchill urging the immediate mobilization of "all available Jewish manpower in Palestine," so that if they "go down, they should be enabled to go down fighting." As a partial concession, the British Government announced on August 6 its intention to set up Jewish infantry battalions as part of a Palestinian Regiment and, in recruiting Jews, to discard the principle of parity with the Arabs. The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, in August, hailed this decision as a marked advance, but expressed the hope that hereafter the Jewish units would get full training and equipment.

The demand for the formation of a Jewish fighting force under the United Nations' command was not relaxed. Particularly insistent were the New Zionist Organization, the Jewish State Party, and an organization in which they have

been active, the Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews. A Proclamation on the Moral Rights of the Stateless and Palestinian Jews signed by 1,521 prominent Americans was made public on November 16 by this Committee. The document proclaimed the rights of Jews in the Old World to live in freedom and to fight the Axis in their own army and under their own insignia, and declared that the solution of the Jewish problem must be an objective of democracy. Throughout the year a number of full-page advertisements propagating these ideas were inserted in newspapers.

IN LAST year's Review of the Year reference was made to conversations which had been in progress during the preceding year between representatives of Zionist organizations on the one hand, and representative non-Zionists on the other. These conversations had been initiated early in 1941 jointly by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and the late Sol M. Stroock, then president of the American Jewish Committee. The non-Zionist conferees comprised official representatives of the Jewish Labor Committee and members of the American Jewish Committee in their individual capacity. As stated in the Annual Report submitted by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee at the annual meeting of that body in January 1943, these conversations "had for their purpose the exploration of the differences between the respective viewpoints of Zionists and non-Zionists, with a view, if possible, to find common ground for concerted representation at the Peace Conferences and closer collaboration between the two groups in the work of developing the Jewish settlement in Palestine."

At the annual meeting of the Committee, Maurice Wertheim, its president, announced that, after these conferences had progressed for a considerable time, the questions raised were discussed at many meetings of a sub-committee of the American Jewish Committee, of which the late Louis E. Kirstein was chairman, and that an effort was made "to achieve a common statement of principles to which all Jewish organizations would subscribe." As these discussions progressed, it became apparent that before proceeding any

further, it was necessary for the Committee to formulate its own views on the subject of Palestine.

The Kirstein committee thereupon proceeded to draft such a statement of views, which was discussed and adopted by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee. In so far as Palestine is concerned, this statement expressed appreciation of the growth of the Jewish settlement in Palestine and the benefits which it has conferred upon the country, but stated that such settlement "cannot alone furnish and should not be expected to furnish the solution of the problem of postwar Jewish rehabilitation."

In respect of the future government of Palestine, the statement expressed the view that in the face of wide divergence of opinion and existing conditions, "there should be no preconceived formula at this time as to the permanent political structure which shall obtain there." In this connection, the statement declared that Jews are nationals of the countries in which they live and that, therefore, "there can be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with whatever government may there be instituted." The statement concluded with the expression of approval of an international trusteeship to be responsible to the United Nations for the administration of Palestine, and specifically, for (a) safeguarding the Jewish settlement in, and Jewish immigration to, Palestine and guaranteeing adequate scope for future growth and development "to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country"; (b) safeguarding and protecting the rights of all inhabitants; (c) safeguarding and protecting the holy places of all faiths; and (d) preparing the country to become, within reasonable time, "a self-governing commonwealth under a constitution and a bill of rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all."

Shortly after the adoption of this statement by the American Jewish Committee, the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs announced that the statement precluded the possibility of further negotiations. In some Zionist circles the statement was condemned as anti-Zionist, but in others it was regarded as leaving the way open to an agreement between Zionists and non-Zionists in the future.



THE quest for unity, however, began showing results. Leaders of 32 national organizations meeting in Pittsburgh on January 23–24 at a conference called by B'nai B'rith, voted to convene an American Jewish Assembly "to establish a common program of action in connection with postwar problems." One of the three points of the agenda for the proposed meeting was "to consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine." The American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee were not represented at this conference, but after prolonged negotiations both agreed to join in the national meeting to be renamed the American Jewish Conference, and scheduled for August 29–September 2, in New York City. The number of participating organizations had swelled to more than forty by June.

The announcement of the maximum program on the part of the Zionists, and their concerted demands for a Jewish Army tightened the ranks of the opponents of Zionism. Following repeated declarations by a group of Reform rabbis, ninety of them organized in December the American Council for Judaism, in opposition to Jewish nationalism and the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. They were joined also by a number of prominent laymen. Taking up this challenge, 757 Orthodox, Conservative and Reform rabbis issued a statement rebuking the "protest rabbis" and branding anti-Zionism as "a departure from the Jewish religion."

Arab propaganda in the United States has recently become well organized. Arab organizations such as the self-styled League of American-Arab Committees for Democracy, flood Congress and government officials with anti-Zionist literature. *Life* magazine (May 31) featured an article about Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia and chief candidate to head a Pan-Arab Federation, in which he flatly declared against a policy of setting up a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Dr. Stephen S. Wise replied in the June 21st issue of the magazine, defending Zionism on the basis of broad considerations of world policy, and Lessing J. Rosenwald presented the non-Zionist viewpoint a week later.

The United States continued to be the main source of

funds for Palestine. The Keren Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund) for land purchase and amelioration, and the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund), the fiscal instrument of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, share equally as the chief beneficiaries of the United Palestine Appeal which, in turn, receives its designated share from the United Jewish Appeal. The two Palestinian funds each received \$2,017,500 in 1942. In addition the Jewish National Fund raised through its own traditional campaign \$653,663, more than half of which sum constitutes the worldwide income of the fund. At the Zionist Convention a \$2,500,000 loan for the J. N. F. was launched and approximately \$1,500,000 has already been subscribed.

There are numerous other agencies giving financial support to Palestinian institutions and the amounts raised by them cannot be estimated. The large national organizations, however, devote their attention to special projects and activities in Palestine and render annual accounts of their income and expenditure. Up to September, 1942, Hadassah sent to Palestine \$1,518,842 for various immigration and welfare projects. The National Labor Committee for Palestine has raised \$750,000 for the many institutions of the Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine. The American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, which supports all those activities which are not taken care of by the Jewish Agency or the Histadruth inaugurated a campaign for \$250,000 in October.