THE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

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

Cable Address: "WISHCOM, N. Y."

1944
OBJECTS OF THE COMMITTEE

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

—Extract from the Charter
OFFICERS

President
Joseph M. Proskauer

Chairman, Executive Committee
Jacob Blaustein

Vice-Chairman, Executive Committee
Morris D. Waldman

Chairman, Administrative Committee
Alan M. Stroock

Honorary Vice-Presidents
Irving Lehman
Abram I. Elkus

Vice-Presidents
Jacob J. Kaplan
M. C. Sloss
Edward Lazansky
Horace Stern
Fred Lazarus, Jr.
Henry Wineman

Treasurer
Ira M. Younker

Associate Treasurer
Nathan M. Ohrbach

Secretary
Victor S. Riesenfeld

Executive Vice-President
John Slawson

Assistant Secretary
Harry Schneiderman

523
EXECUTIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEES

Executive Committee

JACOB BLAUSTEIN (1945), Chairman ........................................... Baltimore, Md.
FRANK ALTSCHUL (1946) ...................................................... New York, N. Y.
*MICHAEL G. APPEL (1947) .................................................... New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL E. ARONOWITZ (1945) .............................................. Albany, N. Y.
CARL J. AUSTRIAN (1945) ..................................................... New York, N. Y.
GEORGE BACKER (1946) ....................................................... New York, N. Y.
SALO W. BARON (1947) ....................................................... New York, N. Y.
JAMES H. BECKER (1946) ..................................................... Chicago, Ill.
J. M. BERNE (1947) ............................................................. Cleveland, Ohio
JOHN L. BERNSTEIN (1946) ................................................... New York, N. Y.
IRVIN BETTMANN (1947) ...................................................... St. Louis, Mo.
MILTON BIOW (1945) .......................................................... Mobile, Ala.
HERBERT R. BLOCH (1947) ................................................... Cincinnati, Ohio
HERMAN W. BLOCK (1945) .................................................... New York, N. Y.
MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG (1945) ................................................ New York, N. Y.
LEO M. BROWN (1947) ........................................................ Mobile, Ala.
FRED M. BUTZEL (1947) ...................................................... Detroit, Mich.
LEO M. BUTZEL (1946) ....................................................... Detroit, Mich.
RALPH F. COLIN (1946) ...................................................... New York, N. Y.
MONROE E. DEUTSCH (1947) ................................................ Berkeley, Cal.
HERBERT EHRRMANN (1945) ................................................ Boston, Mass.
ABRAM I. ELKUS (1946) ..................................................... New York, N. Y.
SOLOMON ELSNER (1947) .................................................... Hartford, Conn.
LEON FALK, JR. (1946) ........................................................ Pittsburgh, Pa.
LOUIS FINKELSTEIN (1945) .................................................. New York, N. Y.
PHILLIP FORMAN (1945) ..................................................... Trenton, N. J.
ELI FRANK (1946) .............................................................. Baltimore, Md.
MAX FREEDMAN (1945) ....................................................... Cleveland, Ohio
SOLOMON B. FREEHOF (1947) .............................................. Pittsburgh, Pa.
ISRAEL FRIEDLANDER (1947) ................................................ Houston, Texas
HENRY J. FRIENDLY (1945) ................................................ New York, N. Y.
NORMAN S. GOETZ (1947) ................................................... New York, N. Y.
MRS. MAURICE L. GOLDMAN (1946) ...................................... San Francisco, Cal.

1 Numbers following names indicate year in which term expires.

*Deceased
Arthur J. Goldsmith (1945)                      New York, N. Y.
Wm. W. Goodman (1945)                          Memphis, Tenn.
Leo Gottlieb (1946)                             New York, N. Y.
Louis Gross (1945)                              Minneapolis, Minn.
Marc J. Grossman (1947)                        Cleveland, Ohio
Samuel J. Harris (1947)                        Buffalo, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1947)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
Sidney Hollander (1947)                        Baltimore, Md.
Henry Ittleson (1946)                          New York, N. Y.
Sidney Holland (1947)                          New York, N. Y.
Mortimer Hays (1946)                           New York, N. Y.
Maurice B. Hexter (1947)                       New York, N. Y.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victor S. Riesenfeld (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James N. Rosenberg (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Rosenwald (1946)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter N. Rothschild (1947)</td>
<td>Brooklyn, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Salzman (1947)</td>
<td>Brooklyn, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ralph E. Samuel (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Schulman (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray Seasongood (1947)</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lester N. Selig (1945)</td>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Sher (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harry Shulman (1946)</td>
<td>New Haven, Conn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendel B. Silberberg (1947)</td>
<td>Los Angeles, Cal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Slawson (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max C. Sloss (1947)</td>
<td>San Francisco, Cal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Edward S. Steinam (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse H. Steinhart (1945)</td>
<td>San Francisco, Cal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roger W. Straus (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lewis L. Strauss (1945)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan M. Stroock (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David H. Sulzberger (1946)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morris D. Waldman (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick M. Warburg (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank L. Weil (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidney J. Weinberg (1946)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Weiss (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice Wertheim (1946)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James L. White (1947)</td>
<td>Salt Lake City, Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Willen (1946)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Wirth (1946)</td>
<td>Chicago, Ill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ira M. Younker (1947)</td>
<td>New York, N. Y.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Administrative Committee

ALAN M. STROOCK, Chairman ............................ New York, N. Y.
FRANK ALTSCHEL .......................................... New York, N. Y.
CARL J. AUSTRIAN ......................................... New York, N. Y.
JAMES H. BECKER ........................................ Chicago, Ill.
MILTON BIOW ................................................ New York, N. Y.
JACOB BLAUSTEIN .......................................... Baltimore, Md.
MRS. SIDNEY C. BORG ...................................... New York, N. Y.
LOUIS FINKELSTEIN ....................................... New York, N. Y.
PHILLIP FORMAN ........................................... Trenton, N. J.
HENRY J. FRIENDLY ....................................... New York, N. Y.
NORMAN S. GOETZ .......................................... New York, N. Y.
ARTHUR J. GOLDSMITH ................................... New York, N. Y.
MORTIMER HAYS ............................................ New York, N. Y.
HENRY IITTLESION ......................................... New York, N. Y.
JACOB J. KAPLAN ........................................... Boston, Mass.
EDWARD LAZANSKY ......................................... New York, N. Y.
FRED LAZARUS, JR .......................................... Columbus, O.
SAMUEL D. LEIDESDORF .................................. New York, N. Y.
SAM A. LEWISOHN .......................................... New York, N. Y.
GEORGE Z. MEDALIE ....................................... New York, N. Y.
WALTER MENDELSOHN ..................................... New York, N. Y.
EDWARD A. NORMAN ....................................... New York, N. Y.
NATHAN M. OHRBACH ...................................... New York, N. Y.
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER .................................... New York, N. Y.
VICTOR S. RIESENFELD ................................... New York, N. Y.
LESSING J. ROSENWALD .................................. Jenkintown, Pa.
RALPH E. SAMUEL ......................................... New York, N. Y.
DAVID SHER ................................................ New York, N. Y.
MENDEL B. SILBERBERG ................................... Los Angeles, Cal.
MAX C. SLOSS ............................................. San Francisco, Cal.
JESSE H. STEINHART ...................................... San Francisco, Cal.
DAVID H. SULZBERGER .................................... New York, N. Y.
F. FRANK VORENBERG .................................... Boston, Mass.
MORRIS D. WALDMAN ...................................... New York, N. Y.
FRANK L. WEIL ............................................ New York, N. Y.
MAURICE WERTHEIM ....................................... New York, N. Y.
JOSEPH WILLEN ............................................ New York, N. Y.
HENRY WINEMAN ........................................... Detroit, Mich.
IRA M. YOUNKER .......................................... New York, N. Y.
STATEMENT OF VIEWS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION IN JEWISH LIFE

ADOPTED BY THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE ON JANUARY 31, 1943

I.

At this time when our country is engaged in an epoch-making war, we, who are united with our brethren of all faiths in the common bond of American citizenship, pledge every effort and every sacrifice to the winning of the war, the achievement for the whole world of the Four Freedoms and the blessings of the Atlantic Charter and the establishment of a just and enduring peace.

II.

We reaffirm our devotion to our religion and pledge ourselves to maintain and perpetuate the vitality of the Jewish religious community, confident that its teachings have constituted and will continue to constitute a basic contribution to the development of civilization and of democracy.

III.

We join with our brethren of all creeds in the continued fight against those who through bigotry and prejudice endeavor in any way to imperil the rights of any group of American Citizens and thus to divide our country and undermine the foundations of American liberty.

IV.

We urge upon the United Nations and upon those who shall frame the terms of peace the relief from the havoc and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on millions of unoffending human beings, especially Jews, their repatriation, rehabilitation and the complete restoration and safeguarding of their equal civil and religious rights.
V.

To the extent that economic conditions in the war-torn lands shall make emigration therefrom of their nationals necessary, we ask the implementation by those who shall frame the terms of peace of a program which shall under international supervision facilitate voluntary settlement elsewhere under the most favorable conditions.

VI.

We ask of the United Nations and those who shall frame the terms of peace, reaffirmation of the fundamental principle that Jewish citizens of every land, fulfilling their obligation of complete loyalty to their respective countries, shall be guaranteed the correlative right of complete equality. We applaud the recent statement of the Secretary of State, that we must have a world in which Jews like all others "are free to abide in peace and in honor."

VII.

Thus, while associating ourselves fully with all the purposes of human freedom and betterment proclaimed by the President of the United States, we have special concern with the two objectives, salvation of these suffering people and the preservation of the Jewish community as a spiritual force.

VIII.

We recognize that there are now more than half a million Jews in Palestine who have built up a sound and flourishing economic life and a satisfying spiritual and cultural life, and who now constitute substantially one-third of the population, and that while this Palestinian immigration has been a blessed amelioration of the condition of this large number of Jews, and has helped to bring about a great development of the country itself, settlement in Palestine although an important factor, cannot alone furnish and should not be expected to furnish the solution of the problem of post-war Jewish rehabilitation.
IX.

We affirm our deep sympathy with and our desire to cooperate with those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine.

X.

With respect to the government of Palestine, we recognize wide divergence of opinion and that under existing conditions there should be no preconceived formula at this time as to the permanent political structure which shall obtain there. Since we hold that in the United States as in all other countries Jews, like all others of their citizens are nationals of those nations and of no other, there can be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with whatever government may there be instituted.

XI.

We endorse the policy of friendship and co-operation between Jews and Arabs in Palestine and urge that every possible avenue be followed to establish good will and active collaboration between them.

XII.

We approve for Palestine an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations for the following purposes:

(a) To safeguard the Jewish settlement in and Jewish immigration into Palestine and to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country.

(b) To safeguard and protect the fundamental rights of all inhabitants.

(c) To safeguard and protect the holy places of all faiths.

(d) To prepare the country to become, within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing commonwealth under a constitution and a bill of rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all.
THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

January 30, 1944

The Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the General Committee of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Waldorf Astoria, New York City, on Sunday, January 30, 1944. Hon. Joseph M. Proskauer, President, called the meeting to order.

Attendance

The following Corporate Members were present:

CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles: Mendel B. Silberberg

CONNECTICUT
Hartford: Solomon Elsner; Isidore Wise

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Washington: Milton W. King; I. L. Sharfman

GEORGIA
Atlanta: Armand May

ILLINOIS
Chicago: James H. Becker; Arthur Horwich; Louis Wirth

MARYLAND
Baltimore: Jacob Blaustein; Sidney Hollander; Sidney Lansburgh

MASSACHUSETTS
Boston: Herbert Ehrmann, Jacob J. Kaplan
Brookline: A. M. Sonnabend
Lowell: Maurice Barlofsky

MICHIGAN
Grand Rapids: H. J. Bylan

MINNESOTA
Duluth: Erwin Oreck; A. B. Polinsky

NEW JERSEY
Bayonne: William Rubin
Elizabeth: Samuel Koestler
Newark: Julius H. Cohn; Herbert J. Hannoch
Passaic: William N. Gurtman
Paterson: Edward H. Saltzman
Plainfield: William Newcorn
Trenton: Sidney Goldmann
New York
Buffalo: Samuel J. Harris
Great Neck: Earl Morse
Mt. Vernon: Leon Mann

New York City: Michael G. Appel*; Salo W. Baron; Herman W. Block;
Mrs. Sidney C. Borg; Emanuel Celler; S. Dingol; Louis Finkelstein;
William Fischman; Norman S. Goetz; Samuel H. Goldenson; Arthur
J. Goldsmith; I. Edwin Goldwasser; Mortimer Hays; Henry S. Hendricks;
Abraham Herman; Maurice B. Hexter; Stanley M. Isaacs;
Joseph J. Klein; Arthur K. Kuhn; Jacob Landau; Edward Lazansky;
Irving Lehman; Samuel D. Leidesdorf; Samuel M. Levy; Harry E.
Lewis; Sam A. Lewisohn; William Liebermann; James Marshall;
Alexander Marx; Jacob Massel, Mrs. Albert J. May; George Z. Medalie;
Joseph M. Proskauer; Victor S. Riesenfeld; Chester Rohrlich; A. J.
Rongy; William Rosenwald; Samuel Salzman; Samuel Schulman;
Wolfgang S. Schwabacher; Bernard Semel; David Sher; Samuel Shore;
John Slawson; Nathan Spingold; Fred M. Stein; Alan M. Stroock;
Nathan Sweedler; Sidney Tedesche; George Trosk; Morris D. Waldman;
Max M. Warburg; Frank J. Weil; William Weiss; Solon Weit;
Maurice Wertheim; Joseph Willen; Jonah B. Wise; Ira M. Younker

Rochester: Henry M. Stern
Syracuse: David M. Holstein
White Plains: Jacob Aronson
Yonkers: P. Irving Grinberg

Ohio
Cleveland: Max Freedman

Pennsylvania
Philadelphia: Justin P. Allman; Abram S. Berg, Jr.; Jacob Billikopf;
Charles Klein; Albert H. Lieberman; Lessing J. Rosenwald; Jerome J.
Rothschild; Morris Wolf

Pittsburgh: Edgar J. Kaufmann

Tennessee
Memphis: William Gerber; Abe D. Waldauer

Texas
Houston: Israel Friedlander; Max H. Nathan

Virginia
Richmond: Edward N. Calisch

West Virginia
Huntington: Dez C. Schonthal

Wisconsin
Madison: S. B. Schein

*Deceased
The President announced that, according to the program set for the meeting by the Executive Committee, the presentation of the Report of the Executive Committee would be the first number on the order of business; this would be followed by a statement by Mr. Morris D. Waldman, Executive Vice President, summarizing his observations on an extended tour to the West and Middle West during which he conferred with groups of Jewish communal leaders in a number of cities. Following Mr. Waldman's statement, the meeting would be open for discussion of the Annual Report of the Executive Committee and of Mr. Waldman's remarks. This discussion would be followed by the report of the chairman of the committee appointed to revise the by-laws, and by the report of the nominating committee. Before adjournment for luncheon, there would be a performance from records of "The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto," a radio dramatization broadcast, under the auspices of the Committee, over the network of the National Broadcasting Company on October 3 and repeated on December 12, 1943. Adjournment would then be for luncheon, at the close of which the President would deliver an address. The afternoon session would be devoted to the submission of reports on the Committee's overseas activities and its domestic activities, and the meeting would be concluded by a brief statement by Dr. John Slawson, who will be nominated Executive Vice-President to succeed Mr. Waldman, who is to be nominated Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Annual Report of the Executive Committee

The President called upon Mr. Jacob Blaustein, Chairman of the Executive Committee, to present the Annual Report of that body. (For text of report, see p. 542.)

Statement by Mr. Waldman

At the request of the President, Mr. Waldman submitted a statement in which he summarized the impressions he received during a recent extended tour in the Middle and Far West with regard to prevailing opinions of the Committee in general and of its recent withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference in particular.
Discussion of Executive Committee Report

The President announced that discussion of the Report of the Executive Committee was in order.

Mr. William N. Gurtman of Passaic, N. J., stated that he had been requested by the Jewish Community Council of that city, which he represented, to express the Council's view that, although they accept and understand the reasons for the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the American Jewish Conference, yet they deplore the withdrawal of the Committee.

Mr. Samuel Koestler of Elizabeth, N. J., stated that he had been charged by the Jewish Community Council of that city, of which he is the President, to present a resolution recommending to the American Jewish Committee that it re-consider the decision of its Executive Committee to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference in the interests of greater unity and harmony on the American scene.

Mr. William Gerber of Memphis, Tenn., the President of the Jewish Welfare Fund of that city, moved that the American Jewish Committee re-enter the American Jewish Conference with a declaration that they favor the program of the Conference, with the exception of that provision of the resolution on Palestine adopted by the Conference favoring the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The motion was seconded by Mr. Abe D. Waldauer of Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Gerber's motion was discussed by Mr. Jacob Aronson of White Plains, N. Y., Mr. H. J. Bylan of Grand Rapids, Mich, Judge Samuel J. Harris of Buffalo, N. Y., Dr. A. J. Rongy, New York City, Judge Edward Lazansky, Brooklyn, N. Y., Mr. Armand May, Atlanta, Ga., Mr. William Liebermann, Brooklyn, N. Y., Judge George Trosk, New York City, and Mr. Mortimer Hays, New York City.

Judge Proskauer relinquished the chair to Mr. Blaustein, and made a statement summarizing the considerations which had led the Executive Committee at its meeting on October 24 to decide to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference.

The question was called for and Mr. Gerber's motion was voted upon, and declared lost. A division was called for, and the vote was re-taken, with the result that 14 votes were cast in favor of the motion and 77 in opposition to it. Mr. Gerber requested that he be recorded on the minutes of this meeting as having voted in favor of the motion.
Adoption of Revised By-Laws

At the request of the President, Mr. David Sher, chairman of the sub-committee appointed by the Committee on Reorganization to recommend changes in the by-laws of the American Jewish Committee, submitted, and moved the adoption of, proposed by-laws, copies of which had been sent to the Corporate Members of the Committee thirty days in advance of this Annual Meeting. Mr. Sher stated that the draft circulated to the membership had been amended in a number of places by the Executive Committee at its meeting held yesterday evening. He commented in detail on the nature of these amendments. Discussion on the proposed by-laws was participated in by Messrs. Gurtman, Rongy, and Gerber. Mr. Waldauer proposed an amendment providing that each state in the United States and the District of Columbia shall have at least one member on the Executive Committee. The motion was seconded by Mr. Gerber. A vote was taken and the motion was lost. Messrs. Waldauer and Gerber requested that they be recorded as voting in favor of the motion.

The motion to adopt the proposed by-laws as amended by the Executive Committee was carried.

Report of the Nominating Committee

At the request of Judge Proskauer, Mr. Sam A. Lewisohn took the chair and called upon Mr. George Z. Medalie, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, to submit its report. The Nominating Committee, which was elected by the Executive Committee at its meeting on October 24, consists of the following: George Z. Medalie, New York, Chairman; Frank Sulzberger, Chicago; Edward Lazansky, New York; Maurice Wertheim, New York; Sidney Lansburgh, Baltimore; Mendel B. Silberberg, Los Angeles; and J. J. Kaplan, Boston.

The report of the Nominating Committee follows.

The Nominating Committee recommends the election of the following officers:

*President*, Joseph M. Proskauer
*Chairman, Executive Committee*, Jacob Blaustein
*Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee*, Morris D. Waldman
Chairman of the Administrative Committee, Alan M. Stroock
Executive Vice President, John Slawson
Honorary Vice Presidents, Irving Lehman, New York, and
   Abram I. Elkus, New York
Vice Presidents, Jacob J. Kaplan, Boston; Edward Lazansky,  
   Brooklyn; Fred Lazarus, Jr., Columbus; M. C. Sloss, San 
   Francisco; Horace Stern, Philadelphia; and Henry Wineman,  
   Detroit.
Secretary, Victor S. Riesenfeld, New York
Treasurer, Ira M. Younker, New York
Associate Treasurer, Nathan M. Ohrbach, New York

For members of the Executive Committee to fill existing vacancies  
and to serve for one year:
   Samuel E. Aronowitz, Albany 
   Jacob Billikopf, Philadelphia 
   Herman W. Block, New York 
   Herbert Ehrmann, Boston 
   Max Freedman, Cleveland 
   Henry J. Friendly, New York 
   William W. Goodman, Memphis
   Louis Gross, Minneapolis  
   Armand May, Atlanta  
   Charles W. Morris, Louisville 
   Erwin Oreck, Duluth 
   Harris Perlstein, Chicago 
   Lester N. Selig, Chicago 
   Mrs. Edward S. Steinam, New York

For members of the Executive Committee to fill existing vacancies  
and to serve for two years:
   Frank Altschul, New York  
   Ralph F. Colin, New York  
   Leo Gottlieb, New York  
   Jacob Landau, New York  
   Leónard R. Mintzer, Cincinnati
   Walter H. Rich, Atlanta  
   I. L. Sharfman, Ann Arbor 
   Harry Shulman, New Haven 
   Louis Wirth, Chicago

For members of the Executive Committee to fill existing vacancies  
and to serve for three years:
   Michael G. Appel, New York  
   Salo W. Baron, New York  
   J. M. Berne, Cleveland 
   Irvin Bettmann, St. Louis  
   Herbert R. Bloch, Cincinnati 
   Leo M. Brown, Mobile  
   Fred M. Butzel, Detroit 
   Monroe E. Deutsch, Berkeley 
   Solomon Elsner, Hartford 
   Solomon B. Freehof, Pittsburgh 
   Israel Friedlander, Houston 
   Norman S. Goetz, New York 
   I. Edwin Goldwasser, New York  
   Marc J. Grossman, Cleveland  
   Samuel J. Harris, Buffalo  
   Mortimer Hays, New York  
   Maurice B. Hexter, New York 
   Sidney Holland, Baltimore 
   Leslie L. Jacobs, Dallas 
   Jacob J. Kaplan, Boston 
   Edgar J. Kaufmann, Pittsburgh 
   Fred Lazarus, Jr., Columbus 
   Samuel D. Leidesdorf, New York 
   Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans 
   Harry E. Lewis, New York 
   Sam A. Lewisohn, New York
Albert H. Lieberman, Philadelphia
George Z. Medalie, New York
Mendon Morrill, Paterson
Nathan M. Ohrbach, New York
Charles M. Rice, St. Louis
Jerome J. Rothschild, Philadelphia
Walter N. Rothschild, New York
Samuel Saltzman, New York
Samuel Schulman, New York
Mendel B. Silberberg, Los Angeles
Max C. Sloss, San Francisco

For **Members-at-Large**, to serve for one year:

**ALABAMA**
Leo M. Brown, Mobile

**CALIFORNIA**
Monroe E. Deutsch, Berkeley
Mrs. Maurice L. Goldman, San Francisco
Walter S. Hilborn, Los Angeles
Maurice J. Karpf, Los Angeles
Joseph A. Loeb, Los Angeles
Louis B. Mayer, Culver City

**CONNECTICUT**
Solomon Elsner, Hartford
William Rosenwald, Greenwich
Abraham Wofsey, Stamford

**GEORGIA**
Walter H. Rich, Atlanta

**ILLINOIS**
Avery Carp, Granite City
Arthur Horwich, Chicago
Harris Perlstein, Chicago
Peter Sampson, Chicago
Lester N. Selig, Chicago
Herman E. Snyder, Springfield
Robert Strauss, Chicago
Frank L. Sulzberger, Chicago
Louis Wirth, Chicago

**INDIANA**
J. J. Kiser, Indianapolis

**KENTUCKY**
Charles W. Morris, Louisville

**LOUISIANA**
Victor H. Elsas, New Orleans
Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans

**MARYLAND**
Sidney Berney, Baltimore
Jacob Epstein, Baltimore
Eli Frank, Baltimore
Sidney Hollander, Baltimore
Lester S. Levy, Baltimore
Elkan R. Myers, Baltimore
Reuben Oppenheimer, Baltimore

**MASSACHUSETTS**
Herbert Ehrmann, Boston
Jacob J. Kaplan, Boston
A. M. Sonnabend, Brookline
F. Frank Vorenberg, Boston

**MICHIGAN**
Fred M. Butzel, Detroit
Leo M. Butzel, Detroit
Milford Desenberg, Flint
I. L. Sharfman, Ann Arbor
Henry Wineman, Detroit

**MINNESOTA**
Milton P. Firestone, St. Paul
Louis Gross, Minneapolis
Erwin Oreck, Duluth

**MISSOURI**
Irvin Bettmann, St. Louis

**NEW JERSEY**
Louis Bamberger, Newark
Daniel Eisenberg, Plainfield
Sidney Goldmann, Trenton
Herbert J. Hannoch, Newark
Milton M. Manshel, Newark
Mendon Morrill, Paterson

New York
Samuel E. Aronowitz, Albany
Walter A. Miller, Babylon
Benjamin F. Levy, Elmira
Earl Morse, Great Neck
Robert I. Wishnick,
New Rochelle
Henry M. Stern, Rochester
Charles Grosberg, Troy
Jacob Aronson, White Plains
Irving Schneider, Yonkers

New York City
Michael G. Appel
George Backer
Salo W. Baron
Edward L. Bernays
George B. Bernheim,
John L. Bernstein
Herman W. Block
Emanuel Celler
Morris R. Cohen
Ralph F. Colin
Henry J. Friendly
John H. Garlock
I. Edwin Goldwasser
Edward S. Greenbaum
Harold K. Guinzburg
Hiram J. Halle
Mortimer Hays
Joseph C. Hyman
Henry Ittleson
Arthur K. Kuhn
Albert D. Lasker
Herbert H. Lehman
Samuel D. Leidesdorf
Sam A. Lewisohn
Charles J. Liebman
Alexander Marks
Mrs. Albert J. May
George Z. Medalie
Henry Morgenthau, Sr.
Nathan M. Ohrbach
Chester Rohrlich
Walter N. Rothschild
Samuel Salzman

Jacob W. Schwab
Samuel Shore
John Slawson
Nathan Spingold
Mrs. Edward S. Steinam
Hugh Grant Straus
Roger W. Straus
David H. Sulzberger
George Trosk
Jerome I. Udell
Frederick M. Warburg
Max M. Warburg
Sidney J. Weinberg
William Weiss
Maurice Wertheim
Joseph Willen
Ralph Wolf
Ira M. Younker

Brooklyn
Emil N. Baar
Louis Hamburger
Harry E. Lewis
Sidney S. Tedesche
Solon Weit

North Carolina
Milton J. Rosenau, Chapel Hill
Lionel Weil, Goldsboro

Ohio
J. M. Berne, Cleveland
Louis Bing, Jr., Cleveland
Herbert R. Bloch, Cincinnati
Philip Frankel, Cleveland
Julius Goodman, Cleveland
Marc J. Grossman, Cleveland
Irving B. Hexter, Cleveland
Fred Lazarus, Jr., Columbus
Leonard R. Minster, Cincinnati
David Philipson, Cincinnati
Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati
Daniel Sherby, Cleveland

Pennsylvania
Abram S. Berg, Jr., Philadelphia
Jacob Billikopf, Philadelphia
Leo Falk, Jr., Pittsburgh
Solomon B. Freehof, Pittsburgh
J. C. Gutman, Philadelphia
Charles Klein, Philadelphia
Upon motion by Mr. Wertheim, duly seconded, the report of
the Nominating Committee was adopted, and the Secretary was
requested to cast one ballot for the nominees proposed. He so did,
and announced the election of the several nominees.

"The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto"

The radio dramatization entitled "The Battle of the Warsaw
Ghetto," which had been broadcast under the auspices of the Com-
mittee, over the network of the National Broadcasting Company
on October 3 and again on December 12, 1943, was reproduced
from records.

A recess was declared for luncheon.

LUNCHEON SESSION

Judge Irving Lehman presided at the luncheon session. Rev.
Dr. Louis Finkelstein recited the grace before meals. At the close
of the luncheon, Judge Lehman presented Judge Proskauer, who
delivered an address reviewing the situation of Jews here and abroad
and offering suggestions for dealing with it. (For text of Judge
Proskauer's address see p. 559.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Following the luncheon, the Committee re-convened, and the
meeting was called to order by Mr. Jacob Blaustein. The chairman
called attention to exhibits of charts and publications which had
been prepared by the staff for the information of the members. He announced that at the close of the meeting of the General Committee there would be a short meeting of the Executive Committee, and requested its members to remain for that meeting.

**Report on Overseas Activities**

At the request of the chairman, Mr. George Z. Medalie, Chairman of the Committee on Overseas Activities, presented a report of that committee for the year 1943. (For text of report see p. 565.)

Following the conclusion of his report, Mr. Medalie submitted the following resolution expressing the gratitude of the Committee to the governments of Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland for the assistance extended by those countries to Jewish victims of Nazi persecution:

“In view of the magnificent example of the assistance and welcome accorded by the people and government of Sweden to the 6,000 Jews hounded out of Denmark by the Nazi excesses of October 1943; with the picture before us of the unceasing help given by Switzerland to what is now a total of 60,000 refugees, of whom 20,000 are Jews, driven from their permanent or temporary homes in other countries; in admiration of the Danish people and government who, disdainful of risk, aided the majority of the Jews of Denmark to make their hazardous way out of the country;

“In tribute to those who continue to defy the Nazi occupier, and thrust themselves into danger by hiding, sheltering and feeding their Jewish neighbors, thus asserting their human solidarity with the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution;

“The American Jewish Committee hereby resolves, at a moment when liberation is about to pass from a promise to a reality, to extend its gratitude to all those peoples and governments whose record has brightened these last dark years of human history.”

Upon motion, duly made and seconded, the resolution was adopted unanimously.
Report on Committee’s Domestic Program

At the request of the Chairman, Mr. Alan M. Stroock, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, submitted a report on the domestic activities of the Committee. At the conclusion of his report, Mr. Stroock requested that Mr. George J. Mintzer, representing the Legal Committee, and Mr. Richard C. Rothschild, Director of the Department of Public Relations, be called upon to go into further detail regarding the activities of their respective departments. (For text of Mr. Stroock’s report, see p. 574.)

Report of Legal Committee

Mr. George J. Mintzer read the report of the Legal Committee. Mr. Mintzer’s report consisted first of a brief summary of the development of anti-Semitism in the United States during the past ten years and then a bird’s-eye view of the situation as it exists today.

Report of Public Relations Department

Mr. Mintzer was followed by Mr. Richard C. Rothschild, who submitted the report of the activities of the Public Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee.

Statement by
Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice-President

Mr. Blaustein then presented Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice-President. Mr. Blaustein said that, although Dr. Slawson had been the chief of staff of the Committee for only ninety days, “he is quickly grasping the complex problems of the Committee and is handling them with vigor and intelligence.” Dr. Slawson made a statement in which he outlined his views regarding the underlying philosophy of the Committee’s work and the methods and instrumentalities best calculated to implement the Committee’s approach effectively. (For text of Dr. Slawson’s statement, see p. 579.)

Upon motion, adjourned.

Victor S. Riesenfeld
Secretary
To the Members of the American Jewish Committee:

The past year has witnessed much activity on the part of the American Jewish Committee and some important changes in its program, in its administration, and in its relationships with other Jewish organizations.

The year began with the adoption by you at your last Annual Meeting of a Statement of Views regarding the problems now confronting Jews here and abroad, and those likely to confront them after the war, and outlining the principles on the basis of which this Committee proposes that these problems should be solved.¹

The American Jewish Committee was established thirty-seven years ago on the assumption that all Jews, regardless of their conception of Jewishness or their beliefs as to the place of Jews in the world, could work together on a common platform, such as is expressed in the objects of the Committee as stated in its charter. Briefly paraphrased, these objects are: to safeguard and protect the civil, political and religious equality of Jews in countries in which they possess such equality, and to endeavor to secure this equal status for Jews in those remaining countries in which they suffer from legal limitations and other discriminations. We believe that this basic assumption of the founders of the Committee was correct, and that their platform was a middle-of-the-road one on which all Jews, except those holding extreme views, could stand together.

Implicit in this position were certain underlying principles which have guided the Committee throughout its history. But it was not until the adoption by you of the Statement of Views that these principles were systematically formulated and the ideas for which the Committee stands clearly stated in a single document. This Statement represents no essential departure from the platform on which the Committee was organized—and, in our opinion, all Jews, except those who adhere to an over-simplified theory of Jewish life or believe that there exists a panacea for the solution of problems

¹ See p. 528.
confronting Jews, can conscientiously unite for action on the principles therein outlined.

This Statement of Views has served as a chart to your officers and your Executive and Administrative Committees in their efforts to deal with the various questions and problems with which they were confronted during the past year. The Statement was their guide, for example, in meeting the various questions which arose in connection with the American Jewish Conference and particularly, as to whether the American Jewish Committee should or should not continue its participation therein.

You have been kept thoroughly informed of all the steps taken by your administration in connection with the Conference. You are familiar with the general course of the negotiations which led to the decision of your Administrative Committee to participate in the Conference. You are also familiar with the considerations which led your Executive Committee, at a meeting held on October 24, last, to vote for the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the Conference. Nevertheless, your Executive Committee believes that it would be well to review in this report some of the significant points in this series of activities.

A week before your last Annual Meeting the representatives of a number of national Jewish organizations met in Pittsburgh. The invitations to the meeting had been issued by the B'nai B'rith, without consultation with your Committee or the Jewish Labor Committee with which the B'nai B'rith was, and continues to be, associated in the General Jewish Council. The General Jewish Council was organized in 1938 for the purpose of achieving closer cooperation among, and greater coordination of the work of, the leading organizations working in the field of civic protection. The Pittsburgh meeting was called to explore "a common program of action in connection with post-war problems." Although it was common knowledge that the American Jewish Committee had been intensively studying these problems and that it had set up a special department in its office for the purpose, the Committee was not consulted regarding the timeliness and advisability of the conference held in Pittsburgh. The Pittsburgh conference decided to set up an American Jewish Assembly, for three main objectives, to wit: (1) to consider and recommend action on problems related to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world; (2) to consider and recommend action on all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine; and
(3) to elect delegates to carry out the program of the assembly in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world.

As one of the 34 organizations invited to Pittsburgh, the Committee declined the invitation, giving reasons therefor.

Shortly after that meeting, the Committee was approached by several of the sponsors of that meeting and urged to reconsider its decision on the assurance that full opportunity would be afforded to achieve unity of action despite ideological differences. Desiring to attain maximum collaboration, your President recommended participation in the new body on two conditions,—first, that it was not intended that the proposed assembly should be constituted as an over-all organization of American Jews claiming to speak in the name of all the Jews of the United States, but that it was to be a conference of such organizations as desired to participate; and, second, that the decisions of the conference would not be binding upon the participating organizations but that not only would they be free to dissent from such decisions, but in dissenting they would not be restricted in their freedom of action. Accordingly, your Administrative Committee authorized the participation of the American Jewish Committee in the American Jewish Conference, provided that it would be, in name as well as in fact, a conference, and that the retention by the participating organizations of freedom of action in the event of their dissent from the decisions of the Conference would be clearly and definitely understood and stated. These conditions were accepted by the executive committee which was arranging the Conference, and, on April 9, 1943, your Administrative Committee voted to participate in it. Your delegates to the American Jewish Conference were: Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, New York, and Messrs. Jacob Blaustein, Baltimore, and Fred Lazarus, Jr., Columbus.

The events which followed the decision to participate and the considerations which moved your Executive Committee at its meeting on October 24, last, to withdraw from the Conference, are recited so comprehensively in the Statement of Withdrawal (which is appended to this Report) adopted by your Executive Committee at that meeting, that it is not necessary to re-state them, or summarize them here. (See p. 583.)

At the same meeting, your Executive Committee formulated a program of positive action. Though this is included in the Statement of Withdrawal, it is deemed well to re-state it here:
"At this tragic juncture in the history of the Jews we are confronted by grave and immediate tasks. We invite the cooperation of all Jews in a program of action which we mean to continue to pursue aggressively in behalf of Jewry in America, in Europe, in Palestine and everywhere in the world where we can be helpful. Desiring as we do for the stricken Jews of Europe the broadest opportunity which Palestine can offer them, we shall exert our most diligent efforts to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper. Unhampered by intransigent political objectives, we believe we can be the more effective in this direction. So long as countless Jews continue to die day after day in Europe, we believe that all Jews should concentrate on the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration rather than on debates regarding ultimate political aspirations.

But much more than Palestine must occupy the attention of any responsible body which is vitally concerned with the total welfare of Jewry. Through the marshaling of public opinion, through representations to our government and through proper diplomatic channels, we shall continue to seek to achieve the quickest possible rescue of the Jews persecuted in Europe today and to attain for the millions who will be there tomorrow a normal life on a basis of equality with their fellow-citizens. We insist upon the right of Jews to live as equal citizens in Europe or anywhere.

We shall continue assiduously our efforts to deal with anti-Semitism in this country and to expose its true character as a miserable anti-democratic and anti-American manifestation. By a broad educational program, by collaboration with all groups in America who recognize the divisive and demoralizing nature of anti-Semitism, we shall seek to bring about such a community of understanding between all religious and racial groups that bigotry and discrimination will be destroyed. By continuing to cooperate with those many vital Jewish institutions and movements in this country—religious, cultural, philanthropic—we hope to help nourish and enrich Jewish life in America. In all this we shall be moved by a conviction, shared, we believe, by an overwhelming number of American Jews, that the problems of world Jewry cannot be solved by any single political panacea, but by concentrated activity toward the attainment of a secure place for Jews in all countries of the globe."
Another decision of your Executive Committee at its October 24 meeting was to authorize the Administrative Committee to propose to you, at your meeting today, such changes in the by-laws of the Committee as would render it a more effective instrument for the implementation of the Statement of Views adopted by you at your last Annual Meeting and reaffirmed in the above-mentioned affirmative program.

In conformity with the provision of the existing by-laws, notification of the changes proposed was sent to the Corporate Membership, under date of December 29, thirty days in advance of this meeting. It is presumed that you have given the proposed changes close study and consideration and are prepared to discuss and vote on them today. Actually, though there are many changes in the arrangement of the various articles of the by-laws, there are few basic alterations.

The most important change is that providing for a wide membership base—opening affiliation with the Committee to all American Jewish citizens who are in agreement with the aims and program of the Committee, and organizing such members in the various communities into chapters, which in turn will elect representatives to serve as members of the General Committee, that is, the Corporate Membership.

It is highly desirable for the American Jewish Committee to broaden its membership base and to have the benefit of participation in its program by more like-minded Jews over the land. The active support of most of these persons has never been solicited by the Committee. Others have been in accord with the position of the Committee but, until recently, much too apathetic about it. Their counsel and help must now be enlisted.

Then there are some Jews now identified with the Zionists who it appears have not realized the full implications of the extreme maximum political Zionist program and, when they do, are not in agreement with it; nor have they adequately understood the position of the American Jewish Committee. When enlightened, these Jews find the Committee program more in keeping with their own thinking.

In other words, this provision to broaden the membership base and establish community chapters was incorporated in the proposed by-laws because it is the conviction of your Executive Committee—based on numerous expressions of opinion following the withdrawal of the Committee from the Conference—that there are a con-
siderable number of Jews in the United States who are in accord with the views of the American Jewish Committee and are eager to cooperate—indeed must have the right to cooperate—in working along with it.

Your Executive Committee realizes that the task of enrolling its supporters will require a great deal of effort, and it has reviewed and approved plans for coping with it.

These plans were formulated and recommended to it by the Committee on Reorganization which was appointed by the President, shortly after the new administration took office, to analyze, and make recommendations with respect to, the activities of the American Jewish Committee here and abroad, the structure of its organization, its administration (lay and professional), and the Committee's relations with other organizations. The Committee on Reorganization is composed of Mr. Jacob Blaustein, Chairman, and Messrs. Samuel D. Leidesdorf, George Z. Medalie, Victor S. Riesenfeld, David Sher, Alan M. Stroock, Morris D. Waldman, Joseph Willen and Ira M. Younker.

One important part of the task of enrolling supporters will be to make the American Jewish Committee and its program more widely and better known among American Jews. This does not mean any fundamental departure from the long and honorable tradition of modesty regarding the efforts and achievements of the American Jewish Committee, which has consistently refrained from doing anything merely for the publicity it would derive. But, a proper, wider public knowledge of its activities is essential not only for the mobilization of supporters, but for the enhancement of the effectiveness of the Committee's work.

Towards this goal, it is planned to establish a department of public relations for the American Jewish Committee itself, with an experienced, competent staff member in charge and an advisory committee of laymen. It will be the aim of this department to convey to the public in dignified manner, through such channels of communication as may be available, a knowledge and understanding of the Committee's aims and activities, and particularly its underlying philosophy and the nature of its approach to the solution of problems confronting Jews.

In this work communication by word of mouth will be a highly important factor, and your Executive Committee hopes that many of you will volunteer to devote some of your time and energy to
transmitting the Committee's message to Jewish groups in various localities.

Your Committee looks to you also for energetic help in securing the enrollment in your respective communities of chapter members.

The actual plans and mechanics for enrolling chapter members are, of course, another important phase of that objective, and for this and other community purposes it is proposed to organize a Department of Community Activities under an experienced, competent director. It is also expected to have a committee of laymen serve in connection with this department.

Accompanying these activities to make the American Jewish Committee better known and to broaden the base of its constituency, will be efforts to make the professional and technical staff of the Committee's office as effective and as efficient as possible. Owing to the rapid increase in the activities of the organization during the past five or six years and the consequent accretion of new departments and personnel, there has not been sufficient time for the maximum integration and correlation of the various activities and departments of the Committee's office.

Active steps in the direction of achieving these desirable aims are now in progress under the skillful and energetic management of Dr. John Slawson, who was appointed Executive Director last fall and who took office on November 1, last. The appointment of Dr. Slawson was proposed by the Committee on Reorganization, which had previously recommended to the Administrative Committee that it comply with the repeated wishes of Mr. Morris D. Waldman (who had been the chief of staff of the Committee's office since July 1928) to be relieved of the administrative direction and responsibility so as to be free to concern himself with the broader interests of the Committee. The Committee on Reorganization proposed that Mr. Waldman be elevated to the office of Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee and in that position devote himself to the task of formulating general policies for the Committee's work here and abroad and serve as advisor on specific problems as they arise and with respect to which his long experience and wide knowledge can be brought constructively to bear.

The Administrative Committee adopted these recommendations and voted to recommend to the Nominating Committee that these changes be formalized at this Annual Meeting, by nominating Mr. Waldman for the office of Vice Chairman of the Executive Committee and Dr. Slawson for the office of Executive Vice President.
It is earnestly hoped that the measures just outlined and others, recommended, and shortly to be recommended by the Committee on Reorganization, will in time build the American Jewish Committee into a stronger and more effective agency for service to Jews, in the important areas in which the Committee has always endeavored to be helpful, both independently and in cooperation with other agencies.

Such cooperation was effectively exemplified during the past year, as heretofore. Some of the organizations with which the Committee actively cooperated were the American Jewish Conference (until the Committee's withdrawal), the Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the General Jewish Council.

The Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs was established last spring to deal with problems arising out of the mass murder of Jews by the Nazis in countries dominated by them. We cooperated with the American Jewish Congress in establishing this Emergency Committee in which were also represented the B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Hadassah, Hias, American Emergency Council for Zionist Affairs, Synagogue Council of America, Union of Orthodox Rabbis, the American Section of Agudas Israel, and the United Palestine Appeal. The Joint Distribution Committee and the General Jewish Council were represented by observers.

The Emergency Committee met frequently. On its behalf, representatives, especially Judge Proskauer and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, had a number of interviews with officials of both the United States and British Governments all of whom evinced deep sympathy and a sincere desire to help. The Emergency Committee also prepared a program for rescue action which was submitted to the State Department and to the Anglo-American Refugee Conference held at Bermuda.

In spite of the public opinion which was aroused, no tangible results have thus far been achieved, largely because there appears to be no practical way of obtaining the necessary concessions from the Nazi government. However, very recently an inspiring example of helpfulness has been demonstrated by the combined efforts of Denmark and Sweden, whereby about 6,000 persons, mostly Jews, have been enabled to escape to the hospitable shores of Sweden.

Following the adjournment of the American Jewish Conference, the Emergency Committee was declared dissolved (over a strong
dissenting vote in which the American Jewish Committee joined) on the alleged ground that its functions were being performed by the Conference, in spite of the fact that important organizations not in the Conference had been actively and effectively cooperating in the work of the Emergency Committee.

Cooperation between the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith continued during the year, on the basis of the renewal of an agreement between the two bodies which had been in force since March 1, 1941. This agreement provides not only for joint fund-raising but also for close coordination of effort in certain domestic defense areas. Through a joint Committee of Six, which meets frequently, steps in the latter direction have been earnestly pursued during the past year. Your Committee is represented on this coordinating body by Messrs. Alan M. Stroock, Ira M. Younker, and David Sher, with Messrs. Nathan M. Orbach, Victor S. Riesenfeld, and Joseph Willen serving as alternates. The Anti-Defamation League is represented by Messrs. Samuel Goodman, Samuel Schneierison, and Edwin L. Weisl, with Messrs. Samuel H. Kaufman, Samuel Kramer, and Edmund Waterman serving as alternates. The renewal of the agreement is now under consideration by both organizations.

Owing in part to the establishment of this machinery for close cooperation between the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League and in part to the creation of the American Jewish Conference, the General Jewish Council has been less active during the past year than previously. The Council, it will be recalled, was established in 1938 by the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the B’nai B’rith, and the Jewish Labor Committee. In April 1941, the American Jewish Congress withdrew from the Council. In view of existing conditions, it will be necessary for the constituent organizations to determine whether the continuance of the Council is advisable.

The preoccupation of your Committee with inter-organizational relations did not impede its work in other directions. This work will be described in some detail in other reports to be presented today.

Reference has already been made to your Committee’s participation in efforts made by the Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs to secure the acceptance by the Anglo-American Refugee Conference at Bermuda of a program of concrete measures to rescue survivors of the Nazi war on defenseless civilians, especi-
ally Jews. Representatives of your Committee have conferred with Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Under Secretary Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., regarding the possibilities for such rescue.

In this connection, what appears to be undoubtedly the most constructive thing done thus far towards the rescue from the Nazis of as many Jews and other persecuted minorities of Europe as possible is the setting up by the Executive Order recently issued by President Roosevelt, of the War Refugee Board. This is in line with the century-old humanitarian tradition of the United States Government. The American Jewish Committee, of course, has pledged its aid and cooperation in mobilizing private individuals and organizations in support of the work of the War Refugee Board.

When a resolution calling for the establishment of a commission to take steps to rescue survivors of the Nazi terror was under consideration by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, Mr. Breckenridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, appeared before this Committee. On November 26, 1943, Mr. Long submitted figures regarding the number of refugees admitted to the United States during the past ten years. These figures, which were widely published, gave an erroneous impression, that a larger number of Jewish refugees had been admitted than was the actual fact. Following the publication of Mr. Long’s testimony, your Committee brought this to his attention and supplied him with correct facts and figures. At the same time, public attention to these errors was called by many individuals and groups.

Your Committee is keeping in touch with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and supplying information and offering suggestions to its officials.

The report of the Chairman of the Standing Committee on Overseas Affairs will also refer to your Committee’s representations to the United States Department of State regarding the abrogation by General Henri Honoré Giraud of the celebrated Crémieux Decree, by which action the Jews of Algeria were deprived of their French citizenship. Happily, this retrogressive step could not survive the storm of public indignation and protest which it raised as soon as its implications were clearly understood. As you know, the action of General Giraud was revoked by the French Committee for National Liberation, on October 21, 1943.

Your Overseas Committee has also closely watched developing events in Latin American countries, noting with amazement and deep concern the oppressive steps of the reactionary fascist regime
now in power in Argentina. This fascist regime is following the Nazi pattern of attempting to rally support by the old and disreputable device of stirring up such latent anti-Jewish prejudice as may exist in that country. It was heartening to see the prompt, vigorous, and forthright action taken by our Government to end the suppression by the Argentine regime of newspapers and other periodicals in the Yiddish language.

In its Statement of Withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference, your Committee pledged "our most diligent efforts to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper." The White Paper, as you know, is that statement of policy of the British government in office in May 1939, which provides for the restriction and eventual stoppage of the immigration of Jews to Palestine and drastic restriction of purchase of land by Jews in Palestine. In line with this pledge, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, President, and Mr. Jacob Blaustein, the Chairman of the General Committee, on January 17, 1944, submitted to Viscount Halifax, the British Ambassador to the United States, a memorandum, which had been prepared by our research staff, urging the repeal of the White Paper, not only on the ground that the restrictions against Jews therein contained were violative of both the spirit and letter of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, but also because the White Paper policy was discriminatory and not consonant with the liberal tradition of the British government and people. A copy of our memorandum is appended hereto. (See p. 588.)

The work of the functional departments of the Committee's office has been and continues to be prosecuted energetically and devotedly by the entire staff and associated laymen. Detailed reports of each functional committee have been prepared and will be made available to the membership. These reports will also be summarized by other officers at this meeting, and therefore the references herein to these functional departments will be very brief.

The Legal Committee during the past year has continued to investigate and watch anti-Semitic manifestations in the United States. The Committee has met regularly every week during the year for two hours or more. In addition, many special meetings were called when situations arose that called for immediate attention. The Committee has been in constant cooperation with many official agencies and the results of its investigations have been placed at the disposal of these agencies. In addition it has co-
operated frequently and harmoniously with other Jewish organiza-
tions that are engaged in the same work.

Our Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems has
continued during the past year to collect all available material
deemed helpful in formulation of the Committee's post-war policy.
The main fields covered are political, economic and social status,
migration, and relief and rehabilitation. Some of the Institute's
findings have been published. Of special interest and importance
is our Study Course on Jewish Post-War Problems consisting of
eight units and dealing with such topics as Jewish rights, Palestine,
migration, relief and rehabilitation, Jewish survival, etc. This
Course has received wide recognition. Another publication of
unusual interest was our pamphlet on Post-War Migrations with an
introduction by Paul van Zeeland, Director of the Coordinating
Foundation, formerly Prime Minister of Belgium.

The Institute has been in close touch with various government
agencies, to some of which it has furnished extensive material on
the situation of the Jews in Europe. It has also collaborated with
other Jewish and non-Jewish organizations dealing with post-war
problems.

Several memoranda have been prepared by the members of the
staff for the Committee in connection with its overseas activities,
namely, the memoranda on the Cremieux Decree and on the White
Paper, the former for submission to the State Department; the
latter to the British Government.

The Community Service Unit has continued its encouragement of
defense activities in the communities of the country along the same
basic lines as in former years, and continues to enjoy an excellent
reputation for servicing and guiding groups and individuals active
in combating and preventing anti-Semitism on the local level.

Appreciation of the Community Service Unit's activities became
particularly evident in the closing months of 1943. Following the
Committee's withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference,
there was agitation in several communities to cut the Committee
off from financial support by the local welfare funds. There is
no doubt but that the fine working relations maintained by the
Community Service Unit with the local defense agencies, and its
success in keeping key people throughout the country acquainted
with the day by day work of the Committee in the domestic scene,
was very helpful in counteracting such rash and ill-advised action.
Any report on the department's work in 1943 should also take note of the fine reception accorded to the book "Overcoming Anti-Semitism," by Dr. Solomon A. Fineberg of the Community Service Unit staff, which was published by Harper and Brothers last summer. The basic principles governing our work in the defense field are lucidly explained in this book, which is now being made the basis for study groups in a number of communities.

The Library of Jewish Information, despite war conditions, can look back on the year past with satisfaction. The Library proper has grown to approximately 17,000 volumes and pamphlets, exclusive of its thousands of leaflets, reports, news releases, and other ephemeral material, which form a most important collection. The research staff has met handsomely the mounting demands made upon it by the Executive staff and the several departments of the organization, government agencies, institutions, and individuals.

Volume 45 of the American Jewish Year Book, comprising 704 pages, appeared in the fall of the year. The special articles included a biography of the late Louis E. Kirstein, who was Chairman of our General Committee at the time of his death; historical sketches of the B'nai B'rith and the New York Federation; a survey of Jewish scholarship in the United States, in honor of Dr. Kaufmann Kohler's centenary; and the story of Jewish book collections in the United States, in commemoration of the centenary of Judge Mayer Sulzberger, the first President of the American Jewish Committee.

The Contemporary Jewish Record completed its sixth volume with the December issue. It is a magazine truly comprehensive in content and professional on the technical and formal sides. At the beginning of 1943, it instituted the publication of a series of classic Judaic essays, "The Cedars of Lebanon," that deal with fundamentals of Jewish history and religion. The series has received wide comment and praise.

Early in the present year, Dr. Julius B. Maller, noted educator and author, was appointed Director of the Library of Jewish Information, to succeed Mr. Harry Schneiderman, who will thus be enabled to give more of his service to general executive duties. We look forward with confidence and pleasure to Dr. Maller's association with us.

Through the Public Relations Department, the American Jewish Committee has not only been continuing its work of combating anti-Semitism generally, but has during the past year stepped up
its activities greatly. A full report on these activities will be submitted later at this meeting.

It is appropriate to record here our profound sense of loss in the death, on July 18, 1943, of Mr. David Rosenblum. Mr. Rosenblum, in the summer of 1942 volunteered to supervise the domestic defense activities of the Committee, pending the completion of administrative changes then under discussion. He applied himself to his duties in a highly energetic and devoted manner, uncomplainingly giving to them the many and long hours which they demanded. He was of signal service in maintaining the Committee's relations with other organizations and in representing it at conferences in various cities. At the time of his death, the Executive Committee adopted the following resolution which was released to the press:

"It is with deepest sorrow that we learn of the death of David Rosenblum, for a number of years a member of our Executive Committee and the tireless Chairman of our Public Relations Committee, who for the last year devoted his full time and energy to the service of our organization. To the widow and family the American Jewish Committee and its staff offer sincere condolences."

The Executive Committee sadly reports other losses during the year, in the death of the following Corporate Members: Judge Julian W. Mack of New York, formerly a vice president; Mr. Ralph J. Schwarz of New Orleans, formerly a member of the Executive Committee; and Mr. Eugene Warner of Buffalo, N. Y. Messages of sympathy and condolence were sent to the families of these members.

In accordance with your decision at the last Annual Meeting to leave the filling of vacancies in the Executive Committee to that body, which has the power to fill vacancies in the interim between meetings of the General Committee, your Executive Committee elected the following to membership during the year.

*Michael G. Appel, New York
Salo W. Baron, New York
J. M. Berne, Cleveland
Irvin Bettmann, St. Louis
Leo M. Brown, Mobile
Ralph F. Colin, New York
Monroe E. Deutsch, Berkeley
Solomon Elsner, Hartford
I. Friedlander, Houston

Norman S. Goetz, New York
I. Edwin Goldwasser, New York
Marc J. Grossman, Cleveland
Samuel J. Harris, Buffalo
Mortimer Hays, New York
Maurice B. Hexter, New York
Sidney Hollander, Baltimore
Leslie L. Jacobs, Dallas
Jacob J. Kaplan, Boston

*Deceased.
On October 4, 1943, your Administrative Committee regretfully felt constrained to accept the resignation from the Corporate Membership and hence also from the Executive Committee, of Judge Samuel I. Rosenman who, by reason of new executive duties in Washington, terminated his relations with many organizations with which he had been affiliated.

Following the Committee’s withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference, the following members of the Executive Committee, submitted their resignations which were accepted with regret:

Mrs. David de Sola Pool, New York  David M. Watchmaker, Boston
Samuel Null, New York           Louis J. Moss, New York

In addition, the following members of the General Committee submitted their resignations which were also accepted with regret:

Mortimer Adler, Rochester
Israel Bernstein, Portland
Arthur Brin, Minneapolis
A. B. Cohen, Scranton
Eli A. Cohen, Lynn
Abe Cramer, Pottsville
Samuel Davidson, New Britain
Harry M. Ehrlich, Springfield
Arthur B. Ewig, Kingston
George W. Farber, Worcester
Benjamin Friedman, Camden
Harry Goldowsky, Jersey City
Eliahu A. Hershenson, Peabody
I. S. Joseph, Minneapolis
S. Joshua Kohn, Utica
Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, Philadelphia
Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia
E. L. Marcus, Canonsburg
Maximilian Moss, Brooklyn
Michael Pilot, Bangor
Samuel Resnic, Holyoke
Morris Rothenberg, New York
Hyman J. Routtenberg, Somerville
Archibald Silverman, Providence
A. L. Siskind, Lawrence
Michael Stavitsky, Newark

Also, the following organizations which were represented on the General Committee by delegates signified their desire to terminate affiliation with the American Jewish Committee:

BRITH SHOLOM—Louis I. Gilgor; A. F. Stanton
FREE SONS OF ISRAEL—Hermann Stern
HADASSAH—Mrs. Alexander M. Dushkin; Mrs. Samuel W. Halprin; Mrs. Edward Jacobs; Mrs. David de Sola Pool; and Mrs. A. P. Schoolman
INDEPENDENT ORDER BRITH ABRAHAM—Herman Hoffman; Max Silverstein
PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST—Carl M. Dubinsky
RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF AMERICA—Louis M. Levitsky
UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS—Benjamin Koenigsberg; Samuel Nirenstein
UNITED SYNAGOUGE OF AMERICA—Louis J. Moss
WOMEN'S BRANCH OF THE UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS—Mrs. Joseph Mayor Asher; Mrs. Isidor Freedman; Mrs. Herbert S. Goldstein
WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF THE UNITED SYNAGOUGE OF AMERICA—Mrs. David Kass; Miss Sarah Kussy; Mrs. Samuel Spiegel

Dissatisfaction over the Committee's withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference thus resulted in the resignation of 42, out of a total of 420, members.

Our beloved country and its allies are now girding themselves for the most arduous and, we all hope, the final phases of the destruction of tyranny and international gangsterism, of which Jews were the first defenseless victims. With the liberation of Europe from the Nazi regime there will be opened up a huge task of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction of human lives and institutions. Thanks to the wisdom of Allied leadership, an international organization to deal with this stupendous task is already in being, and is making preparations to launch its humanitarian activities promptly upon the liberation of territories.

The task before the UNRRA is so huge, however, that it will need whatever cooperation private agencies will be able to give. We are convinced that the Jewish community of the United States will be eager to cooperate, through its competent communal agencies.
But, besides relief and rehabilitation, two other post-war tasks lie ahead of us:

1. The restoration to the peoples of the various countries of their right to self-government, with liberty assured equally to all inhabitants regardless of ethnic, religious, or national backgrounds.

2. The maintenance of an open door immigration policy in Palestine so it may truly serve as one of the havens for Jews who may be unable to re-establish themselves in their lands of nativity.

In the achievement of these aims, the many problems of readjustment of various groups will require sagacious study and solution. In the handling of the numerous and complex post-war problems of European Jewry, the American Jewish Committee, which has had almost four decades of experience in dealing with such problems, will play an important role. The American Jewish Committee has been engaged in studying the post-war probabilities and their historical roots and will place its experience, its knowledge and its man-power at the service of our sorely beset brothers. The Committee will work for the complete liberation of all European Jewries and their unequivocal civil, political and religious equality with their fellow-nationals in the countries of their domicile.

At the same time, vital and difficult problems loom for us here at home. The experience of the past year, as of several previous years, has demonstrated that Nazi propaganda techniques have succeeded to no inconsiderable extent in creating and increasing an awareness of differences between various sections and groups of the population of the United States. In addition, these techniques have not failed to stir up inter-group hostility which has manifested itself in white-Negro clashes and in sporadic outbreaks of anti-Jewish hoodlumism. It would seem that conditions unfortunately appear to be propitious for the exploitation after the war of anti-Jewish prejudice and hostility for political purposes, should there be social and economic dislocations and political strife at that time. Many of the pre-war rabble-rousers, including those who are under indictment for sedition, are likely to resume activities, and their number may be increased by other dupes of Nazi-Fascist propaganda.

The American Jewish Committee and other organizations working in this field, as well as the multitude of men and women of good will
throughout the country, should be prepared to cope with such a situation, if it arises. Your Committee is determined to build up and strengthen your organization and its professional and technical facilities, so as to be capable of taking an effective part in the struggle against any such subversive movements. In this important area, as in a number of others, your Committee is, and will be as always, eager and willing to cooperate wholeheartedly with other agencies.

Respectfully submitted,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RESTORATION OF JEWISH RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Presidential Address of Joseph M. Proskauer

From the Constitution of the American Jewish Committee I read: "The objects of this corporation shall be, to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur."

This is the eloquent statement formulated by the founders of this Committee of its purposes and its hopes. As I enter the second year of my service as your President, they constitute for me, as indeed I think they do for you, both an inspiration and a challenge. They inspire us to implement this creed for the problems of today and tomorrow; they challenge us not only to understanding, but to achievement.

We must clearly appraise the factors which will affect the position of the Jew in the post-war world. We must strive with all that is in us to formulate from those factors the pattern of the world to come in which Jews and all other men may live in security and in peace.
In the titanic assault which the Nazis instituted against civilization, it is true that the Jews have been singled out for special destruction. Millions of them have been massacred in cold blood or subjected to the most inhuman persecution. The Nazi device of divide and conquer has been used with sinister purpose to set the world against Jews everywhere. An attempt has been made to accomplish that dire result even in this blessed land of freedom. On us has been concentrated with special vehemence the most cruel attempt ever known in history to destroy the humanitarian and the democratic way of life.

But we would be blind to the ultimate significance of this harking back to medievalism if we did not recognize that the Jew has been treated by the Nazis as the scapegoat for civilization. After eleven years of Hitlerism it has been demonstrated to the whole world that the infringement of the rights of Jews is inevitably an attack on the rights of all mankind and on the very foundations of human decency and progress.

Therefore we must destroy not only Hitler, but Hitlerism. That can be accomplished only by the restoration of human rights everywhere and the re-assertion of the dignity of the individual everywhere. Re-affirmation of the equality of the Jew is but one facet of this objective; in its totality the task ahead is to reaffirm the equality of all men.

The current of our lives began to flow in modern channels when the American and French revolutions emancipated the human personality from the tyranny of the state. Then, for the first time, political institutions were created to safeguard the sacred rights of high and low alike.

This general emancipation brought Jewish emancipation as an integral part of its very being. Their freedom symbolized the new faith that all men were created free and equal. The political world was reconstituted from the philosophy proclaimed by our ancient prophets: "Have we not all one Father? Has not one God created us?"

We must seek in the post-war world the complete vindication of that principle.

This Committee has declared that in the world of the future Jewish citizens of every land, fulfilling their obligations of complete loyalty to their respective countries, shall be guaranteed the correlative right of complete equality.
That principle is by no means vital only to Jews. It is of the very warp and woof of the only kind of post-war fabric that can formulate in political terms the common brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God.

We must refuse to admit the thesis of despair and disillusionment, which prompts some men to capitulate to the race-state theory by seeking refuge in political segregation. Civilization has met a set-back, not a defeat. We are still justified in asserting our sense of the glory of the human spirit fighting for freedom and the right of all men to dwell wherever they have been born. The Jews with the heritage of the Maccabees in their veins who battled behind the walls of the Warsaw Ghetto against their Nazi oppressors, not only sanctified the name of God, but wrote in blood their attachment to the land where they were born, where they lived, worked and suffered, and where at last they fought and died. We are still justified in taking renewed courage when we see the United Nations fighting for the fundamental rights of man and fighting to victory. The heroic self-sacrifice on the battlefield of millions of young men of all faiths is valiant proof that the democratic nations on this earth are winning the struggle to preserve the democratic way of life.

Starting from this principle of equality then, we must, in the spirit of complete optimism, face the solution of specific corollaries to the main problem.

In this setting our program of last year now looms abundantly right.

We asked relief from the havoc and ruin of Axis barbarism, as well as complete restoration of equal civil and religious rights. That means that mass evacuation must not be the rule, but the exception necessitated by specific economic pressure. The day is past when the civilized world can ignore barbarity to its own citizens by any country on the plea that the matter is one of domestic concern. It has been amply demonstrated that the untoward consequences of such barbarism falls heavily upon the righteous nations of the earth.

The new international law must declare, therefore, a bill of rights for the individual, as well as for the state; and the narrowing forces of super-nationalism and chauvinism must, in these aspects, give way to the demands of justice and of reason.

To the extent that emigration is necessary, it must be supervised under international authority. This is not a situation which Jews alone should or can meet. It will be our duty, however, as in the
field of relief, to help the organization and regulation of sections of this mass movement.

Another specific line of Jewish effort will relate to the safeguarding and development of Palestine as a center of economic, religious and cultural life for Jews who desire to live there. We of the American Jewish Committee have unfailingly looked on Palestine as a land which held a special place in Jewish tradition and sentiment.

We endorsed the Balfour Declaration which promised a homeland for Jews within the borders of Palestine. We have raised our voices for the abolition of the White Paper, which discriminates against immigration of Jews, as such. We have appealed to the age-old tradition of the British nation as champions of religious freedom to withdraw that paper as something basically inconsistent with this noble British tradition.

We do not believe that Palestine is the exclusive or the complete solution for the Jews in Europe. While Palestine is and we hope will continue to be a great center of Jewish life, we hold to our belief that there is no single panacea which can entirely alleviate the situation of our suffering brethren. We believe and hope that Jews will continue to live in the countries of which they are citizens on a basis of equality and that some Jews will be able to establish new homes in other countries.

We have made abundantly clear that whatever the political constitution of Palestine should be, there could be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with whatever government may be there instituted.

And we have steadfastly maintained the fallacy of urging, under the unsettled and transitory conditions now existing, present determination of the ultimate form of government for Palestine.

We have urged an international trusteeship, responsible to the United Nations:

To safeguard the Jewish settlement in and Jewish immigration into Palestine and to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country;

To safeguard and protect the fundamental rights of all inhabitants;

To safeguard and protect the holy places of all faiths;

To prepare the country to become, within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing Commonwealth under a Constitution and a
Bill of Rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all.

The position of this Committee regarding Palestine has been often misunderstood and often distorted. I trust that these few words will make it clear.

From what I have said it should be evident that our stand is neither narrow nor partisan. We do not subscribe to any ideology which seems to force the whole panorama of Jewish history and religion into a formula.

The theory that regards the Jews of the world as constituting a "homeless people" living in "Exile" ignores the stark yet happy reality that Jews are at home and should be at home in every country in which they live. To believe otherwise is not only a counsel of defeat but is a repudiation of the very purposes which the civilized world is exerting a supreme, and we pray a successful, effort, to achieve. And even as we here are bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of America, so in every land our fellow Jews are ready to yield unswerving loyalty to the countries of their citizenship.

Let no one confuse this position with the superficial melting pot theory that would destroy the cultural and religious identity of the many groups that make up the body of America, each making its useful contribution to the common culture, and thus beat these noble ingredients in the chemistry of American life into a colorless and innocuous mass.

By preserving our cultural and religious integrity we not only carry out an historical imperative, but in so doing help to enrich the general life of America with whose ideals our Jewish ideals are in such perfect accord.

Uniformity means deadening mediocrity. Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew, foreign-born and native-born, all make their contribution to that glory which is America.

Many years ago I uttered this thought as a basis for our belief that the preservation of our spiritual identity was a service to the cause of America: "I do not vision this country as a forest in which every tree is cut and trimmed to look and be like every other tree. I think of it as a great forest of nature, where one tree rises high from the ground to ward off storm and lightning from the other trees; where another nestles close on the ground to protect the shrubs and the tender things that spring from the earth; where another opens wide to let in the sunlight, and another closely
guards the more precious things from the extreme rage of a too-hot sun."

And what we may do for America, our brethren may do for every other country in the world.

It would be unrealistic to pass over in this address the problem of bigotry in the domestic scene. In America we dreamed the dream that all men, given equal opportunity, could live together in peace. It still remains for us to make this dream a full reality.

The shock that has come from the assault on this ideal has disturbed our fellow Jews and in various ways stirred our Christian brethren. We often hear the cry that we must fight anti-Semitism; and indeed we may wage war, as we are doing, on the venal organized manifestations of anti-Semitism which seek either sordid money or sordid political power. But for the remainder of the area of anti-Semitism, the staff of this Committee has worked with the technique of cure. We are dealing with a social cancer, baneful, it is true, to us as Jews, but equally fatal if unhealed, to the life of America itself. This means that we must delve more deeply into an age-old social complex and mobilize all available scientific resources in order to destroy the superstitions and irrationalities in the area of group relations even as with large measure of success we are doing this, in other areas of human interest, as for example in the field of medicine. We must apply these resources to the elimination of this social sickness of bigotry.

And here, again, I warn against taking counsel of our fears. We must guard ourselves against letting the mouthings of the bigot deafen us to the great mass of Christian understanding and kindness which permeates this country today. Great noble utterances have come from men like Archbishop Spellman, Bishop Molloy, Bishop Tucker, and scores of the ministers of every faith. The great network of cooperative community committees and interfaith councils stretches over the length and the breadth of the land. For the most part, the preponderant power of the press is speaking for tolerance and understanding. We believe and have the right to believe that America will ever remain the land of the free.

And as to the methods by which we, as Jews, may aid in this American process, I am confident that our Committee has developed along lines of education, of the dissemination of true information, of kindly approach to the solution of specific difficulties—in short, by the method of decency and brotherhood, and not by the method of divisiveness and hostility.
In the last year we have had differences in Jewry. I render you this account of my stewardship:

I have never consciously uttered a provocative word. I have striven with all that is in me to carry out your mandate for unity of conduct. I long now, as I always have, to utter the healing word.

This Committee, with rancor to no other group, will continue to be faithful to its principles and to seek its great and righteous objectives.

We have burnt from our souls every trace of personal or organizational self-seeking or search for power or position.

The task is heavy; it requires all our skill, all our statesmanship, and complete selflessness.

For my colleagues and myself I voice the high resolve that while we hold your mandate we will steer that course. We will follow Lincoln’s great exhortation: “With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.”

And when that day arrives when God shall lift up His Countenance to us and grant us peace, may we make it a peace not only that beats the sword into the plow-share and the spear into the pruning-hook, but that will bring balm and consolation to this war-racked world; that will recreate it as a place where every man may dwell in safety and in harmony with his fellows; and that will restore to this earth that dignity which belongs inherently to every man created in the image of God.

OVERSEAS ACTIVITIES IN 1943

By George Z. Medalie

Chairman, Overseas Committee

To the Members of the American Jewish Committee:

At the last annual meeting the tide of victory had definitely turned in our favor; at this meeting we may justly feel that before another year has passed the war in Europe may well be over, and that the might of United Nations arms and principles will there have prevailed. While it is true that the resolute and dangerous Japanese enemy is universally expected to resist his defeat longer than the
Nazi, and that devotion and sacrifice will have to be offered in full measure to accomplish his final subjection, still, for our purposes, the frustration and the helpless grief we have all felt in the face of the monstrous suffering of the Jews of the European continent will be dissipated and we shall have the opportunity to contribute to the immediate healing and the long-range rebuilding of Jewish life in Europe while our enemy will not yet have sought the final armistice in the Pacific.

Encouraging as is the military history of the past year, with its tale of Allied victories on all fronts by land, sea and air, developments in the sphere of international relations are perhaps even more encouraging. A reasonable hope for a civilized future for the peoples of the world is justified by the meeting of the foreign ministers at Moscow in October and the meetings of the heads of state at Cairo and Teheran in November, and by what those meetings accomplished and augured.

From one point of view then, a certain measure of satisfaction is justified. But in terms of its cost in men, women and children murdered, deported, imprisoned and subjected to conditions of which all the evil fruits will not be fully grown for many years to come, this past year will acquire a sinister fame in history.

Foremost among the victims of the Nazi way of waging war were the Jews of Europe. There is no need to tell again the fate they were made to suffer. In Poland the tale of slaughter is relieved by only one incident, the magnificent Jewish resistance in the Warsaw ghetto in April and May 1943. It is true that nearly all the Jews who fought in that historic battle were killed; but at least they were able to die fighting.

There occurred in 1943 on the continent of Europe one event which went far to show that brutality did not hold absolute sway. In October the Germans dropped their pretenses and seized outright control of Denmark. In that country lived some 8,000 Jews, of whom 2,000 were refugees from the Nazi terror. They all understood what uninhibited Gestapo rule meant. But so did the Danish officials and plain people. Almost 6,000 Jews were enabled to make their way to Sweden and to escape deportation and death.

This was a dramatic incident; less dramatic, but no less effective, was the continuing practice of the Swiss Government of giving welcome to refugees fortunate enough to be able to cross by stealth into Switzerland. In token of our gratitude to these countries, and to all the brave men and women who in the occupied countries
expose themselves to danger in order to help their Jewish fellowmen, I intend later to move a resolution expressing our homage to them.

For the future, it would be well if we looked upon what has happened in those areas already liberated by United Nations troops as a kind of rough indication of what is likely to continue to happen. For Jews the most significant event in this category is the experience in French Algeria from November 1942 to October 1943. The great lesson to be derived from the experience is that while a military defeat of the Nazis is a necessary condition for Jewish equality, it is not a sufficient condition. Specific political action in a deeply democratic sense is necessary to complement the effects of military victory. In North Africa it took almost a year to restore to the Jews the French citizenship with which they had been born and of which they had been stripped by the Vichy satellites of Hitler. The history of their citizenship until Vichy may be briefly summarized. In 1870, when France's position was desperate on the battlefield and tottering in her overseas possessions, a long-intended measure was put into effect, and the Jews of Algeria were enfranchised en masse. Their descendants were natural-born citizens of France. Moslems, on the other hand, have had to seek French naturalization individually, after renouncing aspects of Koranic law incompatible with French law. The very large majority of Algerian Moslems have not in the past sought naturalization on these terms.

It is simple to understand Vichy's motive in depriving the Jews of their citizenship. Vichy officials were anti-Semitic and in full sympathy with a powerful and reactionary segment of the European population of Algeria in whose economic interest it is to exploit and repress the Moslem population. That European element is traditionally anti-Semitic and has continued to resent Jewish enfranchisement as a dangerous precedent likely to suggest to the Moslem population plans for its own political and economic improvement.

Under Darlan and Giraud there was no significant change from Vichy policy. The revocation of the Crémieux Decree continued in force—or, more precisely, General Giraud held in abeyance abolition of the Vichy abrogation of the Crémieux Decree. The reasons advanced were purely rationalization. Slowly General Giraud's political influence waned and that of General de Gaulle and the French Committee of National Liberation became dom-
inant. In October 1943 full citizenship was finally restored to the Jews in Algeria, and measures for liberalizing the acquisition of French citizenship by Moslems were announced.

Another lesson that can be learned from this experience is the need for enlightened American public opinion and for unremitting effort on the part of Jewish organizations in this country to redress wrongs suffered by Jews elsewhere. Your Committee was extremely active in the North African affair from the moment the matter was disclosed in news dispatches from Algeria. A very well documented memorandum, emphasizing both the historical and the legal aspects of the problem, was submitted to our State Department, in addition to correspondence and discussion of the more usual kind. Direct communication was also had with various members of the French National Committee, both in this country and abroad. To what extent your Committee's activity was instrumental in effecting the final removal of Nazi anti-Jewish legislation, is, of course, impossible to say with precision, but we have good reason to believe that our work in this direction was a strong contributory factor.

More favorable omens are presented by the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) conference at Atlantic City in November 1943. We had an observer present during many proceedings of that conference; our views were made known to delegates of various countries; we have closely examined the reports of the proceedings; and we feel that UNRRA will do its utmost in attempting to function without discrimination and to meet first needs first. Some circles have thought that, the Jews having been the worst sufferers in Europe during the course of this war, they should receive explicit recognition of that fact and be entitled, as Jews, to priority in relief. We feel that the UNRRA approach is correct; in the absence of discrimination, needs will be attended to in the order of their merit; Jews whose needs are more pressing than those of others will receive first call. We have indicated our agreement with this policy. We have also been encouraged by the information that UNRRA intends to cooperate very closely with the great non-governmental relief and rehabilitation organizations. Since Jews have an admirable network of such organizations, we can foresee only the most favorable results from such cooperation.

Simultaneously with the North African situation came the Anglo-American Bermuda Conference on Refugees, and its ap-
parent decision that refugee rescue would continue to be entrusted primarily to the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

The American Jewish Committee in its cooperation with other major Jewish organizations in this country pressed for the adoption of means commensurate with the gravity of the problem. The Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs submitted to the Bermuda Conference a twelve-point program for the rescue of Jews from Nazi-occupied Europe. Your Committee took an active part in this project; much of such work as drafting the Bermuda Conference program was actually done by our Research Institute. In the future we shall have to undertake similar activities by ourselves, since the Joint Emergency Committee was dissolved to allow the American Jewish Conference Rescue Committee to cope with this problem. We were opposed to its dissolution, as were several other of its constituent bodies.

The entire question of rescue activity on behalf of Jews under Nazi domination or threatened by Nazi domination has remained a very current problem. This month President Roosevelt issued an executive order creating a War Refugee Board “to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe.” The Board consists of the Secretaries of State, War and the Treasury, and has a threefold function: planning, actual rescue, and shelter. Since the creation of the Board has accomplished their purpose, Senator Gillette and Representatives Baldwin and Rogers have withdrawn their resolutions in Congress for a Presidential Committee “to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe.” We have welcomed the President’s action as tangible proof of our Government’s effective intent to save as many as can be saved, and we have conveyed our thanks to him.

The governments and people of the Western Hemisphere have become increasingly concerned with the proper handling of post-war immigration. In October 1943 the Mexican Government invited representatives from all the American states to attend a Demographic Congress in Mexico City. Your Committee followed this Congress carefully because it was capable of great good or great evil. Alarming manifestations of official anti-Semitism had recently appeared in several countries in the Western Hemisphere, and we feared an anti-Semitic influence on declarations concerning future immigration which would have considerable weight in determining the actual policy and practice of many of our neighbor
states. Those chosen by our country as delegates were men of the highest competence and liberalism. The end result of the Congress gives cause for great satisfaction to those convinced that migration will be an important factor in Jewish rehabilitation after the war. Proceedings of the Congress have not yet been published, but we do know that a resolution was adopted stressing the need not to discriminate on a racial or religious basis. In this the Demographic Congress followed the precedent set by the declaration on “American Standards on Immigration” by the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima in December 1938. We had an observer in Mexico City during the deliberations, and we forwarded for the use of the delegates several hundred copies of a Spanish translation of one of our Institute’s publications, “Post-War Migrations: Proposals for an International Agency,” with an introduction by Paul van Zeeland, formerly Prime Minister of Belgium.

In some parts of Latin America the position of the Jews has been deteriorating in a manner exhibiting all the classical symptoms. It accompanies the victory of a markedly reactionary and chauvinistic movement in Argentina, of which the chief victim is the Argentine people itself. That movement is universally recognized as having been intimately influenced by the Nazis and as playing the Nazi game. It has established a one-party political system and has abolished bill-of-rights liberties. Argentine anti-Semitism has not yet progressed nearly so far as the Nazi variety; but it is not unreasonable to predict that if Argentine fascism entrenches itself in power the situation of the more than 300,000 Jews in Argentina will assume the utmost gravity. One of the most disquieting features of the Argentine case is its expansive nature. So potent was its role in fomenting the recent coup d’état in Bolivia that the new Bolivian regime has been recognized neither by our own government nor by that of any other American country except Argentina—and this despite the new regime’s protestations of loyalty to the United Nations of intent to persist in a state of war against our enemies, of devotion to democracy, and of opposition to anti-Semitism. Unfortunately the records of the men in the forefront of the Bolivian coup belie their protestations.

In Colombia, we were for a time concerned about the possibility of an official anti-Semitic attitude, when a state government refused a charter to a Jewish organization in Bogota for alarming reasons. The federal government of Colombia, however, granted the society its corporative status. Indeed, Colombia’s present attitude, if
we may judge from recent trends in its immigration policy, is liberal. In December 1943 the Colombian government promulgated a decree enabling intellectuals, technicians, skilled workers, and trained agriculturists to obtain visas without the high security that was previously required. We hope that Jewish immigration candidates will be able to profit by this new decree.

With the increased importance, actual or potential, of Latin America for Jewish life, it becomes increasingly necessary that we establish with the Latin American Jewish communities closer liaison which would at the same time afford them guidance in a host of matters in which we have acquired experience and skill. This is perhaps all the more necessary since, if only by default, a point of view with respect to Jewish life is being spread in the Latin American communities which may have dangerous results.

The proponents of that point of view—which we may roughly call Jewish nationalism—have recently been bitter in their attacks upon us for leaving the American Jewish Conference. We have been assailed for breaking unity. An interesting test of the sincerity of these charges is a recent development within the British Jewish community. For 65 years the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies had coordinated their foreign activities through a Joint Foreign Committee. Recently the Board of Deputies came under the control of elements which may be considered British counterparts of those Americans who have criticized us. The new controlling group promptly proceeded to denounce the Board’s agreement for the maintenance of the Joint Foreign Committee. The Anglo-Jewish Association tried to negotiate for the reconstitution of some kind of joint body, but has become convinced that the new rulers of the Board wish no cooperation, but domination. The Anglo-Jewish Association was thereby compelled to set up its own General Purposes and Foreign Committee for the first time since 1878, and the partisans of the World Jewish Congress succeeded in having two foreign affairs committees actively functioning where only one was in existence before. The World Jewish Congress has been denounced by the officers of the Anglo-Jewish Association and editorially by the Jewish Chronicle of London, the latter a Zionist-minded periodical.

Our principle is that no artificial unity is possible. Where there is a real unity of interests and outlook, there will be unity or spontaneous cooperation in action. We are opposed to the terms of the 1939 British White Paper on Palestine, which allows for the
entrance into that country of only some 29,000 more Jews. We believe that the present catastrophic state of the Jews throughout most of the world, combined with the strong possibility that after the war very many Jews will seek to emigrate while immigration barriers are almost everywhere maintained or raised, makes it all the more vital that the gates of Palestine, which has proved its ability to accept immigrants and whose Jewish community is eager to welcome them, be kept open to the full limits of its economic absorptive capacity. To present our views on this score, our Research Department prepared a memorandum on the White Paper which was submitted by our President and the Chairman of our General Committee to Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador.

We have also been concerned with every European country in which there was a substantial Jewish community. We have invited representative and important figures from each country now resident here to meet with us and give us their counsel on the policy to adopt with respect to the post-war situation in that country. These meetings have been going on for some little while now; our first experiences have been favorable and we trust the meetings will continue to be profitable. The following groups have already met: German, Italian, French, Belgian, Hungarian; in the near future we expect to meet with the Austrian, Czech, Polish, Romanian, Yugoslav, Bulgarian, Dutch groups.

The Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems has found, during the past year, that with the approach of the post-war period its work has become increasingly concerned with the actual practical problems of overseas activity. Indeed, a large part of the Overseas Committee work was done in the Research Institute. Institute work which should also be cited here is the completion of a series of detailed reports on the Jewish communities of the countries overrun by the Nazis, compiled for the United States Government with a view to being used by administrators when these countries have been occupied by Allied troops.

In 1943 the last units of our "Study Course on Jewish Post-War Problems" was completed. It has been received with enthusiasm far exceeding our expectations, not only in the Jewish community itself but in non-Jewish scholarly circles. Other publications were concerned with post-war migration and problems of restitution.

At the conclusion of the last great World War, it was widely thought that the system of minority guarantees would insure Jewish equality. The fact that the status of the Jews throughout Europe
has deteriorated so drastically since then is not a perfect proof of the failure of minorities rights, since that deterioration can perhaps with even greater justice be attributed to the general breakdown of international morality and social stability during the long armistice. Nevertheless, our faith in the system of minorities guarantees has been shaken; some students entirely reject it. To most of us today a more promising system is the establishment of an international bill of the rights of man, to be implemented by appropriate machinery, protecting the individual against the invasion of his rights by reason of race or religion. The Institute has been interested in this question for some time, and has asked Professor Hersch Lauterpacht of Cambridge University, a very eminent authority on international law, to study the implication of an international bill of rights and to prepare a draft of one for us. In the last month his manuscript has been received in this country and is now being made ready for publication as a book. Professor Lauterpacht's plan seems to us a largely successful combination of liberal vision and caution in avoiding the pitfalls of jealousies of nations for maintaining their sovereign prerogatives.

We look to a solution in an international bill of the rights of man precisely because our faith is strong in emancipation and equality of rights. In recent days extreme statements have been made about "the failure of emancipation;" Germany is usually cited as the outstanding example of this "failure." We believe that this failure of emancipation in Germany is no more a proof of the unfeasibility of emancipation in general than the failure of democracy in Germany is a proof of the unfeasibility of democracy in general. Both failures should be ascribed to specific historical factors which cannot be generalized. It is our hope that the twentieth century will achieve the attainment of liberty and equality by Jews which started with the great American and French Revolutions.

As the hour of liberation for the Jews of Europe draws nearer, we must be on the alert to undertake immediately all those tasks for which we are morally responsible. We are, and are recognized to be, the most numerous, wealthy and untouched Jewish community in the world. We may be frightened by the vision of the magnitude of that task, but we dare not shirk it. We may feel that it is too great for us; but if we do not accept it, to whom shall we relegate it? It has well been said: "It is not thy duty to complete the work, but neither are thou free to desist from it." The trial of our strength, will also be its opportunity.
DOMESTIC ACTIVITIES IN 1943

By Alan M. Stroock
Chairman, Administration Committee

To the Members of the American Jewish Committee:

We come now to the part of the work of the American Jewish Committee which concerns by far the largest portion of our staff and which accounts for by far the largest portion of our expenditures. Because of our involvements with other organizations in the past year, a good deal of time has had to be spent on matters other than domestic civic defense. Nonetheless, the main job that the Committee is doing lies in this field and, therefore, we feel that you should get from the Administrative Committee, primarily through the two heads of the staff of that work, a full report of our accomplishments in the last year, and our plans for the future as well.

In doing this work, we take as our guide, the principles expressed in that eloquent speech of Judge Proskauer. As we see the problem, we feel that we are dealing not only with the protection of the rights of Jews in this country, important as that is; we are dealing with the problem of American democracy and our sights are lifted to that height. Never in our work do we attempt anything or embark on anything which is directed to a lower level. We feel that our duty and the duty of the Jewish Community in view of the dangers of the situation in which this country finds itself, is in a real sense to protect America against the use of the Jews as a weapon for the destruction of America,—that is our function, that is our principle and purpose, and it is on this concept that our plans are based.

Now, in order to implement this basic principle, we found our work on three subsidiary principles: First, that the work we do is not done with a view to what will bring glory to the American Jewish Committee. We are often criticized for subordinating too much the Committee’s authorship or sponsorship of our work, but we feel, for reasons that will be explained to you by the people who speak after me, that it is essential to the greater effectiveness of our work that in many instances the fact of our participation should not be underlined.

Second, we believe that this work requires the professional approach. This is no amateur job that is being done. No amateur job is being done by our enemies. Their job is being done by men
working full time, giving their lives to it, with skill and with acumen. We believe they must be met on the same terms and, therefore, this work is planned and carried on on a professional basis by our staff, each of whom, skilled in his own particular way, is an expert in his field, devoting his full time and his full energy to it.

Third, again taking our principle from what Judge Proskauer said, we proceed on the basis of the healing process and not of the divisive process.

Now, the manner in which all these three subsidiary principles are carried into effect by the two main departments of civic defense work will be explained to you by Richard C. Rothschild and George J. Mintzer. I would like, however, to mention the work of other departments related to their work.

In carrying on civic defense work, we believe that united effort with other groups, on a national and local basis, can be achieved, and our record on that score is clear. It has been presented to you before. It has been thoroughly discussed in the Executive Committee. At the present time, as you know, we are on a national scale in the closest cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League. Through the Committee of Six, which has been operating for the past year under the brilliant and tireless leadership of Ira M. Younker, a job is being done of coordination of the work of the only agencies who do this particular work, and we are sure when the country becomes aware of what is being done, the charge so often made of wastefulness and duplication of effort will be silenced. And I may say at this point, as a member of the Committee of Six, that your representatives on the Committee of Six have worked most intimately and most successfully with the Anti-Defamation League’s representatives in a common effort which, I think, under all the difficulties inherent in such an effort, has had surprising success.

The job of maintaining contact with the communities of the country is carried on by the Community Service Unit under the leadership of George Hexter and Dr. Sol A. Fineberg who, in that field, have made for themselves a reputation over the country which is truly enviable. In all our activities in the sphere of civic defense, the American Jewish Committee functions as a national organization, but we believe that the handling of local manifestations of anti-Semitism must be left to local agencies and committees that quite naturally have a truer and better understanding of local problems. Our Legal and Investigative Committee serves as a
fact-finding source for local defense agencies and community relations committees throughout the country. Our Public Relations Department originates ideas, lays down broad policies and indicates procedures and techniques by which the Committee's educational program may be implemented on a national scale. Our relations with organizations and with individuals throughout the country, is the function of our Community Service Unit.

On the basis of this principle, during the past year, we cheerfully surrendered our sole out-of-town office when the Boston Jewish community undertook to organize its own local defense agency. It is encouraging to note, in this connection, that a majority of the larger Jewish communities have established such agencies and that, in the main, these are well staffed and adequately equipped. A healthy two-way relationship exists between them and the American Jewish Committee. They not only implement the defense projects initiated by our Public Relations Department, but they also create projects of their own which are made available to other communities through the Community Relations Conference. One of the most recent set-ups of this kind is that established by the Jewish community of Brooklyn, New York, largely as a result of the advice and encouragement of our Community Service Unit, and I may say that the job which is now being done in Brooklyn on the basis of this community effort, including on the local level all groups, Zionist, non-Zionist, Orthodox and Reform, may well become a model of a community which previously was sadly disorganized and, as a result of this disorganization, was unable to do its work efficiently.

The Community Relations Conference, an informal group of professional workers in the field of civic defense, meets several times a year and serves effectively as a clearing house for the interchange of information and ideas. George Hexter, the head of our Community Service Unit, serves as the secretary of the Community Relations Conference, an office which he has held since its inception. That Conference has been of great benefit to the professionals in each locality in developing their community programs.

The Community Service Unit, however, does not limit its attention to well-established and professionally serviced local agencies. Through the visits of the Unit's consultant, Dr. Sol A. Fineberg, as well as through a lively correspondence, the smaller communities are also served.

Among the important ideas which the Community Service Unit
endeavors to foster in its relations with local defense organizations is that their work should be done affirmatively rather than negatively, that is to say, that the public relations councils should formulate programs of activities aimed at cultivating wholesome intergroup relations and that these councils should not regard themselves as organized merely to deal with difficult crisis situations as they arise. The Community Service Unit also endeavors to emphasize the importance of activities which are calculated to stimulate the integration of Jews as individuals and as a group within the general community. This policy is based on the conviction that intergroup cooperation in civic, social, philanthropic and religious activities is one of the strongest forces for the creation of understanding and good will.

I have said that one of the important principles upon which we proceed is professionalism. One of the aspects of professionalism is that our work should be founded upon scholarly research. We do not guess about conditions, as I hope Mr. Rothchild will explain to you at greater length. The whole structure of our program is grounded on expert advice and expert analysis. Techniques have been developed for that purpose over many years, in which on the basis of our experience, we have reason to have confidence. And the same is true of the Legal Committee of which George Mintzer will speak. But underlying the research aspects of our program as a whole lies the Department of Library, Research and Publications, popularly known as the Library of Jewish Information, which is the information source for material of all kinds required by the Public Relations Department for its many projects. The Library also prepares much general material for dissemination to the special audiences which we believe can be benefited by authentic and objective data about Jews and Jewish interests. The department comprises the library proper, a research staff, and editorial staffs which compile the American Jewish Year Book and edit the Contemporary Jewish Record.

Another department of the American Jewish Committee is our Research Institute on Peace and Post-War Problems. The work of this Institute cuts across both the domestic and overseas interests of our organization. While preparing material to serve as the basis for policy-making by the Committee vis-à-vis the solution of post-war problems of Jews, the Institute also gives useful service in the preparation of documents dealing with issues of the day which require immediate action.
The Research Institute has during the past year continued to collect all available material deemed helpful in formulation of the Committee's post-war policy. Some of the Institute's findings have been published. Of special interest and importance is a Study Course on Jewish Post-War Problems consisting of eight units and dealing with such topics as civil and political status, Palestine, migration, relief and rehabilitation, Jewish survival, etc. This Course has received wide recognition. Another publication of unusual interest was a pamphlet on Post-War Migrations with an introduction by Paul van Zeeland, Director of the Coordinating Foundation, formerly Prime Minister of Belgium.

The Institute has been in close touch with various government agencies, to some of which it has furnished extensive material on the situation of the Jews in Europe. It has also collaborated with other organizations dealing with post-war problems.

Other aspects of the work, as I have said, will be described by other speakers. But in closing I should like to emphasize the third principle, upon which we work, which I mentioned at the beginning—which is, that we pursue the healing process. During the past year, the problem of anti-Semitism became extremely popular and this has lent it to exploitation. Such exploitation has been possible, I believe, primarily, because of the sad, distressed condition of the Jews of this country, who are in such an excitable state that they become ready victims of organizations which use the fight against anti-Semitism not for the purposes this Committee has in mind, but for their own particular ends, whether political or mercenary or, even in their view, high-minded. Now, in this field of fighting anti-Semitism, we do not object to competitors. We welcome all the groups which work as we do, on the principles that have been outlined to you, but we do feel it necessary, and we will continue, to call the attention of our members and even, if required, of the community at large, not only to organizations which we believe do not do effective work and might therefore waste money contributed to them by Jews, but also to organizations and methods which we believe are affirmatively harmful to our cause.

We urge you and your friends and associates in your community to be careful in responding to appeals for support from organizations about whose effectiveness and responsibility you do not have full knowledge. Check them first through our Committee and we will give you the facts on the basis of which you can wisely decide whether or not you should contribute to them.
PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING OUR PROGRAM

By John Slawson

Executive Vice President

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the Board members of the American Jewish Committee and to its officers for the fine backing that I have received in whatever efforts it has been possible for me to put forth in the interest of the Committee. The staff also has exhibited an encouragingly cooperative spirit. If time were available, I would like to mention each and every one by name, so much do I appreciate their fine attitude.

When we consider the subjects that have been discussed here today, this morning and this afternoon, particularly when we recall the admirable address delivered by our President, we must realize that indeed the Committee is engaged in very diversified and complicated tasks. It would seem that these manifold activities need to be related to some common factor. To further the purposes of the American Jewish Committee there must be an orientation that would be based upon some common denominator that would bring together into one meaningful unified whole our work in the domestic defense field, our activities in the overseas area, and our concern with the inner life of the Jewish community. I believe that to make possible this kind of unity of thought and purpose that is so essential to orderly, efficient and productive functioning there are three fundamental conditions that must underlie all of our activities, regardless of the special emphases that may be placed on the latter.

One of these conditions is that, in each and all of our activities, there is an imperative need for collaboration. It is an irrefutable fact that one cannot do things for people, one needs to do things with people. As a corollary, one cannot do things for the Jewish people, one must do them with the Jewish people. That is what I mean by the fundamental condition of collaboration. If we adopt this principle as basic for all of our operations, it means we must build up the confidence and support of the Jewish community for our domestic defense program, for our foreign work, for the political considerations within the Jewish community in the United States, and, as a matter of fact, in relation to everything we do. If we receive such collaboration, our task is greatly eased.
In order to elicit this confidence on the part of the American Jewish community, we need to do a good job and, in addition, we need to make known what we do in as dignified and cautious a manner as the occasion requires. However, it is important that we realize that we must make known what we do, if we expect collaboration in the Jewish community. And we hope to achieve this by making available an adequately organized institutional publicity program which is under way. You have already heard about the plan to broaden the basic structure of our organization, namely its constituency. We have discussed with you already the proposal of our chapter set-up and the creation of our Department of Community Activities whose task will be the organization of chapters of "like-minded" individuals throughout the country. This kind of collaboration, by widening our support, will yield the most effective procedures for combating anti-Semitism and for the handling of Jewish affairs in general. It will also result, hopefully, in the reduction and ultimate elimination of false prophets and saviors who have been exploiting the Jewish people by ostensibly attempting to help solve Jewish problems.

The second fundamental condition, as a basis for effective functioning in behalf of the Jewish people by the Committee, is the adoption of, and adherence to, an appropriate theory of Jewish adjustment to the American scene. We have heard at luncheon Judge Proskauer speak of the false premises of "homelessness" of the Jewish people outside of Palestine, and of the "melting pot" theory of adjustment, with its skimmed milk connotation. We have heard him make a plea for the preservation of our religious and cultural characteristics, furnishing, however, wide opportunity for an inter-action with the American culture. In other words, the philosophy that appears to be the expression of the American Jewish Committee point of view at the present time is that of cultural integration which opposes both a Jewish nationalistic doctrine and the assimilationist approach of the escapist variety. The point of view expressed by Judge Proskauer is not only an elaboration of the Statement of Views adopted by the Committee a year ago at its Annual Meeting, but in effect is also a contribution to a blue-print for the Committee's activities. We do not accept escapism of any form, either into Jewish nationalism or into an aggressive melting pot assimilation process. We assert that the democratic process calls for cultural integration of the Jew into the American scene with every possibility for the exercise of devoted and loyal citizen-
ship, but at the same time retaining the religio-cultural adherence to, and preservation of, Judaism. Whether we formulate a local defense program, or give our attention to overseas work, or concern ourselves with our intra-group political problems, it is important that this basic conception of Jewish adjustment to America, supported by the American Jewish Committee, be kept in mind. We feel that if the wrong concept of Jewish adjustment becomes the motivating factor in any activity in the interest of the Jewish people, such activity may do more harm than good. This is true of domestic defense, foreign affairs, and all related problems.

The third fundamental condition that I believe is basic to an effective program by the American Jewish Committee in the interest of the Jewish people is that it concerns itself with the spiritual and cultural strengthening of the Jewish people in the United States. Many Jews are hungry for knowledge, for an emotional orientation, for a way of life as Jews in the American scene, as Jews in the world at large. They are confused as to the course to pursue with their children—whether they should educate them Jewishly or not—the age-old question, to be or not to be, as Jews, both as American citizens or as factors in a rapidly changing world scene. The American Jewish Committee must meet this need by making available to its constituency its research products, its publications, its study courses. It will be able to do this through its chapters and through activities in which study of domestic and foreign problems of the Jewish people will constitute the major preoccupation. The American Jewish Committee will be obliged to create educational materials and equip adequately a field staff which will function as adult educators by transmitting the educational products created by the Committee to its constituency. The Committee, therefore, would become a cultural power-house for the strengthening of the spiritual pattern of the Jewish people in the United States.

The anticipated results of this kind of activity would, in my estimation, be as follows: It would develop a Jewry in America whose views on Jewish life here or elsewhere, would be based on knowledge, on understanding, on seasoned judgment, not on an emotional state nourished by a barrage of concentrated propaganda carried on for about three or four decades. We would then have an informed constituency who would lead others, and the latter still others, until successful ways of adjustment as American citizens of the Jewish religio-cultural identity would be achieved, whose conceptions with regard to the age-old Jewish problem would be
global—global in two respects: one, with reference to the most wholesome approach to the question of Jewish integration into the culture of the country of which they are a part; two, global with regard to the defense of the rights of Jews the world over. With regard to the latter factor, it is important to point out here that very frequently there is exhibited a provincial attitude which seeks to restrict the defense of the rights of Jews with reference to the domestic scene, not realizing that what happens in Argentina or Bolivia or in Mexico will influence our destiny in the United States. We do not have to go far back in history to prove this point. All we have to do is to remember that if Hitler and Hitlerism had not been permitted to gain a foothold twelve years ago in Europe, the world would not have been visited by its present great affliction and we would not have been obliged to engage in an intensive domestic defense program in the United States today. Both, therefore in our conceptions with regard to Jewish adjustment in the country where we live, and the inter-relationship between our destiny and those of Jewries throughout the world, a global point of view is essential. The isolationist approach in Jewish life is as deadly as it is in relation to the general world scene.

Now, in order to achieve this purpose of creating an informed, integrated and secure Jewry with a balanced perspective on matters relating to programs of activities in the best interests of the Jewish people, we need to develop and are in the process now of developing, first, an informed and devoted lay group of adherents and workers, like-minded with regard to fundamentals of Jewish adjustment, nevertheless representing a cross-section of the Jewish people of the United States. Secondly, we are in the process of creating and developing a professional staff with vision, training, skills in the fields of education, group relations, applied social and psychological sciences, community organization, Jewish scholarship, sociology, research, public relations, international law, and government. In addition, we need an integration of such staff into a functioning unit, and also a common denominator for their professional activity—and I should like to stress this latter point for it is basically important that we meet this condition. The common denominator for the activity which all professional personnel and lay workers of the American Jewish Committee need to share is, in my estimation, the fostering, the strengthening, and the enriching of human relationships within Jewish groups and, between them—individually as well as collectively—and the general American society.
I. STATEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

The American Jewish Committee associated itself with the American Jewish Conference in the hope that through meetings of representatives of Jewish organizations and communities in a consultative body, an endeavor might be made to achieve a program for unity of action with respect to Jewish problems in the post-war world.

The American Jewish Committee has at all times taken the position that the American Jewish Conference should be exactly what the name implies,—a conference, that is to say, a deliberative body, fairly representative of a cross-section of American Jewry, and that it should not be an authoritative or permanent body superimposed upon the structure of Jewish life in America. Consequently the Committee entered the Conference on two conditions: (1) the character and accordingly the name of the project should be changed from “Assembly” to “Conference;” and (2) the right of any participating organization to dissent from and, so dissenting, not to be bound by the conclusions of the Conference, should be recognized. These two conditions were accepted.

As the election machinery developed, it became evident that the inclusion of overlapping organizations, on the one hand, and the exclusion of large local and national agencies, on the other, would necessarily result in a gathering in which significant segments of the Jewish population would have virtually no voice. Prior to the actual meeting of the Conference, we called the attention of its Executive Committee to this situation. Our protest pointed out that the organizations excluded “constituted the backbone of a substantial part of every Jewish community and that to exclude them is to confine membership in the Conference to restricted groups in the community.”

Nevertheless we still deemed it our duty to confer. We continued association with the Conference in the hope that by mutual exchange of views there might be consideration for a unified course of conduct with respect to the problems within the scope of the Conference. However, to a large extent the delegates, though elected as community representatives, came to the Conference...
with voting instructions, and a large number of delegates felt that their action was determined by virtue of decisions made by official Zionist bodies. Hence, to our deep regret, there was no adequate opportunity for an exchange of views and the character of the meeting as a Conference was essentially destroyed. Indeed, some organizations which had both Zionist and non-Zionist members felt obliged to refrain from voting.

The resolutions with respect to Palestine were thus adopted without opportunity to effect a possible adjustment between ultimate political Zionist aspirations and the position held by a vast number of Jews not affiliated with official Zionist bodies. These resolutions were, in our judgment, not in the best interests of Jews throughout the world, including Palestine. Therefore, we had no alternative but to dissent.

In its Statement of Views adopted last January, the American Jewish Committee set forth its principles and program. In that statement we pledged ourselves with all Americans to the winning of the war and the achievement for the whole world of the Four Freedoms and the blessings of the Atlantic Charter. We urged upon the United Nations relief from the havoc and ruin inflicted by Axis barbarism on millions of human beings, especially Jews, their repatriation, rehabilitation and the complete restoration and safeguarding of their equal civil and religious rights; the implementation of a program under international supervision that shall facilitate voluntary settlement of refugees in other countries; reaffirmation of the principle that Jewish citizens of every land shall be guaranteed the right of complete equality. The acceptance of these principles and the realization of the measures continue to be of first importance.

We join with all our fellow Jews in proud recognition of the achievements of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine where there has been built up a flourishing economic life and a satisfying spiritual and cultural life. These achievements have been the result of the work not only of Zionists but also of non-Zionists. Leaders of the American Jewish Committee were in the forefront of the efforts which culminated in the enlargement of the Jewish Agency, and the American Jewish Committee joined with Zionist organizations in protests against policies which appeared calculated to place obstacles in the way of the progress of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine. Non-Zionists as well as Zionists helped establish the Hebrew University, promoted substantial cultural, religious and
economic activities in Palestine, and contributed generously to the support of the efforts to establish the Jewish Settlement in Palestine on a firm foundation.

But despite the recognized achievements of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine, it cannot, in the light of the realities of Jewish life in the world, alone furnish the solution of the problem of post-war Jewish rehabilitation.

In our Statement of Views we recognized the wide divergence of opinion with respect to the future government of Palestine, and we emphasized that under existing conditions in Palestine and in the world there should be no preconceived formula at this time as to the permanent political structure which should obtain there.

We affirmed and reaffirm that whatever government be established ultimately in Palestine, there can be no political identification of Jews outside of Palestine with such government.

This must be emphasized and we deem it our duty to preserve a position free and untrammeled to urge this view.

In accordance with our Statement of Views we approve for the present for Palestine an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations for the following purposes: To safeguard the Jewish Settlement in, and Jewish immigration into, Palestine, and to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country; to safeguard and protect the fundamental rights of all inhabitants; to safeguard and protect the holy places of all faiths; and to prepare the country to become, within a reasonable period of years, a self-governing Commonwealth under a Constitution and a Bill of Rights that will safeguard and protect these purposes and basic rights for all.

We thus tendered an affirmative program of conduct to which we believed and believe that Zionist and non-Zionist alike might accord support.

As opposed to this, at a time when the Jews in Palestine constitute approximately one-third of the population, the Conference made the immediate demand for the exclusive exercise by a Jewish body of the sovereign right to control immigration and for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. From such demands, clearly incapable of immediate realization, there was bound to be grave dissent. To our regret we could get no consideration for the plea for the withholding of these ultimate, divisive demands in order to concentrate upon present unity of action on matters upon
which there was complete agreement—such as the abrogation of the White Paper, which terminates immigration into Palestine.

We are profoundly convinced that in the interests of the development of the Jewish Settlement in Palestine itself, as well as the security and welfare of the Jews throughout the world, the position taken by the American Jewish Committee is sound, and that in view of international conditions it is an error to insist upon these ultimate political proposals.

We deem it vital that in the interest of Jewry it should be made clear that the assertion of such extreme demands has been unacceptable to large segments of American Jewry.

The salvation and rehabilitation of the stricken Jews of Europe cannot be achieved through Palestine alone, and certainly not by over-emphasis on the political constitution of Palestine. It can be achieved only by considering Palestine a part of the larger program which looks to the rehabilitation of Jews throughout the world and the restoration of their equal rights.

Holding these views, we do not see how, on the one hand we can in good conscience usefully continue membership in the Conference which, through its Interim Committee, is now seeking to implement the Resolutions from which we dissented, or, on the other hand, how that Committee, on which we have been asked to take our place, could function unembarrassed were we to remain as a dissenting element. Moreover, in view of the fact that the pre-determined position of so many of the delegates renders impossible consideration of ideas that do not conform to that position, it is futile for us to continue what in reality can only be nominal participation. Our remaining in the Conference would give the appearance of unity of action—but only the appearance, not the genuine unity of action that we have always hoped for. Therefore, in fairness both to the Conference and to the American Jewish Committee, and prompted by the firm belief that it is to the best interest of Jews in this and other countries, we feel impelled, to our keen disappointment, to withdraw from further participation in the Conference.

At this tragic juncture in the history of the Jews we are confronted by grave and immediate tasks. We invite the cooperation of all Jews in a program of action which we mean to continue to pursue aggressively in behalf of Jewry in America, in Europe, in Palestine and everywhere in the world where we can be helpful. Desiring as we do for the stricken Jews of Europe the broadest
opportunity which Palestine can offer them, we shall exert our most
diligent efforts to bring about the abrogation of the White Paper.
Unhampered by intransigent political objectives, we believe we
can be the more effective in this direction. So long as countless
Jews continue to die day after day in Europe, we believe that all
Jews should concentrate on the opening of the doors of Palestine
to Jewish immigration rather than on debates regarding ultimate
political aspirations.

But much more than Palestine must occupy the attention of any
responsible body which is vitally concerned with the total welfare
of Jewry. Through the marshaling of public opinion, through
representations to our government and through proper diplomatic
channels, we shall continue to seek to achieve the quickest possible
rescue of the Jews persecuted in Europe today and to attain for
the millions who will be there tomorrow a normal life on a basis of
equality with their fellow-citizens. We insist upon the right of
Jews to live as equal citizens in Europe or anywhere.

We shall continue assiduously our efforts to deal with anti-
Semitism in this country and to expose its true character as a
miserable anti-democratic and anti-American manifestation. By
a broad educational program, by collaboration with all groups in
America who recognize the divisive and demoralizing nature of
anti-Semitism, we shall seek to bring about such a community of
understanding between all religious and racial groups that bigotry
and discrimination will be destroyed. By continuing to cooperate
with those many vital Jewish institutions and movements in this
country—religious, cultural, philanthropic—we hope to help nour-
ish and enrich Jewish life in America. In all this we shall be moved
by a conviction, shared, we believe, by an overwhelming number
of American Jews, that the problems of world Jewry cannot be
solved by any single political panacea, but by concentrated activity
toward the attainment of a secure place for Jews in all countries
of the globe.

Unity of conduct in these broad areas continues to be our aim.
We shall always hope for the largest measure of cooperation by our
Committee with all other Jewish organizations to achieve these
common objectives.

October 24, 1943
With full cognizance of the historic friendship of the people of Great Britain and their successive Governments for Jews, which has made them pioneers in the establishment of equal rights for Jews within the confines of their own country, as well as staunch spokesmen for justice when oppression and persecution pursued the Jews elsewhere, the American Jewish Committee is impelled to press for attention the situation created by the White Paper of 1939.

Balfour Declaration

In line with that historic policy, the British Government on November 2, 1917 issued the Balfour Declaration, offering hope to persecuted segments of the Jews throughout the world that they might find a home in the country with which they had an ancient bond.

British Mandate

Following the First World War, after the military victory for the Allied Powers and the subsequent liberation of the Near East, the promise of the Balfour Declaration was included in the Mandate for Palestine, which was entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations on July 24, 1922. The primary purpose of the Mandate was the establishment of a national home for the Jews with the understanding that nothing be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status of Jews in any other country. This promise of a homeland within Palestine was specific and admitted. It was not controversial as is the question of the creation of a commonwealth.

Acknowledging the historical connection of the Jews with Palestine, the Mandate holds the Mandatory responsible for secur-
ing development of self-governing institutions. It provides for the encouragement, so far as circumstances permit, of local autonomy, and the recognition of an appropriate Jewish agency to advise and cooperate with the Administration of Palestine. The Mandate makes it obligatory upon Great Britain "to facilitate Jewish immigration" and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land. The holy days of the various religions of the country are made legal rest day; each community in Palestine is to be allowed to maintain its own schools; English, Hebrew and Arabic are made the official languages of the country. No discrimination of any kind, on the ground of race, religion or language, is to be made between the inhabitants of Palestine. "No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief."

**The Principle of Immigration**

Within the terms of the Mandate, principles on which immigration is to be "facilitated" are not defined. Shortly before the signing of the Mandate, however, a Statement of Policy was issued on June 3, 1922, by Mr. Winston Churchill, then Secretary for Colonies, in which the principle of economic absorptive capacity was established as the sole criterion for Jewish immigration into Palestine. This Statement became the interpretation on which the Mandate was subsequently put into effect.

When this Statement was issued by Mr. Churchill, there were already some 80,000 Jews in Palestine, living in an organized community with a certain amount of self-government in local affairs. These Jews and all those who would enter subsequently would be in Palestine, in Mr. Churchill's words, "as of right and not on sufferance."

**The Principle Limited**

Except for an episode which occurred in 1930, the British Government adhered to the principle of economic absorptive capacity as the sole criterion for immigration. The one exception was provoked by the disturbances in Palestine in 1929. In a 1930 Statement of Policy, known as the Passfield White Paper, the British Government proposed to discard the principle of economic absorptive capacity and to reduce immigration drastically on political grounds. But British public opinion at the time was highly adverse to this project. The present Lord Chancellor, then Sir John Simon, and
Lord Hailsham suggested in a letter to the [London] *Times* that the British Government should induce the Council of the League of Nations to obtain from the World Court an advisory opinion on whether the restriction of immigration on political grounds is consistent with the Mandate and asked that the British Government should not enforce the measure without a decision of the Court. Mr. David Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Balfour Declaration, speaking in the House of Commons in 1930, described the dominant idea of the Mandate as the "recognition of the special position of the Jewish people in the country whose name they have made immortal, and the conferring on them of special rights and interests in that country."

As a result of this opposition, the British Government virtually withdrew the Passfield White Paper. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, reiterated that "the considerations relevant to the limits of absorptive capacity are purely economic considerations."

**THE PRINCIPLE UPHELD**

Moved by the disturbances in Palestine in 1936, the British Government established a quota of 8,000 Jewish immigrants to Palestine for the eight months following August 1, 1937. Confronted with the situation, the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations again reaffirmed that the limitation of Jewish immigration to Palestine on other than the principle of economic absorptive capacity was not in accordance with the meaning of the Palestine Mandate. The Mandates Commission drew attention to the fact that this departure from the principle of economic absorptive capacity was acceptable only as a temporary measure. "The Commission does not question that the Mandatory Power, responsible as it is for the maintenance of order in the territory may, on occasion, find it advisable to take such a step, and is competent to do so, as an exceptional provisional measure .... It feels, however, bound to draw attention to this departure from the principle, sanctioned by the League Council, that immigration is to be proportionate to the country's economic absorptive capacity."

**PALESTINE EXPANDS**

By 1937, the Jewish population of Palestine had risen to about 400,000. The immigrants, utilizing their own enthusiasms and energies, and drawing on the encouragement and support of Jews
throughout the world, had brought Palestine to great heights of development. Arabs as well as Jews had benefited from highways, modern housing, exemplary hygienic provisions, and—above all—from the introduction of economic efficiency and new methods of agriculture that had turned arid stretches into fertile fields, vineyards and orchards. Speaking before the House of Commons on the progress made in Palestine, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary for Colonies, said, in 1939:

"...The manner of their return has indeed been something of a miracle. There are places where they have turned the desert into spacious orange groves. Where was a bare seashore, they have made a city. They have advanced the frontier of settlement into waste and plague-ridden spaces. Wherever they bought up the land they made it produce its fruits more abundantly, and they have started in Palestine a score of thriving industries.

"There was no denying that Jewish immigration and Jewish development in Palestine were bringing great material benefits to the country. Industry and employment increased, and the revenue from this expansion went to create social services such as the country had not known before. The Arabs shared the greater well-being which flowed from these services. Under the new dispensation, unlike the old Palestine, the population of the Arabs increased in something like twenty years from 800,000 souls to over 1,000,000 souls."

The contribution in human energy and material resources which the Jewish immigrants to Palestine, and their friends throughout the world, gave to the renaissance of the country was inspired by the confidence that the future of Jewish existence there would be allowed to maintain the pace of accomplishment and fulfillment which had been envisioned in the documents of 1917 and 1922, the reaffirmation of the British people and successive British Governments.

1939 White Paper

To them the 1939 White Paper was a setback and a shock. The British Government sought justification for the issuance of the White Paper on May 17, 1939, in the increasingly disturbed situation of the world, which affected the Near East with equal intensity. Arab resentments, admittedly fed by Axis propaganda (the ex-Mufti is now a Berlin favorite), had not been abated by
the immigration curtailment of 1937. War was indubitably imminent, and it may be assumed that this temporary circumstance activated the British Government.

a. Immigration

The White Paper fixes the proportion of Jews in Palestine as approximately one-third of the total population by providing that until March 1944, during the first five years of the transition period, not more than 75,000 Jews be admitted to the country. Thereafter, unless Arab acquiescence for its continuance is obtained, further Jewish immigration is to be prohibited. Before the publication of the White Paper, it had never been doubted that the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were primarily intended to provide the Jews with continued immigration possibilities into Palestine.

b. Land Purchases

The White Paper further provides that the High Commissioner be given powers to regulate and prohibit the transfer of land to Jews. On the basis of this authority, the Palestine Land Transfer Regulations of February 28, 1940 were issued.

In these Regulations, Palestine was divided into three zones. In Zone A, comprising 4,104,000 acres, or about 63.1 per cent of the total area, transfer of land by an Arab to a Jew is altogether prohibited. In Zone B, consisting of 2,067,840 acres, or 31.8 per cent of the total area, land transfers from Arabs to Jews may be allowed under special circumstances at the discretion of the High Commissioner. Only in the so-called “free zone,” comprising 332,160 acres, or 5.1 per cent of the total area, do land transfers remain unrestricted.

According to the Land Transfer Regulations, Jews—even those who are citizens of Palestine—will not be allowed to buy land in nearly 95 per cent of the total area of the country. Others, whether they are citizens of Palestine or foreigners, retain unrestricted purchase rights.

Terms of the Mandate

The Mandate, in Article 15, states that “no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded
from Palestine on the ground of his religious belief.” In providing for the cessation of Jewish immigration, and in barring the Jews from land purchases in large areas of Palestine, the White Paper is not only inconsistent with the Mandate’s terms, but would make Palestine a country in which Jews are discriminated against on the basis of race or religion. The American Jewish Committee does not press the question of a commonwealth; it does urge that the discrimination against Jews as such with respect to land ownership and immigration is wrong in principle and a violation of the legal duty of the Mandatory.

Under the international political uncertainty which motivated the issuance of the White Paper, the House of Commons, by a small minority, approved its policy. Mr. Winston Churchill, opposing the White Paper during the debate that preceded the vote, said: “...The provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five years’ time by the decision of an Arab majority...is a plain breach of a solemn obligation... This pledge of a home of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home... Now, there is the breach, there is the violation of the pledge, there is the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration; there is the end of the vision, of the hope, of the dream... Yesterday the Minister responsible descanted eloquently in glowing passages upon the magnificent work which the Jewish colonists have done. They have made the desert bloom. They have started a score of thriving industries... They have founded a great city on a barren shore. They have harnessed the Jordan and spread its electricity throughout the land. So far from being persecuted, the Arabs have crowded into the country and multiplied till their population has increased more than even all world Jewry could lift up the Jewish population. Now we are asked to decree that all this is to stop and all this is to come to an end. We are now asked to submit—and this is what rankles most with me—to an agitation which is fed with foreign money and ceaselessly inflamed by Nazi and by Fascist propaganda.”

Furthermore, the White Paper provides that the neighboring Arab States, not mentioned in the Mandate, are under certain circumstances to be consulted during the transformation of Palestine from a mandated territory to an independent state. On the other hand, it completely ignores the Jewish Agency, which had
been the Jewish body advising and cooperating with the Palestine Administration, in accordance with the Mandate.

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, including a British member, unanimously decided that the policy was not in accordance with the interpretation which had been placed upon the Palestinian Mandate by the Commission. A majority of the Commission also stated that the interpretation given by the White Paper to the obligations contained in the Mandate was "ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors." War broke out before the Council of the League of Nations, which had hitherto always followed the advice and recommendations of the Commission could examine the Commission's report.

Today, the situation which attended the issuance of the White Paper has been considerably changed. We believe the temporary conditions which motivated its issuance have passed. The Near East, recently chosen as the meeting place for the leaders of four great United Nations powers, is no longer in danger of Axis conquest. Amid the encouraging scene, however, millions of Jews who once lived in Central and much of Eastern Europe stand as symbols of the persecutions and the tyrannies that have made this war a holocaust of horror. The destruction of Jews and the extent of their uprooting are greater than those to which other population groups have been subjected. Thousands, equipped only with the courage and the hope that sent their predecessors to Palestine from lesser hardships, but as assured as were their predecessors of the goodwill and aid of Jews in other parts of the world, plead for the opportunity to utilize their creative energies in the country with which their people's history is so closely bound. Their admittance into that country, to live freely and securely, would be in the spirit of the Four Freedoms.

For Great Britain, in 1943, the tensions that made her deem the 1939 White Paper necessary are no longer so compelling. For the Jews, to whom the Balfour Declaration was addressed and for whom the Mandate was evolved, has come unprecedented need that the possibilities envisioned in the Mandate be released from their present constraints.

Position of American Jewish Committee

The American Jewish Committee, which was organized primarily to "prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews,
in any part of the world . . . to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity . . ." does not at this time urge determination of the final constitutional status of Palestine; it does urge that the British Government re-examine the 1939 White Paper, considering such re-examination to be of the utmost urgency in the light of the present needs of European Jewry. The American Jewish Committee has from the beginning supported the Balfour Declaration as the legal sanction for the creation of a homeland for Jews within Palestine, and welcomed the opportunity to cooperate with those who sought to establish in a rehabilitated Palestine a center for the development of Jewish life and for the continuation of cultural creativity. It seeks today the safeguarding of the Jewish settlement in, and Jewish immigration into, Palestine under an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations; and a guarantee of adequate scope for the future expansion of the Jewish community in Palestine to the extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country. It specially pleads for the abrogation of the White Paper which discriminates against Jews as such.

The American Jewish Committee is in full agreement with the position taken by Mr. Winston Churchill in 1939. The events of the past four years have served to emphasize the vision and wisdom of his attitude.

In view of all existing conditions—political and humane—the American Jewish Committee earnestly urges that His Majesty's Government should abrogate the 1939 White Paper.