tunes recorded from the mouths of elderly Jewish men and women, most of them old immigrant residents of New York's East Side.

There are a number of choral societies, some of them independent groups, others connected with fraternal, political or cultural organizations. Their annual concerts consisted of both Jewish and general music. Particular mention should be made of the Workmen's Circle Chorus, which achieved wide recognition.

In this attempt to survey Jewish cultural activities in the United States during the past year, omissions have been unavoidable. It may be hoped that in the future an annual survey will be based on more complete facts and figures so as to give a fuller picture of American Jewry as a cultural force and of the United States as a cultural center of world Jewry.

5. INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

By Isaiah M. Minkoff

Organized anti-Semitic activity declined during the period covered by this summary, May 1, 1946 through April 30, 1947. The demagogues and their press experienced a marked decline in public interest and support. On the other hand, offsetting this encouraging general trend, there was a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in the South; persistence of discrimination against Jews in employment, education, housing, and resorts; and continuance of much latent anti-Semitic sentiment, as indicated by public opinion polls.

Organized anti-Semitism

The decline in organized anti-Semitism was first noticeable at about the beginning of 1946, and became accelerated in early 1947. The anti-Semitic press, by and large, encountered
a falling circulation. Comparatively few reports of active anti-Semitic organizational activity were received in recent months. But while such activity declined sharply it did not entirely cease.

The old line German-American Bund, Christian Front, and Social Justice groups virtually faded out of the picture. Attempts to re-create these groups under some new and more currently acceptable guise were, on the whole, abortive. The number of organized anti-Jewish groups and their membership strength dwindled as compared with recent years. Attempts to effect a national coalition of these groups showed no possibility of practical realization. Thus, Gerald L. K. Smith failed utterly to assemble a representative national group at a "convention" in St. Louis in the spring of 1946.

New Propaganda Line

These facts are encouraging. However, there is much evidence that the anti-Semites were, so to speak, merely involved in their own post-war reconversion, seeking for and experimenting with new avenues of attack, exploring the possibilities of exploiting new issues, now that peace had deprived them of their war-time pretexts.

Thus, one of their major devices was the use of propaganda based on the false identification of Jews with Communism. Despite the utter absurdity of the charge, the anti-Jewish press and bigot organizations persistently hurled the accusation of Communism against a Jewish community mobilized almost unanimously against all totalitarianisms. More than seventy-five anti-Semitic organizations were found peddling these falsehoods. New publications came into existence with the "Jew-Communist" line as their principal commodity, among them Think Weekly, and The Philadelphia Nationalist. The Intelligent American Voters League, a group led by ex-Congressman Martin Sweeney of Ohio; and The Christian Veterans of America, under the aegis of Frederick Kister, a protege of Gerald L. K. Smith, were among the organizations established during the period which took up the same false and malicious charge.
Anti-Semites also sought to exploit the world-wide discussion of the Palestine situation and the intensified activity of Zionist and extreme pro-Palestine groups in this country. Especially alert in this respect was an active and obviously well-financed group of propagandists for the Arab viewpoint, which, under the guise of explaining the Arab side of the Palestine question, disseminated subtle and sometimes open anti-Semitism.

**Columbians**

The complex racial, industrial, and political background of the South continued to nurture anti-Negro and anti-Semitic organizations. The best publicized of these was the Columbians, Inc. Chartered in Georgia in August 1946, this was not an organization of great strength or size, but it was found to be good newspaper copy and was repeatedly "exposed."

The Columbians never made any secret of their anti-Semitism or anti-Negroism; indeed they openly and blatantly announced their intention of establishing "white supremacy" and of eliminating the Jews. Their emblem, their program, and their methods were clearly Nazi-inspired. After several incidents of anti-Negro violence, the leaders of the movement, Emory Burke and Homer Loomis, Jr., were arrested, arraigned, and held for trial. In Superior Court, a jury of Atlantans convicted Loomis of inciting to riot and sentenced him to twelve months at a public works camp. Burke was later convicted of usurping police authority and was sentenced to three years in prison. Both were out on bond pending appeals, when the period under review ended. "A few court cases," Burke is reported to have said, "are not going to stop this movement."

**Ku Klux Klan**

Of far greater importance than the Columbians was the Ku Klux Klan. There was still much magic in the initials K. K. K. in the Southland, and the summer of 1946 witnessed spectacular increases in the Klan's strength. As a result of
close coverage and several sensational exposures, towards which facts gathered by Jewish community relations agencies contributed, membership applications declined in the fall months. The succeeding winter and spring, however, once again saw an increase in applications. K. K. K. activity was reported from as far north as the Dakotas, but not as a formidable movement.

During the latter half of 1946, legal measures were taken to curb the threat of the K. K. K. The states of California, New York, New Jersey, Indiana, Wisconsin, and Kentucky cancelled the corporate charter of the organization, thus barring open organizational activities in those parts of the Union. The danger that the K. K. K., with its widespread acceptance throughout the South, might prove to be the firm base for a country-wide coordinating force, welding together the hundreds of hitherto disparate and ineffective crackpot organizations dotting the nation, was for the time being at least averted.

Gerald Smith

The career of the loudest and most publicized of the anti-Semitic rabble-rousers during recent years—Gerald L. K. Smith—entered upon a decline during the year. Smith made the most of a reversal, on appeal, of his conviction by a Chicago court after a meeting in Chicago on February 7, 1946. Using every trick at his command, he tried to make his St. Louis meeting in the spring of 1946 at least resemble outwardly the “national convention” of nationalist forces that he hoped it would be. Under pressure from certain groups in the community, the local police chief banned the meeting, then reversed himself and allowed it to go on. There was picketing and some violence. The meeting was a dismal failure.

Smith spoke in various parts of the country to dwindling audiences. He appeared in San Francisco, and in Oakland he was accorded the use of the public schools, buttressed by a State Supreme Court ruling that he had the right to speak in the school buildings. Smith’s announced purpose of establishing Southwest headquarters in Fort Worth, Texas, was
frustrated. He received virtually no newspaper publicity in any of the Southwestern communities he visited, was barred from public halls in Houston and in Shreveport, La., and denied the use of the University of Texas Hogg Auditorium. Although he succeeded with the help of a local Baptist minister in getting an overflow audience of several thousand in Fort Worth, his auditors proved apathetic and tight-fisted.

In Philadelphia he drew a scant attendance at a meeting in a rented hall, notwithstanding the enthusiastic backing of the Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania and their Current Events Club. Here, as in other of his appearances, Smith was joined on the platform by Norman Jaques, member of the Canadian Parliament, where he represents the views of the Social Credit Party, and where his speeches have earned him a reputation for anti-Semitism.

Evidence was submitted that Smith’s meetings for several years tended to be poorly attended when they were unpicketed and unpublicized, and that attendance was greater when the meetings were accompanied by mass picketing and demonstrations. Based on this evidence, a consensus among the Jewish community relations agencies in the latter part of 1946 favored the application of what has come to be known as the “silent treatment,” and more recently as the “quarantine treatment.” The efficacy of this technique was about to be reviewed by the agencies at the close of the period here being summarized.

*Upton Close*

Upton Close, radio commentator for Merwin K. Hart’s National Economic Council, continued to be heard over a 67-station network until his program was terminated on February 11, 1947, admittedly because of lack of funds. However, there were persistent reports of disagreement between Hart and Close; and Hart was said to have offered to renew the broadcasting contract with the Mutual Network, with himself as commentator—a proposal which was rejected by the network.

In August 1946, Close attacked the Rt. Rev. Bernard J.
Sheil, Auxiliary Catholic Bishop of Chicago, as an apologist for Communism. Speaking, in reply, on Close's own radio time on September 3, Bishop Sheil denounced "the untruthful statements, unjust implications, the despicable insinuations and utter intellectual dishonesty of Mr. Close's entire statement."

Opposition to Close was widespread. The radio stations carrying his program received numerous protests from listeners, and his scripts were subjected to careful screening. Several important bodies, including the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the Texas State Teachers Association, and the Minnesota House of Representatives withdrew invitations to Close for speaking appearances.

Minor Figures and Organizations

Arthur W. Terminiello, Catholic priest suspended by his Bishop and termed by him "not a priest in good standing," had appealed his conviction for disorderly conduct by a Chicago court in February 1946, and the appeal was yet to be heard when the period under review ended. During the early portion of that period, Terminiello continued to accompany Gerald L. K. Smith on speaking platforms. In August, however, he severed the association and began to operate independently, but with very little success.

Another well-known anti-Semite known to be active was Kurt Mertig, who, after serving a six-month sentence in the New York City Workhouse for unlawful assembly in connection with a Christian Front street meeting in Queens in October 1945, tried reestablishing himself as a leader of German-American movements, operating under the aegis of the German-American Republican League and the Citizens Protective League, in New York's Yorkville district.

Still other crackpot individuals and their "organizations"—more often consisting of paper than flesh-and-blood membership—may be dismissed with the characterization bestowed on them by one of the national Jewish community relations agencies—"each of them a parrot, tirelessly repeating the same theme in his or her own peculiar literary style."
Visitors from Abroad

Several prominent visitors from abroad excited controversy and high feelings and perhaps deserve mention in this review. The Reverend Martin Niemoeller, German Lutheran pastor touring the United States under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, was accused on the one hand of being an apologist for the German people, and on the other was warmly defended as a godly man who had suffered greatly at the hands of the Nazis. Dr. Kurt Schuschnigg, former Austrian Chancellor like Niemoeller a visiting lecturer, was castigated by some as a traitor to the cause of human freedom.

Politics and Public Life

The 1946 elections witnessed little use of anti-Semitism by political candidates. In the mid-west, particularly in the Chicago area, several open anti-Semites ran for Congress, including Fred Kister, Florence Griesel, and Tom Van Hyning. All, however, were soundly rebuffed by the electorate. Meade McClanahan, recalled from the Los Angeles city assembly because of his open association with Gerald L. K. Smith, failed in an attempted return in 1946.

Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi, avowed Ku Kluxer, reelected to another term in the upper chamber of the national legislature, was widely attacked as morally unfit for that high office, and charged with having gained election through fraud and illegal disenfranchisement of Negro voters. Southern members sustained a filibuster for several days on a motion to bar Bilbo from the Senate, thus delaying organization of that body. When it became evident that the majority was determined to prevent him from taking his place in the Chamber, Bilbo announced that he would be unable to serve actively because of illness. He returned home for a surgical operation, and the Senate was organized after the motion to bar him was tabled.¹

¹ Bilbo died on August 21, 1947, without ever having taken his seat in the 80th Congress—Ed.
Reactionaries and anti-Semites seized upon the nomination of David Lilienthal to be head of the Atomic Energy Commission as a pretext for many innuendoes and subtle charges. The Jew-Communist line was refurbished for the occasion. Mr. Lilienthal bore himself with dignity and refuted the absurd allegations against him with courage, candor, and eloquence. He received wide support and was eventually confirmed.

**Anti-Semitic Publications**

Perhaps one hundred and fifty or more periodicals, pamphlets, and other publications carrying anti-Semitic material appeared during the year. Some of these were new; many were of long standing; a few were old, reissued in new dress. Smith continued to publish his *The Cross and the Flag*, De Aryan his *The Broom*, Van Hyning her *Women’s Voice*, etc.

Several publications were discontinued during the year, among them Maertz’ *Dispatch* and the deceased Carl Mote’s *America Preferred* (despite efforts of G. L. K. Smith and others to retain its subscribers). *W. Lee O’Daniel’s News*, the *Pioneer News Service*, and *Woodford’s Slant*, of Hollywood, also ceased publishing.

Smith and Kister brought out a new edition of *The International Jew*, long since repudiated by Henry Ford. In letters to interested organizations, Henry Ford II reiterated this repudiation in his own behalf and in behalf of the Ford Company. Circulation of the infamous and repeatedly exposed forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the completely discredited Benjamin Franklin papers continued from various sources.

**Vandalism**

Instances of destruction or defacement of synagogue property, desecration of Jewish cemeteries, and similar acts of vandalism were reported during the year from widely separated communities. In virtually all cases, the vandals were found or suspected to be youngsters; and they could more
fairly be charged with delinquency than with planned or purposeful anti-Semitism. There were some arrests and convictions. On the whole, the number of incidents was smaller than in recent previous years.

PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINATION

While organized manifestations of overt anti-Semitism were diminishing, all forms of discrimination—in employment, in education, in housing, at resorts, and social discrimination generally—appeared to show no such signs. It is extremely difficult to obtain conclusive data of discrimination in all its forms, but many lines of evidence point in the same direction.

**Employment Discrimination**

Early in 1947, the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice issued its *Final Report*. This cited a survey, completed in the summer of 1946, to show that employment discrimination against Jews had increased markedly in the months following the war.\(^1\) This was a finding of particular significance, for the generally high level of employment which existed at the time of the survey tended to hold discrimination down. National and local Jewish agencies, including many of the community relations agencies, intensified their programs to counter employment discrimination. Based on a nationwide survey of the work of Jewish agencies in this field, a series of recommendations approved by all the community relations agencies was promulgated for the guidance of programs to combat discrimination in employment.\(^2\)

The year was noteworthy for the number and magnitude of efforts to legislate against employment discrimination at the federal, state, and municipal levels. Federal bills had been

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prevented from coming to a vote in Congress in each session since 1944. By 1947, following the reorganization of the National Council for a Permanent FEPC, representing virtually all respectable elements advocating such legislation, a considerable body of bi-partisan support appeared to have been developed among Senators and Representatives.

Jewish community relations agencies were represented on the Board of Directors of the National Council, and on its policy committee. In March 1947, bills for the creation of a National Commission Against Discrimination in Employment were introduced in the Senate and House. The Senate Bill has as sponsors Irving Ives of New York, Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Alexander Smith of New Jersey, Wayne Morse of Oregon (Republicans), and Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, Sheridan Downey of California, James Murray of Montana, and James Meyers of Pennsylvania (Democrats). Identical bills were introduced in the House by Fulton (R., Pa.), Dawson (D., Ill.), Javits (R., N. Y.), Judd (R., Minn.), Douglas (D., Cal.), Bender (R., Ohio), Powell (D., N. Y.), and Norton (D., N. J.).

Massachusetts and Connecticut joined the ranks of states with FEPC laws on their books, both adopting effective statutes during the period under review. Added to New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Indiana, which had previously passed laws in this field, this made six states with FEPC legislation. The country-wide interest in the legal prohibition of employment discrimination was manifest in the fact that at least 39 bills were pending in at least 18 other states on April 30, 1947 when the present review was closed. In California an effort to enact a state FEPC law by popular referendum met defeat. The opposition was spearheaded by a speciously titled "Committee for Tolerance," which campaigned against the proposed measure on the ground that it would promote racial animosity.

The City of Cincinnati adopted an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in employment by public agencies; and Mil-

1 These states were Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Oregon Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington, and West Virginia.
waukeeg, by local statute, outlawed employment discrimination in a comprehensive law expressly covering private employers and employment agencies.

**Discrimination in Education**

Discrimination in educational institutions was increasingly felt by the Jewish community to give grounds for grave concern. Many colleges and universities had for some time exercised restrictions against Jewish applicants for admission, medical schools and certain other types of professional schools being the worst offenders. The vast number of returning veterans seeking to take advantage of the G. I. educational benefits competed for available educational opportunities and served to accentuate the problem of educational discrimination, especially for non-veteran youth.

Various surveys and studies were initiated in efforts to develop factual data useful in combatting these practices. A decennial census of Jewish students at American colleges and universities was under way when the period under review ended,¹ and a major follow-up study of high school graduates' applications for admission to the various institutions under non-sectarian auspices was in the planning stage. An investigation, by a committee of the New York City Council, of discrimination in local educational institutions, undertaken after a strong letter had been sent over the signatures of leading civic agencies, including the Jewish community relations agencies, confirmed charges of discrimination against several major institutions in the city, and led the City Council to recommend enactment of laws by the state and the city to prohibit such discrimination.²

A suit to void Columbia University's tax exemption because of its practice of discrimination in admissions was rejected on a technicality in the courts of New York State. An effort

¹ Preliminary results of this survey, conducted by the B'nai B'rith Vocational Service Bureau, were released as this article went to press. It revealed that there were approximately 161,369 Jewish students in the schools of higher education, or 8.2% of the total student body—ED.

supported by all the state's Jewish community relations agencies in New York to obtain the passage of the Austin-Mahoney Bill, which would have forbidden schools to discriminate in admitting students, failed to be reported out of committee. The measure was opposed by many colleges and universities in the state, and by the Catholic Church. Similar bills introduced in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Indiana also failed to reach a vote.

The interest of many Jewish organizations over a period of years in the extension of higher educational opportunities seemed to gather momentum during the year. Some, who had been advocating the creation of a university under Jewish auspices as a contribution to the cultural and educational life of America, appeared to attract a number of partisans to their viewpoint. Others were influenced by growing evidences of discrimination in existing colleges, universities, and professional schools to advocate Jewish sponsorship of new institutions as a means of providing educational opportunities for Jewish students.

Reflecting to some extent both these points of view, the representatives of Jewish community relations agencies acting through the Plenary Session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council in June 1946, endorsed the "establishment and expansion in the United States of Jewish universities and colleges, and of institutions of higher learning under Jewish auspices, open to all persons, regardless of race, color, or creed."

Restrictive Real Estate Covenants

Realty discrimination was also a cause of grave concern. Restrictive covenants against Jews came increasingly to the attention of the Jewish community relations agencies. Al-

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1 The constituent organizations of the NCRAC are: The American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and one regional, two state, and twenty-one local community relations councils. This report is drawn from materials submitted by NCRAC member agencies or presented to NCRAC Plenary Sessions or committee meetings.
though no court tests involving such restrictions against Jews have been made, Jewish organizations are hoping to test the validity of these agreements in the courts. Test cases affecting Negroes, initiated in the states of Missouri, Michigan, New York, and Illinois, met with adverse decisions. Appeals were pending at the end of the year under review. An interesting news item was a resolution by the Building Trades Council in Minneapolis and St. Paul against participation in building where housing restrictions are planned; this resolution was not, however, upheld by the state AFL council.

Discrimination by recreational resorts also continued widespread, as shown by a survey of discrimination in such resorts in New England. In Miami, Florida, resorts were enjoined by city action from advertising discriminatory policies.

TRENDS AND ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Jewish community relations agencies, vigilant against overt and covert manifestations of anti-Semitism, combatted discrimination in individual instances. More importantly, they carried on a broad program of education, social action, and resort to law, thereby contributing both toward the development of a "climate of opinion" in which bigotry found it more difficult to live, and toward the realization of a practical democracy in which discrimination will not exist to deprive individuals of their rights and to feed prejudices.

National and local Jewish agencies coordinated their policies and programs through the National Community Relations Advisory Council and cooperated nationally and locally with non-Jewish and non-sectarian organizations acting similarly to strengthen American democracy and to diminish prejudice and discrimination.

Education

Much of the time and resources of Jewish agencies were devoted, as in the past, to the formulation and implementation

1 In June the Supreme Court granted certiorari in the Michigan and Missouri cases and these will be heard when the court reconvenes in the fall.—ED.
of positive programs looking toward basic improvements in human relations. The agencies concerned with the field have come increasingly to recognize the necessity for a long-range continuing program of activities designed to bolster American democracy and to keep the American people constantly aware of the threats to the American way of life inherent in prejudice, discrimination, and intolerance.

The existence of a reservoir of latent anti-Semitic sentiment underlined the necessity of long-range, forward-looking programs designed to lay the base for better community relations. In order to reach the broad masses of the American people with a message of democratic unity, national Jewish community relations organizations, with the cooperation of the local community relations agencies, continued publication and distribution of educational material, by means of pamphlets, the radio, films, the lecture platform and other mass media of communication.

Where it was once a rare thing to find an article in a general magazine dealing with the delicate problems of anti-Semitism, in 1946–47 it was not unusual to pick up magazines such as Collier's, Cosmopolitan, American, Seventeen, Look, and Life and find either articles discussing various elements of the problem of group prejudice or fiction centering about group relations. Advertisements, cartoons, editorials, and feature articles carrying the message of democracy appeared in the daily press and in specialized publications, including particularly many papers appearing in over a dozen foreign languages. Pamphlets, novels, song-books, and non-fiction were distributed to schools, organizations and libraries. Gentleman's Agreement by Laura Z. Hobson, a novel of social anti-Semitism, was a national best-selling novel in 1947. A large number of other recent novels have carried a message designed to improve inter-group relations.

The motion picture companies, highly sensitive to public reaction, produced and displayed pictures dealing forthrightly with various phases of group relationships. Such films were “One Foot in Heaven,” “Till the End of Time,” and “The Fighting Marine.”
There was evidence that group attitudes of the general public had matured. "Abie's Irish Rose," which trade papers such as Variety and Harrison's Reports criticized because of its reliance for comic effects upon stereotyped Irish and Jewish characters, received bad reviews, and had a conspicuously poor record of exhibitions and attendance in major urban centers. Film strips, such as "We Are All Brothers," and 16 mm. films, such as "Don't Be a Sucker," were widely distributed and displayed in 1946–47. Others were addressed to specific groups, such as the film strip "Labor's Challenge," which was much in demand for union meetings.

Radio also presented the whole question of human relations in a dramatic form. Examples of outstanding programs during the year were the "Lest We Forget" and "We Are Many People" series. In addition to the national programs such local series as "Within Our Gates" in Philadelphia and "Inside Story" in Cleveland were outstanding presentations during 1946–47.

However widely material for better community relations may be disseminated through the mass media of communication, separate consideration must be given to many special groups and organizations if the message is to strike home most effectively. Jewish organizations therefore remained alert to significant developments in organized labor, in veterans organizations, in the schools and churches, and among many other groups.

New Labor Committees Against Intolerance came into existence in Los Angeles, Newark, N. J., New Haven, Conn., southwestern Massachusetts, and Montreal, Canada. A comparable state-wide organization was formed in Minnesota, with participation of both A. F. of L. and CIO leaders. Both major labor organizations adopted forthright resolutions against discrimination, took an active role in support of FEPC legislation, and took positions in favor of facilitating the entry into this country of displaced persons. By action of its October 1946 convention, the A. F. of L. for the first time supported a movement for a liberalized immigration policy to alleviate the plight of the DP's. There were many evidences that labor was
growing increasingly aware of the threat to the well-being and security of workers and their organizations inherent in bigotry and intolerance. The labor press made increasing use during this period of press services, feature articles, cartoons, comic strips, posters, and film strips stressing labor's stake in democracy. Sixteen international unions affiliated with the CIO established Fair Practices Committees to combat discrimination.

All major veterans organizations established prior to World War II, as well as the newer organizations of World War II veterans, condemned bigotry and intolerance as un-American. The veterans' press made frequent use of materials for better community relations. Disruptive movements sponsored by Gerald L. K. Smith through his protégés Fred Kister and Larry Asman made little headway, with all reputable veterans organizations putting their members on guard against demagogues.

Religious organizations were also active in combatting anti-Semitism and prejudice. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Religious News Service, and many denominational groups presented anti-Semitism in its proper light, as a problem for all rather than of the Jews only. Brotherhood Week was widely observed by churches and secular groups. Progress was made in the elimination of objectionable passages from church lesson materials and Sunday school textbooks. School systems throughout the country showed increasing interest in programs of intercultural education. In some communities the schools utilized the assistance of the Bureau for Intercultural Education, or of the American Council on Education and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Workshops in intercultural education drew attendance of teachers from many communities, some of which provided scholarships or arranged for group participation. Rabbis met with many summer encampments of various Christian Youth organizations and in many communities congregations or rabbinical groups sponsored institutes for Christian clergymen.
Legislation and Social Action

An outstanding feature of the combined over-all programs of Jewish agencies, in national and local efforts to combat discrimination, was the growing utilization of legislation, judicial decisions and administrative regulation as a means of extending and safeguarding equal rights for all.

Although there were differences of opinion among Jewish agencies regarding the extent to which, as Jewish organizations, they should take positions on legislative proposals in the realm of general welfare, there was agreement on the desirability of supporting FEPC bills (as has been indicated previously), legislation against discrimination in admissions by educational institutions, and anti-poll tax and anti-lynching measures. Basic differences regarding the extent of proper Jewish agency concern precluded agreement on such legislative proposals as that for the retention of OPA and price control, full employment, retention of the United States Employment Service offices under federal administration, and certain phases of federal aid to education. However, the discussion of these and other legislative matters was a significant indication of the growing recognition by the Jewish community relations agencies of the close interdependence of the general welfare and the welfare of the Jewish community.

Jewish agencies continued to differ as to the feasibility and desirability of legislation against the publication of anti-Semitic canards and other group libels. The matter is one that has been under discussion over a period of years, and immediate interest and concern was shown when it became known that the Indiana state legislature was considering a bill containing sweeping prohibitions of dissemination of racial or religious hatred, with severe criminal penalties of fine and imprisonment. Joint consultation among Jewish agencies produced a number of recommendations for improvement of the proposed Indiana law, and at the same time clarified a basic disagreement in principle on the wisdom and effectiveness of such legislation. The Indiana bill subsequently passed, though in a form which none of the Jewish community relations agencies approved.
Subsequently, a bill was introduced into the Pennsylvania legislature, which, while it did not contain the elements considered objectionable in the Indiana law, failed to gain the support of some agencies, which were opposed to group libel legislation in principle.

A different type of law was enacted in Nebraska. This requires organizations of more than twenty members which demand membership oaths, to file names of members and officers. The law also prohibits anonymous mailings. Other state bills to control the dissemination of matter defamatory or libelous of groups, or the anonymous distribution of such matter, were pending as state legislatures approached their 1947 adjournment dates.

During the year under review, several municipalities adopted ordinances banning libelous anonymous publications against groups or the distribution of such matter. Among the more prominent were Chicago, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia. Several other cities already had such ordinances, Cincinnati, St. Paul, Omaha, Hamilton, Ohio, Elizabeth, N.J., Denver, Kansas City, Detroit, and Sacramento. Cleveland adopted municipal legislation prohibiting discrimination by recreational establishments and guaranteeing other civil rights.

Two bills to outlaw anti-Semitism and other forms of group "hatred" were introduced in the Congress during the year under review. In June 1946, Representative Ellis Patterson of California introduced H. R. 6897, "to suppress the evil of anti-Semitism and hatred of members of any race or religion because of race, creed, or color." This bill died in committee. In the 80th Congress, Representative Charles Buckley of the Bronx, New York, introduced a similar bill. This bill was opposed by all Jewish community relations agencies, in a joint statement to the press, as poorly conceived and poorly drafted, inviting invalidation by the courts, and manifestly unenforceable. It was still in Congressional committee at the close of the review period.

The whole area of immigration, naturalization and deportation laws was given careful consideration, and all Jewish agencies cooperated with the National Citizens Committee on
Displaced Persons in supporting a bill introduced by Representative William G. Stratton (H. R. 2910) to facilitate the entry into this country of approximately 100,000 displaced persons a year for an emergency period of four years.

Indicative of the federal government's growing concern with the problem of assuring civil rights and equal opportunity for all was President Truman's Executive Order, issued early in 1947, establishing a Committee on Civil Rights "to determine whether and in what respect current law enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State and local governments may be strengthened and improved." Jewish agencies were preparing testimony for the President's Committee at the close of April 1947. National and local Jewish agencies also cooperated with Governors' and Mayors' Committees in various communities, and with citizens' groups seeking to promote better human relations. Many of these committees, created and maintained under the pressures of the war emergency, passed into limbo soon after the return of peace. On the other hand, a number of such committees were given official or quasi-official status as parts of or adjuncts to municipal and state governmental establishments. Several were afforded financial support from the public treasury, and were enabled to become genuinely effective forces for good in the political as well as the social lives of their communities. Toledo, for example, created a Community Relations Board, which was to be maintained by public funds. In California and Ohio, state-wide citizens groups were established.

The importance of judicial decision and administrative regulation was fully recognized. Several briefs were filled amicus curiae in significant court actions, and systematic attention was given to the rulings of administrative agencies.

One noteworthy decision in the courts of California struck down the practice of operating segregated schools for children of Mexicans. The United States Supreme Court agreed to review a case involving the constitutionality of the California alien land law, which forbids ownership of land by alien Japanese.

A brief was filed with the Federal Communications Commission against the granting of an F-M license to the New
York *Daily News*, accompanied by a content-analysis on the basis of which bias against Negroes and Jews was charged. This intervention was based on the contention that, because of the limited number of F-M channels available, the maintenance of free speech requires that applicants demonstrating bias be barred from consideration, since bias constitutes an impediment to free communication. The FCC ruled this testimony inadmissible, and, in a preliminary ruling, granted the license. An appeal for reconsideration was pending as this article was in preparation.

Efforts to extend the scope of application of the Ives-Quinn Act, New York State's fair employment law, by a State Commission Against Discrimination ruling to accept complaints from organizations, as well as individuals, met with partial success, in instances of improper questions on application blanks.

*Scientific Research*

Side by side with the action programs which have been under review, Jewish community relations agencies continued to probe, inquire, and conduct research into the causes of anti-Semitism, and the means of combatting it. There was considerable testing of the effectiveness of procedures currently employed which had been adopted because, in the light of common sense, they recommended themselves a priori as likely to be constructive, but whose actual value had not heretofore been scientifically appraised. Two of the national Jewish agencies maintained research programs\(^1\). These were coordinated in accordance with a three-fold division of the problems for investigation. One series of studies concentrated upon an inquiry into the roots and origins of prejudice in the individual. A second emphasized the study of group interaction and wholesome group relationships. A third line of investigation involved extensive communications research to determine the effectiveness in promoting better community relations by materials either already disseminated or projected. Both agencies cooperated with psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists at academic institutions or in private practice by

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\(^1\) The America Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress.—ED.
stimulating and sponsoring studies along these three lines of major interest and effort.

In the course of 1946 and early 1947 the Connecticut Interracial Commission cooperated with one research group in a project aimed at increasing the effectiveness of people who, in the course of their professional work, come in contact with problems of group relations. Other studies in the area of group interaction involved the initiation of an experiment on effects of intergroup contact in a school recreational setting, and the virtual completion of an extensive project involving the study of prejudiced remarks made in public situations and ways of dealing with them. *Action for Unity* by Prof. Goodwin Watson, published early in 1947, reported his own survey and evaluation of methods now employed in promoting better community relations. A study by Prof. Gordon W. Allport, completed in 1946, reported findings to the effect that about four-fifths of the school groups studied are prejudiced to some extent against members of racial, religious, or nationality groups different from their own. A major series of studies by Dr. Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Dr. R. Nevitt Sanford, Dr. Harold E. Jonas, and others was in progress at the University of California on the personality structure of the anti-Semite. Other studies in the nature of prejudice were in progress at the University of Chicago, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in New York City, and in many other centers.

In the area of communications research, studies were completed of cartoons, pamphlets and other items designed for use in community relations programs. Several such studies dealt with materials not yet published, and were in the nature of pre-tests, conducted for the purpose of deciding in advance of their use whether or not the materials were good. Other studies were concerned with the reactions of readers and auditors to materials disseminated through various media.

*Sectarianism in the Public Schools*

Several issues concerning the intrusion of sectarianism into the public educational system came to a head during this
period. Long a concern of many Jewish communities, these problems received particular attention from Jewish community relations agencies in 1946–47. Because of the increasing practice in school systems of releasing children for religious education during public school hours, and the existence of differences of opinion within the Jewish community on the desirability of these programs, Jewish religious bodies and Jewish community relations agencies held a joint conference under the auspices of the NCRAC and the Synagogue Council in November of 1946 on this subject. The conference formulated recommendations which were then considered by the constituent bodies of the Synagogue Council and by the Plenary Session of the NCRAC in March of 1947. Ultimately a unified statement of policy was promulgated as follows:

The utilization in any manner of time, facilities, personnel, or funds of the public school system for purposes of religious instruction should not be permitted.

We therefore believe that Jewish communities are justified in objecting to released time or dismissal time programs. Where such programs cannot be avoided the following statement is presented for community guidance:

(a) Religious instruction of children is the responsibility of the synagogue, the church, and the home; and not of the public schools.

(b) Jewish communities are urged to maintain as a major community responsibility a program of religious education wholly independent of the public schools.

(c) Inherent in dismissal time are many, though not all, of the faults of released time. Nevertheless, when confronted with the necessity of a choice, we regard dismissal time as less objectionable.

(d) Where a program of released time or dismissal time is in effect, or may be adopted, the Jewish community shall insist upon the following safeguards against possible abuses:

(1) No religious instruction shall be given on public school premises;

(2) The administrative machinery of the public school system shall not be employed to record or encourage attend-
ance at religious instruction centers of students who avail themselves of either program;
(3) There shall be no proselytizing on school premises;
(4) All children participating in such programs shall be dismissed together, and all grouping, separation, or identification by religion or by participation in such programs shall be avoided.
(5) Children shall not be assembled on public school premises for the purpose of being led to religious instruction centers nor shall any representative of such religious instruction center meet the children on such premises to facilitate the operation of either program.

e) A Joint Advisory Committee on Religious Instruction and the Public Schools shall be established by the Synagogue Council of America and the NCRAC in order to make available to local Jewish communities such guidance and direction as they may request and local Jewish communities are urged to consult with the Joint Advisory Committee about such problems. The Joint Advisory Committee shall continuously study this problem in the light of research now or hereafter being conducted and from time to time shall keep the communities advised of its findings. It is realized that the methods of coping with this problem in a local community must take into consideration the local situation.

Programs of Jewish Agencies

An unmistakable trend toward expansion of programs of community relations activity was present in 1946-47. National Jewish organizations extended and intensified their programs in the many directions touched upon above. Local communities evinced growing interest in the field. In the larger communities, with established agencies, budgetary allocations for community relations work were generally increased. Many medium-sized communities established special committees for such work, providing funds earmarked for this special purpose, and some of them engaged specialized professional personnel to carry out community relations programs. The general pattern of community operation was through a representative and community-wide agency. This pattern was extended also
to organizations going beyond a single community, the Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council being formed in 1946 to join the Minnesota and the Southwestern Jewish Councils in this category.

The subject of community relations was discussed during the year at national and regional meetings of social workers, center workers, federation and welfare fund personnel, and others. A full session was devoted to it at the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in February 1947,¹ which heard reports not only of the progress which had been made toward collaboration and coordination among the agencies, but also of trends in community relations organization and program at the local community level, and which adopted a resolution calling the attention of the communities to the need for strong coordinated community relations programs under central community auspices, and directing them to the availability of assistance from the National Community Relations Advisory Council.

There was a marked trend, during this period, toward increasingly effective coordination of planning and program among national and local Jewish community relations agencies. Indeed, much of the activity referred to in the course of the present review was undertaken either jointly or after clearance, in order that conflict, duplication, or overlapping might be so far as possible obviated, and common objectives more effectively pursued.

Many Jewish communities throughout the country availed themselves of the consultation services offered by the national Jewish community relations agencies both directly and through the Committee on Community Consultation of the NCRAC. In October 1946, a Midwestern Regional Conference on Community Relations was held in Minneapolis, and attended by representatives of Jewish communities in a nine-state area. Plans for similar conferences in other parts of the country were under consideration as the period came to a close.

The flow of immigration to the United States this second year since the end of the war, has not been substantial. The latest official immigration statistics available show a total of 66,028 for the last half of the calendar year 1946. These include 27,079 quota and 38,949 non-quota immigrant arrivals. The latter were mainly natives of the Western Hemisphere, war brides, and relatives of U. S. citizens. All indications are that the first half of the year 1947 will show an increased movement but one that still is only a fraction of the total quota permitted under the present law.

IMMIGRATION UNDER TRUMAN DIRECTIVE

Most significant has been the immigration of displaced persons and refugees from the American zones of occupation in Europe under President Truman’s directive of December 22, 1945. This movement did not get under way until the late spring of 1946, the first vessel carrying displaced persons—the S.S. Marine Flasher—arriving with 794 survivors of the Hitler era on May 20, 1946, a memorable date, especially in Jewish annals. Implementation of the Truman directive was hampered by shipping shortages, insufficient personnel in consular offices, and various technical considerations such as the nationality basis of quota allotment. In December 1946, the President expressed dissatisfaction with the lagging movement under his directive and ordered the War Shipping Administration to provide additional vessels for the purpose. As a consequence, the number of arrivals increased, as is revealed in the following table.
REFUGEE AID

DISPLACED PERSONS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED STATES
UNDER PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S DIRECTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1946</th>
<th>1947</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1,358</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>901</td>
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<td>August</td>
<td>547</td>
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<td>September</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>January</td>
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<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>March</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for 1946 and 1947 12,401

Corporate Affidavits

The refugee service agencies have played a vital role in this program, especially because they have authorization to furnish corporate affidavits. The President’s directive stated “... the Secretary of State shall cooperate with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in perfecting appropriate arrangements with welfare organizations in the United States which may be prepared to guarantee financial support to successful applicants. This may be accomplished by corporate affidavit or by any means deemed appropriate and practicable.” Ordinarily, individual relatives and friends of visa applicants are required to supply affidavits giving assurance that the immigrant will not become a public charge. If adequate individual affidavits are unavailable, an approved agency is authorized to furnish its corporate affidavit at the request of the consul. About one-third of the displaced persons mentioned above were individually sponsored, while slightly more than two thirds of them came under corporate affidavit.

The first instance of what is now known as corporate affidavits was the agreement between the European-Jewish Children’s Aid, Inc., and the U. S. Department of State and the Immigration and Naturalization Service in 1934. Beginning with 1940, the admission of unaccompanied refugee children under corporate affidavit was handled through the U. S. Committee for the Care of European Children, Inc. Under the President’s directive, the following agencies have been
authorized to furnish corporate affidavits on behalf of displaced persons: United Service for New Americans (USNA), the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), Vaad Hatzala Emergency Committee (interested particularly in Orthodox rabbis, scholars, and their families), the International Rescue and Relief Committee, Inc., the American Christian Committee for Refugees, Inc., Church World Service, Inc., the Catholic Committee for Refugees, and the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, Inc.

The last mentioned committee is the only agency authorized to sponsor unaccompanied children. It turns over to the European-Jewish Children's Aid, Inc., the Jewish children who arrive under its corporate affidavit. The latter agency manages the reception center in New York and has established regional distribution centers in Cleveland and Chicago. It supervises the placement of these children in foster homes and institutions throughout the country, the actual placement being carried out through local child-caring agencies approved by the Federal and State Governments. During 1946 and the first three months of 1947, a total of 488 Jewish children arrived under this program. At the end of March the agency had 857 active cases, including earlier arrivals. Most of the newcomers have been in their late 'teens, a group manifesting intensified health and psychological problems as compared with the unaccompanied refugee children who arrived before the war. Their placement has been more difficult and the cost of their care higher than was the case with the earlier arrivals.

In April 1947 the Federal Government extended the corporate affidavit of USNA to include refugees from Shanghai, where some 12,500 Jewish refugees, most of them from Germany, had found temporary haven. Migration from Shanghai to the United States had begun in July 1946. From that date to the end of April 1947, there were 541 rabbinical and 1,265 lay arrivals, including holders of non-immigrant visas (rabbis and other religious functionaries, students, and visitors) as well as holders of immigrant visas. San Francisco has become the center for the reception, maintenance, and resettlement of immigrants from Shanghai. USNA, early in 1947, sent staff
members to the West Coast for this purpose, to work in cooperation with the San Francisco Committee for Emigres and the local Section of the National Council of Jewish Women.

Rabbis and rabbinical students have continued to arrive from Europe as well as from Shanghai. In April 1947, USNA was providing shelter and full maintenance for three Yeshivah groups, totaling 262, at Arverne and Rockaway, Long Island, and Somerville, New Jersey. In addition, its Family Service Department was caring for 677 religious functionaries and members of their families.

Estimated Jewish Arrivals

During the period under review—from May 20, 1946, when the first group of displaced persons arrived, to April 30, 1947—how many Jewish survivors of Nazism have come to this country? A fairly reliable estimate of the total would be about 20,000. It includes the following groups:

(A) About 8,000 quota and non-quota immigrants from the American occupied zones in Europe, or 65 per cent of the total number of such displaced persons who have come to the United States under the President's directive. The basis of this estimate is the report of the State Department that 11,798 or 65 per cent of 17,945 quota visas issued to displaced persons from March 31, 1946 to March 31, 1947 had been issued to persons of the Jewish faith. Incidentally, Mr. G. J. Haering, Chief of the Visa Division of the State Department, stated that although the great majority (probably 80 per cent) of the displaced persons were Christians, a larger proportion of visas had been issued to Jewish displaced persons because the Jewish welfare agencies had shown greater speed than others in developing their program and had made available a larger number of corporate affidavits. Other factors were the high proportion of orphaned children and the fact that the majority of those qualifying under the German quota as non-Nazis were Jews who had undergone persecution by the Nazis.

(B) About 2,000 quota and non-quota immigrants, persons on temporary visas, and transients, from Shanghai. This esti-
mate is based on the records of the JDC, which handles the migration from Shanghai, and the reception service records of agencies in San Francisco.

(C) About 10,000 quota and non-quota immigrants and persons on non-immigrant visas from elsewhere, especially Sweden, Great Britain, and France. This estimate is based on statistics of port and dock services rendered by various Jewish organizations.

It should be noted that a number of the estimated 20,000 Jewish arrivals are not immigrants in the strict sense of the word, that is, aliens admitted for permanent residence. From the standpoint of the agencies, however, the arrivals on visitors' or transit visas are to be reckoned with, since they frequently need service and financial assistance.

**Characteristics of Displaced Persons**

What are the general distinguishing traits of the 12,401 displaced persons admitted to the United States during the period under consideration, and how do these present refugees compare with the earlier refugee arrivals as revealed in the study *Refugees in America*? According to an analysis of 4,500 displaced persons known to USNA, and a corroborating study of the first 1,500 reports from social agencies holding corporate affidavits relating to arrivals during May, June, and July 1946, over twenty nationalities by country of birth are represented; but the great majority of these persons were born in Poland or Germany. In the case of the earlier refugees the majority were Germans and Austrians. Also, the recent arrivals are a much younger group, with a median age of 29 years, which corresponds closely to that of the population of the United States. The proportions of young children and old people are small. The largest group is composed of individuals in their twenties; the next largest, of persons in their thirties.

In general, these survivors of concentration camps, forced labor, flight, and other hardships are the young, the vigorous, the sturdy—and the lucky. Most frequently the family unit consists of just one or two members. Unlike the earlier refugees, relatively few had been business or professional people;
most had been manual or clerical workers, largely unskilled. They come with less education and less knowledge of English and practically without financial resources. Consequently they are more dependent upon agency assistance than were the refugees who arrived before the war. They have settled in some 200 communities in 38 states, but show a higher concentration in New York City than was true of the former refugees; this undoubtedly reflects the recency of their arrival as well as the greater amount of initial care that they require.

A highly optimistic group, they find life in the United States even better than their expectations. Years of servitude and confinement, however, have left their mark. As observed at the reception shelters they are unfamiliar with many of the common conveniences and amenities of life—clean linen, towels, modern plumbing facilities, adequate food, keys to their own rooms, civil replies to questions, friendly and helpful policemen, open and free elections, and the right to criticize.

Adjustment Achieved by Displaced Persons

Although the immigrants admitted under the President's directive have been here only a short time, the evidence is clear that they are making a rapid and successful adjustment. Dr. Hugh Carter, Supervisor of the General Research Unit of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, has analyzed, in the Service's Monthly Review for May 1947, the first 1,513 reports filed by March 15, 1947 social agencies holding corporate affidavits relating to arrivals during May, June and July 1946. His analysis reveals that 924 of these displaced persons were already supported by their own earnings. Persons receiving support from the immediate family or other relatives totaled 499. Those supported by private social agencies—the physically incapacitated and individuals who required retraining to become self-supporting—numbered only 70. Twenty were receiving aid from other private sources. Not one was on public relief.

Two-thirds of the group were in the labor force. This includes all persons except housewives, children, and persons unable to work. It is noteworthy that only 38 were unem-
ployed. More than half of the employed were classed as operatives. Clerical workers ranked second, followed by craftsmen. Forty-five were classified as professional workers.

A high proportion of the total group had applied for United States citizenship. "Much credit," states Dr. Carter's report, "should be given to the social welfare agencies for the adjustments made by these immigrants. The agencies have helped at every stage in the journey toward full citizenship."

AGENCY SERVICES

In August 1946, the United Service for New Americans, Inc., was established by consolidation of the National Refugee Service and the National Service to Foreign Born of the National Council of Jewish Women. The National Refugee Service itself, it may be recalled, was the successor to the National Coordinating Committee, which had been set up in 1934 to serve the first wave of refugees of the Hitler period. As a representative of the American Jewish community, USNA acts as a liaison agency with the State Department, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other branches of the Government; and is regarded as an authority in matters of refugee immigration.

HIAS carries on parallel activities in the areas of migration service, location service, port and dock service, reception shelter and transmission of funds from individuals in the United States to relatives and friends abroad. Both HIAS and USNA experienced increased activity in these fields during the 11 months under review, and especially in the period since the beginning of 1947, when the influx of Jewish arrivals rose to some 2,000 a month. Assuming that Jewish immigration will continue at the same rate throughout the year, HIAS estimates its budgetary needs for the calendar year 1947 at four million dollars, while the USNA estimate is eight million dollars. (For HIAS activities see page 225).

USNA alone among the Jewish agencies in this field provides family service and economic assistance on a casework basis, resettlement service and assistance, vocational retraining, and programs for unaccompanied children, immigrant physicians,
musicians, and other special groups. Its relief load steadily increased during the period under review (June 1, 1946 to April 30, 1947), reaching a new high in April when some 6,000 individuals received direct assistance, at an outlay of nearly $500,000. This included persons assisted through the family services (5,012), at the reception shelter (618), in the Yeshiva groups (262), in the shelter and maintenance program in San Francisco (131), and in the European-Jewish Children's Aid centers for refugee children (199). This load of direct client services was probably one of the largest carried by any voluntary welfare agency in the country. Relief costs were high, averaging $133 per family. They have increased because most of the present-day immigrants are destitute; over half of them require a complete basic wardrobe, furniture and household goods; many must be expensively housed in hotels and furnished rooms and must eat in restaurants; due to their past hardships, they are in great need of medical care; relief standards have risen; and prices are higher.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

More than a hundred public bills on immigration and naturalization were introduced in Congress during the eleven months under review, but few became law. The only measure adopted that affected the basic immigration system was the act signed by the President on July 2, 1946, authorizing the admission of persons of races indigenous to India, Filipino persons and persons of Filipino descent, and making them eligible for naturalization. This carried a step further the movement to eliminate racial barriers in our immigration laws. The first step was made in 1943, when the Chinese were given a quota and made eligible for naturalization. Bills have been introduced to extend the same privileges to Koreans and races indigenous to Siam.

Numerous bills to restrict immigration were introduced, some providing for the suspension of immigration for a period of years or for the period the number of unemployed exceeded a certain figure, others for reducing the quotas.
Stratton Bill

On the other hand, more numerous were the bills designed to liberalize the immigration laws, especially with reference to displaced persons. They usually provide that unused quotas during a given period be made available to displaced persons and refugees. Of special significance among them is the Stratton bill (H. R. 2910) discussed below. Also noteworthy are the Ives and Javits bills (S. 830 and H. R. 2446), which would permit aliens under 14 years of age who were orphaned as a result of World War II to enter as non-quota immigrants if they apply for visas before July 1, 1949, and if their immigration is sponsored by U. S. citizens who are ready to adopt the orphans.

The Stratton bill provides, as an emergency measure, for the admission of 400,000 displaced persons now in assembly centers in Germany, Austria, and Italy, at the rate of 100,000 a year for four years. They are to be admitted as non-quota immigrants without regard to nationality limitations and in a number equivalent to a part of the total quota numbers unused during the war years. Individuals and organizations favoring the admission of a fair share of displaced persons to the United States have rallied behind this proposal. It also has the support of the Truman Administration.

A new national organization, the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, was formed for the purpose of securing passage of this measure. Its chairman is Earl G. Harrison, former U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, and its other officers include prominent citizens of all religious faiths. Many national organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, various Protestant and Catholic religious groups, and the major national Jewish organizations, have gone on record as favoring the Stratton bill. The American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution have been prominent among the organizations spearheading the opposition. Hearings are to begin on June 4, 1947.


REFUGEE STUDY

The publication, in March 1947, of the Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe under the title of *Refugees in America* (Harper & Bros.) and under the authorship of Maurice R. Davie, director of the study, proved timely with reference to the legislative proposal to admit to the United States our due share of displaced persons. This study, it may be recalled, was sponsored by USNA and four other national refugee service organizations. As the study made clear, the refugees who found haven in the United States during the period from the rise of Hitler to the end of the war have become adjusted to a remarkable degree and in a remarkably short period of time; and have already made extraordinary contributions to the life and welfare of the nation. America has gained immeasurably by their coming. This experience augurs well for the admission of the present survivors of persecution and tyranny—the displaced persons or non-repatriables who cannot return to their countries of origin because they fear oppression for religious, racial, or political reasons. Determined to be free, desperately eager to work and to take root in a new world, they are for the most part the kind of citizens who would be an asset to any community. The job of rescuing and aiding the victims of persecution and oppression is not over. And America cannot be content until it is finished.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS

The problem of the displaced persons in camps and assembly centers in Europe and the Middle East is obviously international in character. This has already been recognized, first, by the assumption of responsibility for them by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and secondly, by the establishment of a specialized agency of the United Nations, the International Refugee Organization (IRO), which will take over the displaced persons camps and the problem of care and resettlement when UNRRA ceases activity on June 30, 1947. On March 25, 1947 the Senate
passed the resolution providing for United States membership in IRO. The IRO has accepted the figure of 879,950 as an estimate of the number of displaced persons who will eventually have to be moved from where they now are. About 65 per cent of them are Catholic, 20 per cent Jewish, and 15 per cent Protestant. Poles make up the largest nationality group, followed by people from the Baltic states, Yugoslavs, Russians, Czechs, and lesser numbers from a variety of countries.

There are just four possible courses in handling the problem of the homeless, and to a large extent stateless, remnants of the displaced persons of Europe: (1) forcible repatriation, (2) abandonment to fend for themselves, (3) indefinite maintenance of the camps, and (4) emigration for permanent settlement. The General Assembly of the United Nations has already recorded its opposition to forced repatriation, which would mean a return to death or imprisonment or slavery or degradation. Obviously, these "people without a country" cannot be deserted or thrown on the war-shattered economy of Central Europe without normal national, civic, and social ties. Nor can they be supported indefinitely, with consequent deterioration and wastage of human resources and values. The only solution is assisted emigration and resettlement in the United States, Latin America, and various other countries. Indications are that all immigrant-receiving countries, including the United States, are going to feel a mounting moral pressure to relax their immigration policies as the only practical way to solve the tragic human problem of these war victims.

It is generally agreed that 400,000 would be our fair share of the displaced persons. This is based on the ratio of our population to the total population of the non-invaded United Nations and on the proportional share of the United States in financing IRO which has been accepted by our Government. As Representative Stratton has stated in support of his bill: "Granting refuge to the displaced will be a reaffirmation of a great and noble American tradition. This country which was founded and built by immigrants will remain a symbol of its early beginnings—an asylum for the oppressed."
IN THE ERA of postwar relief the period under review will be broadly characterized as one of transition. Operationally, it was transition from the hectic and necessarily improvised emergency relief operation of the post-liberation months of 1945 and the early months of 1946, to the development and application of more systematic relief and welfare programs in 1947. Functionally, it was transition from almost exclusive preoccupation with relief measures designed to salvage and sustain life to a gradually increasing emphasis on measures of constructive aid to rehabilitate and restore surviving Jews to economic independence.

Problems posed to the relief agencies during that period were numerous and complex; financial demands unusually heavy. The magnitude of the task shouldered by American Jewish overseas relief agencies may be gauged by the facts that the United Jewish Appeal — central fund-raising agency for overseas relief, including Palestine — raised over $100,000-000 in 1946, and is engaged in raising $170,000,000 for the year 1947 — sums of money without precedent in the annals of voluntary relief effort. Additional sums were raised and spent by minor organizations which gather funds outside the United Jewish Appeal.

JDC'S VAST RELIEF PROGRAM

The field of overseas relief outside of Palestine has been served by a number of organizations. The major Jewish relief agency is the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee which rounded out 32 years of relief operations. During the period under review, the JDC operated in virtually every field of relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. The scope of its operations may be gauged from the fact that during this period the JDC spent about $68,000,000, operated in many lands, and engaged in activities which in range and magnitude
are more characteristic of a government rather than of a voluntary relief agency. JDC activities have run the whole gamut of relief and welfare activities: cash assistance, aid in kind, child care, medical aid, assistance to educational religious and cultural institutions, vocational training, promotion of credit and producers cooperatives, the organization of work projects and facilitating of resettlement and emigration.

It is estimated that in the spring of 1947 the JDC assisted in one form or another about 740,000 persons in Europe or one half of the total surviving Jewish population in continental Europe outside the Soviet Union, including about 122,000 children out of a total of 179,000 Jewish children in that area. If we include special Passover relief which in 1947 involved distribution of almost 4,500,000 pounds of matzoth and matzoth meal, the number of Jews who benefited from outside aid would be considerably larger. Additional tens of thousands were aided in countries outside of Europe.

Over and above the amounts spent by the Joint Distribution Committee, SOS (Supplies for Overseas Survivors) a JDC fostered organization shipped 5,295,274 pounds of donated supplies of food and clothing. To direct this vast program the JDC had an overseas personnel of close to 300 persons including some personnel supplied by cooperating agencies.

Other Lands Contribute

While essentially an American organization which secures the overwhelming proportion of its funds from the Jewish community in the United States, the JDC has enlisted the financial support of Jewish communities in other lands, on this and other continents. In 1946 the JDC received contributions, amounting to over $3,250,000 in money, supplies and services from Jewish communities in 20 countries. The South African Jewish War Appeal contributed during the fiscal year 1945–46, $1,600,000; the United Jewish Relief Agencies of Canada — an affiliate of the Canadian Jewish Congress — an amount close to $900,000; and Latin American Jewish communities approximately $800,000 in cash and supplies of which the Junta de Ayuda Judia a las Victimas de la Guerra in Argentina
contributed over $310,000 during the fiscal year December 1, 1945 to November 30, 1946. Smaller amounts were contributed by Australian Jewry. The Canadian and South African Jewish relief organizations sent 4 and 28 workers respectively to augment the overseas staff of the JDC.

**WORLD ORT UNION**

While the JDC is a multipurpose and multifunctional organization, a number of specialized agencies have continued their contributions to overseas relief within their respective specialties. Thus the World Ort Union with a long history in the field of vocational training has operated training facilities in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Germany, Austria and Italy and other countries. As of March 1947 in Europe ORT reports 528 training courses in 118 centers offering instruction to some 13,000 persons. During the calendar year ORT spent $650,000 for overseas operations. Early in 1947 the JDC and ORT reached an agreement looking toward the eventual merging of vocational training facilities now provided separately by JDC and ORT.

**OSE—CHILD AND HEALTH CARE**

Another agency with a long and distinguished record is OSE — an organization specializing in child and health care. During the past year the number of OSE institutions in Europe was 425 including 73 children’s homes, 50 medical and welfare centers, 8 sanatoria and 82 dispensaries. In Poland the organization operates under the name of TOZ. OSE has been particularly active in the battle against tuberculosis which has claimed many victims during the postwar period. While OSE operates independently, it derived the bulk of its funds from the JDC.

**HEBREW SHELTERING AND IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY**

In the field of emigration, the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society of America (HIAS) with a record stretching over a period of about 40 years has continued its
activities. During the calendar year HIAS spent a total of $1,685,128 of which $1,387,372 were spent for the overseas program; the remainder for immigration services in the United States. HIAS has maintained offices in about 50 countries, has provided services to prospective immigrants to the United States and other countries, and was authorized to issue corporate affidavits to displaced persons. In addition, HIAS operated a location service and provided services in the transmission of funds from individuals in the United States to friends and relatives in Rumania, Switzerland, Palestine and Shanghai.

CULTURAL RECONSTRUCTION

In order to salvage the cultural treasures of the devastated Jewish communities of Europe, leading Jewish organizations in the United States and elsewhere formed a new body, Jewish Cultural Reconstruction Inc. This organization is an outgrowth of efforts of the Commission on European Jewish Cultural Reconstruction — affiliated with the Conference on Jewish Relations, which had been engaged for some time in gathering information on educational cultural institutions and resources in pre-Nazi Europe, with a view to locating and reclaiming the many cultural treasures now scattered over the wide area of the former Nazi Empire.

In addition to the agencies mentioned above, there were other organizations engaged in a minor or incidental way in overseas relief. Thus the World Jewish Congress has until recently carried on limited relief activities in the field of child care which have now been taken over by the JDC. The Jewish Labor Committee rendered special aid in the furthering of educational and cultural activities of Jewish labor groups. The Vaad Hatzalah brought assistance to special orthodox groups. Various landsmanshaften, some through the JDC, others independently, have sent supplies and funds to special localities or to groups of surviving “landsleit” in various localities.
The period under review opened in an atmosphere of emergency. The spring of 1946 saw tens of thousands of Jews on the move. About 170,000 Jews had been or were in the course of being repatriated from the Soviet Union; about 140,000 to Poland and 30,000 to Rumania. The returnees were for the most part destitute. The overwhelming proportion of Polish returnees found it impossible to renew life in Poland and after a short stay resumed their trek westward to the relative, if only temporary security of the American zones in Germany and Austria. Tens of thousands found their way into Italy and France in search of more favorable migration facilities to Palestine or other overseas countries. The emergency character of the events of the period has also been emphasized by the chaotic economic conditions climaxed by catastrophic inflation in Hungary; by the economic dislocation, capped by emerging famine conditions in Rumania; by desperate slowness of economic recovery of Europe and severe shortages of necessities. All these factors explain the fact that the bulk of resources and of efforts during 1946 were still devoted to meeting basic relief needs: food, clothing and shelter.

As the year 1946 proceeded and conditions reached a state of relative stability at least in some parts of Europe — the JDC, while continuing its relief operations, was in a position gradually to shift attention to measures of rehabilitation and reconstruction; this slowly shifting emphasis should, barring new major emergencies, become accelerated in the coming months and years.

It is obviously impossible to give a detailed account of the far flung overseas relief activities of the many agencies engaged in this work. For such accounts the reader is referred to the publications and reports of the JDC, ORT, HIAS and other relief agencies. This discussion of necessity confines itself to brief summary statements and some salient aspects of overseas programs and activities.
The most important area of operation was Eastern and Southeastern Europe, comprising Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria with a Jewish population of approximately 850,000 or 60 per cent of the total Jewish population in continental Europe outside of the Soviet Union. Surviving Jews in this area faced serious problems of immediate relief and of basic economic reconstruction. The task was complicated by considerable political instability, by anti-Semitism in some countries and by a strong trend toward economic collectivism which rendered many traditional Jewish occupations obsolete, and made it necessary for Jews to seek new forms of economic reconstruction. While problems of relief and reconstruction were basically common to all countries in this area, they differed in emphasis and detail of operation.

**Poland**

The situation in Poland was marked by sharp fluctuations in the size of the Jewish population. During the first half of 1946, the Jewish population in Poland increased by some 140,000 refugees repatriated from Soviet Russia which almost trebled the existing population. During the process of repatriation the JDC working in close cooperation with the Central Committee of Polish Jews, organized 38 reception centers to provide temporary accommodations for the repatriates. After the exodus of Polish Jews following the Kielce pogrom, the Jewish population became temporarily stabilized at about 105,000. True to its tradition, the JDC carries on its relief program in Poland through local organizations, primarily the Central Committee of Polish Jews, the Council of Religious Congregations and other smaller groups. The extent of the JDC welfare program in this country may be judged from the fact that in January 1947, it supported, among other institutions, 50 children’s agencies, 85 medical institutions, 95 canteens and 145 schools and Talmud Torahs representing all shades of political opinion and ideology. Regular subventions
were also granted to religious communities and synagogues. During the year of 1946, the JDC shipped to Poland close to 9,000,000 pounds of food, clothing and other commodities.

Due to almost complete destruction of Jewish life in Poland, surviving Jews faced a task of basic reconstruction. The record achieved within the short span of two years was quite remarkable; there was growing evidence that the reestablished Jewish community was taking root. In view of the fact that the political climate was not favorable to private enterprise the main instrument of economic reconstruction was the producers’ cooperative. With funds supplied by the JDC, Polish Jews established a network of 160 producers' cooperatives with a membership of 4,000 providing a source of income to 15,000 persons. In order to serve the cooperatives as well as individuals with low interest credit, the JDC helped organize the Central Loan Bank (Bank dla Produktywizacyi Żydow) and as of September 1946 had contributed 53,700,000 zlotys out of a total operating capital of 67,000,000 zlotys. The Economic Center (Centrala Gospodarcza — Solidarnosc S. A.) — a central cooperative buying and selling agency — was organized for the purpose of supplying Jewish cooperatives with raw material and selling their finished products; from April 1946 to September 1946, the JDC contributed to the Economic Center about 136,000,000 zlotys in cash and imported raw material. It was estimated that the total number of persons who benefited from JDC relief and reconstructive aid was about 60,000; if we included emergency short-run aid to repatriates and special aid such as Passover assistance, the number would be much larger.

Czechoslovakia

In Czechoslovakia the JDC program was carried on through the two regional community organizations — the Council of Jewish Communities of Bohemia and Moravia — Silesia and the United Jewish Communities of Slovakia (Svaz). While the general economic situation in Czechoslovakia had somewhat improved and the number of Jews receiving direct relief declined from 8,200 in July to some
7,000 in January 1947, the JDC faced an enormous task of providing care to some 75,000 Jews, mostly Polish, who used Czechoslovakia as a corridor in their flight from Poland to the American zone in Germany. With the active material support of the Czechoslovak government, the JDC organized emergency assistance to the transients. The regular JDC assistance program in Czechoslovakia, at the beginning of 1947, covered 38 canteens, 3 children's homes, 28 hachsharoth, 3 homes for the aged and 2 medical institutions. The reconstructive needs of Czechoslovak Jewry were served by 2 central loan kassas one in Prague and another in Bratislava and 3 producers' cooperatives. During 1946, the loan kassas extended loans to 1,800 persons and the membership of the producers' cooperatives was about 300. In 1946 the JDC shipped to Czechoslovakia 1,552,152 pounds of supplies.

**Rumania**

The largest Jewish center in Europe outside of Soviet Russia was in RUMANIA with a Jewish population estimated at 410,000 to 430,000. The main characteristic of JDC activities during the period under review was a gradual shift from cash relief to institutional care which proved to be more effective and socially more desirable. The expansion and improvement of JDC welfare activities was facilitated by more effective cooperation with local Jewish organizations such as the religious communities scattered throughout the country and the national organizations such as the Hehalutz, OSE, ORT, Mizrachi and Agudath Israel. As of April 1947 the JDC provided relief through 540 centers located in 296 Jewish communities.

Owing to the critical food situation in Rumania, especially in Moldavia, the area most severely affected by the drought, the JDC found it necessary to increase the number of food canteens from 17 serving 2,500 persons in the spring of 1946 to 106 dispensing meals to 38,600 in the spring of 1947; 13 canteens serving 2,800 persons were operated by the OSE. In addition some 55,000 persons received emergency food allotments, chiefly flour. Approximately 40,000 or two thirds
of all Jewish children were assisted; 10,200 were sheltered in 81 homes operated by OSE and Agudath Israel; 30,000 living with their families benefited from distribution of food and clothing; about 8,000 children were accommodated in specially established summer camps. The JDC supported 20 hospitals, 3 dispensaries, a dental clinic and 38 medical stations which provided treatment for an average of 15,000 persons monthly. Substantial assistance was extended in the rebuilding of religious structures, in the support of 25 rabbinical schools, 28 elementary and high schools with an enrollment of 4,000 and in the provision of stipends to some 2,000 university students.

Constructive economic aid has been offered through vocational training and through the organization of credit and producers' cooperatives. As of April 1, 1947, the JDC subventioned 113 vocational training units with an enrollment of 6,140 trainees. The agricultural school in Bucharest financed by the JDC served as a model institution in the field of agricultural education in Rumania. During the year 1946, 6,000 Jewish boys and girls enrolled in various training courses; about 3,000 of the enrollees left for Palestine. Vocational training facilities have also been offered by ORT.

The JDC was instrumental in the revival of Jewish trades in Rumania by providing Jewish artisans and small merchants with low-cost credit through a network of 37 reestablished or newly established credit cooperatives; these together with 2 producers' cooperatives serve about 24,000 members representing with their families over 60,000. It was estimated that close to 200,000 Jews benefited from various forms of assistance.

Hungary

The plight of the Jews in Hungary was reflected in two figures: of 180,000 Jewish survivors now in the country some 120,000 or two thirds have become dependent upon the JDC for basic or supplementary assistance. Through local Jewish agencies operating in 242 centers throughout the country the JDC provided cash assistance to 29,000 persons; meals were
served to 46,000 in 129 canteens; and food supplies were distributed to some 25,000 needy. Virtually all 17,500 Jewish children received JDC assistance: some 4,200 in children's homes and 13,270 living with their families received supplementary food, medical care and clothing. About 13,648,000 pounds of food, clothing and medical supplies were shipped by the JDC to Hungary in the calendar year of 1946. A medical survey revealed a high incidence of tuberculosis, especially among the children and the young people and the JDC financed the rebuilding and reequipment of 7 hospitals accommodating 3,000 patients; and of clinics and dispensaries treating an average of 9,000 persons monthly. The JDC provided financial support to cultural, religious and educational institutions. In addition to assistance in the rebuilding of synagogues and reopening of yeshivoth and other religious institutions, the JDC helped support 14 elementary schools, 5 high schools, a teachers' college and a technical school with a combined enrollment of 4,000.

The relative stabilization of economic and monetary conditions made it possible to initiate measures of constructive economic aid. During the year some 68 hachsharoth provided vocational training to 5,850 trainees; industrial workshops provided an opportunity for productive work to some 1,420; and since January the Joint Relief Committee set aside substantial amounts for the purpose of giving productive loans to artisans, professionals and small merchants. From January to April of this year, 1,400 loans were granted, thereby enabling many heads of families to become self-supporting.

**Bulgaria**

Jews in Bulgaria, numbering about 50,000, faced a major job of economic reconstruction. Of the 15,000 family units about 7,500 have a source of income; the remainder, consisting of persons formerly engaged in commerce and whose functions were rendered obsolete in the emerging collective economy, and of artisans and workers who lost their tools and equipment, required outside assistance. JDC inaugurated its post-war
relief program in the early part of 1946. The immediate task was to organize a local relief committee and to set up the machinery for distribution of supplies. 1,922,000 pounds of goods were sent to Bulgaria. Clothing was issued to 15,000 persons and the canteen at Sofia served meals to 5,000 persons daily. Together with the Jewish communities, the JDC expanded its program of child care and medical aid. Seven summer camps, accommodating 675 children, were organized. 2,850 pupils were receiving meals in schools and fortifying diets were given to 1,000 children. The polyclinic in Sofia, provided with medical supplies by the JDC, was visited by 2,000 persons monthly. Thirty-four Jewish communities distributed cash relief to the needy. Special grants were made for religious and cultural institutions, and for the rehabilitation of schools and synagogues. Special grants were earmarked for the purchase of tools and the establishment of producers’ cooperatives, nine of which are already operating in Sofia, with some offering vocational training facilities to newcomers.

Yugoslavia

Of the 12,000 Jews in Yugoslavia some 9,000 were in need of assistance. While 25 per cent of the Jewish population succeeded in becoming self-supporting on a very modest scale, the remainder consists of former merchants who have returned from deportation and cannot be absorbed in the post-war economy, widows, orphans, and elderly persons. Cash relief was given to 3,000 persons; canteens were established in 9 cities and served daily meals to 1,400 persons; 3 children’s homes sheltered 170 orphans. In addition, 1,400 children with families received food and clothing. With the aid of the JDC, 9 dispensaries located in major cities treated 850 persons monthly. With JDC funds, 54 communities were able to restore and maintain the cultural and religious activities. 280 university students received stipends; 120 were lodged in two JDC-maintained homes. During the fall and winter of 1946, some 5,000 transients were fed and accommodated by the Jewish community.
Greece

In Greece where 8,000 Jews now live, the JDC assisted about 4,700. Cash relief was given to some 4,000. The two canteens in Athens and Salonika served daily meals to 500. The Esther Orphanage in Athens sheltered 35 children. 150 children received specialized aid; 160 fortifying diets, and 400 children living with their families received supplementary aid from the JDC. Two dispensaries gave treatment to 670 persons monthly.

Twenty-one communities received assistance and two schools—one in Athens and another in Larissa—were subsidized by the JDC. Approximately 30 university students received stipends. In addition, the JDC equipped a library and bought tools and equipment for laboratory and clinical work for the use of the students. In the summer of 1946, 680 students were receiving vocational training in 4 hachsharoth. Economic aid in the form of loans was extended to about 600 persons.

CENTRAL EUROPE

Germany, Austria and Italy — the area of concentration of the Jewish displaced persons — have been the most critical sectors of the relief situation. During the period under review the number of Jewish displaced persons has more than doubled by the influx of Jews primarily from Poland. In the spring of 1947 the number of Jewish DP's in these three countries was close to 250,000. Their critical position is due not merely to the bleak physical conditions under which the vast majority of the DP's live, but to the corrosive effect of uncertainty, idleness and frustration on the morale of the displaced persons.

The influx of tens of thousands of Polish Jews into Germany during the summer of 1946 taxed the efforts and resources of the relief agencies to the utmost. To be sure, the army has borne the main responsibility for basic maintenance, and UNRRA continued to supply various administrative services. But, at best, the army and UNRRA provided a minimum subsistence, and private agencies were called upon to provide supplementary contributions. In spite of all difficulties engen-
dered by the unplanned influx of close to 100,000 Jews in a short period of time, the JDC working in close cooperation with the army, UNRRA, the Central Committee of Liberated Jews and other Jewish organizations, succeeded in developing a well rounded, even if hastily contrived, program of social welfare. These activities fell into six categories: a) supplementary material assistance, b) medical and child care, c) educational facilities, d) religious activities, e) vocational training and employment opportunities, and f) emigration services.

Supplementary material assistance assumed the form of additions to the official rations of food and clothing from stocks of goods shipped primarily by the JDC, with priority given to special deserving categories such as children, sick, expectant and nursing mothers, aid to persons engaged in productive work in the camps or in work projects. With the aid of the army, UNRRA, and the JDC, an elaborate medical program was set up comprising hospitals, clinics, dental centers to serve the needs of displaced persons. Working on behalf of displaced Jews in the American zone were 237 physicians, 68 dentists, 63 pharmacists and 388 nurses — with few exceptions displaced persons themselves. Four sanatoria with a 450 bed capacity were established with JDC assistance in Switzerland for tubercular displaced persons.

Educational Program

The educational program supported by the JDC and other Jewish organizations benefited over 10,000 school children attending some 60 elementary and 4 high schools in the American zone. Because of the almost complete lack of Yiddish and Hebrew textbooks in post-Nazi Europe, the JDC stepped into the role of publishers, and by the spring of 1947 had printed in Germany close to a quarter of a million copies of books, in addition to shipping thousands of books, periodicals and newspapers from the United States. In order to centralize the educational and cultural work, an agreement was concluded by the JDC, with the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Central Committee for Liberated Jews in the American zone which called for the establishment of an Ed-
ucational Board consisting of 2 representatives of the JDC, 2 of the Jewish Agency, and 3 of the Central Committee. The Board, which was constituted in March 1947, was in overall charge of the educational program.

The Religious Department of the JDC was instrumental in organizing kosher slaughtering for the Jewish population in the camps and the communities. As of December 1946, some 35,000 prayer books and thousands of other religious pre-requisites were distributed including 1,000 sets of the Talmud, especially printed by JDC with the cooperation of the U. S. Army and distributed among the students of the many Yeshivot maintained in the camps.

Vocational Training

Almost from the beginning many camps had some installations to provide vocational training. These installations of varying degree of adequacy were set up by UNRRA, ORT, the JDC and by the displaced persons themselves. Steps were taken to merge the vocational training facilities of ORT and the JDC under a special agreement concluded between the two organizations. In April 1947 about 5,000 trainees representing a wide range of industrial and technical skills were engaged in vocational training installations in the U. S. zone alone.

The Truman Directive of December 1945 enabled a substantial number of displaced persons to obtain U. S. visas and reach the United States. During the period under review about 13,112 including 12,490 quota immigrants entered the United States from Germany. Of these, the JDC Emigration Department arranged for the immigration of 5,085, the HIAS 2,500 and the Vaad Hatzalah 19. Through the cooperation of the Norwegian government, the Jewish Labor Committee and the JDC some 400 Jewish displaced persons were resettled in Norway — the first attempt of organized group resettlement (outside of Palestine) of Jewish displaced persons. Should the experiment succeed, additional groups will follow from Germany and Poland.
One of the most important Jewish problems presented in Germany was that of inducing the displaced persons to enter productive and useful employment. It was estimated that about 30 per cent of the displaced Jews were engaged in rendering various services in the camps. With the vanishing prospects for quick mass emigration, the problem of offering genuine employment opportunities became very acute, both as a way of increasing the volume of goods for the use by displaced persons, and also as a means of sustaining the morale which had sorely begun sagging.

The problem was complicated by the obvious fact that the Jewish displaced persons regarded Germany as their temporary and quite involuntary home and that for national, psychological reasons Jews were reluctant to work in German enterprises—even if such opportunities were available. The solution was offered by the establishment of special workshops, producing goods by and for displaced persons. In pursuit of this program a Board of Management was organized in February 1947, consisting of representatives of the JDC, the Jewish Agency, and the Central Committee of the Liberated Jews. By April 1947, several such projects were in operation.

In addition to the program for displaced persons, the JDC aided the remnant of German Jews now in Germany. In Berlin, which houses 7,800 or about one-half of the surviving Jews, the JDC-subsidized, reconstituted Jewish Community which distributes cash relief to the needy, operates a rest home for children, 2 kindergartens, 2 children’s homes housing 65 children and a rest home providing a two-week convalescent period to numbers of needy children. Food packages supplementing the ration were distributed by the JDC among the adults. The Gemeinde also granted small loans to help individuals become self-supporting.

In Austria, too, the number of Jews has risen during the period under review from 15,000 to about 42–45,000, of whom 27–30,000 are displaced persons. Except for 5,500 displaced Jews living in permanent camps who receive their basic rations from Austrian authorities sources and U. S. Army, the 22,500 so-called Jewish “transient” refugees receive their basic rations from the U. S. military forces and supplementary rations
from the JDC. As in Germany, the JDC working in close cooperation with the local organizations of displaced Jews has supported many educational, religious and cultural activities. In many camps there are workshops which perform valuable services for the camp population, including the manufacture of clothing and other articles; facilities for vocational training in a variety of skills exist in Vienna, Hallein, Graz and other centers.

The JDC also offered assistance to the Austrian Jews most of whom are concentrated in Vienna. The Vienna Kultusgemeinde, whose budget was almost exclusively covered by JDC subsidy, operated two canteens, one offering meals to about 700 former camp inmates and another serving 150 orthodox Jews with kosher food; a hospital with 100 beds and a home for 100 aged residents. In addition, the JDC supplied Vienna Jews with supplementary food rations.

In Italy, too, the relief program was two-fold: One on behalf of 26,000 displaced Jews and the other on behalf of Italian Jews; the latter claiming only about 10 per cent of JDC expenditures in the country. In Italy UNRRA has borne responsibility for basic maintenance; the JDC offered supplementary assistance and administered on behalf of UNRRA some 75 hachsharoth accommodating about 7,160 displaced persons. Working in close cooperation with the Union of Jewish Refugees in Italy (Irgun Haplistim B'Italia) the JDC has provided supplementary material assistance and an impressive array of services in the fields of child care, religious and educational activities, medical services, vocational training and emigration. Two homes housing over 700 children were operated by the JDC, and special assistance provided to children and expectant and nursing mothers living in camps and hachsharoth. All camps had elementary schools; some had Yeshivot and a school for refugees was functioning in Rome. Medical services were provided by 28 physicians and the JDC supported three convalescent homes and a sanatorium for 120 TB patients in Merano. Both the JDC and ORT offered vocational training in some of the camps and hachsharoth. In cooperation with the Jewish Agency, the JDC facilitated emigration to Palestine. Emigration services to the United
States and other countries were offered by the JDC and HIAS.

JDC assistance to needy Italian Jews was offered through the Union of Italian Communities (Unione della Comunità Israelitiche Italiane) to whose budget the JDC has made major contributions. The Union operated orphanages accommodating 163 children, and an old-age home with 123 residents, a Jewish hospital in Rome, canteens serving some 600 persons, schools offering education to 1,400 children and a small loan fund operating in Milan.

WESTERN EUROPE

The relief problem in the countries of Western Europe has been of smaller dimension than that of the areas already described. The extent of destruction suffered by the Jewish inhabitants was considerably less than in countries like Poland and Hungary. The political tensions have been less acute and the general economic dislocation of the respective countries was less pronounced. Both political and economic conditions were not unfavorable to a speedy reintegration of surviving Jews into the economies of the respective countries. Consequently in France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, the local Jewish population of about 275,000 has attained a substantial measure of economic recovery. There have remained, nevertheless, areas of acute need in these countries, in the field of child and medical care and more particularly in connection with the continued influx of immigrants and refugees of Eastern European Jews, many of whom have required temporary full maintenance, medical care, economic and other forms of assistance.

In France, with a Jewish population of about 205,000, the JDC supported some 35 national and specialized agencies, functioning in 50 cities. Among the most important agencies were OSE, Federation of Jewish Societies, Cojasor (Comite Juif d’Action Sociale et de Reconstruction) Eclaireurs Israelites, etc. JDC help reached about 40,000 persons, including more than 11,000 children. In addition to 20,000 persons who received cash relief, 3,120 children were taken care of in 61
children's homes (1,000 of them cared for by OSE) and 8,000 others were aided in their own families and in foster homes. In addition, 14 canteens served about 180,000 meals monthly, and 32 homes and reception centers sheltered some 6,000 persons most of them infiltrers from the East for varying periods of time. JDC support went to 40 Jewish supplementary schools and 1,200 students received special scholarship allowances. While the number of those receiving cash relief decreased considerably during the course of the year, this decrease was offset by the stream of newcomers, about 15,000 of whom succeeded in coming into the country. The problems connected with their residence permits, assistance, providing work for the newcomers, required special attention, and a separate service for newcomers, the so-called SSI (Service Social des Immigrants) was established. The stream of infiltrers, in some months reaching 1500, has taxed the JDC budget severely. The immediate problem was to provide housing for the refugees; it was necessary for the JDC to make special appropriations to procure rooms or to rent entire buildings in Paris and outside the capital. With JDC help, a special training program was initiated, to aid the newcomers, at least those who will stay in the country, to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and to become self-supporting. Training facilities were also offered by ORT, which in March 1947 had in operation more than 70 vocational training courses located in various cities; over 760 families received machines and tools from the French ORT in 1946–47 and the number of persons who benefited from ORT activities in France during the past year has been estimated at over 5000. In addition to financing numerous hachsharoth and other training centers, the JDC also supported two loan banks which issued loans totalling 85 million francs in 1946 to 2,258 heads of families, representing 6,492 persons. To alleviate the shortage of local supplies, the JDC shipped to France 2,899,643 pounds of commodities during 1946 and 1,217,898 pounds during the first four months of 1947.

Conditions in Belgium were generally similar to those in France. Among the 6,000 persons assisted in the Spring of 1947, the transients and the orphaned children occupied a
prominent place. Besides giving cash assistance to some 4,000 persons, the Association Israelite des Victimes de la Guerre (AIVG) financed almost exclusively by the JDC was taking care of 480 children in 10 children’s homes. In addition 1,470 children were supported in foster families or in their own families. The reconstruction program, which was initiated in a small way at the beginning of 1946, took on significant proportions during the course of the year. Two cooperative loan institutions in Brussels and Antwerp had extended 270 loans totalling 5 million Belgian francs as of November 30, 1946. The JDC also financed two loan kassas which issued 181 loans for about 1,100,000 Belgian francs in Brussels and Antwerp. Outside of the AIVG, a number of other agencies received substantial financial aid from the JDC: the orthodox Halutz organization, Bachad, Yeshivah Kehilloth Jacob in Antwerp, and the B’rith Irgun Halutzim. During 1946, the JDC assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the substantial group of newcomers arriving from the East. With JDC funds the transients were housed in seven centers, six hachsharoth and two homes, and provided with food, shelter and money for incidental expenses. During 1946, the JDC shipped 339,029 pounds of supplies to Belgium and 131,849 pounds between January and April 1947. In Luxembourg, where about 500 Jews have succeeded in reestablishing themselves, the JDC continued to support about 50 needy refugees.

In Holland, with a Jewish population of 30,000, the improvement of the economic and social conditions permitted the gradual contraction of the JDC relief program. JDC resources were devoted primarily to the rebuilding of the communal organizations, child care and special projects connected with immigration. The JDC supported seven children’s homes with 165 children, 10 hachsharoth with 200 members and distributed cash relief to 685 persons. The problem of Jewish children still living with non-Jewish families or in non-Jewish surroundings was of great concern to the local Jewish organizations, and efforts continue to bring the children into a Jewish environment. During 1946, the JDC shipped 249,020 pounds of commodities while only 18,000 pounds were sent from January through April 1947.
The JDC continued limited operations on behalf of refugees in Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal and Spain where close to 13,000 received various forms of assistance. In some of these countries, as well as in France, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees has borne financial responsibility for certain categories of refugees and reimbursed the JDC for expenditures incurred.

OTHER AREAS

As conditions in Shanghai were extremely unfavorable to permanent settlement of European Jewish refugees, the major efforts of the JDC were devoted to arranging for the speedy emigration of the refugees. From March 1, 1946 and through April 30, 1947, 3,167 refugees were enabled to emigrate: 1,757 of them left for the United States, 803 to Australia, 298 to Latin America and the balance to various other countries. In addition, UNRRA, assisted by the JDC, repatriated 864 German and Austrian refugees. About 12,500 refugees remained in Shanghai as of April 1947; of these 6,470 received relief from the JDC. In addition, the JDC has financed educational facilities for about 700 children; administered a refugee hospital with about 200 beds and a dental clinic; 120 aged persons and 45 disabled persons are supported in homes subsidized by the JDC.

Limited programs have been continued in North Africa and Iran primarily in support of Jewish schools, special projects in the field of child care and in some areas on behalf of small groups of refugees.

In Palestine, JDC activities have been confined essentially to the field of religious and cultural activities. Thus the JDC continued its support to about 60 Yeshivoth accommodating about 3,700 students. JDC rendered financial assistance to groups of refugee rabbis, financed a number of research projects in the field of Talmudic learning, contributed to the support of the Hebrew University and other educational institutions of various ideological complexion. Related to the JDC program in Palestine are the numerous activities centered
on Palestine. These comprise: a) activities aimed at the preparation of Jews for living in Palestine—in the spring of 1947, the JDC aided 506 hachsharoth scattered in eleven lands accommodating 43,600 persons and providing agricultural and vocational training to some thousands of persons; b) emigration to Palestine—in 1946 alone the number of JDC-assisted emigrants to that country was 15,000. A special chapter on Palestine centered activities was opened when, in the late summer of 1946, non-certificated Jewish emigrants to Palestine were sent to Cyprus after having been intercepted by the British on the way to Palestine. Two weeks after arrival of the first group of internees, a JDC team was on the spot to start a welfare program. JDC work in Cyprus has been supervised by an American representative who, in May, directed a staff of 52 Palestinians including 18 medical people, twenty educational and fourteen social workers and clerical personnel. The JDC has provided supplementary food, particularly for old people, pregnant women, and children. With JDC help in medical personnel and supplies, clinics have been established in the camps and medical supervision of the refugees arranged. A team consisting of a psychiatrist, a psychologist and psychiatric social worker left for Cyprus, in June 1947, to study mental hygiene problems. Eighty per cent of the whole camp population has been covered by the educational program which included not only adult education, vocational training, information on Palestine, etc., but also a school system patterned on the similar Palestinian institutions. Throughout this period the JDC has acted as semi-official representative of the refugees before the British authorities and worked closely with the elected leaders of the refugees.

In view of the variety and complexity of the problems facing overseas Jewish communities particularly in the devastated areas of Europe, and the lack of historical perspective, it is still extremely difficult to give an overall definitive evaluation of the multivarious activities of the relief agencies and of their ultimate effect on the reconstruction of the Jewish people in Europe. Several observations, however, are in order. One, the Jews of Europe have shown a remarkable recuperative power.
Jewish life has revived in countries of Western Europe and has taken new roots in the countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The situation of displaced Jews in Germany, Austria and Italy however has deteriorated and can be relieved only by a speedy favorable political decision on immigration to Palestine and other countries. The second observation is that the chapter written by American Jewry in mobilizing its resources and efforts in meeting this challenge to the very survival of overseas Jewry is without precedent in the annals of organized voluntary relief effort.

8. ZIONIST ACTIVITIES

By Geraldine Rosenfield

American Zionism during the past year assumed the dominant role in the drama revolving about Palestine and the Jewish homeland. The economic and political influence of the United States among all nations and the intransigence of Great Britain on the Palestine question made a shift in the center of Zionist efforts from London to Washington inevitable.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

The attitude of the American Jewish community was of paramount importance to Zionists of the war-destroyed or war-weakened countries. Testimony to this was that now, within the Zionist movement itself, the balance of power shifted to the General Zionist majority, whose largest numerical following was to be found in the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America.

1 See also articles on Palestine by Lotta Levensohn (p. 444) and Louis Shub (p. 483).—ED.
Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry

Far from confirming early hopes that it would help solve a complex problem, the report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine caused increasing bitterness and disappointment among American Jewish groups.

Publication of the report was at first hailed by Jewish leaders as a substantial contribution toward finding displaced war victims a home. But as hope for prompt implementation declined, despair and recrimination mounted. The ensuing mood of bitterness produced an outpouring of statements which demanded prompt and whole-hearted fulfillment of Anglo-American recommendations. Repeatedly, Zionists called attention to President Truman's statement advocating the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine and protested Britain's delaying tactics in refusing to act on the recommendations of the Anglo-American report.

Illustrative of the despairing mood of American Zionists was the reply of the American Zionist Emergency Council on June 4 to a request by the State Department that it comment on the report. The Emergency Council, representing the major Zionist groups in America, replied that "further comments appear meaningless." The Council urged action on the report. On June 12 it called a rally in Madison Square Garden to press this point home and also to answer British Foreign Minister Bevin's allegations concerning American advocacy of the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

The British Foreign Secretary, at a convention of the British Labor Party, had asserted that agitation in the United States "and particularly New York" for support of the Inquiry Committee's report was due to a desire to keep the 100,000 homeless Jews out of New York City. Speaking at the June 12 rally, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the Emergency Council and president of the Zionist Organization of America, characterized this remark as "a cheap slur on the American people and a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst." The Zionist leader declared that "in view of the shocking record of broken pledges and repeated violations of solemn obligations, American citizens
have the right to turn to their representatives in the Congress of the United States, who are discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain.”

Dr. Silver’s implied threat was not backed up by other Jewish leaders. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman of the Emergency Council with Dr. Silver, let it be known that he did not oppose a loan to Britain. On July 11 the American Jewish Committee made public a statement in which 26 prominent persons urged prompt passage of the loan to Britain. The signers declared that they “believe in resolving political issues by political means, not by denying the British people access to the primary necessities of life.” The American Council for Judaism deplored the fact that consideration of the loan to Britain was being complicated by the “extraneous Palestine issue.”

Arrest of Palestine Jews

Animosity toward the British policy in Palestine rose to new heights when, on June 29, more than 2,000 Jews, among them high officials of the Jewish Agency and leaders of Jewish Palestine, were arrested by British troops, as a retaliatory measure against Hagana and Irgun activity. Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, in a joint statement, described the British act as “treachery” and charged that it “was conceived on the highest political level in an attempt to liquidate the Jewish national home.” The Council called a rally on July 1 at which Dr. Silver reported that President Truman had promised to obtain the speedy release of the imprisoned Jewish leaders. Defiance of British policy was the keynote of the rally, expressed by a resolution pledging full support to Hagana’s war of resistance and by Dr. Silver’s plea for non-support of the British loan.

Morrison-Grady Plan

When the British government announced it was not ready to accept the recommendations of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee report and indicated that it would like to see the
United States assume its share of responsibility for Palestine, President Truman sent a Cabinet Committee to London to work out with the British details for transferring 100,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine. After six weeks of study there emerged a federalization plan, known as the Morrison-Grady Report, whose recommendations the British Foreign Office was willing to accept. The plan, which proposed to divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab provinces under a federalized government, was immediately rejected by Zionists who found it "unacceptable as a basis for discussion." Dr. Silver characterized the proposal as "a conscienceless act of treachery . . ., a plan for the ghettoization of the Jews in their own homeland."

American Zionists received support in their position from President Truman, who, after consideration, refused to accept the plan and stressed the importance of issuing 100,000 certificates for Jewish immigrants, without waiting for acceptance of the report by any group.

The political debate between the United States and Great Britain which followed announcement of the federalization plan had many repercussions. Despite President Truman's consistent plea for the admission of Jewish immigrants to Palestine, the British government on August 12 announced that visaless Jewish refugees would no longer be allowed to enter Palestine.

The announcement brought forth a denunciatory statement by the American Zionist Emergency Council on August 15, declaring the Zionist intention of resisting the British blockade against Jewish immigration to Palestine. It attributed illegal immigration to the British policy of delay in acting on Truman's proposal. It asserted that Britain's sole justification for being in Palestine was to carry out the mandate of the League of Nations; by forbidding immigration it was Britain who was guilty of the "illegality" rather than those who entered as immigrants. The Council denied British friendship toward the Jews or British humanity and patience, pointing out that while the Nazis were slaughtering Jews the doors of Palestine remained closed; furthermore, continued refusal to open the doors meant continued hardships for displaced
Jews. The Council defined Britain's move as an attempt to frighten the Jews into accepting less than their rights. This, it said, American Jews would not allow.

The vehement anti-British attitude of the Emergency Council appears to have been questioned by some constituents of the Zionist movement. On August 28 the Council's national executive unanimously reaffirmed its confidence in the leadership of its president, Dr. Silver, and denied that he was motivated by anti-British sentiment. The Council further denied that Silver had submitted his resignation to the Jewish Agency or that he took an "extremist" position in regard to Agency policy. It reaffirmed its official program calling for free entry of Jews into Palestine and establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth with full equality of right and status for all inhabitants.

Partition vs. Billmore Program

In August the Emergency Council spoke of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, without specifically mentioning whether or not it meant all or part of that country. At that time it was known that the Jewish Agency, through Dr. Nahum Goldmann, a member of its executive, had informed President Truman that it would consider the partitioning of Palestine into separate and independent Arab and Jewish states. The Agency was willing to settle for "the establishment of a viable Jewish state in an adequate area of Palestine."

On August 20 Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee, issued a statement in which he indicated that his organization would support an Agency plan "which envisages a political unit with a bill of rights that will constitutionally guarantee political equality to Arabs and Jews." The statement pointed out that the main and immediate object of any plan must be immigration into Palestine.

On October 4, Yom Kippur eve, President Truman made public a statement urging Prime Minister Attlee of Great Britain to open Palestine "at once" to "substantial" immigration of displaced Jews and pledging United States support for the formation of a separate Jewish state in part of Palestine.
The President urged that immigration to Palestine begin at once. He declared himself to be in favor of the liberalization of the immigration laws of all countries. As for Palestine, if a "workable solution" could be found, the President promised to recommend to Congress a plan for economic assistance for the development of the country.

But despite the President's approval of the partition plan, and his promise of help, American Zionists did not look upon a "viable Jewish state in part of Palestine" with favor.

The 49th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, meeting in Atlantic City on October 27 and 28, rejected the Jewish Agency partition plan and reaffirmed its support of the Biltmore Program which calls for a Jewish commonwealth in the whole of Palestine. The convention expressed doubt of the wisdom of Jewish participation in the London Conference on Palestine.

The re-election of Dr. Silver as president of the Zionist Organization was generally regarded as a victory for Silver and the Biltmore Program as against the Jewish Agency and the Goldmann plan for a "viable state in part of Palestine." Dr. Silver reiterated his stand opposing the loan to Britain and criticized Dr. Stephen S. Wise for approving it.

The Zionist convention passed resolutions scoring the British Labor Government's policy in Palestine, taking recognition of President Truman's sincerity, and expressing doubt whether America had employed full strength to get results on the Palestine question. The convention urged the creation of an "authoritative over-all body" to conduct the political effort on behalf of Zionism in the United States. This last resolution undoubtedly was meant as criticism of the Jewish Agency office in Washington headed by Nahum Goldmann, which functioned independently of the Emergency Council.

Bartley C. Crum, American member of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee, told the convention that the State Department could not carry out President Truman's proposal for the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine unless it cleared itself of certain pro-Arab adherents. He recommended that all communications between the Arab states and the State Department be made public, as well as the Nazi file contain-
ing the record of the negotiations between the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and the Germans during the war.

Partition was also rejected by the 27th annual convention of the Mizrachi organization on November 3, 1946. The religious Zionists pledged themselves to work for the “historical claim of an independent Jewish state with its historic boundaries as ordained by the Torah.” Criticism was leveled at the British government for failure to carry out the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee and for the brutal activities of the troops in Palestine. The World Zionist Executive was also criticized for attempting to decide on its own responsibility the political future of Palestine, without having consulted the World Zionist Congress or the Larger Zionist Actions Committee. This set Mizrachi on record as objecting to the plan for a “viable state” earlier proposed by Nahum Goldmann to President Truman and reaffirmed its stand for a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine.

The merits of the partition plan were debated at the 32nd annual convention of Hadassah, held in Boston on November 13. Dr. Goldmann, as a member of the Jewish Agency executive, defended the proposal and pointed out that “by suggesting partition as a way out, we are not giving up our claims to the whole of Palestine.” Advantages of the plan are that it has the support of President Truman and the State Department and that the United States and Great Britain might get Arab acquiescence to a “viable Jewish state.” Dr. Goldmann asserted that the Biltmore program was formulated in the hope that once hostilities ended, 500,000 to 1,000,000 European Jews would be permitted to enter Palestine. The developments of the past two years had proved this hope futile.

Adherence to the Biltmore program, Goldmann asserted, means continuance of the British mandate until the Jews have a majority in Palestine, or the creation of another transitory regime which would enable the Jews to create this majority in a reasonable period of time. Both possibilities being unlikely, the Agency leader deemed the partition plan the best solution under existing circumstances.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, vice-president of the Zionist Organ-
ization of America, chided the Agency executive for offering a compromise solution on the Palestine problem as a substitute for the Biltmore program. Any modifications of the Biltmore program should have come from the World Zionist Congress. Dr. Neumann expressed the belief that it was a mistake "to suppose that to display such eagerness for compromise would elicit a prompt and favorable response on the part of the British and the Arabs." Speaking for the ZOA, its vice-president said: "It was in our view a grave error to announce to the world our readiness to forget our claims and legally established rights with respect to one-half of Palestine in order to retain the other half." Dr. Neumann appealed to the convention not to abandon the Biltmore program nor the fight for the "whole of Palestine, undivided and undiminished."

Members of Hadassah, after hearing arguments for and against partition, passed a resolution favoring establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, not committing themselves for or against partition. Other resolutions recommended the coordination of Zionist activities in the United States, urged the United States Government to end the repressive British regime in Palestine, voted appreciation of President Truman for his efforts to persuade the British to admit 100,000 Jews to Palestine, and urged the immediate entry of displaced Jews into Palestine.

**Terror and Resistance**

Acts of violence committed by the Palestinian extremist groups reached a disastrous peak when, on July 22, a wing of the King David Hotel, headquarters of the secretariat of the British government and military authorities, was bombed by members of the Irgun Zvai Leumi.

American Jewish groups almost unanimously condemned the bombing as irresponsible and shocking. The American Jewish Committee issued a statement which declared that it joined with "the responsible Jewish bodies of Palestine in condemnation of the senseless and inexcusable crime committed by a band of terrorists who represent no substantial Jewish group in or out of Palestine."
On the whole, the attitude of Jewish bodies to the terrorist acts in Palestine ran the gamut from complete approval to complete disapproval. The American Council for Judaism, for example, saw nothing amiss in British police treatment of Jews in Palestine. Lessing Rosenwald, chairman of the organization, stated: "The security measures are not taken against Jews; they are only against those political forces inside and outside Palestine that have adopted violence as a means of attaining their political purposes." At the other extreme, the American League for a Free Palestine applauded all acts of terror as the only retaliation against Britain's policy.

The vast majority of Zionist and non-Zionist groups took the middle view. At its annual convention in November, Hadassah passed a resolution deploring terrorism but upholding resistance to the "illegal and arbitrary policy of Great Britain in Palestine." Mizrachi, at its convention during the same month, protested the brutal activities of British troops in Palestine and promised moral and financial aid to Hagana, the resistance organization. The ZOA, in a convention resolution passed on October 27, asserted that "insofar as responsible elements of the Yishuv embark upon policies of non-cooperation or resistance, they shall receive the whole-hearted support of the Zionist movement."

This feeling prevailed at the World Zionist Congress, where a resolution was passed condemning "murder and the shedding of innocent blood as a means of political warfare."

The issue of terror and reprisal flared up again when the death sentence was imposed on Dov Gruner and three other members of the Irgun for taking part in a raid on a Palestine police station. On April 16, 1947, the four men were hanged. It was the first British execution of Jews since 1939. For months before the execution, several American Jewish groups carried out intensive efforts to obtain commutation of Gruner's sentence. On March 28 the American Jewish Conference urged the United States to intercede to avert the execution of the death sentence, pointing out that it was capital punishment imposed by military authorities on civilians during a time of peace.

As a matter of fact, the Irgun announced on February 2
that it considered the British had declared war against it and so would "return blow for blow." The following day a British ultimatum called on the Jewish Agency to cooperate with the police and bring the terrorists to justice within seven days.

American Zionists reacted vigorously. Abba Hillel Silver, speaking for the Emergency Council, declared: "The Jewish Agency has indicated it will restrain extremist groups. It will not ask the Jewish population to turn informists and spies for an administration which has been guilty of gross illegalities and cruelties against Jews."

When, despite the pleas of the Zionist groups urging the United States Government to intercede on behalf of the convicted men, Dov Gruner and his comrades were executed, the ZOA issued a statement describing the executions as "deliberate provocations by the British on the eve of the opening of the special session of the United Nations to discuss Palestine."

World Zionist Congress

The election of American delegates to the World Zionist Congress was held on June 30 and 31, 1946. The major Zionist groups in this country, including the Zionist Organization of America, the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist Organization), Mizrachi, the United-Zionist Revisionist, Hadassah and Pioneer Women sent 121 delegates to the Congress which opened in Basle, Switzerland on December 9.

The ZOA delegation, largest and most influential of the American group, was well prepared to challenge the old leadership of the Congress. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, spokesmen, took up the cudgels against the partition plan of the Jewish Agency and the proposal to participate in the London Conference which was backed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann. American Zionists undoubtedly felt it was time that they, representing the most important government and the richest Jewish community, took a leading role in World Zionist affairs.
The most extreme American viewpoint, however, did not come from the General Zionists but from Meir Grossman, president of United-Zionist Revisionists, who insisted on “a Jewish state within the historic boundaries of Palestine, based on a Jewish majority” and who called for the establishment of a provisional government for Palestine.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who shared the chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council with Dr. Silver, did not share Dr. Silver’s objection to partition. On December 16 Dr. Wise, in company with Dr. Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, defended the partition proposal and urged participation in the forthcoming London Conference.

The militant opposition to Britain won out. On December 24 the Congress resolved not to participate in the London conference “under the existing circumstances.” It passed a resolution confirming the principle of the Biltmore Declaration which called for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. Other resolutions denounced the 1939 White Paper, called for resistance against its policies, and protested the deportation of Jews to Eritrea. The Congress also proscribed such unauthorized bodies in the United States as the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and the American League for a Free Palestine. It warned that all rights granted to the Revisionists would be withdrawn if the New Zionist Organization was not dissolved within three months.

The new 19-member Executive elected by the Congress consisted of eight General Zionists, seven Laborites and four Mizrachi. American members of the Executive are Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Hayim Greenberg, Mrs. Rose Halprin and Dr. Emanuel Neumann.

Congress Repercussions

The World Zionist Congress drew out in the open a bitter difference of opinion which existed just beneath the surface of the Zionist body politic in this country.

Upon his return from Basle, Dr. Silver expressed his satisfaction with the results of the Congress. The old leadership, with its record of “retreat and political failure,” he declared,
was repudiated. As Dr. Silver saw it, the Congress had reaffirmed the classic Zionist position. It reflected the firm resolve of the Jewish people to resist all illegal action of the mandatory government either to liquidate or constrict the Jewish national home.

On January 3, two days after Dr. Silver made public his attitude, Dr. Wise resigned from all official connections with the Zionist Organization. It had been known for some time that Wise disapproved of the bellicose attitude toward Great Britain, but the refusal of the Congress to send Dr. Chaim Weizmann to the London Conference appeared to him to be the last straw. He saw dangerous signs in the failure of the Congress to re-elect Weizmann president. In resigning, Dr. Wise said he refused “to substitute the Zionism of the present imperiling regime of the Zionist Organization of America for the Zionism of Weizmann, Brandeis, Nordau and Herzl.”

Other delegates of the ZOA to the World Zionist Congress did not share Dr. Wise’s apprehension for the future of Zionism. At a reception held for them in Manhattan Center in New York City on January 6, the delegates told of the many achievements of the Congress. The American General Zionists rejoiced because this Congress marked the end of the “policy of appeasement”; because it repudiated the decision to participate under all circumstances in the London Conference; because the sole control of Zionist affairs no longer rested with Mapai, the Palestine Labor Zionist group; and because the important place of American Zionists in Zionist diplomacy was finally recognized.

Immigration and the British Blockade

With discussion of the London Conference and its possible decisions now outside their scope, the Zionists turned to a consideration of means for getting displaced Jews into Palestine “illegally.” On January 21 Dr. Emanuel Neumann told a press conference that U. S. Zionists were ready to pour “millions” of dollars into financing “illegal” immigration. He expressed the hope that Great Britain would regard such
activities "not as willful rebellion, but as a great work of mercy and rescue."

This statement drew forth an angry reaction from Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism, who announced that "this shocking disregard for law and order" did not reflect the sentiments of all Americans of Jewish faith.

The ZOA persisted, however, and on March 2 its administrative council promised to lend all its resources to aid visaless immigrants get through the British blockade.

Groups reflecting a more moderate opinion continued to press for admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. On February 2 the Jewish Labor Committee, convening in Atlantic City, sent a cable to the British Labor Party appealing for abrogation of the White Paper and admission of displaced Jews to Palestine.

**Palestine and the United Nations**

By February it became obvious that the current British proposal for Palestine would be acceptable neither to Jews nor to Arabs and British Foreign Secretary Bevin let it be known that the next step would be submission of the matter to the United Nations.

In this country most Jewish groups regarded the step with trepidation; at best it could only mean delay in the admission of displaced Jews to Palestine. Extremes of attitude were expressed by Lessing Rosenwald, who welcomed UN investigation, and by Emanuel Neumann who saw the British decision as "a renewed affront to the United States Government and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations."

Six hundred and fifty delegates attending a special session of the Emergency Council on February 17 passed the following resolutions: 1) They called upon the UN to issue an interim order instructing Britain to implement the Palestine mandate free of all restrictive enactments. 2) They urged the UN to give the Jewish Agency representation at any of its delibera-
tions on Palestine, called for reaffirmation of freedom of immigration to Palestine and establishment of a Jewish state in "clear and precise terms." 3) They called on the United States Government to assume leadership and honor its previous pledges. 4) The delegates expressed confidence in the leadership of the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Emergency Council. 5) They condemned the British regime of brutal force against the Jewish community of Palestine. 5) They urged the United States to secure commutation of pending death sentences in Palestine. 6) They pledged support of the Yishuv and its "nationally disciplined leadership."

The National Board of Hadassah, meeting in a midwinter conference on March 8, heard its president, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, declare that the UN must carry out the promise of the League of Nations regarding Palestine, and charge that Britain was becoming increasingly incompetent to carry out the provisions of the mandate.

The desire of American Zionists to relieve Britain of her mandatory power over Palestine was undoubtedly increased by the British declaration of martial law, on March 2, over certain areas in Palestine. Dr. Silver cabled Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson that martial law was "part of a carefully conceived plan calculated to bring about the economic strangulation of Palestine Jewry." Silver urged the United States to register protest with Great Britain on legal and humanitarian grounds.

The special session on Palestine was scheduled to open on April 28. In the weeks preceding that date, Zionists aimed their propaganda at the following targets: an interim policy which would permit immigration into Palestine while hearings were taking place; full representation of the Jewish Agency at the special session; and United States' championship of the Jewish cause at the UN session.

An attempt at unity was made by non-Zionist and Zionist groups when they met in New York during April to discuss sending the Jewish Agency as sole representative of the Jewish point of view. Among participants in such discussions were representatives of the Jewish Agency, the American Jewish
Committee and the Agudas Israel of America. The only voice raised in opposition to Jewish representation at the UN General Assembly was that of the American Council for Judaism which declared that Jews would be represented by the countries of which they are citizens.

Objection to the Agency as representative came from the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and the Political Action Committee for Palestine, Inc., both of which asked to be given non-voting seats at the hearings. They claimed the Agency was not qualified to speak for them.

It was not until May 5 that the General Assembly voted to grant a hearing to the Jewish Agency. The preceding week was filled with tension for Zionists, who were dismayed at the apparent reluctance of the United States to support the Agency’s claims for a voteless voice at the UN discussions. All the major Zionist groups wired President Truman, protesting the failure of the U. S. delegation to work for Jewish representation at the hearings. The American Jewish Conference, in its telegram, pointed out that in view of the unlimited discussion by the Arabs of their side of the Palestine issue, it was essential to secure “fair and equitable presentation of the Jewish case.”

The presentation of the Jewish case was made on May 8 before the Political Committee of the UN General Assembly by Dr. Silver, as chairman of the Agency’s American section. The occasion was a historic one since it was the first time the Jewish Agency received a hearing before a world tribunal. In a speech which has been described as “eloquent and even-tempered” Dr. Silver enunciated the Agency’s position on Palestine, stressing the international obligation to insure continuous development of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

The cordial reception which greeted Dr. Silver’s address and the surprising reversal of the Russian attitude toward Palestine as expressed by Andrei A. Gromyko in his speech of May 14 strengthened the hope among Zionists that Big-Power cooperation might bring forth a solution to the complex Palestine problem.
ORGANIZATIONAL AND FUND-RAISING ACTIVITIES

Zionist Organization of America

During the year under review, the membership of the Zionist Organization of America rose to over 200,000, exclusive of Hadassah or any other affiliated groups, and the resources made available by the ZOA Expansion Fund (American Zionist Fund) made possible an extensive program of education and public relations.

The full Zionist program during the year included the publication of three books, *Palestine Year Book*, Vol. II, *The Zionist Movement* by Israel Cohen, and *Hebrew Self-Taught* by Zevi and Ben Ami Scharfstein; the issuance of a large number of pamphlets including the first comprehensive statement on "Hagana, A History of Jewish Resistance," continuance of the two popular radio programs, "Palestine Speaks" and "The Drama of Palestine"; expansion of the work of the Palestine Bureau which serves as the only official agency in this country with respect to facilitating immigration and visits to Palestine; promotion of a large number of public demonstrations, mass meetings and rallies designed to express popular opinion with respect to Palestine. During this period, the ZOA Education Department announced the availability of another set of Annual Scholarships to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Dr. Silver also announced the establishment of a Halutziut Commission, in addition to the existing American Zionist Youth Commission, to encourage and assist young American Jews anxious to settle in Palestine. A group of General Zionists under ZOA auspices, known as Plugat Aliyah, was formed with a membership of some 150 young people.

The major fund-raising activities of the Zionist Organization’s membership were devoted to the support of the United Jewish Appeal.

The major function of the year, outside of the Annual Convention, was the National Mobilization Conference held in Chicago January 24 through January 26. A $1,000,000
expansion fund was voted by the conferees to "acquaint the American public with the true aims and achievements of the Zionist movement."

**Hadassah**

Beginning last October with a membership of about 180,000, Hadassah reported four months before the end of its present fiscal year a gain of over 25,000 members, making a total of nearly a quarter million constituents, including Junior Hadassah. Its fund-raising goal during 1946–47 was $4,070,000.

One of the first dramatic acts expressive of Hadassah's new stewardship as the administrative health arm of the Immigrant Medical Services of the organization and the Jewish Agency was its establishment within 24 hours in Athlit, the Palestine detention camp, of an emergency hospital to meet a condition of the British who said that without such a hospital 3,000 uncertified immigrants then waiting in Athlit would not be released. The Hospital was assembled and staffed with Hadassah personnel in the fall of last year.

A medical mission, the first medical group from Palestine, was also sent by the organization with the aid of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee in September of last year to Cyprus. Other achievements in the medical field were the completion of a 70-bed unit for refugee care and a 100 bed unit for tuberculosis therapy, both of which were added to the Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital to make it a 500 bed institution. Ground was broken for an extension of the Henrietta Szold School of Nursing, part of the present Hadassah Medical Center, to make possible an increase of the student capacity of the School from 80 to 180. Also during the past year, a program of screening to detect the incidence of tuberculosis was begun in Palestine with the aid of four mobile X-ray units sent by the group to Eretz Israel. When the Yishuv set up 12 settlements in the Negev last November, in one of its overnight operations, Hadassah cabled $12,000 to the pioneers to begin a health service system in the new communities.

Similarly, in an effort to expand the front against disease,
the Hadassah Medical Organization has been sending, during the past year, a steady stream of young doctors to America for "refresher" training which would better equip them to carry forward their work on their return. Thus far nine young doctors have been brought to the United States for this work.

Other advances in the medical field were highlighted during the mid-winter conference of Hadassah, March 8 to March 12, 1947, when announcement was made of a five-year plan that will be the joint responsibility of Hadassah and the Hebrew University. This includes the erection of the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School, the first undergraduate medical institution in Palestine. As one phase of its program, Hadassah will provide personnel for a mental screening team, slated to go to Cyprus to conduct tests, for the purpose of determining the psychological problems currently being faced by immigrants in the Cyprus Camps waiting entry into Palestine.

In addition to its medical institutions and services, Hadassah now provides for the feeding and the teaching of cooking and nutrition to more than 30,000 school children daily in the grammar grades of Palestine. It also helps supervise the health of 100,000 students in the schools and continues to fight for superlative child health through 50 infant welfare stations.

Increased activity was also reported among some 800 American affairs chairmen who receive material from the national office to help them conduct a program of education on American affairs in this country and among a like number of workers who are active in the efforts of the American Zionist Youth Commission of which Hadassah is a member, to bring a new awareness of Palestinian and general Jewish problems to American Jewish youth.

Labor Zionist Organization

The past year has been marked by several significant developments in the structure and scope of the Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion.
On July 3, 1946 the League for Labor Palestine amalgamated with the LZOA-Poale Zion, thus consolidating the forces of Labor Zionism in America and giving a greater source of quantitative and political strength to its aims. The organization is officially known as Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion.

Membership in the organization has more than tripled since January 1946. In some cities, such as Los Angeles, the ratio of increase has been seven to one in comparison with last year. Since March 1945, 110 new branches have been established throughout the United States and Canada. The creation of these new branches through the integration of large numbers of young men and women of American background has considerably transformed the make-up of the organization.

A leaders' Institute, held in Lakewood, N. J., April 18-20, 1947, was attended by 150 young leaders representing 50 new branches of the organization throughout the East and Middle West. The delegates heard lectures on ideological and practical problems of the Labor Zionist movement. Labor Zionist schools were conducted in Boston, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York and Los Angeles. Other cities conducted forums and educational projects of a similar nature. Further training in the background of Labor Zionism is being contemplated through the establishment of summer camps for young leaders in the East, Middle West and West Coast.

Holiday program booklets, educational kits and brochures on timely political subjects have been prepared for use by the membership.

Publications in addition to those issued as part of the educational program are the weekly *Yiddisher Kemfer*, the monthly *Jewish Frontier* and the bi-weekly *Labor Zionist Letter* which reaches the entire membership and presents a summary of the newest developments with commentary as well as organizational news.

The Labor Zionist Organization of America-Poale Zion has also published a number of pamphlets in the course of the year, including: *Labor Zionism—A Brief Summary*, *What is the Labor Zionist Fund*, a manual entitled *How to Organize* and various membership publications.
Its publishing company, Sharon Books, has in the course of the year added to its list of publications *The Revival of Palestine* by Jacob Ziman and *Berl Katznelson* (in Yiddish).

**Mizrachi**

The Mizrachi Organization of America conducted a Shekel registration campaign in April and May of the past year. One hundred and forty-two thousand, out of a total of 900,000, who bought Shekolim, registered their endorsement of the Zionist program through the Mizrachi movement.

During the period under review, Mizrachi expanded its Hachsharah (training farm) near New Brunswick, New Jersey, and opened a new branch in Bronti-Ontario, Canada.

Lecture tours throughout the country were undertaken by administrative leaders of the organization, resulting in a 30 per cent increase in the membership and in the organization of 38 additional chapters. A further addition to the membership roster of Mizrachi were the memberships of 78 synagogues. The Youth Department organized 42 new clubs and a Noar Mizrachi, which set up 29 groups of young people, aged 18 and over.

The Mizrachi Education Committee made a survey of orthodox educational needs throughout the country from coast to coast. As in the previous year, the Committee conducted seminars for teachers of kindergarten classes to be set up in Mizrachi schools. Publications include textbooks, propaganda for the all-day school and curriculi for traditional schools.

Ten regional conferences to promote organizational activities were held in different sections of the country.

Mizrachi participated in the activities of the United Jewish Appeal, the Zionist Emergency Council, and the American Jewish Conference.

Its overseas relief activities included financial aid to displaced persons' kibbutzim set up by the organization in Europe, and field visits by administrative heads to report on the needs of members throughout Europe. A central relief office was established in Paris, France.
United Palestine Appeal

When Dr. Israel Goldstein was elected national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal in February 1947 he announced that this year the overall program of the UPA and its agencies in Palestine would entail a total expenditure of $85,000,000 to pay for projects of immediate relief and care for refugee arrivals in Palestine, special training and guidance, and eventual urban and rural settlement.

For similar projects during 1946 the UPA spent a total of $52,621,000, the bulk of which comprised contributions from American Jews. Principal expenditures were $13,650,928 covering the cost of immigration of 26,000 refugees who reached Palestine, $3,224,911 for pre-immigration aid and relief and $2,745,434 for their care on arrival. In addition, the Jewish Agency, whose sole source of American support is the UPA, disbursed $2,217,898 through the special youth immigration department.

A total of $3,216,826 was also spent by the Jewish Agency on housing projects, $6,567,399 for agricultural development, $4,171,767 for political activities, internal security, Arab-Jewish relations and soldiers’ and veterans’ care; and $1,935,357 for aid to trade and industry. Supplementing the agricultural program of the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund, which is financed through the UPA, spent $16,143,547, more than two-thirds of which went for land purchases.

Other Zionist Groups

During the past year, Pioneer women increased its specific responsibilities towards the Moatzath Hapoaloth (Working Women’s Council) of the Histadrut and raised over $590,000 for the integration of new immigrant women, youth and children in Palestine. In addition, over $225,000 was raised for the maintenance of children in the institutions of the Moatzath Hapoaloth through the Child Rescue Fund; $125,000 for the Histadrut Campaign; for the Jewish National Fund—over $130,000; for the United Jewish Appeal—$75,000;
for the Relief Fund for Labor Zionist Movement in Poland—$15,000; for American educational institutions—$50,000.

Two intensive membership drives in the spring of 1946 and 1947 brought over 5,000 new members into the ranks of Pioneer Women, with new clubs organized in many new communities. The last drive was launched at a series of regional conferences held throughout the country during October 1946.

The program of Jewish and Zionist education of the membership was considerably extended through lecture series, holiday bulletins, various brochures and the monthly publication, Pioneer Woman. A national leadership seminar for selected members from various parts of the country was held in July, 1946 at Cream Ridge, N. J. Two regional seminars, for the Southeastern Seaboard and East Central Regions, were held in the spring of 1947. Educational work was further advanced by the tours of the delegates from the Moatzath Hapoaloth, Mrs. Beba Idelson and Miss Rivka Yoffe, and by numerous lecturers and speakers who toured the country.

Campaigns to support activities and institutions in Palestine were conducted by several groups. The American Fund for Palestinian Institutions, supporting 86 cultural, educational and social welfare groups, on March 26 launched a nationwide drive for $1,065,000. Junior Hadassah, at its 22nd annual convention in November 1947, inaugurated a campaign for $400,000 to finance youth welfare and educational activities. Half of the sum will be used to expand facilities of a children's village operated by the organization. Mizrachi, at its annual convention in November, announced that $1,000,000 of its annual budget would go to Mizrachi projects in Palestine.