



# PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

יידישער וועלטקאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

CABLE: WORLDGRESS MONTREUX

TELEPHONE: MONTREUX 6 37 81

MONTREUX,

PALACE HOTEL

27th June 1948.

## WORLD INTEREST IN THE MONTREUX ASSEMBLY OF THE

### WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Telegrams and messages from all over the world are pouring in at the Montreux offices of the World Jewish Congress.

In a cable to Dr. Stephen Wise, President of the World Jewish Congress, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of the State of Israel, and Mr. Moshe Shertok, its Foreign Minister said:

"Please accept on behalf of the Provisional Government of Israel our heartiest greetings. We beg to express the hope that the Congress may be successful in its efforts to uphold Jewish honour and Jewish rights wherever they may be in jeopardy."

The Provisional Government, the message added, "was happy to accord the fullest facilities to Israeli Organisations wishing to attend the Second Plenary Assembly."

A joint message sent by the Chief Rabbis Herzog and Uziel of Palestine read: "May the blessing of the Torah, of Zion and of Jerusalem, the blessings of the State of Israel rest upon you. May the Almighty grant you to achieve great things in this fateful hour for our people."

Mr. Israel Goldstein, President of the World Confederation of General Zionists and Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal of America, stated in a telegram sent to Dr. Stephen Wise that "the present Assembly of the Congress gives a significant opportunity to review the position of the Jewish people and to renew the fellowship broken by the war." The message concluded: "All Zionists should welcome the Assembly as an important instrument of Jewish collective security and survival."

Diplomatic representatives of twelve countries, including Israel, are scheduled to attend the opening ceremony of the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress due to open at Montreux on June 27th. The remaining eleven countries whose envoys will be present are Bolivia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Poland, Switzerland, United Kingdom and Yugoslavia.



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NOT FOR RELEASE BEFORE 4 p.m.

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SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY OF WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

OPENS AT MONTREUX

Inaugural address by Dr. Stephen S. Wise

President of the World Jewish Congress

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the World Jewish Congress, to-day opened the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress in Montreux. "We meet in this Second Session as the representatives of Jewish communities in more than sixty countries throughout the world", Dr. Stephen S. Wise said. "We therefore can safely claim to speak for the largest majority of our fellow-Jews. Indeed, because of the democratic and representative manner in which the World Jewish Congress is constituted, it is not we who speak for them. It is rather they who, through us, speak to the world."

Dr. Wise went on to say that throughout twelve bitter and indescribable years in which through every manner of brutality and savagery the numbers of the Jewish people had been reduced by one-third or more, the truth which the World Jewish Congress had dared to proclaim in 1936, has been learned anew. That truth was that although Jews welcomed and cherished the friendship and good-will of all peoples and faiths they must, in the end, depend upon themselves. If the Jewish people had survived these twelve terrible years, they owed their survival not to the friendly intervention of any group or race or church but to their own faith and unshakable trust in the Divine Mercy, and to an unfaltering will, reinforced by collective and united purpose. The World Jewish Congress had represented and embodied that faith and determination to survive.

They were meeting, Dr. Wise said, in beautiful Switzerland, - a country which, they hoped, will regard as not the least of its claims to history the fact that it was the birth-scene of the modern Zionis movement fifty-one years ago. They were meeting neither to mourn nor yet to exult, but to plan for the future of the Jewish people outside the State of Israel. A future there would be. The question was whether that future was to be chaotic and unplanned or could be given purpose and meaning. "We must seek to ascertain how Israel and its people on the one hand, and Jews outside Israel on the other, shall inter-act for the maximum well-being of each. In a word, what are to become the responsibilities for Jewish survival which each of these Jewish groups must now bear, Jewry united in statehood in Israel and the Jewish people united in common purpose through the World Jewish Congress?"

There could be no doubt, Dr. Wise said, that the bond between the State of Israel and the Jews of the lands of exile would now be closer than ever. Jews everywhere would be eager to make their contribution to the development of the most thrilling experiment in human history: the re-birth of a people in their own land and of their own State after nearly two thousand years of dispersion. This was one of the most glorious moments in Jewish history. The State of Israel was established and would stand, politically recognised by two mighty nations, the United States of America and the Soviet Union and by several other States - morally by all men of goodwill and understanding everywhere. Jews hoped and prayed that the governments of the world, not least among them that of Great Britain, would soon match the moral recognition of the Jewish State by their constituted authorities.

The nations and the faiths of the world had two tremendous opportunities partially to atone for their crimes against the Jewish people. One was to enable the Jewish people to re-establish its own State. There were countries which by the assistance they were rendering Israel were earning an honoured place in the memory of the Jewish people. As an American, Dr. Wise said, he was happy that despite earlier vacillations his country had become a candidate for this position. But he was bound to say with the deepest hurt and regret that Great Britain which through Lord Balfour had won for itself one of the foremost places in the roll of honour of the Jewish people, was rapidly losing that position as a result of its pro-Arab policy.

The second opportunity which the world had was to make its reparation to the Jewish people by guaranteeing to the Jews, together with all other peoples, full equality in human rights wherever they may choose to dwell. To make certain that the world would pay this form of reparation was one of the purposes to which the World Jewish Congress was to-day dedicated.

Referring to the efforts of the World Jewish Congress during the war years to rescue Jews from destruction and death, Dr. Wise recalled that in 1932, and again after the advent of Hitler in 1933 he had warned against the war, then looming on the horizon and pressed for the preparation of the World Jewish Congress. "The truth of the matter

is that had we not created the World Jewish Congress in 1936, every hour since then would have found us under the inescapable necessity of creating it. In 1936 we dreamed of saving the Jews under Nazi rule. We failed to save millions of Jews, but we helped to save, in however decimated a form, the Jewish people. We failed to save Jews because the world would not heed our warnings. We helped to save the Jewish people because of the justice of our cause, because we battled unitedly and as a people for freedom, and because of the merciful help and strength which crowns every human fighter for the right."

What Jews in the lands of Nazi terror needed most desperately, Dr. Wise said, was a sense of unity, in equality and democracy, with their fellow-Jews throughout the world. That sense of unity and equality the World Jewish Congress tried, above all else, to provide. The most serious aspect of the Jewish tragedy was the failure or refusal of some Jews in many parts of the world and, he had to admit with shame, particularly in the United States, to recognize how desperate and fundamental was that need for Jewish unity. They were not unprepared to help - but only in the role of benefactors to the unfortunate. There were still too many ready to act as benefactors, but not enough prepared to serve as partners and comrades.

To have made possible and to have deepened the sense of unity and equality among Jews, Dr. Wise said, must be regarded as the supreme contribution of the World Jewish Congress.

They were assembled not simply to review a record or to analyze history. They were meeting to attempt to shape Jewish history. Among the tasks of this Assembly there ranked supreme consideration of the manner in which Jews everywhere could render the fullest support to the security and development of the State of Israel, such as was consistent with their obligations to the countries in which they lived; the deepening of the unity of the Jewish people; formulation of plans for the economic, social and cultural rehabilitation of Jews in many parts of the world, and the taking of measures to protect the very lives of tens of thousands of Jews in lands where their existence was to-day threatened.

They had maintained the unity of the World Jewish Congress during the twelve years past not because they had always shared the same views, the same hopes, the same ideas. As in 1936 they were coming to-day from all parts of the world in blazing scores of national loyalties, vast differences of political ideologies and of social views. But as Jews they were sharing common Jewish hopes, heritage and faith. They were sharing a common determination to survive, to live as a Jewish people, freely and equally, in dignity and self-respect, with all other peoples of the world.

"Let none of us be guilty of the sacrilege of permitting anything to impair our common task of assuring Jewish survival. As for the

State of Israel we have faith that it will prove equal to the prayers, challenges, the hopes and dreams of the Jewish people and of the friends of Israel throughout these past nineteen centuries."

In concluding Dr. Stephen S. Wise appealed to the nations and to Christendom "to maintain the peace of the world and to remember that justice to the Jewish people and Israel is an inescapable condition of such peace. Another assault on the Jewish people would be the prelude to the final destruction of democracy, of human freedom."

"To Israel, the people, I say : Be strong ! Unite and be not afraid. You are the sons and daughters of an heroic people, from the Maccabees of Modin to the Partisans of Warsaw and the Haganah of Israel. Take your inspiration and courage from that tradition. And be not afraid."

C2/E/KB/RF



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

MONTREUX 1948

Excerpts from the address of  
DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS,  
at its Session in Montreux, Switzerland, on Sunday,  
June 27, 1948.

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As President of the World Jewish Congress, I hereby  
declare this, its Second Session, to be open.

We meet in this Second Session as the representatives  
of the Jewish communities of more than 60 countries through-  
out the world. We therefore can safely claim to speak for  
the largest majority of our living fellow-Jews. Indeed,  
because of the democratic and representative manner in which  
the World Jewish Congress is constituted, it is not we who  
speak for them. It is rather they, who through us, speak  
to-day to the world.

This session of the World Jewish Congress follows its  
first and founding session at Geneva after a lapse of 12  
years, from 1936 to 1948. Despite the world cataclysm which  
made an earlier plenary session impossible, your officers have  
attempted to maintain during those lengthy years, the war  
years included, a continuity of responsibility and authority  
through special conferences and regional meetings such as  
those in Baltimore, Atlantic City, London and Paris.

These years have been beyond all question the most  
tragic of our tragic history. Through every manner of bru-  
tality and savagery, the numbers of the Jewish people have  
been reduced by one-third and more, 6,200,000 having been  
slain. During this period, the judgment and decision of  
the founders of the Congress have been abundantly vindicated.  
Throughout twelve bitter and indescribable years, we have  
learned anew the truth which we had dared to proclaim in  
1936 -- namely, that although we welcome and cherish the  
friendship and goodwill of all peoples and faiths, we must  
in the final analysis depend on ourselves. The Jewish  
people has always had, and has everywhere, some understanding  
and friendly helpers. But, if we have survived these  
twelve terrible years, we owe our survival not to the friendly  
intervention of any group or race or church but to our own  
faith -- that faith which is in itself a miracle -- to  
our unshakeable trust in the Divine Mercy and to an unflin-  
g will reinforced by collective and united purpose. The  
World Jewish Congress has represented and embodied that faith  
and determination to survive and has served as the practical

vehicle for the fulfilment of that collective purpose.

We gather to-day in beautiful Switzerland, a country which we hope will regard as not the least of its claims to history, the fact that it was the birth-scene of the modern Zionist movement fifty-one years ago. We meet neither to mourn nor yet to exult. Our people has survived neither by mourning nor exultation, though our tradition has set aside appropriate occasions for each. We have survived because we have dedicated ourselves to creating, insofar as we could, the conditions of survival, spiritual no less than material. To-day we meet to plan for the future of the Jewish people outside of the State of Israel. A future there will be. The question is whether that future will be chaotic and unplanned, or whether through our common and collective effort and will, we can play some part in shaping that future and thereby giving it purpose and meaning.

The Jewish world has changed, tragically changed in some respects, miraculously in others. But its problems are almost unchanging, save for the one arising out of the millennially delayed establishment of the State of Israel. And in this regard our problem is not, as the timid forecast, to define and to set proper limitations to the relations between Jews within and Jews without the State of Israel. Rather, we must seek to ascertain how Israel and its people and Jews outside of Israel shall inter-act for the maximum well-being of each. In a word, what are to become the responsibilities for Jewish survival which each of these Jewish groups must now bear, Jewry united in statehood in Israel, and the Jewish people united in common purpose through the World Jewish Congress?

Let there be no dogmatising on this score. In a world of such rapid changes, nothing is as unpredictable as the status of the Jewish people, save for the fact that we shall survive. Certain it is, however, that the bond between the Yishuv that was, now transformed into the State of Israel, and the Jews of the lands of exile, will be closer than ever. A deep and unimpairable spiritual bond will be forged anew between us. Jews throughout the world will derive renewed spiritual sustenance and guidance from their fellow-Jews of the State of Israel. And all Jews everywhere will be eager to make their contribution to the development of the most thrilling experiment of human history, the re-birth of a people in their own land and of their own State after nearly two thousand years of dispersion.

Verily this is one of the most glorious moments in Jewish history. The State of Israel is established and it will stand. Politically it has been recognised by two mighty nations, the United States of America and the Soviet

Union and by several other States. Morally, it has been recognised by all men of goodwill and understanding everywhere. We hope and pray that the governments of the world, not least among them that of Great Britain, will soon match the moral recognition of Israel on the part of common men and women with the political recognition of the Jewish State by their constituted authorities.

I have already stated that we owe the smallest part of our survival to the generosity of other peoples and nations. Indeed, those countries which did not directly organise the murder of our fellow-Jews but acquiesced, through inaction and delay, in their destruction, were virtually accomplices in the greatest crime in history. Particularly, let me say, it will take centuries for Christendom to wipe out the stain of its record and conscience, the knowledge, which some day it will find unbearable, that it bears a major share of responsibility for the failure to have rescued so many of our people who perished.

The nations and the faiths of the world had, and can still have, two tremendous opportunities, partially to atone for their crimes against the Jewish people. I say, partially, because the crime was too vast and horrible ever to permit a full and complete atonement. One of these opportunities was to enable the Jewish people to re-establish its own State in its own land. That, they have so far largely failed to do. If to-day the State of Israel lives, it lives not because of the assistance of those who owe us atonement, but, in very great measure, despite them. That path however is still open. And let me say here that we Jews have the longest and most unforgetting memory of all peoples. Those who have helped Israel from Cyrus to Balfour have been enshrined with gratitude and thanksgiving in the storied annals of our people. Those who have wronged us from Amalek to Hitler have not only been remembered by us; their names have become for all mankind and for all time the very symbols of infamy and perfidy and evil. There are countries which by the assistance they are rendering Israel are earning an honoured place in our memory. As an American, I am happy that despite its earlier vacillations, my country has become a candidate for that position. I pray only that for Israel's good and America's, it will continue by its acts to maintain that position. But I must say with the deepest of regret and hurt that Great Britain which through Mr. Balfour won for itself one of the very foremost places in our roll of honour is rapidly losing that position as a result of its pro-Arab policy and is breeding deep resentment and bitterness in Jewish hearts where formerly there was gratitude and regard. For Britain's sake no less than for that of Israel we pray that it will speedily demonstrate its capacity to resume to give expression to the spirit of Balfour which was its best, rather than to the lack of spirit of those who have no tragically departed from that tradition.



Then, there is the second form through which the world can and must make its reparation to the Jewish people: by guaranteeing to us, together with all other people, full equality in human rights wherever we may choose to dwell, and by enacting those special and particular measures which are the inescapable necessities growing out of the particular catastrophe the Jewish people have suffered. To make certain that the world will pay this form of reparation is one of the purposes to which the World Jewish Congress is to-day dedicated. To-day and during the course of these sessions you will hear from Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Kubowitzki and others an account of what has been achieved in this direction and, much more important, of the work that yet remains to be done.

You will also hear of our efforts, alas! all too feeble and unsuccessful, to rescue our people from destruction and death. As early as 1932, and again after the formal advent of Hitler in 1933, I had predicted that world war would come and that we must begin to prepare for the organisation of the World Jewish Congress. Indeed, such had been my insistence since 1919 when our beloved Leo Motzkin brought about the establishment of the Comité des Délégations Juifs. The truth of the matter is that if we had not created the World Jewish Congress in 1936, every hour since then would have found us under the inescapable necessity of creating it.. In 1936, we dreamed of saving our people. We failed. But let the word of the poet never be forgotten: "Not failure, but low aim is crime".

We failed to save millions of Jews but we helped to save, in however decimated a form, the Jewish people. We failed to save Jews because the world would not heed our warnings. We helped to save the Jewish people because of the justice of our cause, because we battled unitedly and as a people for freedom and because of the merciful help and resistless strength which crowns every human battler for the right.

Time and again, we have had reason to thank God that the Congress has been established. They who looked upon the victims of Hitler as unfortunate human beings could not help or serve them as did we who felt with them and for them as the victims solely of their Jewishness, guilty of no other crime. They fared as we, in any other part of the world, might have fared, and for the same reason. They were Jews: we were and are Jews. They were a threat to the society which Nazism willed to establish. They were the victims of that which Hitler sought to destroy -- the hope of human freedom and justice, the sanities and sanctities of the democratic way of life.

The difficulties we faced were many and terrible. I name only two very great and difficult challenges: those that came from persons who feared that worse still might happen if they dared to challenge the powers of evil, and those who imagined that some manner of compromise or appeasement could somehow be found. Both were grievously mistaken. The worst was yet to come, irrespective of the decencies of mild protest. The devourers were unappeasable. The hopes of the cowardly to compromise, to appease, to surrender, proved unavailing.

Thus, there arose in our own Jewish ranks the tragedy of the unteachable, of Jewish impermeableness. That was and remains, though to a somewhat lesser degree to-day, the great Jewish tragedy of the ages. For an historic people like ourselves, it is remarkable that there should be so many in our midst who fail to understand the imperatives of history when they begin to approach us, and who are unable to understand their implications after they have engulfed us. For most of the years of the Hitler catastrophe, there was a never-ending failure on the part of so many of our people to unite for purposes worth while. We were all too prone to expend a vastness of strength and substance on pseudo-substitutes for defence and all too little on the genuine defence of our people. Need I remind you that a tiny fraction of the vast sums subsequently lost by Jews or of the collective fines levied on Jewish communities, willingly given and properly spent at the right time for the building of Palestine, for the fight against the then-developing Fascism in Europe, might have averted our and the world's catastrophe or considerably mitigated its severity. \*

But what our fellow-Jews in the lands of Nazi terror most desperately needed was a sense of achdut, of unity, in equality and democracy, with their fellow-Jews throughout the world. That sense of unity and equality is what the World Jewish Congress tried above all else to provide. The most serious aspect of the tragedy of Jewish unteachableness was the failure or the refusal of some Jews, Jews in many parts of the world and, I say with shame, particularly in my own country, to recognise and to see how desperate and fundamental was that need for a sense of Jewish unity. They were not unprepared to help; but only in the rôle of benefactors to the unfortunates. They were not prepared to accept that common and equal responsibility which a common fate should impose on Jews everywhere. And I regret to say that this aspect of Jewish unteachableness continues to plague us -- somewhat reduced it is true, but continuing nevertheless. There are too many who are ready to act as benefactors, but not enough who are prepared to serve as partners and comrades; too many who, though giving lip-service to the fact that we are one family, insist on acting the rôle of big brothers, generous but dominating.

To have made possible as early as 1936, to have continued to make possible and to deepen that sense of Jewish unity and equality, I regard as the supreme contribution of the World Jewish Congress. We do not claim that we were, or are to-day, fully equal to that great task. But we did what we could, and more, to bring about that unity at a time when our brothers were doubly forsaken, when they were not only doomed by Hitler but forgotten by virtually all the rest of the world. The maintenance and extension of that unity must continue to be the solemn and dedicated task of the World Jewish Congress.

We meet not simply to review a record or to analyse history. We meet, even more importantly, to help make records and to attempt to shape our history. During the course of this session, we shall consider all the vast and complex problems by which our people everywhere are still confronted: the manner in which we can render fullest support to the security and development of the State of Israel consistent with our obligations to the countries in which each of us lives; to evolve even more adequate forms for the deepening of the unity of the Jewish people; to formulate plans and programmes for the economic, social and cultural rehabilitation of our people in many parts of the world; to take measures to protect the very lives of tens of thousands of Jews in lands where their existence is to-day seriously threatened. We must, too, make certain that we organise ourselves administratively for the practical aspects of our work so that we best give effect to our purposes and responsibilities. Forms created as an experiment in 1936 or devised to meet the emergencies of later years are not necessarily adequate to cope with the realities of 1948. I pray that the Divine Will and inspiration which enabled our people to survive and to establish the Jewish State will grant us wisdom in our deliberations. For on their outcome will rest, in no small measure, the future of our people.

To the delegates to this session, I address an earnest and grave appeal. We have maintained the unity of the World Jewish Congress and of the Jewish people throughout these twelve years, not because we have always shared the same views, the same hopes, the same ideas. We came in 1936, as we come to-day, from all parts of the world. We embrace scores of national loyalties, vast differences of political ideologies, of social views. But we have maintained the unity of our people because, as Jews, we have shared common Jewish hopes, a common Jewish heritage, a common Jewish fate. We have shared, despite all our other differences, a common determination to survive and

to live as the Jewish people, freely and equally, in dignity and self-respect, with all other peoples of the world. Let us, in the name of the sacred responsibilities we bear, leave behind us at this session, all the differences which under other circumstances, in our own homes and lands, may divide us. Let none of us be guilty of the sacrilege of permitting anything to impair our common task of assuring Jewish survival. Let us render here to the Jewish people those things which as Jews we hold in common. Let us render elsewhere, and to others, those things ~~of which~~ in other capacities we differ.

.....

I close with a three-fold appeal, a three-fold affirmation. As for the State of Israel, I have faith -- I believe I have the right to say, we have faith -- that the State of Israel will prove equal to the prayers, the challenges, the hopes and dreams of the Jewish people and of the friends of Israel throughout these past nineteen centuries.

My second appeal is to the nations and to Christendom, an appeal to maintain the peace of the world and to remember that justice to the Jewish people and Israel is an unescapable condition of such peace. Have we and the world not suffered enough? Pray remember that another assault on the Jewish people would be the prelude to the final destruction of democracy, of human freedom.

To Israel, the people, I say. Be strong! Unite and be not afraid. You are the sons and daughters of an heroic people, from the Maccabees of Modin to the Partisans of Warsaw, and the Haganah of Israel. Take your inspiration and courage from that tradition. And be not afraid.



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27th June, 1948

27th June,

## OPENING ADDRESS

by

Dr. Nahum Goldman  
Chairman of the World Jewish Congress Executive Committee

In his opening address to the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, which was inaugurated at Montreux, Switzerland, on June 27th, Dr. Nahum Goldman, Chairman of the World Jewish Congress Executive Committee stressed that since the World Jewish Congress had met last in international Conference twelve years ago, the Jewish situation had been determined by two outstanding facts: the slaughter of one third of the Jewish people by the Nazi barbarians and the establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine.

The dramatic and speedy emergence of the State of Israel had fulfilled a hope which Jews held from time immemorial. But it did not mean the end of the diaspora and its problems. The fact was that for a long time to come the majority of Jews would live in dispersion. They would owe no allegiance to the State of Israel but would be loyal citizens of their own States. Just as there was no dual loyalty for the millions of Irishmen, Poles and Italians in America so there could be no dual loyalty for the Jews.

But at the same time Jews all over the world would have a sentimental and spiritual relationship to Israel. For this, too, there were many precedents among other peoples. In Israel the Jews of the world would find a potential home in case of persecution. Israel would also give the Jews a voice among the nations of the world and put an end to the anonymity of Jewish existence.

Referring to the future relationship between the Government of Israel and the World Jewish Congress, Dr. Goldman expressed the hope that the State of Israel would lend a helping hand in the defence of the Jewish position; its authority and presence in the United Nations



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

MONTREUX 1948

June 27th, 1948.

PRESENT DAY POSITION OF WORLD JEWRY.

Address given at the Opening Session

by

Dr. NAHUM GOLDMANN

Chairman of the Executive Committee.

It is almost sixteen years since, at the first preparatory Conference for the World Jewish Congress, held in the summer of 1932 in Geneva, it fell to me to make one of a series of speeches dealing with the general situation of the Jewish people in the world. In the further preparatory Conferences which followed, and at the session of the First World Jewish Congress in 1936, I made similar surveys of the Jewish position; the last time I did so was at the Emergency Conference of the World Jewish Congress in Atlantic City in 1944.

Those sixteen years since my first survey have seen the most startling, fundamental and far-reaching changes in Jewish life, and in the external and internal position of the Jewish people. Scarcely ever, in the long history of our people, has so short a period - a mere ten or fifteen years - seen events on the one hand so terrible and tragic, and on the other so heroic and ~~in~~ inspiring. These few short years have witnessed the greatest tragedy in Jewish history - the annihilation of more than one-third of our people by the Nazi barbarians and their allies. It has also seen the realisation of the most cherished dream of many generations of Jews: the proclamation and establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine - the State of Israel.

These are two revolutionary events: the one marking the climax of our Galuth tragedy, and the other the beginning of the

realisation of the most sacred ideal of our people. They are naturally the two governing facts in determining the position of the Jews in the world to-day. Both events are of so far-reaching importance and significance that it must take years, maybe generations, to evaluate their full meaning, and take stock of the tremendous consequences which they involve for our people, both as regards our internal structure and in our external relations. We who are still close to these events can only begin to realise their implications: we can try to find out their historical meaning for our own and future generations of Jews, to estimate their effect and to make a beginning with the readjustment of Jewish life and Jewish policies to these two governing factors. There is no problem of Jewish life to-day which will not be influenced, directly or indirectly, by them, in the most radical and far-reaching way. There is hardly a problem which is not already feeling their influence.

And so we must to-day begin to re-examine and reconsider all our usual methods of approach to our problems, trying to see the most sacred and unchanging values of Jewish life in the light of the two revolutionary changes of the last decade. This Second Session of the World Jewish Congress will have, of course, to take many organisational and internal decisions: but its main contribution to Jewish life, and the real meaning of its deliberations, will be found in its attitude towards the new situation, and in the guidance which it may be able to afford in the re-shaping of Jewish policy and actions under the impact of the two great happenings referred to above.

Since the proclamation of the State of Israel, this Session is the first great international Jewish gathering to meet and conduct its deliberations under the influence of what happened in Tel-Aviv on May 15th, 1948. It falls to me to make one of the first attempts to discuss Jewish problems in the light of these events. I say this to try and establish some claim on your indulgence if my remarks are far from exhaustive, if I leave gaps unfilled: all I can really do is to try to "think aloud", very hesitantly, about the impact of these events on our future. I am afraid that what I say will have all the inevitable shortcomings of any first attempt to discuss the most difficult and delicate problem of Jewish life to-day.

I think no-one here needs to be reminded that these two events - on the one hand the annihilation of six million Jews, and on the other the establishment of the State of Israel - provide the fullest confirmation of the analysis of the Jewish situation developed by the founders of modern Zionism - an analysis which underlay all my own past surveys of the subject, and which is to-day accepted not only by Zionist thinkers and speakers, but by the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people. This analysis is based on the assumption that the Jewish situation in the world must remain abnormal and tragic so long as it is determined solely by the fact of Jewish dispersion, so long as there is no real centre for our national existence, so long as we have no place in the world to

call our own - where we can live our own lives fully, after our own fashion, "like unto all the Nations." So long, in fact, as we are not recognised as an independent, sovereign State on a footing of equality with other sovereign states.

The terrible tragedy of the Hitler decade threw a ghastly but searching light on this abnormality of Jewish life: not even the most pessimistic analyst of the Galuth situation could have seen so clearly in the years before Hitler as we all do to-day. Had the Jewish people had the courage and imagination ever to envisage - as the remotest of possibilities - the massacre of six million Jews, it might have taken some precautions in time; it might have heeded the warnings the more clear-sighted of its leaders were already giving; it might have organised its fight against Hitlerism before it was too late, and while the hydrahead was still weak enough to be crushed without the catastrophe of a world war. Yet perhaps one had to be something of a Nazi oneself to be able to envisage the possibility of gas-chambers and concentration camps before they happened. Perhaps it was not only lack of courage and imagination, but also innate decency and a deep faith in human nature - what a German philosopher has called "the cursed optimism of the Jewish people" - which prevented the Jewish masses, and many Jewish leaders, from admitting even to themselves that such catastrophes might happen.

This is not the place for recriminations; nor have I any wish to make them. It is easy to say now that we should have reacted more vigorously in the early stages of Hitlerism. The Secretary-General's report will tell you much about these "sins of omission" - some of them dating from a time when the process of annihilation was already well under way, but when, with a little more civic courage and daring in our policies, very large numbers of Jews might still have been saved.

To a greater or less degree, we are all responsible for these things: it was the tragic short-sightedness of a people which had got used to its abnormal situation, and which, confronted with a danger of unprecedented character and dimensions, could react only by the usual routine methods. More important than any admission of our past failures, is to apply to our future the tremendous results of the greatest tragedy in Jewish history.

The annihilation of more than one-third of the Jewish people has, first of all, reduced our manpower to an extent unparalleled in human history save perhaps in the dark and barbarous epochs when whole tribes or small nations were massacred by their savage conquerors. It is easy to say we have lost six million Jews, but it takes a sustained effort of daring imagination to visualise the real meaning of the words. If not for the remarkable vitality of our people, for our stubbornness, our will to survive, such mass slaughter might have meant the complete disintegration of our people as a people.



If there is one ray of consolation in all this ghastly story of the decade of Hitler, it is the magnificent evidence it offers of Jewish vitality, and of our determination to survive all attempts to destroy us. If Jews in the United States and many other countries are to-day much more fully conscious of their Jewish identity and their Jewish responsibilities than they used to be, it is to a large degree due to the lessons forced upon them by the horrible tragedy enacted before their very eyes, and which they were powerless to prevent. Another striking proof of our will to live is provided to anyone who visits the D.P. camps. Hitler annihilated millions of individual Jews; he did not succeed in annihilating the Jewish people: he neither broke our will to life, nor delivered any mortal blow to the soul or spirit of Jewry. From the larger, historical, viewpoint, he failed. Am Israel chaj.

But we are greatly weakened not only in numbers. It is not only that Hitler has destroyed six million Jewish men and women and children; he has also destroyed the most important centres of Jewish life in Europe. The great cultural and religious centres of Jewish life in the Diaspora - Warsaw and Vilna, Telsch and Voloshin, Lvov and Cracow, Breslau and Berlin, Jassy and Budapest (to mention only a few) - were not just agglomerations of large numbers of Jews; they were mainsprings of Jewish culture and tradition and civilisation, of religion and literature, of the most important political movements in Jewry; They were the sources of most of the constructive, creative ideas of Jewish life in past generations. Even worse is the thought that such centres can never be rebuilt as they once were. It had taken generations of Jews, centuries of Jewish creative thought and work to make them, and though all marvel and admire the great efforts already made, specially in Eastern Europe, by the Jewish survivors to rebuild something of their lost lives, also they deserve and will get all possible support from the Jewish people as a whole, it is obvious that, if only from lack of numbers, there is no real prospect of rebuilding - at least for us of this and the coming generation - anything remotely approaching the colossal moral and spiritual forces which were centred in these countries before the Nazi massacre.

The destruction of these centres was - inhuman though it may sound to say it - even more of a blow to our existence as a people than the massacre of many million of our brethren. As I said, these centres cannot be rebuilt as and where they were, and I doubt whether they can be re-created elsewhere in the Diaspora (I will speak of Israel later).

There is in the Diaspora of the Western Hemisphere a great revival, not only of Jewish consciousness, but also to some degree of Jewish creativeness, and everything must be done to strengthen and encourage these creative tendencies. When we come to discuss the tasks before the World Jewish Congress in the immediate future, this will form one of the main subjects for our attention and decision. But American Jewry can never take the place of Polish Jewry; Argentine Jewry cannot deputise for Lithuanian, and so on. For the creation

of the things of the spirit depends on more than will-power and the desire to create them. It is an historical process, involving the prolonged labour of many generations, a long line of tradition, a continuity, all together producing a specific "climate" which does not, and for long cannot, exist in the new conglomerations of Jewish life in the West. Therefore I say that, at least for many generations to come, there is no chance of re-constructing our moral and spiritual sources as they were; we must do whatever we can to build new centres, but we must from the start realise their inevitable limitations.

I stress this point in order to impress upon you - if that be needed - the grave dangers inherent in the irrevocable facts just recorded. The Hitler decade, with its annihilation of six millions of our small people, is a grave threat to our existence, - a threat to our ability to maintain our identity as a people. In the Diaspora, the permanent danger to Jewish life has always been the fact of our dispersion and disintegration. The more dispersed and disintegrated we are, the more difficult it becomes for us to maintain our solidarity as Jews, our unity as a collective entity. Five small communities can do far less than one large one. So the destruction of powerful and distinguished Jewish communities like the Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, Lithuanian and German, intensified this threat to our existence. Fortunately, Jewish history has provided us with one great new Jewish community - that built up in the last few generations in America. Seen as a whole, however, the safeguarding of our national identity is a much more difficult task today than it was before the Hitler decade.

There is another element in the present world situation which further increases this danger. We live in revolutionary times; new ideas are everywhere fighting to find concrete expression. Without expressing any opinion here on the merits of the various contending theories and systems, it must be clear to every thoughtful observer that we are headed towards a period of widespread ideological and political conflict and upheaval, even though - as we hope and pray - everything possible will be done to prevent it from degenerating into a shooting war. Whatever our opinions as to the various ideologies, it must be clear to everyone that we are not living, and for some time to come cannot hope to live, in a stable world. Perhaps the two great world wars were only the expression of revolutionary changes in the world. The next period will be one of instability, dissensions, new ideas of all kinds - political, economic, social, cultural, religious - which will make it impossible to maintain the status quo, and to prevent great developments and changes.

As human beings and citizens of the world, we may welcome such developments or fear them; but however we feel about them, we have to realise the dangers inherent in them for the Jews as a people. If I here point out three such inherent dangers, it is not in order to advise the Jews to hold aloof from the current of world affairs: as heirs of an ancient civilisation - grandsons of the prophets -

we have to play our part and make our contribution with the other peoples of the world. I point them out to you today that we may be fully aware of them, and may take what precautions we can to reduce their gravity, and if possible counteract their effect upon our future as a people.

One danger flows from the fact that, whenever the world is in a state of instability and flux, of dissension, conflict and chaos, minorities are bound to be the first to suffer - and none is so vulnerable as the Jews. In the fight against new ideas, reactionaries - defenders of the past - must always seek a scapegoat - and who more likely than the Jewish people, the classic scapegoat and object of attack from time immemorial for every reactionary movement in the world? In a world so unstable as ours to-day - and in the immediate future - anti-semitism is almost bound to become a permanent feature. You will hear during the present Session reports of anti-semitic movements, of the revival of anti-semitism, in many countries, among them lands where anti-semitism was formerly almost an unknown phenomenon - for instance Great Britain. In the United States, anti-semitism is stronger to-day than maybe at any other period of its history; and though it is certainly not an immediate danger to the great and strong Jewish community there, it is still strong enough to constitute a serious problem, and to do away with any facile notion that the democratic constitution and traditions of the American people are in themselves a permanent guarantee for Jewish life and equality of citizenship in that country. You will hear, too about anti-semitism in Latin-American countries, where new Jewish communities are beginning to make a notable contribution to Jewish life as a whole. I do not have to speak in detail about the grave situation of the Jews in Moslem countries, in some of which they have for long lived under discriminatory regimes, and where the Palestine issue is now creating new dangers to their existence. You will also hear about not the revival, but the undiminished persistence of Nazi anti-semitism in Germany and Austria, which may overnight grow into a great and serious danger - especially in view of certain tendencies to permit the re-emergence of a strong Germany. I hope the Jewish people has learned from the last fifteen years not to deal lightly with anti-semitism, not to regard it as an isolated local phenomenon, for which antiquated and piecemeal methods are still adequate. Anti-semitism always was, and to-day is more than ever, a general political phenomenon. It is one of the most popular disguises of reactionaries, Nazis and Fascists everywhere, one of the most formidable weapons for all aggressive movements. It has therefore to be dealt with by political methods: first by united action, by co-ordination of all efforts to fight it, and secondly by seeking the help of all progressive elements in the struggle. Anti-semitism can never be dealt with adequately if it is regarded as a purely Jewish problem. It is much more a problem of world politics than a specifically Jewish one, and it is only with the help of all democratic, liberal and progressive forces in the world that there is any chance of striking at it effectively, and preventing

in the future catastrophes such as the one through which we have passed in the last decade or so.

Another consequence of the general world situation and its impact on our people is that revolutionary tendencies, and great political and moral movements in the world, are always apt to attract Jewish youth and Jewish intelligence: they draw the devotion and sympathy of large numbers of our people. We are not ashamed of it; on the contrary, as a people we have always been proud of our contribution to the life and thought of the civilised world. If there is something unique, something singular, about the life of the Jewish people, if there is a Jewish problem not comparable to the problem of any other people in the world, it is partly just because of the role we have played in all kinds of historical movements and causes - a role much greater than our numbers or political strength would suggest. The Jewish people has no intention of retreating to a self-imposed ghetto in the countries of the Diaspora, or of renouncing either its ability or its eagerness to play its part in the great movements which strive today to build a better world, a safer world, a happier world, based on a greater degree of social and political equality than the past centuries have shown. But the fact that these tendencies have so great an attraction for many of the best elements of our people should not distract our attention from the difficulty which this creates in the maintenance of our identity as a people. Most of our contributions to such world developments - except the contribution yet to be made in our own State of Israel (and one important *raison d'être* for a Jewish State is precisely this unique opportunity it would provide for us) - are made not simply as Jews, but as members of general or group movements. The stronger the attraction, the greater the strength and élan of such ideas, the firmer their hold on the devotion and imagination of sections of our people, the easier does it become for these sections to become submerged in the larger stream, losing their connection with the Jewish people and even their identity as Jews. How to strengthen this sense of identity without abandoning our justifiable desire to participate in all forces engaged in the building of a better world, is one of the great problems of Jewish life in the Galuth; and as long as the greater part of our people still live in the diaspora (and this means certainly for us and our children), this problem will remain one of the great spiritual and moral problems of our life. There is no easy solution, and certainly no wholesale formula for solving it; but it has to be constantly borne in mind so that we recognise the dangers inherent in it and the difficulties it must create for us.

Here I would like to make one more observation, and I hope not to be misunderstood. One of the most tragic results of this characteristic aspect of our time is the unfortunate tendency of the world to split into two. I am not taking sides in this split, and I do not think it can be the duty of the World Jewish Congress, as representing the Jewish people, to take sides. What we are concerned with as Jews, and as a people, is the tragic effect of this split,

which will, I fear, continue for some while to come. It was never easy to build one world, it is less easy than ever in the unstable and revolutionary times in which we live. We are deeply interested in overcoming it; No people of the world is so vitally concerned about the hope of one united world, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations, as we - the predestined victims of every conflict. But a split is a fact, and so long as it is not healed, there is a permanent and grave danger in it - the danger of a split within our own people. Nothing could be more catastrophic for us than such development: It would mean the end of Jewish co-operation, of Jewish solidarity and of collective action by and for the Jewish people. We have survived as a People just because we have so far performed the miracle of preserving our solidarity and our identity despite all the disruptive tendencies of the Diaspora life, - frontiers, differences of political allegiance, of language, of cultural orientation, of social outlook, of ideological convictions - because these difficulties were not strong enough to tear across inherent feeling of solidarity between Jews all over the world - their sense of belonging to one Jewish People.

It does not matter in this respect, how we define our Jewish identity. Ideological discussions as to whether we are a Nation or a People, a religion or a race, a community of destiny or a cultural entity, are fine subjects for philosophers and debating clubs. But they do not go to the root of the matter, which is the basic fact of Jewish solidarity and the Jewish sense of being part of the one collective entity called the Jewish People. If this ends, then our existence as a people in the Diaspora would end, and therefore I take this grave view of the danger to us which flows from the 'split-world' of to-day. It is a great tribute to Jewish vitality and Jewish statesmanship that so far we have managed to overcome it. Of the many gratifying aspects of this gathering of the Second Session of the World Jewish Congress, nothing is more gratifying than the fact that we to-day represent both halves of the world: for the first time since 1939, in the midst of all the tumults and shouting of the 'cold war', we are met here together - Jews from all Eastern European countries, Jews from all Anglo-Saxon countries - and Jews from all the other countries which lie between those two worlds. I want to say here - as I have to say - how deeply we regret that one great Jewish community - that of Soviet Russia - is not represented here to-day. We have done our best to have them with us; we understand their difficulties in coming and - optimists as we are - we do not give up hope that very soon they will be able to come into this framework of World Jewry which we call the World Jewish Congress, taking their rightful place and making their contribution not only as they do to-day on their own account, but as one of the essential parts of a united Jewish people. If the World Jewish Congress still needed a *raison d'être*, this alone would justify and necessitate its existence. The fact that there is a world Jewish organisation which comprises communities from both halves of the world, and

creates a framework for their co-operation - for exchange of views, for shared thought, for fighting with one another if needs be, but at the same time for pooling their resources and strength to deal with common Jewish problems, to fight common enemies, and able all to continue to represent the Jewish people theoretically and in action - is an essential factor in maintaining our unity as a people.

I say this in order to beg of you that, in the coming discussions and decisions, you should bear in mind that, above all differences (which are inevitable), we must stick together and act as representatives of one people, and not allow any kind of difference to destroy this unity, which is much more than a matter of prestige or even of the existence of our organisation. It is the greatest of our inheritances from past generations, the result of the miraculous performance of the Jewish people through 2000 years of exile - an inheritance which our generation must hold dear and develop. If we harm this inheritance, and split our people, we shall be delivering a mortal blow at our own hearts, and should become the first generation to betray the proudest achievement of our ancestors. More than ever after the great tragedy of the Hitler decade must our people close its ranks, and do everything, ideologically and organisationally, to strengthen and manifest its unity.

Now I come to the other great fact of the last period - no less important in its positive aspect than the Hitler decade in its negative aspect - a fact hoped for and dreamed of from time immemorial, but realised with dramatic speed. It is still so close to us that it is not easy to speak of it without emotion, still less to try and estimate the force of its impact, its meaning, and its consequences for Jewish life. The establishment of the State of Israel means the beginning of the normalisation of our existence as a people; it does not mean the immediate end of the Jewish problem. There are no miracles in history; there is no historical process which does not require its proper time. The proclamation of our State does not mean the end of the Diaspora, and I could wish that in a time like ours, when we face great developments and great changes, we might be able to reduce the ideological debates and discussions of which we are masters. To overdo such discussions is one of the characteristics of the Galuth. Living for centuries the life of the Ghetto, unable to establish their own realities for themselves, the Jews have been the objects of history rather than its subjects. They have depended for their lives, for the form of their existence, on the good or ill-will of their neighbours and protectors, of the nations among whom they lived. So far as our own life was concerned, we have been reduced to the world of thought and dialectic, of poetry and dreams, and have therefore over-developed the art of ideological discussion and purely logical, abstract argumentation. How often do we split on purely theoretical definitions. How often do we discover that, once we leave the field of such abstract ideology, and approach a problem from its practical angle, we are able to unite, despite

all theoretical differences. I am not of those who have no respect for ideological differences. I know that ideologies are among the main instruments given us to shape realities. But what we are here for is to do actual work in shaping realities for the Jewish people. Therefore I plead for a minimum of ideological discussions and a maximum of realistic and practical approach to the problems we have to face.

I say this as the first of my observations on the problems involved in the establishment of the State of Israel, in order to warn this Session not to indulge in unnecessary discussions between Zionists and non-Zionists; between those who have a positive relation to the Golah and those who reject it. Those who affirm the Golah no longer and deny the necessity and the wisdom of having also a Jewish State in Palestine, and those who dislike the Golah and reject it must realise that it does not depend on their will to abolish the Diaspora for the next few generations of Jewry. What will happen afterwards may safely be left to our children and our grand-children, and though I do not deny that our approach to the diaspora ideology may have some bearing on the practical problems and policies, I do not over-estimate its impact on them, and am convinced that, once put on a practical basis, it will not be too difficult to work out common lines of policy. The fact is that for a long time to come, the majority of our people will live in the Golah. The fact is also that those Jews living outside the State of Israel will continue to owe their allegiance to the states whose loyal citizens they are, and I think it is both in the interests of our people, and of the State of Israel, to make as clear as possible what has always been said in unmistakable terms before the State was established: that this state will be composed of citizens like every other normal state, and that Jews outside the State, not being its citizens, will owe no political allegiance to it. The bogey of dual loyalty, which some reactionary non-Zionists - learning nothing and forgetting nothing - are trying to raise in some countries, should thus be disposed of from the very first moment. There are many similar and parallel cases to this of the Jews abroad in their relation to the State of Israel: there are millions of Irishmen in America, millions of Poles, millions of Italians. For them there is no problem of dual loyalty; and there is none for us. But at the same time, it is natural - and every decent non-Jew will understand - that Jews all over the world will have a special sentimental and spiritual relationship to the State of Israel; will help it financially and morally; will do everything to further its development; will help to train such Jews as desire to go to Palestine, and to prepare them for their life there. The Jewish people everywhere will also, quite naturally, regard Israel as a spiritual and cultural centre of Jewish life, and be largely influenced by its spiritual achievements. For all this again there are many precedents among other peoples, and the issue raised is not specifically Jewish.

The main significance of the creation of the State of Israel is not that it will solve the Jewish problem overnight; so long as

as Jewish minorities remain in many countries of the world, the problems of anti-semitism, of discrimination, of securing their position, will remain as actual as ever before. There is no contradiction between the Jewish State on the one hand, and the safeguarding of Jewish rights and position, and the strengthening of Jewish life in the Diaspora on the other. The theory of many anti-Zionists that Zionism aims at the annihilation of the Diaspora was always sheer nonsense, - a silly or malicious misconception.

The State of Israel requires a strong Jewish Diaspora, just as the Jewish Golah requires the State of Israel. The greatest reserve line in support of this Jewish State, which will have in its early years tremendous difficulties to overcome, will for years to come be a strong and united Jewish people in the Diaspora, ready to support it morally, spiritually, and practically. The existence of the State of Israel, on the other hand, will immediately relieve us of many Galuth problems, and in the long run provide a solution of such problems as Jewish migration, persecution etc. Above all, it will give the Jewish people a voice among the nations of the world, and put an end to the anonymity of Jewish existence. But it would be naive to believe that the creation of the State will resolve all the detailed problems of Jewish life overnight. It is quite enough if it does what it is doing for the solution of the essential Jewish problem. This problem was the lack of a normal centre for our existence as a people; the lack of a home where a Jew could go if he wished or was obliged; the lack of the possibility of appearing as a nation recognised by other nations of the world; the anonymity of our existence - what Pinsker called "the ghost-like existence of our people." All these fundamental aspects of what was the Jewish problem are being removed by the creation of the State. It normalises our existence. It makes us fundamentally a people like any other. The world now sees for the first time (to mention only one striking expression of this fact) Jews fighting as Jews, and I venture to say - and in this I am sure I do not speak only as a Zionist in the narrow sense of the word - that nothing has so increased Jewish prestige and respect for our people for the last two thousand years as the phenomenon of a Jewish fighting army defending Jewish soil and Jewish honour: identified under their own flags, as Jews.

This colossal contribution to the life of our generation and the history of our people is made by the establishment of the State of Israel. Its creation will involve many changes - organisational and ideological - in the life of the Jews. The meaning of Zionism will have to be re-defined. In the last few years Zionism has become a matter of vital interest for the overwhelming majority of Jews, whether they pay the shekel or not. The existence, future, and prosperity of the State of Israel are and will remain the concern of the same overwhelming majority of Jews. In these circumstances, what does it mean to be a Zionist? I do not mean by this that the Zionist organisation should be dissolved. For a long time to come it will have to deal with important agenda - financial help, preparation of immigrants, training chalutzim, and mobilising



of the people in support of the State of Israel, and similar problems. It will be for the appropriate Zionist bodies, the Actions Committee and the next Zionist Congress, to define the limit between the Government of Israel and the Zionist Organisation; to define the scope and activities of the re-organised Zionist Organisation; to decide on the important problem of how former non-Zionists who want to make their contribution, shall now be brought into the work, now that the Jewish Agency as constituted under the Mandate has ended its former existence.

All these are problems which may be of interest to us here, but which can naturally not be decided by anybody other than the appropriate Zionist organs. What is of greater immediate importance to us here is the possibility which the State of Israel will have of lending us, in the World Jewish Congress, a helping hand in the defence of Jewish positions. We hope that at the next Assembly, the State of Israel will be admitted to the United Nations, so that when in future Jewish problems requiring United Nations action arise, there will be, I hope, at least one official representative of the State of Israel at the Council Table, ready to speak out and take care of them. But again, we should not regard the State of Israel, *eo ipso*, as the formal representative and spokesman of Jewish communities in the Diaspora, which it cannot be - in its own interests as well as in those of the communities themselves. Just as Jews in the Diaspora, without any political tie-up with the State, will be entitled and able to look to the State for moral support, in the same way the State will have the right to give the moral support of its authority and presence in the United Nations to the justified complaints and claims of Jewish communities in the Diaspora, or to general Jewish demands of the Jewish people; but directly the Jews of the Diaspora are admitted - as they must be - to have no political ties with Israel, it becomes clearly impossible for Israel to act on their behalf.

From this it follows that there can be no contradiction between the State of Israel (and our natural obligations to support it) and the need for an organisation of world Jewry to act for Jewish communities whenever necessary, and for the Jewish people when desired. The future of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, and the future of the State of Israel, alike require close relations of trust of mutual help, of interest, of co-operation in many cases; but at the same time they will be distinct and different entities: the State representing its citizens and speaking for them, the World Jewish Congress representing the Jewish people and speaking for them - so far as authorised to do so.

All this leads me to the conclusion of my remarks. Both the analysis of the tragedy of Jewish life in the last fifteen years, and this preliminary evaluation of the greatest creative achievement in Jewish life - the establishment of the State - lead to the same conclusion: the necessity of maintaining and strengthening an organism which will express the unity of the Jewish people

and which can speak and act on its behalf. I wish that this problem, too, may be dealt with in a practical way. Certain critics in American Jewry have developed a new bogey: Galuth nationalism. They are ready to acquiesce in, or even welcome, the existence of the Jewish State, but maintain their stubborn opposition to an organisation like ours, basing themselves on their dislike of what they call "Galuth nationalism". It is yet another of those bogeys which confuse Jewish life, and I regret that distinguished leaders of American Jewry like the President of the American Jewish Committee, who have taken up the right attitude with regards to the Jewish State, still seem to remain imbued with this confusing the nonsensical idea of "Galuth nationalism."

The World Jewish Congress does not intend to represent, still less to create, a Jewish political nation in the Diaspora. So far as the Jews are a nation, in the legal and political meaning of this term, the Jewish nation is represented by the Jewish citizens of the State of Israel. As I said before, the definition of what constitutes a Jew is unimportant for the problem of the World Jewish Congress. Whatever we are by theoretical definition (I personally believe, and have long believed, that there is no non-Hebrew term defining properly the collective entity called the Jewish people), what is essential is to recognise that this entity has the right and the duty to organise itself for common activity and to do it, in an open, public, and organised manner.

Where is it laid down that only "nations" have international organisations? Are there no international organisations representing churches, social groups, trade unions, writers, and all kinds of collective conglomerations of individuals, based on professional, social and other common interests? If we recognise that there are problems common to Jews all over the world, which are best dealt with by common approach, by co-operation and co-ordination, the existence of the World Jewish Congress is fully justified, and is indeed essential. As a matter of fact, the opponents of the Congress admit both assumptions. They admit the existence of common Jewish interests, and even the need of common action. What they object to is the existence of one organisation - they would rather do it by some form of permanent co-operation between many organisations. They have even gone so far as to forget their opposition to the principle of a world Jewish organisation when they tried to get consultative status with the United Nations. Three of these bodies, outstanding opponents of the principle of one world Jewish organisation, have created an ad hoc committee, pretending to be a world organisation, since they could not hope for admission otherwise. With no desire to indulge in polemics, or to offend anyone, may I ask in all fairness of men like the President of the American Jewish Committee and the Anglo-Jewish Association, why it should be permissible and fair for them to establish themselves as parts of an international body for the sake of securing United Nations recognition, and unfair to do it for the sake of serving the Jewish people and discharging important duties to the Jewish people? The whole discussion is really meaningless. The exigencies of Jewish life have brought about practical recognition by everyone of the

existence of common Jewish problems and the need for trying to solve them by common action. What our opponents still fear is taking the last step: admitting the need for an efficient international world organisation acting for these common interests.

I am convinced that the time is not far off when they, too, will have to take this last step - just as the so-called non-Zionists of the Jewish Agency of yesterday have adopted the programme of the Jewish State (late indeed, but not too late), so they will now have to adopt, I hope again not too late, the principle of a world Jewish organisation.

This does not mean Galuth Nationalism; it does not mean the existence of a political Jewish nation in the Diaspora; it does not mean, either, any abolition of the full autonomy of individual Jewish communities. The World Jewish Congress has never tried to interfere with such autonomy. It is an organisation of voluntary affiliations, of autonomous Jewish communities and organisations, freely joined in one world organisation to deal with common problems. It is obvious that no internal Jewish problem, or political problem of a Jewish community in any country of the world, is within the jurisdiction of the World Jewish Congress. There is not one case in all the twelve years of its existence where Congress has made the slightest attempt to interfere with the internal problems of any of its constituent Jewish communities - not to speak of trying to interfere in the political problems of Jewish communities - their allegiance to various political parties, and so on. The World Jewish Congress does not even act internationally, or with regard to various Governments, on behalf of any community unless asked by that community to do so. The Congress is an organ of the Jewish people, and its parts; it acts when asked by those parts to do so. At the same time, respect for the autonomy and identity of individual Jewish communities and their organisations cannot go so far as to deny and destroy the principle of common action. If certain Jewish bodies refuse to join the Congress because they would lose their identity, and desire to insist on a form of co-operation in which every action has first to be discussed by all the co-operating bodies, every document submitted has to be signed by all these bodies, then the principle of common action becomes ludicrous and impossible, because such procedure presumes that what is valid for one Jewish community must be valid for them all. If, for instance, the Board of Deputies of British Jews (whom we would be delighted to see amongst us) - I quote them only as an example - were to insist on being free to decide whether or not to participate in a given action at every stage, and on signing every document to be presented to Governments or international bodies, then all the sixty Jewish organisations represented in this Session would have to have the same right, because there cannot be special privileges for privileged Jewries. This, I feel, would make all real co-operation impossible, and involve the creation of machinery so cumbersome that no effective work could ever be done. The only way to efficient action is for us all to join

in one organisation, maintaining the identity of the national Jewish organisations within the jurisdiction of their national activities, but at the same time regarding them as parts of the larger body for whatever action may need to be taken on an international scale.

Here I want to speak quite frankly. The time is past when privileged Jewries in Western Europe or America could arrogate to themselves the right to intervene on behalf of so-called less privileged communities in Central or Eastern Europe, North Africa, or Latin America - to act as their "benefactors". The time when English Jews, or certain groups of American Jews could claim to be authorised (by whom?) to act as the natural protectors of the poor East European Jews has passed away these thirty or forty years, and the sooner these groups recognise it the better.

Rumanian, Polish or other Jewish communities maintain, rightly, that they do not want to be "protected" by anybody, but can be represented only by an organisation representing the whole Jewish people, of which they are themselves constituent members. If certain Jewish bodies prefer not to join a single organisation together with the rest of the Jewish world, it is naturally their right to refrain; but the other Jewish communities are surely then entitled to ask them, firmly and politely, not to intervene on their behalf, and not to play, unasked, the part of stadlonim or unwanted benefactors. If they want to help other Jewish communities, they must do it on an equal footing with them as part of the same organisation. Incidentally, I really do not know which, in the world of to-day, are the more, and which the less, privileged Jewish communities. I would not dare to say which Jewish communities will need to be defended by the Jewish people as a whole ten or twenty years hence. And this refers to all Jewish communities in the world, without any exceptions. The experience of the last fifteen years should have taught us this lesson, even if the pride of some Jewish groups may be hurt by such a statement of facts. Our slogan can only be: mutual help by all Jewish communities, all equal, all part of one people, all co-operating in a common organisational framework.

I do not want in this opening address to enter into any discussion of the concrete programme and detailed tasks which await the World Jewish Congress. I am sure that this Session will discuss these matters fully, and that differences of opinion will develop - especially with regard to questions of relief and the concrete work of reconstruction. But I am sure that everyone will agree that the World Jewish Congress must concentrate on two major problems: political work to safeguard Jewish positions and secure the status of Jewish communities all over the world, especially in view of the grave dangers which menace us; and secondly, cultural work. More than ever to-day it is necessary to initiate and coordinate a programme

of constructive activities, to rebuild Jewish cultural institutions, bring up Jewish boys and girls in knowledge of and respect for the Jewish past, and for the great treasures of Jewish history and cultural achievements. It is not only a problem of rebuilding Jewish cultural and religious institutions in Europe; there is a similar problem in Latin America (which is becoming more and more important as a centre of Jewish life in the Diaspora, and where the situation in this respect, especially in the smaller countries, is very unsatisfactory). It is a problem for the larger Jewish communities in North Africa and the Near East, communities with great and proud Jewish traditions which have to be preserved and handed down to succeeding generations. This problem is so important, and so difficult, that it cannot be left to every community to act on its own, though naturally the main contribution will have to be made by the various communities on the spot. But especially the smaller communities cannot well be left alone to cope with this task - not only financially, but also spiritually. What is no less essential is to co-ordinate the broad lines of activity in these fields in the various countries, work out a common programme in which all sections and groups in Jewish life can co-operate. Different groups and parties and communities may hold different views as to the most essential aspect of Jewishness or Judaism, but there is a possibility of working out a common programme which would cover them all if we take into account as our basis the totality of Jewish culture in the past, of which we must strive to lose no part, but to preserve and develop for generations to come.

In this world of great ideological conflicts, with the strong appeals made by many new movements to our young people, it is more than ever essential to strengthen their Jewish consciousness - not only politically and sentimentally, but also culturally and spiritually. We can do this by giving them a chance to know what the Jewish people has created and achieved in its long history - by giving them meaning to their Jewish consciousness. It has always been our pride that to be a Jew meant much more than just having some vague sentiment about it: that it meant to know, to learn, to study. Without Jewish learning - in all its forms - the Jewish people would have disintegrated long since, and perished from the earth. And although facilities for Jewish learning are to-day very different from what they were some centuries ago, we have still to do everything we can to inspire our people - and especially our young people - not only with emotions of pride and devotion, but also with knowledge, without which those sentiments cannot be firmly rooted.

As for the political work, after the tragic lessons of the last period, the Jewish people must begin to realise that the problem of its existence is primarily a political one, to be handled by political methods. Relief is a great thing, and must be continued so long as may be necessary, but at its best it is only a substitute. So long as European Jewry is not fully re-established, relief will continue a very essential task in the life of the Jewish people. It should therefore be democratised; it

has become a matter for the whole people, which must not only provide the money, but must also decide on the lines of policy governing its expenditure. The Jewries which still need relief must themselves have a full say in the handling of the funds. The notion of beneficiaries and benefactors which I mentioned in another context, has to disappear in the sphere of relief too. It cannot be monopolised by one group or another. It has to become the responsibility of the largest part of the people. It has to be co-ordinated in its various aspects, and has also to be partly dealt with by political methods. Much more use of Government help will be needed than in the past. We are the victims - the primary victims - of Nazi aggression, and the democratic world owes us its help in repairing some of the damage and restoring Jewish life. The whole dogmatic distinction between relief work and political work has no meaning in the circumstances of to-day. International organisations in the United Nations are playing their part in this work. Negotiations with governments have to be conducted, government help has to be secured, facilities have to be obtained. Who can say that all this is purely relief work, and does not involve political work as well?

But even after all this has been done, and Jewish relief organised (as it must be), that alone cannot solve the problems of the Jews in the Diaspora. Our fight for survival is a political fight. It is the fight of a people. It has to be directed, co-ordinated and organised by political methods, and the fear that some Jewish groups show of all political work really needs to be overcome once and for all. It is perfectly legitimate for the Jewish people as such to take common action in defence of its main interests; no decent Gentile and no fair-minded Government will misunderstand or resent it - nor have they misunderstood or resented it in all the history of the twelve years' work of the World Jewish Congress, or the history of the Committee of Jewish Delegations before that. We have no need to be ashamed of organising ourselves politically, as long as there is a danger to our position, and as long as anti-Semitism and other kinds of discrimination prevail in all parts of the world. And just as the world has learned to admire and honour the Jews in Palestine who have established their State and are fighting to maintain it, the world at large will respect a Jewish people which is ready to fight for its position wherever they live and have a right to live. Nothing has done more harm to our prestige, to our position in the world, than the weak reaction of the Jewish people to the massive assault of Nazism. If not for the revival of Jewish consciousness and the heroic achievements of modern Zionism which have led to the establishment of the State of Israel, Jewish prestige after the Hitler decade would have sunk to its lowest ebb. Something of the spirit which has brought about the establishment of the State must now imbue the Jews of the Diaspora in their fight for survival. So long as a people is prepared to fight for its future, no enemy can destroy it. The murder of a people is not recorded in history. Whenever a people was destroyed, it was

through its own fault - because it lost faith and courage, gave up the struggle in face of superior forces; in fact, committed suicide.

More important than all our organisational arrangements, more important than all financial means, more important than all political action as such, is the revival of the fighting spirit of our people. We have gone through the greatest tragedy in our history; we have come out weakened, but not broken. We have mobilised our resources and our will to live, and realised the ideal of our ancestors in the establishment of the State of Israel. It is on similar lines that we have to proceed, spiritually, with regard to the large majority of our people who for the time being remain in the Diaspora. After all, we are one people, with one spirit and one policy. If we are resolved to secure and strengthen Jewish positions wherever they are, not to yield one of them, if we are ready to fight together for our survival, with all progressive and decent elements in the world, then we shall succeed in normalising our own existence. That means having the State of Israel at the centre and a strong and creative Jewish Diaspora at the periphery. In doing this, our generation, which has witnessed the greatest tragedy in Jewish life, without being able to prevent it, will also witness the laying of solid foundations for a new and better future for the Jewish people in a world which, if full of dangers, is also full of opportunities.

In the long run the fate of a people is determined by itself. That is why peoples and nations exist. In the end it will depend on our own determination - both in Palestine and in the Diaspora - whether we are weakened and destroyed by the great changes now in process or impending, or whether we are able to use the opportunities they offer to become one of the recognised and respected peoples of the world - a people with a secure home, a life, a future - making its own distinctive contribution to the progress and future of humanity.

N. G.



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June 27th 1948.

## COMMUNIQUE NO. 4

### OPENING MEETING OF THE SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

The Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress opened in a festive atmosphere in Montreux on Sunday, June 27th. At 3.15 p.m. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the World Jewish Congress declared its first session opened. On behalf of the Congress he expressed his appreciation of the message of good wishes received from Federal Councillor M. Max Petitpierre, Chief of the Political Department of the Swiss Confederation, as well as from the Head of the Canton de Vaud in whose territory the Assembly is taking place.

The President then read a message of good wishes from the United Nations (Division of non-Governmental Organisations) at Lake Success and welcomed the presence of Their Excellencies, the Ministers in Switzerland of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, the Chargés d'Affaires of Cuba, the Representatives of the Austrian, British and United States Ministers in Switzerland, as well as the Consuls of Bolivia, Italy, the Netherlands, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Loud cheering accompanied the reference to the Republic of Guatemala which was the second country to recognise the State of Israel.

A storm of applause greeted Dr. Wise's welcome to Mr. David Remez, Israeli Minister of Communications, representing the State of Israel. The Congress rose to its feet to the strains of the Hatikvah, the Jewish National Anthem.

The cheering was renewed at the reading of special messages sent to the Assembly by Mr. D. Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister and Mr. M. Shertok, the Foreign Minister of the Provisional Government of Israel, and by the two Chief Rabbis of Israel.

In their joint message the Jewish statesmen expressed the hope that the Assembly would be successful in its efforts to uphold Jewish honour and Jewish rights wherever they may be in jeopardy.

The President of the World Jewish Congress also acknowledged, with thanks, the presence through their representatives, and interest



of a large number of international organisations, including the International Refugee Organisation, UNESCO, the World Health Organisation, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Dr. Stephen Wise then greeted as fraternal delegates, the Representatives of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France, the Mosaiska Foersamlingen of Sweden and of the World Federation of Sephardi Jews.

The President's opening remarks were followed by addresses of welcome by Maître Vogelsang, Mayor of Montreux, Dr. Georges Brunschvig, President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Switzerland and by Dr. J. J. Bloch, Chairman of the Jewish Community at Montreux-Vevay.

Dr. Stephen Wise took up the word again in an inaugural address, the principal contents of which were released to the Press earlier to-day.

There followed a solemn religious service to commemorate the 6,200,000 victims of Nazi barbarity at which Rabbis Dr. Nurock, Member of the Executive Committee, and Dr. Kahane, Chief Rabbi of the Polish Army, officiated. In his address Dr. Nurock mourned the fact that Jewish life in Europe had been shattered beyond repair and great centres of Jewish learning wiped off the face of the earth; Dr. Kahane stressed that despite the greatest calamity in their history the Jewish people still lives.

The main speech of the day was made by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the Executive Committee, who spoke on the present-day position of world Jewry. A summary of the speech has been published in a Press communiqué earlier during the day.

At the conclusion of the day's work the Assembly elected members of the Credentials' Committee following which the meeting adjourned until Monday morning, when Dr. A. L. Kubowitzki, Secretary-General of the World Jewish Congress, will present the Report of the Executive. This will be followed by a general debate, scheduled to last three days.

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COMMUNIQUE NO. 5

Monday, June 28th 1948.

The second meeting of the Assembly opened at 10 minutes past 10 o'clock. DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN, President of the Executive Committee who was in the chair, called upon DR. LEON KUBOWITZKI, Secretary-General of the World Jewish Congress, to present the Report of the Executive.

DR. KUBOWITZKI stressed that never in the history of the Jewish people had there been an organisation of the scope of the World Jewish Congress. There was hardly a Jewish Community which was not linked with the World Jewish Congress, one way or another. Not only the geographical scope but also the scope of its tasks was unprecedented. With the exception of purely religious affairs, there was hardly any problem of general Jewish interest which would not be embraced by the activities of the World Jewish Congress. In recent years events had been forcing upon the World Jewish Congress one task after another whether of organisational, political, relief or of cultural character. Scidom, too, has a Jewish organisation gained a swifter recognition by the people. Former opponents of international collaboration between Jewish organisations had themselves been compelled to lifeless and bloodless replicas of the World Jewish Congress.

During the twelve years of its existence the World Jewish Congress had managed to add to its leaders men eminent in Jewish and general affairs.

Many Jewish problems had recently become rather complicated and involved and it was necessary to study them very carefully before taking any actions. The main difficulty was inherent in the fact that its activities were dependent of the good-will of its constituent bodies. There was no element of compulsion in its constitution. When the Committee of Jewish Delegations was created after the last war there was a world order in existence which nations wished to preserve. At the time of the first session of the World Jewish Congress that international order was on the verge of crumbling. It did crumble, and who would make bold to say that it had been rebuilt since. As far as the defence of Jews was concerned the League of Nations was more effective than the United Nations were to-day. Six million Jews had been exterminated since then and no wonder that Jews despair sometimes of the possibilities of building a secure life in the Diaspora.

A further point to remember was that since the end of World War Two all Jewish activities were focused on the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

### Problems of Organisation

The Congress had 65 constituent bodies in various countries. There were only three communities in Europe which were not wholly affiliated to the Congress. In the Western Hemisphere there were only a few small groups which were outside its framework. There were no communities in Asia which would not be affiliated to the Congress or where Congress influence would not be felt. As to Africa, there were eight affiliated communities and affiliation had been effected with regard to the Jewish community of Australia. There were communities, however, where contacts had to be reconstructed or expanded.

With regard to relief during the war there was no organised Jewish body which could claim more effective work in this field. The World Jewish Congress was a decisive factor in saving many Jewish communities in Europe. The Congress was in the forefront of the fight against the conspiracy of silence which surrounded the non-Jewish world in regard to Hitler's massacres and in demanding steps against them. It collected the facts of the extermination campaign in Europe, winning the support of governments, military authorities and the Red Cross; it materially contributed to creating the International Refugee Organisation; the Congress had also prepared concrete programmes for relief and rescue and helped in bringing Nazi murderers to justice. Congress was instrumental in easing the Allies' financial and food blockades to facilitate aid to civilian internees. The Congress prevented the deportation to Poland of Bulgarian Jews and helped to rescue 190,000 Hungarian Jews as well as a large number of Danish Jews.

The Jewish right for reparations from Germany was recognised thanks to the efforts of the World Jewish Congress; with the restoration of the Cremieux Decrees in Algiers the battle for the restitution of Jewish equality has been won. The Congress was successful in obtaining recognition as a consultative body of the United Nations and was instrumental in putting on the agenda of the Social and Economic Council the problem of the Jews in Arab countries; it had an honoured place in the activities of UNESCO and was the only Jewish organisation to be represented in the Provisional International Council for Education.

The speaker rejected allegations made against Congress in certain quarters that it had failed during the war to mobilise Jewish and non-Jewish opinion for rescue work. The truth was that in these spheres the Congress was very active and had even taken the initiative. At the time the Germans tried to prove that anti-Semitism was rising in England and America, the Congress could not very well play into the hands of the Nazis by telling the world that Britain opposed the Horthy proposals because she was afraid it would be necessary to open the gates of Palestine to Jews escaping from Hungary.

As the first speaker in the GENERAL DEBATE Capt. M. MIRSKI, Poland recalled that it was on Polish soil that the greatest massacre of Jews had taken place. He emphasized the post-war achievements in the rehabilitation of Polish Jewry and the full civic rights which Jews to-day enjoyed in democratic Poland as in other countries of Eastern Europe.

Capt. Mirski demanded a more realistic appreciation of contemporary anti-Semitism, which was no longer emotional, but conscious policy of total extermination of Jewry - a policy first formulated by Nazi Germany and now taken over by the heirs of Hitler's ideology.

Anti-Semitism went hand in hand with warmongering and unbridled anti-Communist campaigns which, as recent history had shown, always terminated with attacks upon the Jews. The threat of anti-Semitism could clearly be discerned in those countries which withheld recognition of the State of Israel and which contributed to the rebuilding of a strong Germany.

The division of the world into two camps referred to earlier by Dr. Goldmann was not a geographical but a spiritual division; there could be no Jewish neutrality on this issue. It was imperative that Congress should join its efforts with all forces everywhere working for peace and security, including Jewish security, and the Soviet Union must be counted among the forces for peace.

General applause greeted the statement that it was incumbent on all Jewish communities throughout the world of whatever ideological trends, to lend the fullest moral and other support to the new State of Israel.

Mr. Mirski deprecated the activities of Jewish splinter groups who were active outside Congress and who hindered its work. For the well-being of Jewry it was essential that Congress should be built up as the supreme representative force of Jewry in the Diaspora.

The Jewish delegation from Poland had come to Congress without any ulterior motives, and its sole aspiration was to help build, in conjunction with all democratic forces, a happy and secure life for Jews the world over and in the State of Israel.

Mr. Ludwig Stöckler, Hungary, thanked the Congress for its great efforts to save the Jews of Hungary from destruction and spoke with appreciation of the rôle of the Soviet Army in finally liberating Hungary's Jewry.

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COMMUNIQUE NO. 6

28th June, 1948.

## SECOND DAY

### Afternoon Session

The afternoon session of the second day of the Assembly opened at 4 o'clock with Dr. Nahum Goldmann in the chair.

Mr. Israel Cohen, fraternal delegate of the Board of Deputies of British Jews presented greetings to the Assembly. He stressed the great traditions of the Board of Deputies, recalled its 190 year old history and objected against the view that none but the World Jewish Congress had the right to plead the Jewish case with international bodies.

Dr. F.R. Bienenfeld on behalf of the European Secretariat of the World Jewish Congress, refuted the charge levelled earlier that the World Jewish Congress had adopted an excessively neutral attitude. The World Jewish Congress had succeeded, against stiff opposition, in securing the adoption of new and the revision of old clauses in the Bill of Human Rights drafted by the United Nations. Dr. Bienenfeld referred to Mr. Israel Cohen earlier panegyric of the Board of Deputies and recalled a conversation with Prof. S. Brodetsky, President of the Board, in which the latter had said that British Jewry would "never agree to taking its place at the tail end of any international organisation." But there was no need for the Board of Deputies to be so modest. It could come into Congress and take its place there right up at the front. In the interest of world Jewry it was essential that a single great international Jewish organisation should speak in its name.

Rabbi Max Kirshblum, U.S. delegate and Vice-president of the American Misrachi in a widely applauded speech advocated that Congress get down to the very bare essentials of Jewish problems, leaving aside irrelevant Eastern and Western bloc politics. That was the best means of securing unity within world Jewry. Anti-Semites in their murderous attacks on Jews never stopped to ask if the victims belong to the left or to the right, were devoutly religious or free-thinkers. Jewish people in defending their rights should not make the mistake of

did not divide themselves by ideological or other barriers. They must concentrate their efforts in building up the great strong, effective World Jewish Congress they all desired.

They were anxious to link up with progressive forces everywhere, but speaking for himself, Rabbi Kirshblum was not sure which were the progressive forces. He remembered Jewish enthusiasm when he was in London in 1944 and the so-called reactionary Churchill government was ousted by Labour. A view could be taken that the Labour government really was progressive but as far as the Jews were concerned it certainly was not.

Mrs. Rebecca Sieff, British Delegate, gave a historical survey of the foundation and activities of the British Section of World Jewish Congress. In a reference to Capt. Mirski's statement that Congress had failed in its duty by not pressing for an early opening of the Second Front, Mrs. Sieff said it would have been dangerous for Congress to have intervened in such an issue although every member of Congress realised how important the Second Front was. The speaker quoted an interchange of correspondence between Soviet Ambassador Maiski and Mr. Easterman in December 1942 on the subject of saving the Jews from destruction; Congress had submitted plans for the bombing of Nazi gas-chambers. Mrs. Sieff challenged Mr. Cohen on the attitude of the Board of Deputies and questioned the wisdom of the adjective "foreign" in the Board's Foreign Affairs committee.

Mr. A. Raisky, French Delegate, addressed himself to the American delegation and through that delegation to American Jewry, drawing their attention to the perils confronting the Jewish people. War hysteria and anti-Communist hysteria were phenomena which had led in the past and might again lead in the future to mass extermination of the Jews. If any of our Jewish brethren participated in this form of hysteria then they personally would be helping to undermine the existence of the Jews in Israel and in the rest of the world and also their own existence and civic rights in the United States. The speaker called for the democratisation of the policy and organisation of Congress, which must embrace all tendencies in Jewish life and become the fighting organ of a fighting people.

Mr. S. Z. Shragai, the first delegate of Israel to take the floor, affirmed that Israel and the Yishuv did not consider themselves to be in any way separated from the rest of the Jewish people which was one and indivisible. Not for nothing had the Yishuv been the first to send its best sons and daughters into action behind the enemy lines during the late war to help rescue their fellow Jews from the Nazi toils. Israel was opposed to any ideology which sought to set up a dividing wall between Israel and the children of Israel. With the creation of the State of Israel there was a certain danger that attempts would be made to detach Jewish communities in the Diaspora and thus establish a plurality of Jewish splinter peoples. That danger must be fought and overcome. The programme before Congress was perfectly clear - to fight for Jewish rights the world over irrespective of whether they live in the East or West. Israel would collaborate with all who were on its side and would oppose all who were against it. Mr. Shragai urged that Congress should lead in fostering Jewish education the world over because Jewish life could not be built up on ignorance. Without Jewish learning there was no Jewish life. The answer to the extermination of six million Jews was for Jewish people to have larger families, more children to take the place of the six million who had been slain. He called for the World Jewish Congress to set up a scientific department and a special fund to encourage larger Jewish families.

At the conclusion of the meeting Dr. Nahum Goldmann read a number of messages which have reached the Assembly in the course of the day. One from Rabbi Nissim Ouhana, Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic Community in Haifa urged the Congress to take all possible steps against the dangers of anti-Jewish action threatened by Moslem countries, contrary to international law. A telegram from Mr. Itzhak Gruenbaum, Israeli Minister for Home Affairs stressed the links existing between the Jews in Israel and in Diaspora. Messages from the Maccabi World Union, the Alliance Israelite Universelle and from Dr. David Prato, Chief Rabbi of Rome, were also read.

The following official list of Members of the Presidium of the Second Plenary Assembly was announced during the meeting:

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Representing the Executive: | Dr. Stephen S. Wise<br>Dr. Nahum Goldmann<br>Dr. Noah Barou                     |
| For Argentina:              | Mr. Aron Schussheim   |
| For Brazil:                 | Dr. Moses Hoff  |
| For France:                 | Mr. I. Grinberg   |
| For Germany (British Zone): | Mr. Joseph Rosensaft  |
| (U.S. Zone):                | Mr. David Treger  |
| For Great Britain:          | Lady Reading  |
| For Hungary:                | Mr. Ludwig Stoeckler  |
| For Italy:                  | Signor Raffael Cantoni  |
| For Israel:                 | Mr. Mayer Grabovsky<br>Mr. Zerubavel<br>Dr. Zimweh Kahane                       |
| For Poland:                 | Dr. Adolf Berman<br>Capt. Michal Mirski   |
| For Rumania:                | Mr. Berku Feldmann, M.P.  |
| For U.S.A.                  | Rabbi M. Kirshblum<br>Rabbi Morton Berman<br>Judge Levinthal<br>Mr. Shad Polier |
| For Switzerland             | Mr. Marcus Cohn   |
| For Scandinavia             | Mr. Hillel Storch   |





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COMMUNIQUE NO. 7

28th June 1948.

SECOND DAY

Evening Session

The evening meeting of the Assembly opened at 9.30 p.m. with DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN in the chair.

First to speak was MR. I. GRINBERG, Vice-President of the "Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France" (CRIF). He said that CRIF had decided to send observers to Montreux and was happy at the decision to designate them as "fraternal delegates." The choice of the term was happy as CRIF in fact linked all Jewish organisations without regard to their views and the origin of their members.

The chair was taken over by MR. ZERUBAVEL, Israel who asked Mr. Joseph Rosensaft, representative of the British Zone of Germany, to take the floor. The chairman said it was appropriate that an Israeli representative should be presiding over a sitting addressed by a representative of the Jews in the Displaced Persons camps.

MR. JOSEPH ROSENSAFT expressed the thanks of the Jews in the British Zone for efforts made by the World Jewish Congress on their behalf and paid special tribute to the tireless efforts of Mr. N. Barou, Mr. A. E. Easterman and Mr. S. S. Silverman, M.P. He emphasised that not one Jewish D.P. in Germany wanted to remain there. Anti-Semitism was raising its ugly head in Germany again. Since liberation 7200 Jews have left the British Zone of Germany for Israel. Recently a party of 461 children left for Israel and every effort was made to make their journey comfortable. The World Jewish Congress had played no small part in helping the Aliya of the 7200, and particularly that of the children.

PROF. NICO GINZBURG, President of the "Conseil des Associations Juives" of Belgium said that the Jews were not at ease in countries they resided in. In spite of the war in Palestine the Jews there were among the happiest in the world. They were able to build instead of, always thinking of reconstruction.

DR. ADOLF BERMAN warned the Jewish world not to forget the terror of the recent past. Jews were bound to raise their youth in the spirit of proud and courageous fighters.

He enumerated three tasks which, in view of the Polish delegation, were of key importance for the World Jewish Congress. They were: firstly, fight against anti-Semitism; secondly, the defence of the State of Israel to whom Jewry in the Diaspora must serve as a hinterland. He reported in this connection that Polish Jews were giving blood for the Hagana bloodbank in Poland. He also mentioned the rôle played by Soviet Russia in the struggle for the establishment of the Jewish State. Dr. Berman's third point was that Jews ought to link up with all progressive forces of the world for the building of a better human society. He was totally opposed to the policy of neutrality of the World Jewish Congress proclaimed by Dr. Goldmann.

DR. ROBERT MARCUS, Director of the Political Department of the World Jewish Congress Executive, reminded the Assembly of the great needs of Jewish communities in the Moslem countries. Jews ought to co-operate with progressive forces in their own countries and this was the case in the United States. The speaker attacked the policy which failed to prosecute and convict important war criminals and which had resulted in a thoroughly unsatisfactory progress of denazification.

MR. DAVID TREGGER, speaking on behalf of Jewish DP's in the American Zone of Germany, said all DP's considered themselves to be, potentially, citizens of Israel. He thanked the World Jewish Congress, the Jewish Advisor to the American Army of Occupation and other Jewish bodies for their work on behalf of Jews in the American Zone.

DR. MOSHE SNEH, of the Israel delegation, did not believe that there existed a contradiction of interest between the State of Israel and the Jews in exile. He stressed that there were dangers to the sovereignty of the State of Israel and to the Jews in the rest of the world. These dangers had to be faced by the whole Jewish people united in their defensive determination. The world was not divided into East and West but into hundreds of millions of peace-loving people and a small clique who exploited, suppressed and baited their fellow-men. It was clear on which side the Jews stood. There was no question that British imperialism and the capitalist, military and industrial cliques in Washington were bad for the Jews, while the Soviet Union stood always firm as regards the establishment of the Jewish State. For the first time in her history Poland had a regime that gave Jews complete equality; in Rumania the Jews for the first time enjoyed complete security. People's democracy was good for the Jews. It was no accident that the Attlee-Bevin Government opposed the establishment of the Jewish State and at the same time tolerated the Mosley movement. The new American immigration law was, even in the opinion of non-Marxists, inspired by Nazi ideology. These facts did not, of course, indicate the taking up of an attitude directed against the British or American peoples or against the West in general where strong forces worked for genuine democracy. The Jewish people were duty bound to co-operate with freedom loving forces in all parts of the world.

The chairman adjourned the meeting until Tuesday morning.



# PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

ידישער וועלטקאנגרעס

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

CABLE : WORLDGROSS MONTREUX  
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MONTREUX,  
PALACE HOTEL

COMMUNIQUE NO. 8

29th June, 1940.

THIRD DAY

Morning Session

The morning meeting of the Assembly began at 10.10 a.m. with Rabbi M. KIRSHBLUM in the chair.

DR. JONAS KOWINSKY (Argentina) continuing the General Debate reported that the 450,000 Jews of Argentina had a strong position. Their social development was marked by such interesting phenomena as agricultural co-operatives, a Jewish hospital in Buenos Aires, an anti-TB Association, an Association for the protection of immigrants; but there was no central organisation of Jewish communities. Education work was being carried out by Jewish schools and a teacher training centre for Hebrew and Yiddish-speaking teachers.

An encouraging aspect of Jewish life in Argentina was the closing of the ranks between Zionists and non-Zionists following upon the creation of the State of Israel. This year great fund-raising campaigns with a target figure of 50 million pesos were launched to help the State of Israel. Not fewer than 35 million pesos had been collected within the first six weeks. The speaker mentioned an incident of a woman being asked if her donation was the maximum she could afford. No - she replied - it was the minimum. She had given her maximum in kind - her only son who had fallen fighting in the ranks of the Haganah. This was greeted with loud applause.

The speaker turned to the question of ICA (Jewish Colonisation Association) which he termed the most important issue in the life of Argentine Jewry. Although that country's community owed deep gratitude to ICA without which there would be no Jews in Argentina the association had made many mistakes. Jewish colonists had been scattered far and wide and administrative mistakes had been committed. Argentine Jewry demanded a voice in the future management of ICA and, above all, called for a re-examination of the whole ICA administration. Argentine Jewry demanded that the fund, created by Baron Hirsch, which had long since served its purpose, be now devoted to the building up of Israel. The speaker made a strong plea to Congress to take the whole matter up in a most vigorous fashion.

Chief Rabbi DR. MARCUS EHRENPREIS (Sweden) dealt with the question of Jewish culture in the Diaspora. It was the duty of the World Jewish Congress to pay special attention to maintaining a vigorous Jewish cultural life to stimulate religious instruction and cultivate the Hebrew and Yiddish languages.

DR. JOACHIM PRINZ, Chairman of the administrative committee of the American Jewish Congress declared that though there were forces in America menacing the democratic system, the fact that there existed fullest freedom in the United States for fighting these forces was the most certain guarantee that, ultimately, they would not triumph. The American delegation was however conscious of the fact that the existence of anti-Semitism in America prevented any American Jew from saying that he lived in complete security. He emphasized that it was the public, clear and often bitter criticism by American Jews of the Palestine policy of the United States Government which ultimately lead to the recognition of the Jewish State. Replying to delegates who had expressed alarm over American policies, Dr. Prinz stressed that when it came to criticizing the policies of the American Government, people in the United States had a longer experience than most countries. As for criticizing the policies of other governments, they could do at least as well as anyone.

Dr. Prinz stated that the overwhelming majority of American Jews had long passed out of the stage in which they regarded their responsibility to Jews elsewhere as simply that of playing the rôle of "a benevolent and rich uncle" to unfortunate persons elsewhere.

ALBERT A. KAHN (U.S.A.) saw danger to democratic institutions in the fact that they were today being rapidly undermined by sinister influences and by war hysteria. That accounted for the operations of the notoriously pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic Committee on Un-American Activities now given the stamp of official approval. Anti-Semitic agencies in the U.S.A., many of which co-operated with the Axis Powers during the war, were today functioning freely. It was an imperative function of American Jews and of the American Jewish Congress to combat the present reactionary domestic policy of the United States Government. He paid tribute to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise as one of the most beloved men in the entire United States and urged the World Jewish Congress to participate vigorously in the political struggle carried on by progressive American forces.

DR. L. BENEDEK (Hungary) conveyed to the Congress greetings of the Hungarian Jewry which regarded this Assembly as a Jewish Parliament in the diaspora.

PROF. JACQUES NATHAN (Bulgaria) who spoke in the Russian language, attacked the thesis of Jewish neutrality in the struggle between the two blocs. In his view, the Jews' problem was to be freed from English Imperialism. It was obligatory to fight Fascism in the new forms in which it had reappeared in Britain, France, and America. The speaker also referred to the rich Jewish culture developing in Bulgaria and to the educational work among Jewish youth.



**WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS**

**ידישער וועלט קאנגרעס**

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PAL

COMMUNIQUE NO.8

29th .

**THIRD DAY**

Morning Session

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DR. JONAS KOWINSKY (Argentina) continuing the General Debate reported that the 450,000 Jews of Argentina had a strong position. Their social development was marked by such interesting phenomena as agricultural co-operatives, a Jewish hospital in Buenos Aires, an anti-TB Association, an Association for the protection of immigrants; but there was no central organisation of Jewish communities. Education work was being carried out by Jewish schools and a teacher training centre for Hebrew and Yiddish-speaking teachers.

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new forms in which it had reappeared in Britain, France, and America.  
The speaker also referred to the rich Jewish culture developing in  
Bulgaria and to the educational work among Jewish youth.

DR. S. LEVENBERG (Great Britain) said he wished to correct certain statements made with reference to the position in Britain. It was not true that the majority of British Jewry was against the World Jewish Congress. It was not true that Anglo-Jewish leaders had no courage to fight for Jewish rights. It was appropriate to mention in this connection Mr. S. S. Silverman, M.P., Chairman of the World Jewish Congress British Section, one of the staunchest fighters in the House of Commons for Jewish rights in Palestine and in the diaspora. This Assembly, Dr. Levenberg said, demonstrated that the thesis: "We are a people, one people." It also demonstrated that Western and Eastern Jewish communities could work together. Finally, it demonstrated the united support of World Jewry for

Israel. The speaker condemned those who tried internally to undermine the provisional Government of Israel. He warned the Assembly against the dangers confronting the world and the Jewish people. Unfortunately it was meeting under the shadow of a possible third world war. They must save Jews as long as that was possible. They had to learn from their bitter experience. Dr. Levenberg said he regretted the futile discussion about orientation. Dr. Sneh's speech had been one-sided; it did not give a full picture of the Jewish situation. Did Dr. Sneh really suggest that they should appear as an agency of Soviet propaganda?

At this stage, Dr. Levenberg was interrupted by an uproar on the part of some of the delegates which lasted for a quarter of an hour, with delegates rising, demanding to speak and shouting at each other.

When calm had been restored from the Chair, Dr. Levenberg re-iterated that Dr. Sneh had given only one side of the picture. Why was Russian Jewry absent from this Assembly, he asked?

He appreciated Soviet support for Israel and its stand against anti-Semitism. But why keep silent about the absence of internal freedom in the life of some Eastern Jewish communities? The duty of the World Jewish Congress was to defend Jewish rights, whatever the country in which these rights were infringed.



# PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

יידישער וועלט־קאנגרעס

SECOND PLenary ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

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MONTREUX,  
PALACE HOTEL

COMMUNIQUE NO. 9

29th June, 1948.

THIRD DAY

Afternoon Session

The afternoon meeting of the Assembly began at 3.50 p.m. with LADY READING in the Chair.

DR. GEORG GUGGENHEIM (Switzerland) was against taking sides in the problem of East and West. Swiss Jewry, which had participated in the World Jewish Congress since 1936 because of its stress on defence of Jewish rights, would continue to take part in its work.

DR. V. WINTERSTEIN (Czechoslovakia) stressed that complete legal equality existed in Czechoslovakia in accordance with the traditions of humanity embodied in the ideas of Presidents Masaryk, Benes and Gottwald; that was not tactics but positive attitude to the Jewish question. He recalled the participation of the Slovak Jews in resistance work and in saving Jewish lives during the war. Slovak Jews were also responsible for taking the Auschwitz protocols abroad.

DR. MAURICE L. PERLZWEIG (Canada) paid tribute to the work done by two Canadian statesmen, but for which there might not have been a Jewish State in Palestine to-day. It was now an open secret that the most consistent advocate of the solution which was adopted by the majority in the UN Special Commission on Palestine was Mr. Justice Rand of Ottawa. The work of that great jurist had made possible the production of the report which changed Jewish history. It was the Canadian representative Mr. Lester Pearson who succeeded in performing the miracle of bringing the US and the USSR together in support of a single act of policy of justice. Mr. Pearson more than any other single individual was responsible for the resolution of the UN which authorised the establishment of the Jewish State.

The speaker warned Congress against the danger of lapsing into a moral isolationism. Words had been spoken which suggested that there was a kind of perpetual war between the Jewish people and the non-Jewish world. That was not true. Jews were not alone in the world; many thousands of Jews had been saved by non-Jews. The speaker shared the disappointment and bitterness of many delegates who expected more from democratic governments, but he had stood very close



to events and realised to the full that military necessities had played their part in depriving the Jews of the help to which they were entitled. The Jews now entered a period of great danger, having to fight and being attacked on two fronts. The aggressors in Palestine were for the most part the same forces who had sided with the Nazis in the last war. There was the threat to Jewry of a resurgence of a great and powerful Germany, which remained the hope of anti-Semitic and reactionary forces throughout the world. These would be defeated because Jewry was determined to fight and was not fighting alone.

The World Jewish Congress, in spite of the tragic differences which threaten the security of civilization, would continue to make its modest contribution to the effort to bring East and West together in the service of a common ideal of peace and justice for all.

DR.A.TARTAKOVER (Israel) brought to the Congress greetings of the Hebrew University which was contributing to the struggle for Jewish freedom and sovereignty. He would be mistaken who thought that the Yishuv, despite its great worries had now displayed less interest in Jewish affairs in the diaspora. The Jews of Palestine did not consider themselves as a separate nation but were part of one people which included the Jews of the diaspora. The speaker warned of the dangerous political and economic situation of the 800,000-900,000 Jews in Arab lands. Congress should not adjourn without addressing a message to them and should not rest until they were safe.

MR.S.FISZGRUND (Poland) as leader of the Jewish Socialist Workers' Party "Bund" explained the reasons which had led the "Bund" to change its formerly negative attitude to the World Jewish Congress. The proclamation of the Jewish State and the aggression to which it had been exposed required the help of all parties of the Jewish people in order to assure its existence. The strengthening of the national and social position of the Jews in all parts of the world was possible only through a collaboration of all progressive and nationally-creative forces of Jewry. He urged the Congress to protest sharply against the continuation of the camp system in Germany.

RABBI DR.E.LEMLE (Brazil) spoke in the name of Sephardic and Ashkenzi Jews of Brazil, requesting the Congress to meet their cultural requirements.

DR.I.SCHWARZBART (U.S.A.), Director of the Organisation Department of the World Jewish Congress, said that the Congress was based on democratic principles because of the essentially democratic form of election and work of its constituent bodies. Its main problem was whether to be an organisation or a movement. The speaker postulated that it should become a movement if two conditions were met viz. achievement of proper dissemination of information concerning its activities and extensive introduction of youth into its activities.

SECRETARY: [Illegible text]

BENJAMIN WEST (Israel) expressed the satisfaction of the Israeli delegation at the positive attitude taken in regard to Israel by delegates representing both trends at the session and by the World Jewish Congress as a whole. He told the session about the battle to preserve the frontiers and integrity of the Jewish State. He said it was a war of few against many but the few were victorious. Fruitful co-operation between Israel and the Jews of the diaspora was a certainty for there could be no Jewish people without Israel, and no Israel without the Jewish people.

MR. SAM SEGAL (France) believed that the World Jewish Congress ought to continue the Zionist work of the Jewish Agency in the diaspora now that Israel had been established. He also thought that nothing positive would be gained by mere hints - as Dr. Sneh did the day before - regarding alliance with progressive forces.

DR. MARCUS COHN (Switzerland) referred to the collaboration between the Union of Jewish Communities in Switzerland with the Geneva Office of the World Jewish Congress under the leadership of Dr. G. N. Riegner. He was certain these close contacts would continue in future.

DR. S. FEDERBUSH (U.S.A.) said the activities of the World Jewish Congress should, to a large extent, be devoted to the work of reconstruction. He thought that people who did not believe in capitalism could still be good, religious Jews. There were three Jeshivot in the USSR but in Poland under the P.P.S. little was heard about Jewish problems. There was a new positive attitude to Jewish questions among the progressive force of Jewry. He did not understand, however, Dr. Sneh's advice to identify Congress with a certain bloc.

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### Evening Session

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The evening meeting of the Assembly began at 9.30 p.m. with CAPT. M. MIRSKI in the Chair.

J. TENENBAUM (U.S.A.) after paying a glowing tribute to the cultural heritage of vanished Polish Jewry, uttered a warning about the German peril which had by no means receded. Germany had remained the classical land of biological and pathological mass murder and anti-Semitism. Jewry must be present at the forthcoming Peace Conference with Germany. Any Peace Treaty concluded with Germany over the heads and at the expense of Jewry would be immoral, invalid and pregnant with future catastrophes.

DR. J. MACHOVER (Australia) gave a picture of Jewish life on that continent. Australia's 40,000 Jews were solidly united and organised in the central Council of Australian Jewry. Per capita they had made a greater financial contribution to Jewish funds than any other Jewish community outside the Yishuv. Premier Dr. Evatt had on many occasions shown his own and the Australian Labour Government's friendship to the Jews.

MR.M.GERSTENFELD (French Zone in Germany) pleaded the case of the 600 Jews in that Zone, who, though few in number, were confronted with the same problems as all other DP's. He felt that the Jewish Displaced Persons in the French Zones had rather been overlooked by Congress and the Jewish relief organisations.

MR.SHAD POLIER (U.S.A.), Vice-président of the American Jewish Congress, speaking for the USA delegation, challenged as distorted and erroneous the view of American anti-Semitism pictured by delegate Mirski of Poland and others. He hailed the American constitution as a shield and sword against discrimination. He declared that American Jewry regarded their destiny and that of their country's as one and believed it vital to the future of world democracy. The American credo, Mr.Polier stated, was to fight for full equality for all people in America, to secure the fullest recognition and development of Israel, to vitalize Jewish culture throughout the world and to aid their brothers in all lands in the struggle for a free, full and dignified life. The World Jewish Congress should not attempt to determine for the Jews of any land how they should fulfil their role in the common Jewish struggle.

PROF.WILLIAM HABER, Adviser on Jewish Affairs to the U.S. Military Government in Germany, after being introduced to the Assembly by Dr.Stephen S.Wise amid loud applause, addressed the delegates briefly, promising to make a fuller statement later. He said World Jewish Congress could not dedicate itself to a more imperative or more sacred cause than to move heaven and earth to get people out of the camps of Germany, Austria and Italy. The Jews of these camps would prove first-rate candidates for Israeli citizenship or that of any country that would receive them. They were looking forward impatiently, sometimes too impatiently, for the day of their departure from the camps which have been their temporary home for three years. Not only for their sake but for the sake of Jewry in all lands, they had to be got out - and it would be impossible to exaggerate the urgency of this task. Their presence there was the fountain of poison throughout the world of anti-Semitism to-day, and the greatest contribution Congress could make to its programme of combating it was to give Jewish men and women in the camps a chance to start life anew without further delay.

Dr.Haber paid tribute to the American Army and the American Government which had made it possible for the DP's to live in some sense of security since their terrible wartime ordeal.

MR.DAVID COHEN (India) surveyed the history of the Jewish community which had first settled in India after the second destruction of the Temple and described the Jewish and general struggle against poverty, slum-life, famine and intolerance. He was hopeful that these afflictions would be overcome. The speaker expressed confidence that the State of Israel would avoid discrimination in any form against the Arab populace.

MR.ISAAK ABRAMOVICH (Argentine) corrected a report on Dr.Kowinsky's speech which appeared in Press Communiqué No.8. Contrary to impression given there, Argentine Jewry was, in fact, unified in a strong central organisation - the Delegation of Associations of Argentine Jewry (DAIA)

MR. MARC JARBLUM (France) said all Jews should consider themselves part of the Haganah. The recovery of Germany may carry new dangers for the Jews. German Social-Democrats could regain our confidence only by answering a good number of questions connected with the Jewish problem, including the question of denazification.

The speaker said Bevin and the Arab League were preventing France from recognising Israel, but recognition would come inevitably. He praised the stand which France took on the "Exodus" affair.

MR. HENRI ADAM (France) devoted the major part of his address to refuting the arguments of Mr. S. Levenberg (Great Britain). World Jewry and its Congress were bound to judge events and trends by the criterion of good and evil from the Jewish standpoint. Bevin was responsible for the loss of thousands of Jewish lives. That was bad for Jews and therefore a bad thing. Was Congress not to draw any distinction between those who were the friends of Jewry and those who were hostile to it?

DR. Z. KAHANE (Israel) expressed his surprise at the tenor of the debate. At other Jewish gatherings in the past, speakers had always come forward with grievances. Here all delegates were vying with each other to describe the happy conditions in their respective countries. He was uneasy about the future of Jewry. He was uneasy about Congress, which was passing over vital issues in silence. It was the speaker's profound conviction that only if it linked itself up with the dynamism of Israel, would Congress itself become a truly dynamic and effective movement.

DR. SEMTOB SEQUEIRA (Portugal) wound up the evening session with a detailed account of the life of the Jewish community in Portugal. The speaker was happy to report that Portuguese Jewry enjoyed the fullest freedom.

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Note to Editors:

It is learned that the Special Palestine Session will take place on Thursday, July 1st, at 8.30-p.m.

The Press Department has been asked to rectify the list of Members of the Presidium of the Assembly for Rumania (see Communique No.6) The Members for Rumania are:

- MR. BERKU FELDMANN, M.P. and
- MR. MISU BENVENISTI

It has also been announced that Mr. Harold Fränkel (U.S.A.) has replaced Judge L. Levinthal as member of the Presidium.

The Press Department regrets that an inaccuracy has occurred in reporting the speech made by Dr.L.Benedek during the morning Session on June 29th (Communique No.8). The relevant account should read:

Dr.L.BENEDEK (Hungary) conveyed to the Congress greetings of the Hungarian Jewry which regarded this Assembly as a Jewish Parliament in the diaspora. They wished to tell this Parliament that, in peoples' democracies in the East and South-east of Europe the Jewish problem has, to a large extent, been solved. Jews there were enjoying security and were given full human rights.



# PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS  
יידישער וועלט קאנגרעס

SECOND PLenary ASSEMBLY

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MONTREUX,  
PALACE HOTEL

COMMUNIQUE NO.10

30th June, 1948.

## FOURTH DAY

### Morning Session

The morning session of the Assembly began at 10.20 a.m. with MR.L.SCHUSSHEIM (Argentina) in the Chair.

MR.NORBERT WOLLHEIM, chairman of the Credentials' Committee stated that, in all, 79 affiliated bodies were entitled to send delegates. Fifty-one organisations took advantage of this right and sent nominations on time. At the Second Plenary Assembly 32 countries were represented by 168 voting delegates.

The Credentials' Committee which sat under the chairmanship of Mr.Wollheim (British Zone-Germany) was composed of the following members:

|                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Norman M.Jacobs | (Great Britain) |
| Dr.T.Kahane     | (Israel)        |
| J.Lazebnik      | (Poland)        |
| Shad Polier     | (U.S.A.)        |
| Dr.H.Swarsensky | (Argentina)     |
| Dr.A.Vajs       | (Yugoslavia)    |

DR.RAFFAELE C. RIFONE (Italy), President of the Union of Jewish communities in Italy, referred to anti-Semitism existing in Italy and said that it was disseminated by the Italian Social Party which had Fascist tendencies. It was necessary to fight against this anti-Semitism and it was only the Congress who could give instructions to Jews in order to assure their defence.

RABBI MORTON M. BERMAN (USA) said there was need for planning on the widest scale in the field of Jewish culture, for guidance to help communities to develop their specific programmes, for building of schools and synagogues and for the training of Rabbis, teachers and communal workers. There was also the urgent necessity for providing plant for printing books and for the establishment of libraries. There must be encouragement of Jewish writers and artists.

PROFESSOR E. WOLF (Sweden) conveyed to the Congress the good wishes of the Jewish community in Stockholm. No Jewish organisation or community could claim it had done all that was in its power to save the Jews from the catastrophe. The Jewish community of Stockholm was no exception to this rule. Various reports, many of them false, concerning the activities of his community had been spread in the USA. Nearly all Danish Jews, about 8,000 in number, were successfully rescued by transfer to Sweden. Thanks to the actions of Mr. Storch and Mr. Masur and later through the intervention of Count Bernadotte between 9,000 and 10,000 Jews from the concentration camps were saved and came to Sweden. The Jewish congregations of Stockholm, Goeteborg and Malmoe had made great efforts to aid these refugees, the total cost of the Swedish Jewish relief action being approximately 7.5 million Swedish crowns. Swedish Jewry was also making a great effort to support Haganah and among other things ambulances had been sent from Sweden to Israel.

RABBI DR. OVADIA KAMHI (France), Rabbi of the Sephardic Community in Paris took the floor as a French delegate and on behalf of the World Union of Sephardic Communities. He said that Congress had to choose between two alternatives: Acceptance of the diaspora as a historic necessity or acceptance of the principle of our forefathers that Jews resided in diaspora temporarily and that the day of re-assembly into Israel would come. A choice had to be made. Dr. Goldmann had spoken about two groups of Jewry - citizens of Israel and Jews of diaspora - but he failed to tell us whether he accepted the diaspora as permanent or as temporary.

MR. S. SILOMOVICZ (U.S. Zone-Germany) said many things were done by the World Jewish Congress but many more were left undone. In all its activities Congress must remember that stabilising diaspora was more often than not a futile job.

MR. Z. SHRAGAI (Poland) wished to correct a misunderstanding which had arisen in an earlier speech of his. He had the highest regard for the present Polish Government and had received from one of its leading ministers an official assurance that the Polish authorities would place no obstacle in the way of Polish Jews desirous of emigrating to Israel. The speaker repeated his appeal to a certain country which had lent invaluable support to Israel and to the Jewish people as a whole, to follow up its action in opening the gates of Israel by opening its own gates to allow its Jewish citizens to go to Israel if they so wished.

MR.S.LEIBOVICI (Rumania) drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that to-day was the seventh anniversary of the horrible pogrom in Jassy where 12,000 Jews lost their lives. The Assembly stood in silence for a minute to commemorate the martyrs of Jassy. He then told the Assembly that he was informed by telegram that 26 of the murderers of Jassy had just now been sentenced to hard labour for life and 25 others to 25 years of hard labour each. He finally expressed his appreciation of the part played by the Soviet people and the workers' parties in saving Rumanian Jewry.

MR.VICTOR MITRANI (Mexico) believed that with the establishment of Israel, anti-Semitism might abate but warned that it was well organised on the American Continent. The organisation of the Congress ought to be strengthened with a view to fight anti-Semitism.

MR.G.CYRINSKY (Shanghai) said there were well established and influential committees in China to help Israel. The Congress ought to concentrate on helping the Zionist cause. The Chinese were opposing all white people but it was only after the Japanese invasion that a movement specifically directed against the Jews was started.

DR.LAPIDUS (Sweden) said the rescue activities of the Swedish Section of the World Jewish Congress were truly remarkable. He paid tribute to the King of Sweden for his gracious help particularly in connection with the rescue of Hungarian Jewry and Herr Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who went on a humanitarian mission to save Jews and had never been seen again. The name of this great Swede would be for ever inscribed in the annals of Jewish history.

DR.Z.STRAUCH (Austria), Chairman of the Central Committee of Jews in Austria (American Zone) said that it was the duty of Congress to consider the D.P. problem in all its aspects and try to find an immediate solution.

DR.PAUL RIEBENFELD (Great Britain) speaking as fraternal delegate of the Board of Deputies of British Jews said that Jewries with old tradition in Foreign Affairs, like the Board of Deputies would only consider joining Congress if they could see political advantages for the Jewish people in this and if they saw that there existed an orderly organizational structure.

The impression existed that Congress stood for the idea of an international Jewish people with a strong central cabinet far from influence of Jewish public pressure. There could be only one government in Israel, the government of the State of Israel. Congress had to concentrate on such tasks which other Jewish bodies were neither authorized nor equipped to fulfil.

DR.D.SCHAPIRA (Austria), MR.HERZL GESANG (Argentina) and MR. N.WOLLHEIM (British Zone-Germany) also spoke.

C10/E/PW/RF





JUL 15 1948

# PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

ידישער וועלטקאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

CABLE: WORLDGRESS MONTREUX  
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MONTREUX,  
PALACE HOTEL

COMMUNIQUE NO. 11

30th June, 1948.

## FOURTH DAY

### Afternoon Session

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The afternoon session of the fourth day of the Assembly opened at 3.30 p.m. with DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN in chair.

DR. H.E. FABIAN, Jewish Community Berlin, brought greetings from the Soviet Zone of Germany. Of the former flourishing Jewish community in Berlin, only 8,000 survivors were left who, for administrative reasons, were organised in a body apart but had the most harmonious relations with the Jewish D.P.s. The Jewish community of Berlin did not feel that Germany was a place where Jews could remain permanently settled.

MRS. L. SIMKOVA, (Czechoslovakia) said, Congress had not always met the expectations and aspirations of Jewry in the past. In the opinion of those Jews who had been under German occupation, its rescue work during the war had been inadequate.

MR. R. GRINBERG (France), pointed out that the French delegation was composed of two distinct groups. The speaker was happy that Jewish Communists, who two years ago were opposed to Israel, were today its ardent supporters. He wondered, however, if in the unhappy event of a change of policy towards Israel by the Soviet Union - and he recalled the American volte-face of a few months ago - the Jewish Communists might not change their line. This evoked vigorous protests from part of the French delegation.

MR. J. LAZEBNIK (Poland), affirmed that Polish Jewry wished to cooperate with American Jewry. The national catastrophe had strengthened the national consciousness of all Jews and made them keenly aware of their common fate. Every reinforcement of the Jewish positions in America and every progress in the reconstruction of the Jewish community in contemporary democratic Poland contributed to the weal of Israel. There was no justification for Dr. Kubowitzki's pessimism over the future of Jews in the diaspora as far as Poland was concerned, whence anti-Semitism had been banished. But the Congress should revise its methods. Diplomatic intervention should be replaced by mass movements, organised by Congress people among the rank-and-file of the Jewish people.

LEON LAPACO (Argentina) felt the debate strengthened the Congress which was becoming a central organisation of the whole Jewish life in the diaspora.

In the second part of the meeting the chair was taken over by Dr. A $\frac{1}{2}$  BERMAN (Poland).

Chief Rabbi Dr. MOSES ROSEN (Roumania) said that in Roumania where Jews enjoyed all civic rights they were also free to live a full Jewish life and were taking advantage of that opportunity. Where formerly Synagogues had been burnt down - as was still happening in other countries where antisemitism was raging and where such events were passed over in silence - new Synagogues, Talmud Torahs and Yeshivot were now rising up. There was a new Rabbinical Seminary, and traditional Jewish life and learning were flourishing. Whereas formerly assimilationists had charge of Jewish life, today there was a mighty resurgence of Jewish consciousness throughout Roumania.

Mr. B. TEICHHOLZ (Austria) expressed his thanks to Lady Reading for her intervention on behalf of D.Ps with General Lebedenko, Commander of the Soviet Army. He also expressed his appreciation of the help given to Jewish D.Ps by the U.S. Army, the Soviet Army and the Austrian Government.

Mr. HIRSCH STRASCHEFFSKY (Finland) considered it a mistake that every delegation should have sung the praises of its own particular Government. Antisemitism in various hues existed in all diaspora countries and would only disappear when the Jews of the diaspora threw in their lot with Israel. Finland had sent relatively more volunteers to Israel than any other Jewish community. Forty percent of Finnish Jewry's manhood between 17 and 40 years of age had joined the Hagannah.

Mr. A.L. EASTERMAN (Great Britain), Political Secretary of the World Jewish Congress, said in his recent extensive travels among the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, he had found Jews in the midst of a revolutionary process which had affected their traditional way of life and their economic and social conditions. They were in the process of being reconditioned to a system which subordinated private interest to public enterprise. He could not say that this transformation had caused undiluted happiness to every Jew living under the new economic system in Eastern Europe. There was one happiness which was, however, unmitigated. For the first time in hundreds of years of misery, humiliation, oppression and tragedy, the Jews of Eastern Europe had been freed from the antisemitic poison germ which had corroded the Jewish people for twenty centuries. They no longer feared the dread of the antisemitic terrorists of the palace, the parliament and the market place. The sport of Jew-baiting was no longer a national and natural pastime in the East. This was a measure of true democracy which the democracies of the world had to emulate if they were to justify their claim to be truly democratic. In this particular sense, the Jewish communities of the East were more free than most other Jewries in other parts of the world. They were more free than the Jews of Great Britain where the Fascist, antisemitic, reactionary

gangs of Mosley were at this moment legally permitted to propagate antisemitism. A democratic British Government, a Labour Government, had not yet accepted the principle that licence must not be confused with liberty to destroy liberty. Neither were things going well in the U.S.A. where every great American Jewish organisation was obliged to spend a lot of energy and millions of dollars on combating antisemitism. A potentially dangerous situation existed for the 600,000 Jews in Latin America and for the 100,000 in South Africa.

The Jews were entitled to the fundamental human right of enjoying freedom from fear. But that was not all. They had the right to pursue their own way of life as Jews.

The speaker expressed his gratitude to the Soviet Union and the East European countries for their contribution to the achievement of the independence of Israel and expressed his hope that these countries would continue to support Jewish freedom by according to their Jewish citizens the right of free emigration.

Mr. HILLEL STORCH (Sweden) said it was often difficult to distinguish between relief and politics. He quoted the raising of the 20 million dollar fund which the Swedish Government put at the disposal of the refugees and the saving of 4,000 women from the Ravensbruck concentration camp, as border cases where aid and politics merged.

Other facts quoted by the speaker in support of his thesis were the receipt by Dr. Reigner in Geneva of the list of Jews in concentration camps and the provision of protective passes to the Jews in Hungary. Using relatively small means the World Jewish Congress had forced much richer organisations to spend large sums on Jewish relief.

Dr. DAVID PETEGORSKY (U.S.A.) Executive Director American Jewish Congress, said that although the American Jewish community was the greatest in the world, it did not claim greater privileges than the smallest community here represented. But the size of American Jewry imposed on them far greater responsibilities than on any other section of the Jewish people. The most important task the Congress faced was to achieve the unity of the Jewish people. This was far from easy as even within American Jewry that objective had not been achieved. He warned delegates against doing anything which would make it more difficult to unite American Jewry and to bring a united American Jewry into the World Jewish Congress. The American Jewish Congress also felt a tremendous responsibility because of the vast influence of the United States in world affairs which came into the picture in virtually every international agency which dealt with Jewish problems. This session should not do anything which would make the Congress' political task in the U.S.A. more difficult than it already was. It might be very gratifying for some delegates to adopt ringing declarations which would satisfy some groups. But the political effectiveness of the World Jewish Congress depended largely on its day-to-day relationships with the governments of the world. If by anything that was done here the Congress made its relationship with the most powerful of those governments more difficult, they would again betray their

responsibility for the political effectiveness of its work.

It was inevitable also that a large measure of the material support which made the work of the World Jewish Congress possible had to come from the U.S.A. It was likely that that support would have to be greatly increased. The American Jewish Congress did not represent the wealthy classes of America, some of whose members did not like it. It was, therefore, not too easy to secure from the U.S.A. that measure of financial support which the Congress had to have. Those who sought the adoption of high-sounding resolutions which bore little relationship to the Congress' daily work would be guilty of jeopardising the material basis of its work.

The speaker concluded by saying he was distressed at political frictions evident in this assembly and also called for a greater technical efficiency of the organisation of the Congress.

Dr. J. HELLMAN (Argentina) said Jews should revise their attitude to the Soviet Union. They had to recognise the service that country had rendered to them. The same applied to Poland and other East European countries .

There should be cultural unity between the Jews in Israel and the Jews in the diaspora. Some 85% of Argentine Jewish children had no Jewish education. There was a necessity for a strong intervention in this matter.

Dr. POLAKIEWICZ (Costa Rica) opposed Dr. Sneh's thesis of political expediency and said that although Costa Rica had recognised Israel, her Government was not free from antisemitism. But there were other nations which were good for the Jews though they did not recognise Israel.

Dr. L. BERNSTEIN (Italy) said that the position of refugees in Italy was so bad that it could inspire Dante Alighieri to writing another "Inferno". There was in Rome the Arch of Triumph erected by Emperor Titus under which no Jew was allowed to pass. He recalled with pride that twice in recent history was that "ban" defied; firstly by the Jewish Brigade who victoriously marched under it, and secondly by a group of Chalutzim who passed through Rome towards a free life in Israel.

Mr. I. NATANI (England) spoke on behalf of East London's Workers' Circle (Arbeiterring). He supported the formulation of Dr. Sneh's thesis and thought that Congress must further Jewish and Hebrew culture in Palestine as well as in the diaspora.



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

MONTREUX 1948

## DECLARATION ON ISRAEL

As representatives and spokesmen of the broad masses of the Jewish people throughout the world, we hail with pride and joy the establishment of the State of Israel. We offer our boundless gratitude to our fellow-Jews in Eretz Israel for the fulfilment of the millennial hopes of our people for national restoration in the land of our fathers.

We salute the heroism of the Haganah, the Jewish Defence Army, whose military achievements in the face of fearful odds have added another glorious chapter to the history of Jewish valour. We salute the courage of Israel's Jews who have permitted neither military aggression nor political pressure to daunt them in their valiant battle for the defence, consolidation and international recognition of the new State.

The World Jewish Congress calls with confidence on every section of the Jewish people to support and to sustain with all its resources the struggle for the independence and integrity of the State of Israel until that struggle shall have been crowned with final victory. We call on our fellow-Jews everywhere to give fullest moral and material support to Israel in its resistance to any efforts which seek to diminish the sovereignty or to reduce the territory of the new State. In that resistance, we and they are fortified by the knowledge that we are defending the judgment of the United Nations, arrived at after exhaustive inquiry and discussion. We protest against the demands by aggressive powers to jeopardise the rights of the Jewish people in Israel by political and military action.

We acknowledge with gratitude the action already taken by nations in according recognition to the State of Israel. They have spoken not only for the moral conscience of their own people; they have reflected the moral recognition which has been accorded Israel by all men of goodwill throughout the world. We appeal most earnestly to all other nations of the world to follow their example and to match the moral recognition of Israel by men and women everywhere with political recognition by their constituted authorities. We have stood with unflinching consistency by the United Nations. We are

entitled to expect that the United Nations shall now stand by us.

The Jewish people in the State of Israel and throughout the world has never sought and does not seek conflict with the Arab peoples. We seek for the State of Israel no more than equal status with the other nations of the world within the framework of the United Nations, as we seek for Jews everywhere equal rights as Jews and human beings. Because the State of Israel embodies, as the Yishuv has hitherto embodied, the noble, ethical and moral values of our people, we are supremely certain that it will seek to work out its destiny in peaceful cooperation with its Arab neighbours and on a basis of respect for the human rights and full equality of all its inhabitants without distinction. The re-establishment of peace in Palestine will thus serve the cause of progress in the Middle East and will provide the opportunity for the renewal of the ancient tradition of Arab-Jewish cooperation in Israel and other lands throughout the world.

Confident of the justice of the cause of Israel we, the delegates to this Second Plenary Session of the World Jewish Congress, solemnly pledge ourselves to support the State of Israel by every means and with all our resources in the struggle for its integrity and independence; and in this hour of trial, of struggle, and of fulfilment, we send to its citizens and soldiers the ancient Jewish greetings: **BE STRONG AND OF GOOD COURAGE.**



JUL 15 1948

## PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

ידישער וועלטקאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

CABLE : WORLDGRESS MONTREUX  
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PALACE HOTEL

COMMUNIQUE NO.12.

30th June. 1948.

FOURTH DAYEvening Session

The evening meeting of the Assembly began at 9.10 p.m. with DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN in the Chair.

DR. A. GEYER (Hungary) said that recent events had changed the attitude of Hungarian Jewry which now wished to establish closer contacts with Jews of other countries.

MRS. M. B. NORDHEIM (Netherlands) stressed the full support given by the Dutch Jews to the State of Israel. Zionist influence was decisive in all Jewish institutions and was noticeable in the relations with the government.

MR. M. STEINBERG (U.S.A.) conveyed to the Congress the greetings of 200,000 members of the American Jewish Trade Unions.

DR. JAIME S. FIRSTATER (Argentina) objected to so much time being given to the question of East and West. He thought the Congress should concentrate on the problem of displaced persons as well as on the consolidation of the Jewish State.

DR. M. BENVENISTI (Rumania) stressed the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the establishment of the Jewish State.

A. KLIPPEL (Australia) stressed the services rendered to the Jews by the Prime Ministers of Australia and of New Zealand.

DR. A. VAJS (Yugoslavia) said Yugoslav Jewry saw in the establishment of Israel a realization of a long cherished dream. He believed that Jewish experience militated against being neutral in the present struggle. Jews ought to link up with the freedom-loving democratic forces.

REV. DR. A. COHEN (Great Britain) stressed the weight of responsibility now resting on Britain's Jewry at present the second largest community in Europe.

MR. M. BISSELIQUES (Hungary), Chairman of the Hungarian Zionist Organisation, thought the Jews ought to take into their own hands the question of their security. The Jews of Hungary had a positive attitude to the State of Israel and all pro-Palestine actions enjoyed a full support of the Hungarian Government.

MR. A. BIALOPOLSKI (Israel) said that the liberation of Jews in the Arabic lands depended on who would make the Negev, and that the DP problem could be solved only if a complete sovereignty of Israel and free immigration were assured.

MR. L. FEFFER (U.S. Zone-Germany) denied that Jewish DP's were demoralised. Were this true the Jews would not have set up 67 schools with 192 teachers and 8,000 scholars. Demoralised Jews could not behave the way the passengers of the "Exodus" did. It was most urgent to liquidate the camps, to enable the DP's to leave hated Germany.

MR. ZERUBAWEL (Israel) said that neutrality towards war-mongers was inadmissible. Under the cloak of anti-Communism Bevin and the Mufti aimed at stopping Jewish immigration. The USA did not permit Jewish youth to participate in the fight for Israel at a time when the memory of the American Jewish hero David Marcus, leader of the Haganah in Jerusalem, was being hallowed.

MR. ANSELM REISS (Israel) saw in Zionism the only way to Jewish Socialism. He was against isolation and neutrality and spoke for an expansion of the World Jewish Congress on a democratic basis.

DR. E. MAURER (Austria) expressed the thanks of the Jews of Vienna for the help rendered to them by the World Jewish Congress.

MR. P. SZWARZBLAT (U.S. Zone-Germany) said the "EXodus" passengers fought not only for their own liberation but also for that of the whole Jewish people. He appealed to the Jews of America and other countries to send men to Israel to make possible its defence and reconstruction.

The speech by Mr. P. Szwarczblat concluded the General Debate.

The reply of the Executive and of the European Secretariat was introduced by DR. G.M. RIEGNER (Switzerland), Director of the Geneva Office of the World Jewish Congress and member of its European Secretariat. He first surveyed activities of the Congress since its inception and especially during the war. The fact that the Congress had no ideology of its own was its weakness as well as its strength. The structure of the Congress was pliable and offered room for everybody. The political programme and the principal thesis of the World Jewish Congress was to assure the existence and the prosperity of the Jewish people. In view of this it was necessary to compromise between parties and ideologies. The principle of expediency in matters political was insufficient as Jews had to take account of the opinion of the world. The answer to the question whether something was good or bad for the Jews depended on whether the problem touched upon the question of physical well-being, of cultural values or of spiritual freedom. In the Congress' experience the differences between East and West, between right and left had always been satisfactorily solved. The future tasks of the World Jewish Congress included expansion of its activities and carrying out of a programme of work for the Jewish Youth.



DR. N. BAROU (Great Britain) Chairman of the European Secretariat of the World Jewish Congress, emphasized the difficulties encountered in the process of organizing the World Jewish Congress as an instrument of Jewish defence. It was a happy coincidence that the Polish delegation to this Assembly represented all Jewish parties which meant that Poland's peoples democracy was no empty phrase. He regretted the absence of the Board of Deputies representing Britain's Jewry. The Congress had always tried to establish contact with Russian Jewry. The Congress waited for Russian-Jewish decision to strengthen the defensive reserves of a people which had lost one-third of its manpower.

DR. A. L. KUBOWITZKI (U.S.A.), Secretary General of the World Jewish Congress, said he did not assert there was not enough security for the Jews in people's democracies but that the fact of the existence of a government favourably disposed to the Jews should not prevent the Congress to demand the incorporation of further assurances of Jewish rights in the peace treaties. He protested against the denouncing in this Assembly of Jews who fled Rumania as exploiters. Their fault was that they could not adjust themselves to the new social order. He pointed at the danger of using such catchwords.

The speaker energetically rejected the allegations that party considerations played any rôle in establishing rescue priorities. There had been during the war close contact with the left as well as with the Agudah. Pioneering work had been done in mobilising world opinion. Congress' plans for the destruction of gas-chambers and crematoria failed because of the opposition of Allied military circles; and there were not sufficient funds to bribe the Gestapo in order to save the Jews.

Since the war one of the most important developments was the courageous attitude of British Jewry in the question of Palestine.

What was good for the Jews could only be decided by history. Was it good for the Jews that some of them preferred death at the stake to saving their own lives? Was it good for the Jews that the passengers of the "Exodus" had rejected French hospitality? He believed that the times when Jews lived in physical security but created little spiritually, were "not good for the Jews". He would like to see the criterion of expediency replaced by a criterion of love to Israel. There was no greater task than to be a servant of the Jewish people. /Loud applause/.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN, President of the Executive, took the floor in reply to the general debate. He confessed that he had felt uneasy about calling the present session of Congress after twelve years of revolutionary upheaval, which had contributed more to differentiating the various Diaspora communities than had the past nineteen centuries put together. But the proceedings had allayed his qualms. An assembly where no differences of opinion were expressed would have no raison d'être, but all differences at this conference had been expressed in fraternal fashion. If there had been a slight incident, it was nothing compared to the rumpuses that marked the deliberations of many great national parliaments, to say nothing of the harshness of debates at Lake Success.

Dr. Goldmann took to task Mr. Israel Cohen, fraternal delegate of the British Board of Deputies, and claimed that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Board had no more right to meddle, say, in the affairs of Rumanian Jewry - except by request of that community - than had Rumanian Jewry to intervene in the affairs of the Board. Such interference was both wanton and arbitrary. Only an international organisation embracing a plurality of Jewish communities, could speak on behalf of its members - and only then when asked to do so by the community concerned. There were exceptional cases when a Jewish community was completely muzzled and then other Jewish communities spoke up on its behalf. That had been done for German Jewry. In normal circumstances, however, intervention by one Jewry in the internal issues of any other Jewry was intolerable. The American Jewish Committee was the most flagrant offender in this respect.

Dr. Goldmann dealt at length with two arguments put forward in the course of the general debate. The first, that of Dr. Sneh, was that Jewry must throw in its lot exclusively with the progressive democratic forces of the world upon whose success or failure depended the Jewish destiny. The second argument, submitted by many speakers, was that all things must be judged by the exclusive criterion of what best serves Jewish interests. Neither of these arguments was tenable when examined in concrete terms. Dr. Goldmann gave chapter and verse based on recent and contemporary history.

Would Jewry have obtained the necessary two-third majority at Lake Success for the creation of the State of Israel with the sole support of what Dr. Sneh considered the progressive democratic forces of the world? There were occasions when truly progressive forces happened to pursue interests alien to that of Jewry. For instance, twenty years ago it was the American Labour Movement which had most vehemently opposed Jewish immigration into the United States. Had Jewry accepted the verdict of Labour at that time, the American Jewish community would not to-day be 5,000,000 strong and, by the same token, the European catastrophe would have been even greater than it was. The progressive Soviet Union had for a long time suspected Zionism of being the tool of British Imperialism. Dr. Goldmann had never despaired in his personal contacts with Soviet leaders that the Russians would come to recognise that Zionism was a genuine national liberation movement, and that if ever Britain turned anti-Zionist, Zionism would inevitably turn anti-British. But should Jewry have accepted the Soviet view in the days of suspicion and hostility?

Next Dr. Goldmann treated what he called the celebrated question of party politics within the World Jewish Congress. If Congress were to be transformed into a platform from which the Jews of one country were permitted to tell, say, American Jewry, what internal policy to adopt in the United States, then American Jewry would be entitled likewise to impose its advice on the Jews of that other country. That would be the beginning of the end of Congress.

Reverting to the argument that all things must be considered exclusively from the Jewish standpoint, Dr. Goldmann declared that each Jew was more than a Jew - he had a thousand-and-one interests over and above his specifically Jewish interests, and that not only because he owed loyalty to the State of which he was a citizen - and the speaker personally would rue the day when Jews would become nothing but Jews without any external interests. The Jews were human beings like anybody else, with the same or even wider gamut of interests, and like any other people on earth were not only proud of having produced great thinkers, scientists and artists, but were equally entitled to count crooks and undesirables among their numbers. Statisticians had proved that there was less criminality among Jews than among other peoples, but for his part the speaker never gave two hoots for such statistics. The Jews, he insisted again, were a people like any other people.

Finally, Dr. Goldmann went into the sore question of neutrality. It would be tragic enough if a day came when, as the result of a world conflict, the Jews would be forced to make their choice. Dr. Goldmann considered that the ideal way would be for Israel to remain neutral like Switzerland. That was probably impossible of achievement. Meanwhile the Jews must steer their own course. The unification of world Jewry in the Congress was a wonderful achievement in itself. Unity must be strengthened. Dr. Goldmann appealed for tolerance, elasticity and compromise in the frame of resolutions and the drafting of the Congress constitution, so that agreement could be reached on a unanimous or as good as unanimous basis. Congress was not a parliament with a governmental majority and an oppositional minority. It was a voluntary institution and had no power to impose its will upon anyone. For the sake of world Jewry unity of action was imperative, and Dr. Goldmann expressed the profound hope that such unity would emerge from the deliberations of this Second Plenary Session of World Jewish Congress.

Dr. Goldmann's speech received an ovation from the delegates who had listened with rapt attention to his profoundly lucid yet sparkingly witty exposé.

The night session closed at 1.50 a.m.

In the course of the night session the Chairman announced that the following Committees were set up and would start work on Thursday morning, July 1st: POLITICAL COMMITTEE (Chairman S.S. Silverman, M.P.), ORGANISATION COMMITTEE (Chairman, Dr. JoachimmPrinz), RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE (Chairman, Dr. A. Tartakower), CULTURAL COMMITTEE (Chairman H. Parnas), FINANCE COMMITTEE (Chairman, Dr. N. Barou).

At the close of the general debate, 197 journalists, representing Jewish and non-Jewish newspapers and news agencies throughout the world, had registered with the Press Department of the World Jewish Congress Second Plenary Assembly.

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Note to Editors:

In Communique No. 8 of June 29th, Dr. Jonas KOVINSKY (Argentina) by a regrettable error of transscription, was reported as saying that "there was no central organisation of Jewish communities" in the Argentine. He said actually that Argentine Jewry was unified in a strong central organisation - DAIA, the Delegation of Associations of Argentine Jewry.

C 12/E/FW/EL/TW



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

MONTREUX 1948

## M E S S A G E

FROM PROF. CHAIM WEIZMANN,  
PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

I am deeply disappointed that on account of the pressure of work and of unforeseen obligations, I must now deny myself the pleasure to which I had looked forward, of going to Montreux in order to greet the delegates now assembled at the Second Plenary Session of the World Jewish Congress.

I must therefore content myself with this means of conveying to them my sincerest fraternal greetings and my warm good wishes for their successful discharge of the important obligations which they have undertaken on behalf of the Jewish people.

The State of Israel, especially in the early stages of its work of reconstruction, will look to the Jewish Diaspora for indispensable material and moral support. I am confident that we can look to the World Jewish Congress to dedicate its worldwide organization and strength to the fulfillment of this high task.



JUL 15 1948

# PRESS COMMUNIQUE

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

יהודי העולם ועליו קאנגרעס

COMMUNIQUE NO. 13.

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי 1

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MONTREUX,  
PALACE HOTEL

## FIFTH DAY.

### ISRAEL SESSION.

After a short break which enabled the Committees to commence their work, the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress re-assembled for a special Israel Session, which began at 9.10 p.m. on Thursday in an atmosphere of festive expectation with DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN in the Chair.

The Chairman presented to the Assembly a message from Dr. Chaim Weizman, the President of Israel. In this message Dr. Weizman apologized for not being able to participate in the meeting. He wished the Congress full success in its deliberations. The full version of the Message has already been released to the press.

MR. MEIER GRABOWSKY (Israel) brought greetings from the Yishuv and the Vaad Leumi. He surveyed the history of the first days of Israel's independence and the war. He said he witnessed two symbolic scenes on the first day of Jewish independence: a bombing attack by the aggressor Arab states and the arrival of the first two ships carrying free immigrants to a free State. He disclosed the Arab plan was based on the idea to smash the Jewish state within ten days. But the prowess of the Haganah upset this plan completely. The Jews were in this struggle in a one-to-fourty minority fighting with their backs to the wall against a powerful coalition supported by British guns, aircraft, funds and men. But he hoped that the Britain of Egon, Disraeli and Balfour would prevail in spite of the enmity of the Labour government. He praised the heroic stand of Jewish Jerusalem. The Christian world had always wished to have a say in the fate of Jerusalem but today Christian guns and Christian soldiers were destroying the Holy City. Fourteenhundred Jewish soldiers fighting at Shar Hagai against tremendous odds, had succeeded, under fire, to cut a road to link up with Jerusalem.

The result of the military operation was that the entire area of the State of Israel was in Jewish hands and additional defensive areas, originally allotted to the Arabs, were taken over. Sixteen States have so far recognised Israel and the flags of the State of Israel flutter from embassies in the mightiest capitals of the world.

DR. BURG (Israel) stressed the unity of the Congress regarding the Yishuv. He recalled the answer given by Chief Rabbi Herzog to the last British High Commissioner in Palestine: "No Jews will abandon Jerusalem voluntarily". They had all, as events proved, fulfilled their duty to Erez Israel. A people who had not forgotten Jerusalem for the past two thousand years would see to it that a flourishing new Jerusalem rose from the ruins. The Jews of Israel knew what they were fighting for. They came to Palestine not to die but to fight and to live. The three groups of the Yishuv: the immigrants, the partisans of the recent European war and the native Jews of Palestine formed a powerful combination that would win in the end.

MR. MORDECHAI OREN (Israel) brought greetings of the fighting and working Yishuv - the pioneers fighting in the Negev, the Jews of Jerusalem and of the Haganah. He thought that the establishment of Israel had been achieved with the help of the peoples' democracies. The truce which had already lasted three weeks should not end with a paltry compromise. The Jews had to win for the sake of freedom and democracy.

PROFESSOR J. SACK, member of the Polish Sejm, recalled with pride that Polish Jewry had been among the first communities to express its complete solidarity with Israel at a time when the Occupying Power in Palestine had set up scores of commissions to deprive the people of Israel of their title to their own country.

Polish Jews - non-Zionists as well as Zionists - formulated in January 1948 their positive attitude to Israel and to the whole Jewish people. Polish Jewry abided by its devotion to Israel and to world Jewry, and it was one of the great joys of this Congress that complete unanimity prevailed among all strata of the Jewish people in the Diaspora the world over - they were all brothers united in the cause of Israel.

The tragically depleted Polish Jewry had sent out food-ships to Israel. It was a symbol of the unbounded love of Polish Jewry for Israel. They would willingly give their blood and their lives to win the good fight for the future of the Jewish people and for the future of humanity. He was sure that Israel would be for all time a fountain-head of freedom, of humanitarian and economic justice and of true democracy.

MR. B. MARK (Poland) editor-in-chief of "Das Naje Leben" said the progressive forces of the world had written on their banner the self-determination of peoples and had faithfully fought for the realisation of the self-determination of the Jewish people.

The creation of the State of Israel was a result of the co-operation of the Jews and of progressive democracies. It was now the task of the Jewish people in Israel to resist all political and economic invasions, no matter whether they came from the Mufti, from Bevin or from the oil magnates.

MR. SIDNEY SILVERMANN M.P. (Britain) said that the assembled representatives of the Jewish people who were not themselves citizens of Israel, in the name of this people did hereby solemnly recognize the State of Israel. (applause). For Eretz Israel this was also a turning point. Throughout twenty centuries it was the source of inspiration of the Jewish people. But it had also been an unfulfilled dream for the future. Those days were now ended. It was no longer only the National Home of the past, it was the eternal present of the Jewish people (applause). Speaking as a British citizen and a loyal supporter of his Party and Government, he had to confess that the performance of that British Government in the matter of Palestine during the past three years caused a deep and abiding distress to him. But he hoped and believed that there will pass from the minds and memories of the British and the Jews the bitter humiliations of those past three years, in grateful memory for the many centuries of toleration and of assistance to the persecuted that the British nation has rendered throughout those centuries. He hoped that the loyal and traditional friendship and alliance arising out of mutual debt and mutual gratitude between the Jewish people and the British people would come again to the fore and would last for ever. (applause). The Jews would wish to play the part as a people of reconciliation between the nations of the world, and not of dissention. It was a matter of satisfaction to them that among all the major problems which the United Nations have had to deal with, there was only one on which the Eastern world and the Western world had been able to unite - Palestine. Yet, the establishment of the Jewish Nation in Israel owed little to any assistance Jews had had from any other nation. He did not regret that fact. It was good for the Jews that they should rebuild their national life not as the protégés of any other people but by their own labours and by their own arm. The triumph of Israel had rested on two main factors, both of their own making: the heroism of the HAGANA and the labour that had gone into the creation of Jewish settlements during the past decades. He hoped that the Jews efforts to build a new life would not only be the salvation of the Jewish people but also an example to the whole world.

RABBI DR. STEPHEN WISE - who was given a great ovation by the Assembly, which rose when he started to speak, recalled the year 1897, year of the first Zionist Congress at Basle. It was just as miraculous as this year of miracles which ended a few months ago 1947. For the first time in modern life a Jew had dared to use the term "Juden" and "Judenstaat". Theodor Herzl understood that Zionism was as good for the world as it was good for Jewries and he stood his case on that. He was tired of those who said that Zionism was merely an answer to anti-Semitism. Zionism was the Jewish resolve to create an own National Home. No more begging for favours and privileges and advantages. The Jewish people proclaimed they were going to stand on their own feet. He died because the Jewish people in its unreadiness broke his great heart. He could not understand his own people, the Jews of England, the Jews of America, the Jews of Germany, the Jews of France. To their honour be it said that the Jews of Eastern Europe received him most cordially and most lovingly, and even then, tens of thousands of the Orthodox Jews were not ready for Herzl because they did not think in their piety that they could dream of being comrades in re-creating the life of the Jewish people. He thanked God to-night, as one who knew Herzl and loved him, for the life and word and teaching, and influence of Theodor Herzl. Had he been followed there would not been 700,000 Jews in Israel to-day, but two or three million settled not on a million and a quarter Dunam, but on five million. "Here was this brave Jew, one of the three great Jews of a thousand years. Maimonides who gave an ordered life to the Jewish people; Spinoza, who brought back the genius of Jewish thought not only to the Jewish people but to all the world, and Herzl, the Chalutz, first of the Chalutzim, I, who knew him, can tell you he was the proudest Jew I ever knew in my life. Every breath of his being, every gesture of his hand, every uncon-



scious pose, of his noble body, spoke of his noble, self-demanding pride in being a Jew, in being a son of the Jewish people, in being the forerunner of the "Judenstaat" which has become our today." i

Dr. Wise said he was proud of his own country, the United States of America which recognised Israel within four minutes after the Proclamation of the Jewish State. He believed that whoever would be the next President of the U.S.A. would follow the line of President Truman today. He wished England returned to the glorious days of Balfour Declaration (applause).

Summing up Dr. Wise said that Herzl taught the Jews to stand as free men in the sight of all the world. Herzl through Zionism liberated the Jewish people who would remain free and liberated. There was no division there between East and West, between the Soviet and America, so long as Jews resolved that Israel shall stand and stand as a great democratic power for the bettering of all the world.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN declared that he would resist the temptation of making a speech. He only wished to recall something of the background history of the Proclamation of the State of Israel. The courageous and utterly fearless act which marked its birth was indeed a happy augury for its future growth and development. The strong delegation of the then Jewish Agency engaged in negotiations with the United Nations at Lake Success had been submitted to most elaborate pressure by friend and foe alike to agree to a postponement of the Proclamation. The warnings and the advice issued by the Powers were referred back to Israel; and it was there that the historic decision which risked the destiny of Jewry at one throw was taken at the highest level and with the full support of the people of Israel. Heedless of "wise counsels" from friends and others, Jews proclaimed the State of Israel.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann then presented to the Assembly the DECLARATION ON ISRAEL, full text of which has already been released to the Press. The statement was made on behalf of the Executive of the World Jewish Congress.

Delegates and guests rose to their feet to mark the solemn occasion and their unanimous approval of the Declaration. To the strains of "Hatikvah" the Jewish national anthem, the session on Israel came to a close.

CL3/E/FW/EL/L



# Bulletin

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

ידישער וועלטקאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

P R E S S   C O M M U N I Q U E   N o . 1 4 .

4th July 1948

## SEVENTH DAY

After an interval of three days which were set aside for the work of the five Committees, the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress met again at 9.30 p.m. on Sunday under the chairmanship of Dr. NAHUM GOLDMANN.

The Chairman announced that all Committees had completed their work. The resolutions would be submitted to the Plenary Session and he hoped that the Assembly would complete its work in the course of Monday.

DR. N. BAROU of the Finance Committee, submitting the report said the Committee recommended that the decision of the first Plenary Session of Congress in 1936 be confirmed, according to which each affiliated country should contribute to the central funds of the World Jewish Congress. The future Administrative Committee was to be asked to approve a revision of the key of these contributions. In countries where Congress organisations did not participate in centralised fund-raising campaigns of the whole community agreement should be reached with other Jewish organisations that one month in the year be set aside for World Jewish Congress fund-raising drives. Finally the Committee suggested that the position be especially scrutinised in countries where large sums had recently been raised for Israel, and that possible contributions to Congress in these countries be made known within three months and not later than next October. The Executive was authorised to contact all member countries not later than next October to ascertain their contributions.

The Chairman drew attention to the failure of some affiliated countries to pay their dues. Eastern European countries were bearing the heavy burden of reconstruction. In the Western hemisphere some countries were carrying the financial brunt, but others were failing in their duty. Some had not contributed since the end of the war. Dr. Goldmann paid special tribute to the efforts made in Switzerland and Sweden.

Mr. H. PARNAS (Poland) submitting the report of the Rehabilitation and Restitution Commission, said the World Jewish Congress had done a good deal of spadework in matters within the terms of reference of his Commission despite very modest funds. He warned of the dangerous position of the DPs and said that the possibility of DP administration being handed over to the Germans had to be resisted. The Germans gave little or no evidence that they had

actually learned anything from the past. A number of States had still failed to carry out restitution of Jewish property. In the British Zone of Germany no steps in this direction had so far been taken. He demanded, amid cheers, that this situation be remedied and pointed to the preferential treatment given to the DPs by the Polish Government.

He stressed the problem of continued non-Jewish guardianship of a proportion of Jewish children and the difficult position of Jewish students.

The Rehabilitation and Restitution Commission recommended the creation of a central Jewish organisation to investigate the work of rehabilitation and restitution.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN announced that according to information received from Dr. BENVENISTI, Rumania, too, had fully applied her restitution laws.

DR. N. ROBINSON (U.S.A.) reported on the problem of heirless property. He said progress in this sector varied in various countries. The principle which had to be adopted was that all property which was alienated from the Jews as a result of discriminatory legislation, contracts made under constraint or by other illegal means had to be fully restored

There were various difficulties which hindered the carrying out of restitution plans; such as attempts to include Jewish losses in the general scheme of war reparations, sabotage of laws and the difficult financial situation of the various countries. The principle to be established was that those who suffered loss were entitled on a priority basis to at least such sums as would enable them to start a new life.

The speaker referred to the uneasiness caused by the absence, in most cases, of statutory regulations concerning the position of heirless property.

The Assembly then unanimously adopted the Resolution on restitution of heirless property.

DR. A. TARTAKOWER (ISRAEL) called for new methods in Jewish self-aid along the following lines: Relief and political activities ought to be fully integrated; relief should be based on the principle of Jewish solidarity in which the contrast between donors and recipients must disappear. Philanthropy had to be replaced by Jewish solidarity. There was need for applying for outside financial help in view of the insufficiency of Jewish funds. Some progress had been made in this matter as result of conversations with Governments and international organisations; but there must also be

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The Assembly then unanimously adopted the Resolution on Restitution of heirless property.

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Note to the Editors:

The Press Department wishes to supplement previous Communiqués by short summaries of the following speeches made during the general debate, last week, which owing to shortage of staff and space could not be accommodated in the Press Communiqués covering the respective meetings.

MR. HIRSCH STRASCHEFFSKY (Finland) considered it a mistake that every delegation should have sung the praises of its own particular Government. Anti-Semitism in various hues existed in all diaspora countries and would only disappear when the Jews of the diaspora threw in their lot with Israel. Finland had put at disposal of the Hagana relatively more funds and volunteers than any other Jewish Community. The World Jewish Congress, meeting a few weeks after the establishment of Israel and a few days before the expiry of the truce, must take all measures to secure the existence of Israel.

MR. B. TEICHHOLZ (Austria) expressed his thanks to Lady Reading for her intervention with General Lebedenko, the Soviet Army Commander, in favour of the D.P.s. He also spoke with gratitude of the great services rendered to Jews in Austria by Mr. Ernest Stiassny, director of the Vienna Office of the World Jewish Congress. Congress was responsible for bringing to Vienna clothing and important medical supplies.

MR. NORBERT WOLLHEIM (British Zone - Germany) said that the liquidation of German Jewry was irrevocable. The Jewish Community now in Germany was purely transitory. Jews there lived under the shadow of a new danger - the moral rehabilitation of a powerful Germany as a result of the struggle between the Powers. That resulted also in a rise of anti-Semitism which used anti-Communism as its slogan and former Nazi officials as its tools. The Exodus trouble gave a powerful stimulus to German anti-Semitism. Hostility by the British authorities to the Jews has also been shown by non-recognition of central Jewish bodies in the British Zone. The principal objective of Jewish policy in Germany was to liquidate the camps. The speaker thanked the World Jewish Congress for the support it gave the Jews in the British and U.S.-Zone in their difficult political struggle.

MR. HERZL GESANG (Argentina) said the Congress-linked Delegation of Associations of Argentine Jewry (DAIA) represented most Jewish organisations. But not all DAIA affiliates had joined Congress or understood its work. Argentine Jewry had to bring these bodies fully into the fold of the Congress.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

Montreux 1948

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COMMISSION OF RECONSTRUCTION  
AND REHABILITATION

RESOLUTION OF RELIEF

1. The Second Session of the World Jewish Congress having listened to reports delivered about the Relief activities of the World Jewish Congress during the years of war and afterwards expressed its feelings of appreciation and gratitude to all those who were responsible for the pioneer work done in this particular field. The Session expressed at the same time its feelings of gratitude to our affiliated bodies whose fullhearted cooperation made possible the raising of funds needed for the Congress work of Relief and Rehabilitation.
2. The Session faced with the continued mass poverty and sufferings in the countries of Europe and with hundreds of thousands of Jewish Displaced Persons expressed its firm belief that more extensive social planning and broader and more comprehensive social programs are required to achieve the rehabilitation of Jews and Jewish Communities. At the same time the Session stresses that the Relief work is to be done in the spirit of real democracy, of Jewish national solidarity and of the fullest participation in its administration on the part of those to whom assistance is being rendered.
3. The Session calls upon the Executive Committee of the World Jewish Congress to influence the Relief work done by the various Jewish bodies in the above-mentioned spirit and to make the necessary efforts in order to achieve the coordination of the Congress relief activities with the activities of other major Jewish relief agencies through continuous consultation and cooperation.
4. The Session reiterates the fundamental principle proclaimed by the World Jewish Congress and realised in its activities according to which there exists a close correlation between Relief and political activities. While recognizing the tremendous contribution made by Jewish organizations through mobilisation of private resources for purposes of direct relief, the Session therefore feels that intensive efforts should be made to secure a far more adequate measure of assistance for Jewish Relief and Rehabilitation from public resources. The Session expects that the work done by the Congress in influencing the policies of Governmental, inter-Governmental

and International Agencies, to have them participate in the work of the Relief and Rehabilitation done for the Jewish population, will be continued in the same spirit with the same vigour as it had been in the past.

AMENDMENT BY Mr. STORCH.

The Second Session underlines the unusual importance of the pioneering work which the Congress has carried out in the sphere of relief work, and expresses the hope that it will continue to be effective and active as a pioneer in the field of future relief work.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

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RESOLUTION ON RESTITUTION, INDEMNIFICATION AND  
MASTERLESS PROPERTIES.

I. Restitution.

The Second Session of the World Jewish Congress, convened in Montreux on June 27, 1948

Calls upon the competent authorities to enact promptly, insofar as it has not yet been done, all measures necessary to restore to the rightful Jewish owners or their successors in right property of which they were deprived under Nazi or Axis domination.

The World Jewish Congress expresses its special concern that no restitution laws have as yet been enacted in the British Zone of Germany and in Berlin.

II. Indemnification.

The Second Session also calls upon all authorities concerned to enact and implement at once, insofar as it has not yet been done, measures necessary to compensate all Jewish victims of Racism and Nazism for the losses inflicted upon them, insofar as they are not indemnified through restitution.

III. Implementation of Restitution and Indemnification.

The Second Session appeals to all authorities concerned, including the Allies, to take at once all steps necessary and apt to speed up the process of restitution and indemnification under existing legislation and to eliminate all existing delays and impediments therein.

It calls, furthermore, upon these authorities to provide the victims of anti-Jewish persecution with the means necessary for the repayment of amounts due by those victims to the present owners, whenever the legal owner does not possess these sums, and to put at the disposal of these victims funds necessary for their economic rehabilitation, in advance of the full recovery of the property, rights and interests of which they were deprived.

IV. Masterless, Unclaimed and Communal Jewish Properties.

The Second Session voices its deep apprehension that masterless and unclaimed properties, which belonged to Jews have in most cases not yet been made available for Jewish purposes.

The same refers to properties of Jewish communities and organizations.

The Second Session calls upon all nations and authorities concerned to enact and implement at the earliest moment, insofar as it has not yet been done, laws and regulations in order to assign all such properties, rights and interests, which are under their jurisdiction, for purposes of Jewish rehabilitation and reconstruction in the countries of the residence of the Jewish victims of persecution and in Israel, and to transfer these assets to appropriate Jewish representative bodies.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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Second Plenary Assembly  
Montreux, 1948.

POLITICAL COMMISSION.

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RESOLUTION ON GERMANY.

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The Second Session of the World Jewish Congress, convened on June 27th in Montreux,

Recalling the terrible and inhuman sufferings and persecutions inflicted upon the world and specifically upon the Jews of Europe by Germany and the German people which resulted in six million Jewish death and the uprootedness and homelessness of most of those who, thanks to Allied victory, escaped this fate;

Mindful of the anti-Semitic propaganda disseminated by Germany and the German people the world over;

Aware of the immense material damage caused to European Jewry by Germany and the German people;

Aware of the present state of mind of the German people which does not evidence signs of repentance for their misdeeds, the absence of any desire to embrace democracy and become a freedom-loving nation; and the persistence of anti-Semitism;

Reaffirms the previous resolutions adopted by the World Jewish Congress in regard to Germany and particularly the determination of the Jewish people never again to settle on the bloodstained soil of Germany; voices its deep concern over the failure of the Allied de-nazification programme as well as over the fact that active Nazis and others who cooperated with the National-Socialist movement have been installed in important posts in the political and the economic life of the country and in the administration of justice;

Calls upon the Allied nations, especially the big powers, to include in whatever settlement of the German problem they will make, temporary or permanent, the following provisions in favour of the Jewish people and Jews:

- (a) recognition of the guilt of Germany for the unprecedented tragedy which befell the Jews after the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany;

- (b) payment of reparations by Germany in favour of the uprooted Jews to be used for their rehabilitation and resettlement, in the first place in Palestine;
- (c) insofar as it has not yet been done by the Allies, the economic rights of Jews in and from Germany should be restored in full. Whenever restitution is impossible or inappropriate, full compensation should be made therefor. The export of the property or compensation coming under this proviso should be facilitated and expedited;
- (d) insofar as it has not yet been done, heirless and unclaimed Jewish property should be assigned to a Jewish organisation representative of the Jews in and outside Germany and to be used for rehabilitation and resettlement of Jews, in the countries of the residence of the victims and in Israel;
- (e) to remedy the consequences of the failure of denazification and purification of Germany;
- (f) insofar as it has not yet been done, all discriminatory legislation should be abrogated and provisions made to ban the introduction of such laws and practices, as well as of anti-Semitic teachings and practices in the future. No one shall be prosecuted for the violation of any law to be abolished as a result of such abrogation;
- (g) Germany should recognise the special responsibility toward displaced Jews who live at present within its borders or who may come there in future. It should be responsible for their maintenance and be obliged to provide them with the necessary means for their economic rehabilitation, to the extent that this is not being done by the Allies or the IRC;
- (h) the legal status of Jews and their communities be guaranteed internationally;
- (i) the implementation of the foregoing provisions should be put under strict international control and supervision by the proper Allied authorities.

We demand that, in the peace treaties with Germany, such areas which were detached from Germany and in which there now reside considerable numbers of Jews and other victims of Nazism and racial persecution, shall not be returned to Germany.

We regard any attempt to reconstitute the German State as an economic and political and, therefore inevitably military, power, in absence of sufficient evidence of its capacity or willingness to serve the interests of peace and democracy, as a threat to Jewish security and peace of the world.

POLITICAL COMMISSION

RESOLUTION ON RACIALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

The World Jewish Congress,

reminds all governments and the peoples of the world of the recognised and established fact that racialism and anti-Semitism is everywhere the forerunner of Fascism;

that the preaching of these doctrines is again being used by the foes of democracy as one of the main instruments to destroy democracy;

that racial and anti-Semitic propaganda inevitably undermines respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in fostering the spirit of intolerance and hatred which must endanger the security of all minority groups and the friendship between nations;

that democracy cannot be defended against Fascism unless it resists, by adequate means, the Fascist onslaught against the equality and security of all human beings and unless positive measures are taken to guarantee that equality;

that the efficacy of a legislative program for combatting such subversive movements has been amply proven;

The World Jewish Congress, therefore, appeals to all governments and nations of the world

to outlaw racialism and anti-Semitism, especially by:

making incitement to hatred against racial or religious groups a punishable offence under the domestic law;

prohibiting the misuse of freedom of speech, press or assembly for the spreading of racialism and anti-Semitism by banning the teaching of racialism and anti-Semitism and by examining the text-books of all educational institutions with this purpose in view;

promoting groups amity and understanding among all democratic elements and by effective support of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The World Jewish Congress calls on all Jewish organisations, together with all non-Jewish democratic and progressive organisations, in those countries where anti-Semitic movements emerge, to continue and strengthen the common struggle against anti-Semitism and Racialism and their expressions in practice.



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

MONTREUX 1948

## POLITICAL COMMISSION

### RESOLUTION

#### Genocide

The World Jewish Congress

welcomes the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations declaring genocide to be an international crime entailing international responsibility on the part of individuals and states and requesting the Social and Economic Council to prepare a draft of a Convention on genocide for submission to that body;

appeals to the Assembly of the United Nations to adopt as soon as possible a Convention on Genocide with special regard to international machinery for the prevention and punishment of this crime as well as effective rules of implementation;

reminds all Member States of their obligation under the Charter to promote Human Rights;

calls upon all members of the United Nations to ratify such Convention without delay.

4/7/1948.



July 4th, 1948.

RESOLUTION ON JEWS IN ARAB LANDS.

The World Jewish Congress

Conscious of its responsibilities in safeguarding the rights of Jews in all lands,

Disturbed about the grave situation facing the Jews living among the Arab peoples,

Recognizing the alarming proportions which anti-Jewish propaganda has assumed in certain countries resulting in violence and crimes against the life and property of Jews culminating in massacre of innocent people,

Fearing that similar crimes may recur in the future,

Calls upon all Arab peoples to follow an attitude of friendship and brotherhood towards the Jewish communities who for many centuries, have lived with them in peace as good neighbours, and to resist aggression and provocation against the Jews;

Appeals to all governments and appropriate authorities to put an end to agitation and propaganda directed against the Jews, to take every possible measure to prevent dangers facing their Jewish citizens, to bring to trial and punish those responsible for having committed acts of violence and to abstain from all forms of discrimination and oppression directed against the Jewish people;

Requests the United Nations and all its members to use all their influence with the countries and governments concerned to secure the dignity, security and safety of the Jewish communities which are in danger.

We emphasise the extremely urgent character of this appeal.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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Second Plenary Assembly

Montreux, 1948.

POLITICAL COMMISSION.

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RESOLUTION ON THE POSITION  
OF THE JEWS IN AUSTRIA.

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- (1) The Second Session of the World Jewish Congress declares that an ever increasing part of the Austrian population has become conscious of the crimes committed by the Nazi regime against the Jews, and that they are prepared to fight, in a unified front, together with the victims of Nazism against a revival of Nazism
- (2) The Congress further expresses its apprehension that Nazi forces in Austria are still working, through propaganda and attempts at reorganisation, for the revival of Nazism and that they are gaining strength and consolidating their positions in the economic and administrative spheres.
- (3) The Congress states that little has been done as yet to redress the wrongs done to the Jews of Austria and that there has been great delay in the application of laws already passed, and especially that a number of laws which were promised and are of importance for Jewish rehabilitation, have not yet been enacted.
- (4) The Congress expresses the hope that in the forthcoming treaty with Austria and in the domestic law and practice, guarantees will be laid down which will make a revival of Nazism impossible and will secure the existence and rehabilitation of the Jewish community.

July 4th, 1948.

POLITICAL COMMISSION.

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RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

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The World Jewish Congress,

whilst noting with satisfaction that the United Nations have given priority in their Agenda to the speedy introduction of a Bill of Human Rights,

desires to emphasise that no such Bill would be worthy of its name unless it secured effectively full equality by law and in practice for all human beings without distinction of race, religion, language and sex;

nor would such a Bill fulfil its purpose unless it excluded from its protection in respect of their destructive activities, individuals and groups aiming at the destruction of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

nor would such a Bill fulfil its purpose without effectively combating the spirit of intolerance and hatred against nations, racial or religious groups by promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and by banning all education opposed to these principles.

The World Jewish Congress declares that an appropriate procedure within the framework of the United Nations in regard to petitions alleging infringement of human rights is an indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of a Bill of Human Rights.

The World Jewish Congress recalls to all civilised nations of the world;

that the whole Jewish population under Nazi and Fascist governments in Europe had been deprived of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

that Governments failed to take effective measures to prevent this suppression of human rights;

that at present, three years after the cessation of hostilities, the teachings of Nazism and Fascism in spite of the victory of the Allied

Demokraties are still spreading intolerance and hatred against the Jews in many countries;

that appropriate measures to fight racial hatred and anti-Semitic propaganda have not yet been introduced by all governments.

The World Jewish Congress solemnly calls upon the nations of the world to realise that the preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms is a vital condition of the survival of humanity; it is of particular significance for the Jewish people the majority of whom are spread as minority groups amongst the nations of the globe and whose group rights, including facilities for the development of their religious and cultural life, must be internationally secured.

The World Jewish Congress warns that a repetition of the Nazi and Fascist onslaught against human rights and fundamental freedoms must inevitably lead to a new war which may result in the destruction of civilisation.

RESOLUTION ON JEWS IN ARAB LANDS.

The World Jewish Congress

Conscious of its responsibilities in safeguarding the rights of Jews in all lands,

Disturbed about the grave situation facing the Jews living among the Arab peoples,

Recognizing the alarming proportions which anti-Jewish propaganda has assumed in certain countries resulting in violence and crimes against the life and property of Jews culminating in massacre of innocent people,

Fearing that similar crimes may recur in the future,

Calls upon all Arab peoples to follow an attitude of friendship and brotherhood towards the Jewish communities who for many centuries, have lived with them in peace as good neighbours, and to resist aggression and provocation against the Jews;

Appeals to all governments and appropriate authorities to put an end to agitation and propaganda directed against the Jews, to take every possible measure to prevent dangers facing their Jewish citizens, to bring to trial and punish those responsible for having committed acts of violence and to abstain from all forms of discrimination and oppression directed against the Jewish people;

Requests the United Nations and all its members to use all their influence with the countries and governments concerned to secure the dignity, security and safety of the Jewish communities which are in danger.

We emphasise the extremely urgent character of this appeal.



# WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

MONTREUX 1948

## CULTURAL COMMISSION

RESOLUTIONS ON CULTURAL WORK - Adopted at the  
Second Session of the World Jewish Congress  
Montreux, June 1948.

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### The Second Session Resolves

1. That in all country's, sections of the Congress offices or Congress affiliates departments and regional councils should be established for culture and education with the aims of strengthening and coordinating Jewish education and Jewish cultural work in general.  
  
The main task of these local sections is to help establish Jewish schools and to see that they be maintained or subsidized through local governments or Jewish communities depending on existing conditions.  
  
The above named departments should also aim at helping to reconstruct the existing Jewish day and part-time schools.
2. Resolved that the World Jewish Congress be instructed to help establish teachers seminaries in various countries and to expand the already existing seminaries.
3. Recommends that those Jewish communities which are in need of help shall for a specific period engage teachers, rabbis and cultural workers from Israel and from other Jewish centers.
4. Recommends to encourage the publications of text books in relation to local needs and conditions, as well as the coordination of activities of various centers in this field.
5. The Second Session Resolves to call for a strengthening of educational work among adults through helping to establish institutions such as evening classes, people's universities, lecture bureaus and to introduce and exchange lecturers and artists between various Jewish centers.
6. Recommends to encourage with all available resources cultural work among the Jewish youth organisations of all trends and to encourage cooperation between the various countries.
7. Resolves to morally and spiritually support the World Union of Jewish Students and to create scholarships for gifted Jewish youths.
8. Resolves to recognize the importance of the Book Supply activities of the World Jewish Congress and recommends that this work be continued and coordinated with the activity of other organisations in this field.

9. Resolves to consider the School Adoption Plan of the World Jewish Congress which helps Jewish schools in various countries as a very good method of strengthening, the Jewish school system in the destroyed communities and demand that this activity should be maintained and expanded.
10. Resolves to call upon the World Jewish Congress that together with other Jewish organizations they continue their efforts to recover as quickly as possible Jewish treasures which were looted by the Germans before and during the war and to see to it that they be returned to their owners. In cases where no heirs were left these treasures shall be handed over to higher educational and scientific institutions, particularly to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.
11. Resolves to give directions to the World Jewish Congress to help ensure the rebuilding and rehabilitation of Jewish schools, institutions of learning libraries, museums, monuments and cemeteries etc.
12. The Congress welcomes the work of the research institutions, historical commissions in all countries and particularly by the Institute of Jewish Affairs which collect and work on the material and documents in connection with the epoch of the Jewish destruction and heroism of the last period. The collected material should become a common treasure for the whole of our people through a general common center in cooperation with the Institute of Jewish Affairs; while not affecting the autonomy of the respective territorial institutions should centralize the whole of the collected material; the Yad Vashem shall be considered as such a center.
13. The Second Session Resolves to recommend increased cooperation with UNESCO and other international organizations which deal with the strengthening of peace and understanding among the peoples; to appeal to UNESCO to increase its help by establishing the destroyed Jewish cultural institutions which have existed in the countries of the German occupation and to remove discrimination from schools and to revise text books which have discriminatory tendencies.
14. Recommends to create annual awards for outstanding literary, scientific and artistic achievements with the aim of encouraging Jewish literature and science.
15. Recommends to create a special fund for Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals in order to enable them to devote themselves for a given period to their world.
16. Calls upon the World Jewish Congress to adopt all possible measures which can lead to closer cultural cooperation with the Jews of the Soviet Union.
17. Recommends that the World Jewish Congress publish a central Monthly and a Year Book in which all aspects of Jewish life throughout the world shall be reflected as well as to support the publications of important local organs.

18. Recognizing the necessity for the coordination, consolidation and expansion of the widespread activity in the field of culture and education in all countries and spheres and welcoming all the initiatives which have been displayed up to now in organizing cultural activities, the Congress recommends that the newly elected bodies at the World Jewish Congress convene a World Congress for Jewish integral Culture and, as a preparatory measure, recommends to contact for this purpose existing cultural Jewish organizations.
19. Looking upon the radio programs from Israel as an important branch of cultural activity for the Jews in the diaspora it recommends to the World Jewish Congress to negotiate with the appropriate authorities in Israel in order to organize such programs.
20. Considering the cultural work as one of the most important fields of activity we recommend to the World Jewish Congress the allocation of twenty per cent of the general budget for the needs of the Cultural Department.

4/7/1948



C O N G R E S   J U I F   M O N D I A L

SECONDE ASSEMBLEE PLENIERE

Montreux 1948

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COMMISSION D'ORGANISATION

RESOLUTION

La Deuxième Assemblée plénière du Congrès Juif Mondial considérant la Constitution adoptée par cette Assemblée, reconnaît que des situations spéciales pourraient se présenter par lesquelles aucune disposition spécifique n'est prévue et qui ne rentrent pas dans le cadre d'une Constitution.

Ces situations sont entre autres:

1. Départ définitif d'un membre du Conseil général du pays où il résidait au moment de son élection au Conseil.
2. Changement dans l'importance de la population d'une communauté juive qui modifierait le barème de représentation au Conseil général.
3. Changement des circonstances personnelles dans lesquelles un représentant a été désigné.

L'Assemblée plénière reconnaît que dans de telles situations ou des situations similaires, une représentation appropriée de la communauté respective au Conseil pourrait le plus exister. L'Assemblée recommande, en conséquence, que les membres en question du Conseil général mettent les organisations membres nominataires en mesure d'effectuer les changements nécessaires en ce qui concerne leur représentation, afin qu'elle reflète fidèlement la composition interne de leur communauté.

C O N G R E S      J U I F      M O N D I A L

SECONDE ASSEMBLEE PLENIERE

Montreux 1948

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COMMISSION D'ORGANISATION

RESOLUTION.

La deuxième assemblée plénière du Congrès Juif Mondial, en vertu de l'Article 13 par. 1 (a) de la Constitution fixe le barème suivant pour l'élection des membres au Conseil Général:

Les Organisations affiliées représentant un pays ou un territoire avec une population juive

|    |         |   |         |                      |
|----|---------|---|---------|----------------------|
| de | 20 000  | à | 75 000  | ont droit à un siège |
| "  | 75 000  | à | 150 000 | " " " deux sièges    |
| "  | 150 000 | à | 350 000 | " " " trois sièges   |
| "  | 350 000 | à | 700 000 | " " " quatre sièges  |

et pour chaque tranche de 400 000 en plus ou fraction de tranche un siège supplémentaire.

L'Etat d'Israël a droit à ~~trois sièges supplémentaires~~ en plus du nombre déterminé par ce barème.

Les organisations membres représentant un pays ou un territoire de moins de 20 000 pourront s'associer à d'autres organisations qui se trouvent dans la même situation, en vue d'atteindre le minimum exigé pour la représentation au Conseil général.

C O N G R È S   J U I F   M O N D I A L

SECONDE ASSEMBLEE PLENIERE

Montreux 1948

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PROJET DE CONSTITUTION DU CONGRES JUIF MONDIAL

CHAPITRE I

Composition et buts

**Article 1 :** Le Congrès Juif Mondial est une union librement consentie d'organismes, de communautés et organisations représentatifs juifs dans le monde entier qui adhèrent au Congrès Juif Mondial en conformité avec la présente constitution.

**Article 2 :** Le Congrès Juif Mondial a pour but d'assurer l'existence et de soutenir l'unité du peuple juif et à cette fin

- a) de coordonner les efforts de ses organisations affiliées dans le domaine des problèmes politiques, économiques, sociaux et culturels intéressant le peuple juif;
- b) de garantir les droits, le status et les intérêts des Juifs et des communautés juives et de les défendre partout où ils sont déniés, violés ou menacés;
- c) d'encourager et de soutenir le développement créateur de la vie sociale et culturelle juive dans le monde entier;
- d) de représenter ses organisations affiliées et d'agir en leur nom auprès des autorités gouvernementales, intergouvernementales et autres autorités internationales pour toutes les questions intéressant le peuple juif dans son ensemble;

Le Congrès Juif Mondial s'efforcera de coopérer avec tous les peuples sur la base des idéaux universels de paix, de liberté et de justice.

**Article 3 :** L'affiliation au Congrès Juif Mondial ne doit, en aucune façon, affecter l'autonomie de ses membres dans les questions d'ordre interne ou religieux intéressant les communautés juives respectives et ne donne aucun droit au Congrès Juif Mondial d'intervenir dans les affaires politiques intérieures de leur pays.

**Article 4 :** 1. Les organismes, communautés et organisations juifs créés et agissant en conformité avec les principes démocratiques qui déclarent accepter le but et vouloir se conformer aux principes de la présente constitution peuvent adhérer comme membres constituants ou associés après approbation par le Comité Exécutif.

2a. La qualité de membre constituant ne sera accordée qu'à un seul organisme, communauté ou organisation juif dans chaque pays.

b. La qualité de membre constituant sera accordée à l'organisme représentatif juif généralement reconnu ou accepté comme tel dans ce pays. Au cas où un tel organisme n'existe pas, n'aurait pas demandé son affiliation ou ne serait pas qualifié, le Comité Exécutif pourra accepter comme membre constituant pour ce pays l'organisme qui, d'après son avis, remplit le mieux les conditions requises.

c. Dans des cas spéciaux, le Comité Exécutif peut, par une décision prise à la majorité des deux tiers de ses membres, accorder la qualité de membre constituant à tout autre organisme ou organisations selon les conditions que le Comité Exécutif pourra fixer.

3. La qualité de membre associé pourra être accordée à des organisations internationales sur décision des deux tiers des membres du Comité Exécutif sur la base de principes et conditions que le Comité Exécutif jugera appropriés.

## CHAPITRE II

### Organes

Article 5 : Les organes du Congrès Juif Mondial sont :

l'Assemblée plénière, le Conseil général, le Comité Exécutif, ainsi que tous les autres organes auxiliaires que le Comité Exécutif jugera nécessaire d'établir.

## CHAPITRE III

### L'Assemblée plénière

Article 6 : L'Assemblée plénière est l'autorité suprême du Congrès Juif Mondial dans toutes les questions.

Article 7 : 1. Le Comité Exécutif convoquera l'Assemblée plénière en session ordinaire tous les deux ans.

2. Si les circonstances l'exigent, le Comité Exécutif peut décider à la majorité des deux tiers de ses membres de renvoyer la session ordinaire de l'Assemblée plénière pour une période ne dépassant pas une année. Des renvois ultérieurs devront être approuvés par le Conseil général à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents et participant au vote.

Article 8 : 1. Le Comité Exécutif, sur la demande des trois quarts de ses membres, peut convoquer une session extraordinaire de l'Assemblée plénière. Les membres non présents pourront envoyer leur vote par écrit. L'ordre du jour d'une telle session sera limité aux problèmes soumis par le Comité Exécutif.

2. Le Comité Exécutif, à la demande écrite des deux tiers des membres du Conseil général, convoquera une session extraordinaire en vue de discuter les problèmes spécifiés dans cette demande. Cette session doit être convoquée dans les six semaines qui suivent la réception de la demande et doit se tenir au plus tard dans les deux mois à compter de la date de sa convocation.

Article 9 : 1. L'Assemblée plénière se compose de délégués élus par les organisations membres et reflétant fidèlement la composition de leur communauté respective.

2. Le nombre des délégués attribués à chaque membre constituant sera fixé par le Conseil général qui prendra en considération la population juive de chaque pays. Aucun pays n'a droit à plus des deux cinquièmes du nombre total des délégués.

3. Le nombre des délégués attribués aux membres associés sera fixé par le Comité Exécutif, mais ne devra pas dépasser le nombre de cinq pour chaque membre associé.

4. L'élection ou la désignation des délégués n'est valable que sous réserve de confirmation par le Comité de vérification des pouvoirs.

5. Les membres du Comité Exécutif et du Conseil général ont droit de participation pleine et entière aux travaux de l'Assemblée plénière à l'exception du droit de vote qu'ils ne peuvent exercer que s'ils sont délégués élus.

Article 10 : 1. Les travaux de l'Assemblée plénière sont dirigés par un bureau élu par elle pour la durée de la session.

2. Les débats de l'Assemblée plénière se déroulent conformément au règlement intérieur soumis par le Comité Exécutif et approuvé par l'Assemblée plénière.

3. Chaque délégué à l'Assemblée plénière a droit à une voix.

4. Sauf dispositions contraires de la présente Constitution, les décisions de l'Assemblée plénière sont prises à la majorité simple des membres présents et participant au vote.

#### CHAPITRE IV

##### Le Conseil général

Article 11 : Le Conseil général se compose des :

- a) Représentants des organisations membres constituantes désignés par elles et élus par l'Assemblée plénière conformément au barème adopté par l'Assemblée plénière. En cas de vacance survenue par suite de décès, de démission ou pour toute autre raison, un remplaçant sera désigné par l'organisation nominataire respective.
- b) Dix membres au maximum élus ad personam par l'Assemblée plénière;
- c) Quinze membres au maximum cooptés par le Conseil général.

Article 12 : Le Conseil général a pour fonction de recevoir et d'approuver les rapports du Comité Exécutif et d'arrêter la politique à suivre, le programme d'activité ainsi que la gestion financière conformément aux décisions de l'Assemblée plénière.

Article 13 : 1. Le Conseil général tient une session ordinaire au moins une fois par an.

2. Sur demande écrite adressée à son Président par au moins deux tiers de ses membres, le Conseil général sera convoqué en session extraordinaire dans le mois qui suit la réception de la demande et doit se réunir un mois au plus tard à compter de la date de sa convocation.

## CHAPITRE V

### Le Comité Exécutif

**Article 14 :** Le Comité Exécutif dirige les affaires du Congrès Juif Mondial et agit en son nom conformément aux décisions de l'Assemblée plénière et du Conseil général.

**Article 15 :** 1. L'Assemblée plénière élit les membres du Comité Exécutif.  
2. Le Comité Exécutif a le droit de remplacer ses membres en cas de vacance survenue par suite de décès ou de démission et sous réserve de confirmation par le Conseil général, de désigner par cooptation des membres additionnels à concurrence d'un cinquième du nombre élu par l'Assemblée plénière.

## CHAPITRE VI

### Charges

**Article 16 :** 1. L'Assemblée plénière élit le Président du Congrès Juif Mondial, le Président du Comité Exécutif et le Président du Conseil général.  
2. Le Président est membre de plein droit du Comité Exécutif.  
3. Si la charge de Président devient vacante, le Président du Comité Exécutif fait fonction de Président du Congrès jusqu'à la session suivante du Conseil général qui élira un Président lequel sera en charge jusqu'à la session ordinaire suivante de l'Assemblée plénière.

**Article 17:** 1. Le Conseil général désigne en cas de vacance son Président et élit les autres membres de son bureau.  
2. Le Président du Conseil général convoque et préside les sessions du Conseil général.

**Article 18 :** Le Comité Exécutif désigne en cas de vacance son Président et élit les autres membres de son bureau; il arrête la composition de son personnel et de ses rouages administratifs.

## CHAPITRE VII

### Le Comité de vérification des pouvoirs

**Article 19 :** 1. Le Conseil général élit un Comité de vérification des pouvoirs chargé d'examiner et de déterminer la validité des mandats des délégués et de faire rapport à l'Assemblée plénière.  
2. Il est prévu un droit d'appel contre les décisions du Comité de vérification des pouvoirs auprès du bureau de l'Assemblée plénière.

CHAPITRE VIII

Finances

Article 20 : Les recettes du Congrès Juif Mondial comprennent :

- a) Les contributions des organisations membres qui seront fixées selon un barème à adopter par l'Assemblée plénière et/ou le Conseil général
- b) D'autres contributions bénévoles provenant d'organisations ou de particuliers.

CHAPITRE IX

Amendements à la Constitution

Article 21 : La présente Constitution ne peut être amendée que par décision d'une Assemblée plénière à laquelle trois quarts au moins des membres constituants sont représentés. Les amendements devront être adoptés à la majorité des deux tiers des délégués présents et participant au vote.

CHAPITRE X

Dispositions finales

Article 22 : Si la conduite efficace des affaires du Congrès Juif Mondial l'exige, le Comité Exécutif a qualité pour prendre les mesures appropriées aux fins d'immatriculation ou d'incorporation dans un ou plusieurs pays ainsi qu'auprès d'une autorité ou organisation quelconque.

Article 23 : La présente Constitution entre immédiatement en vigueur.

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La présente Constitution du Congrès Juif Mondial a été adoptée le juillet par son Assemblée plénière tenue à Montreux (Suisse).

RESOLUTION

The Position of Jews of Former Enemy Nationality

The World Jewish Congress recalls

that Jews of former enemy nationality were, during the war, not only the victims of persecution in enemy countries, but have actively supported the Allied cause as the natural opponents of Nazi and Fascist aggression;

that, nevertheless, even after the cessation of hostilities such Jews are still treated in several Allied countries as enemy nationals;

that their assets in Allied countries have not been generally exempted from measures of seizure and confiscation;

that they are still discriminated against in several Allied countries as concerns their economic rights including the right to work and are denied the right of becoming naturalised;

appeals, therefore, to all Allied nations to exempt, insofar as this has not yet been done, Jews of former enemy nationality from all legal disabilities, incumbent upon former enemy nationals;

calls upon the Allied Nations to exempt, insofar as this has not yet been done, from all measures of sequestration and seizure assets in Allied countries which belong to Jews of former enemy nationality;

expresses its gratitude to those Allied and other governments which assisted Jews of former enemy nationality resident in their countries by granting them refuge, the right to work and naturalisation, and urges all other governments to follow such example;

urges that such Jews as have been deprived of their citizenship by former enemy countries should not be compelled or subjected to any pressure, direct or indirect, to resume their former nationality, should not be considered in law or in fact as enemy alien nationals and that this loss of nationality shall be legally construed to have commenced from the date that the decree depriving said Jews of their nationality became the law of such lands.



WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Second Plenary Assembly

POLITICAL COMMISSION. Montreux, 1948 July 4th, 1948.

RESOLUTION ON PUNISHMENT OF  
WAR CRIMINALS.

The World Jewish Congress, recalling the repeated and solemn proclamations of all Allied Governments that all guilty of crimes against humanity would be brought to justice irrespective of the nationality of the victims, protests against the fact that large numbers of those who were guilty of crimes against the Jewish people have remained unpunished and, in many instances, have not been brought to trial, especially in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria;

notes with deepest concern that the most cruel crimes against humanity committed against Jews of former enemy nationality or against Stateless Jews have been excluded from the competence of the International Tribunal of Nuremberg and of Allied Military Courts.

The World Jewish Congress registers its strongest protest against the dissolution of the International War Crimes Commission at a time when tens of thousands of prima facie war criminals had been neither indicted nor surrendered to governments anxious to institute criminal proceedings against them.

In registering its vigorous protest against the permission granted to persons under suspicion of having committed crimes against humanity to occupy public office in Germany and Austria or elsewhere, the World Jewish Congress expresses its profound indignation at the intention of Allied Governments to leave the prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity within the exclusive competence of German Courts. The World Jewish Congress appeals, in the name of justice, to all Allied Governments to introduce appropriate measures which will enable Allied Authorities to exercise appropriate control of the administration of justice to include provisions for the re-examination of court sentences.

The World Jewish Congress calls upon the United Nations to make the principles embodied in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal the basis of International Criminal Law, to be applicable in times of war and peace without regard to the nationality of the victims and to institute adequate procedure and machinery to attain this end.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

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Second Plenary Assembly

Montreux, 1948.

POLITICAL COMMISSION.

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RESOLUTION ON THE POSITION  
OF THE JEWS IN AUSTRIA.

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- (1) The Second Session of the World Jewish Congress declares that an ever increasing part of the Austrian population has become conscious of the crimes committed by the Nazi regime against the Jews, and that they are prepared to fight, in a unified front, together with the victims of Nazism against a revival of Nazism.
- (2) The Congress further expresses its apprehension that Nazi forces in Austria are still working, through propaganda and attempts at reorganisation, for the revival of Nazism and that they are gaining strength and consolidating their positions in the economic and administrative spheres.
- (3) The Congress states that little has been done as yet to redress the wrongs done to the Jews of Austria and that there has been great delay in the application of laws already passed, and especially that a number of laws which were promised and are of importance for Jewish rehabilitation, have not yet been enacted.
- (4) The Congress expresses the hope that in the forthcoming treaty with Austria and in the domestic law and practice, guarantees will be laid down which will make a revival of Nazism impossible and will secure the existence and rehabilitation of the Jewish community.



# Bulletin

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

יידישער וועלט קאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

P R E S S   C O M M U N I Q U E   No. 15.

E I G H T H   D A Y

5th July 1948

The morning session of the eighth day of the Assembly opened at 11.45 a.m. with DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN in the chair.

DR. S. FEDERBUSCH (U.S.A.) introducing the resolutions of the Cultural Committee deplored the divisions in Jewish cultural life, partly due to geographical dispersion, but partly also to internal differences of opinion as manifested by the recent convocation of two Yiddish cultural congresses at loggerheads with each other. The subject had been fully threshed out in committee, and the speaker was happy to announce that agreement had been reached that the World Jewish Congress should call a Cultural Congress uniting and unifying all strata of the Jewish people the world over. "Let us restore to the young generation the great and eternal Jewish cultural heritage" the speaker concluded amid applause.

MR. I. JEFROYKIN (France), chairman of the Cultural Committee confessed that he had feared that theoretical cultural issues rather than practical workaday politics, would prove a stumbling block on which agreement might be shattered. But his fears had happily proved baseless. In formerly flourishing Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, 98 per cent of children had received full-time Jewish education, whereas today the highest achievement was that of American Jewry with 20 per cent of the children receiving only the rudiments of a Jewish education. In the cultural field Jewry was in retreat, and it was the duty of Congress to retrieve that state of affairs.

EVER HADANI (Israel) well-known Hebrew novelist, member of the International P.E.N. Club brought greetings on behalf of Brit Ivrit Olamit, the Association of Hebrew Writers. He said that Hebrew literary production in Palestine was the result of 70 years of intensive cultural developments. Hebrew writings were a clarion call to the martyred Jewish people of the Diaspora; they described and analysed real life and were not a literature based on the psychosis of martyrdom. He called on Jewry not only to fight but also urged it to participate in constructive works in all fields. He was for unity of the Jewish people in the spirit of the noble genius of their heritage.

CHAIM GRADE, the eminent Yiddish poet, who spoke at the invitation of the Cultural Committee defined the purpose of contemporary Yiddish literature as re-creation of the glorious Jewish and social education of the Jewish masses. There was no intrinsic conflict between the esthetic and the dialectic schools of literature. Yiddish literature had always been a fighting literature that had grown out of the people and for the people. There was no intrinsic conflict, either, between Yiddish and Hebrew. The one was a bridge giving access to the other. The Jews would never forget Yiddish as they had forgotten other languages. They had picked it up by a historical hazard but had transformed it into the very spirit, the very flesh and blood of the Jewish people. The Yiddish language had inspired the lives of the Jewish people. It was in Yiddish that the command for the Rising in the Warsaw Ghetto had been given. The speaker expressed his pleasure in cordial relations that had developed between Yiddish and Hebrew writers and hoped that this cordiality would mature into a profound comradeship. The promotion of culture was one of the most important tasks before Congress. Culture was not a luxury, even at a time when the Jewish people were fighting on many fronts, of which the most momentous was Israel. Culture was at the basis of Jewish survival.

MR. B. MARK (Poland), chairman of the Association of Jewish Writers in Poland, welcomed the calling of a unified Congress of Jewish culture. He thought the time when there was a struggle between Hebrew and Yiddish had passed. The duty of the Congress was to take interest in Jewish literary production also in other languages. The broad outlines of Jewish cultural policy should rest on the assumption of continuity of Jewish spiritual activities since the Bible, and on the necessity for stimulating educational work and the renaissance of Jewish culture.

DR. Z. KAHANE (Israel) said the situation in Diaspora now impelled the Mizrahi Party to change their attitude and they agreed that Congress should look after cultural affairs. He announced that Radio Israel was preparing a great programme of broadcast in the Yiddish language.

MR. S. FISZGRUND (Poland) objected to the term "diaspora" used in the cultural resolutions as having a derogatory sense.

MR. I. JEFROYKIN (France) chairman of the Committee denied that the term was used in such a sense, but agreed to substitute the term "Khutz Leeretzt" (Outside Israel).

The two cultural Resolutions were carried unanimously by acclamation.



# Bulletin

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

ידישער וועלט־קאנגרעס

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

PRESS COMMUNIQUE No. 16

Eightth Day

The afternoon session opened at 4 p.m. with DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN in the chair.

DR. JOACHIM PRINZ (United States) submitting the report of the Organisation Committee said that the new Constitution of the World Jewish Congress, presented for the approval of the Assembly, was the result of the meeting of many minds and many men of goodwill. He was happy to report that it had been unanimously adopted in Committee.

The Constitution was adopted unanimously by the Assembly following a short debate in which Dr. S. Levenberg (Great Britain) moved an amendment which intended to extend associate membership of the World Jewish Congress to national and not only international organisations. This, in view of Dr. Levenberg might enable bodies like the Board of Deputies to join Congress. The amendment was dropped after the Chairman had explained that associate membership involved equal obligations to constituent membership without offering the same privileges.

Another amendment moved by Mr. A. A. A. calling for an increased number of seats for medium-sized communities in the Executive organs of the Congress was dropped after the Chairman had made some comment on the principles upon which the key of representation had been based.

MR. SIDNEY SILVERMAN, M.P., introducing the report of the Political Committee said that the unanimity of the Political Commission might be a great distress to those people who have been pessimistically forecasting that the second plenary assembly would be merely a forum for a clash and a conflict between East and West. That had not happened. Of course one could not say that the delegates were of the same mind about every matter in the world. The road by which each delegation and each person travelled was, however, never any merit in producing an unanimous resolution from people who were all of one mind. The merit was in producing an unanimous decision by people to follow different opinions but who had a common objective and that was what had been achieved. "Indeed", said Mr. Silverman, "if I may be a little frivolous for a moment I would suggest that the United Nations might take an example from the World Jewish Congress. If they would like a little help in producing a similar agreement, I would suggest to them that they might do worse at the next Security Council than send Mr. Mirsky instead of Mr. Molotov, Mr. Péttergorsky instead of Mr. Marshall and, in all humility, instead of Mr. Bevin, me.

All the delegates had as their first loyalty and first obligation the duty as citizens of their respective countries, but there were some questions on which no Jew could afford to be neutral. One was the desire and necessity for peace. Jews were the first and worst victims in any war; another the necessity to halt the progress of Fascism. Nor could they be neutral about racial discrimination or about anti-Semitism. The common fight of the human race for freedom was also a Jewish fight.

Following the report of the Political Committee a number of resolutions were submitted for adoption by the Assembly during the afternoon session.

Declaration of Principles; a resolution protesting against the massacre by the Arab legion of the Kfar Etzion settlers; and against the fact that the victims had not yet been buried in accordance with Jewish rites; further resolutions on desecration of Jewish cemeteries in Germany, on Jews in Arab lands, anti-Semitism, war criminals, genocide, Germany, Austria, on Jews of ex-enemy nationality and on human rights.

All these resolutions were adopted unanimously. Their text is being made available to the Press separately.

A number of speakers participated in the debate which preceded the adoption of the resolutions presented by the Political Committee.

Among them was MR. D. TREGGER (U.S. Zone of Germany) who called upon Congress to resist very strongly the new wave of anti-Semitism unleashed in Germany by pro-Nazis, who during the last few days have especially been using the difficulties from the currency reform, to foster anew hatred of the Jews.

MR. E. LANDAU (U.S. Zone of Germany) expressed that the resolution going on record against the return to German jurisdiction of formerly German territories where Jews lived would increase German antisemitism without influencing the Allies. Congress should follow a realistic policy and not one guided by illusions.

MR. S. S. SILVERMAN M. P. replied that the passage referred to was a logical sequel to another resolution which provided that no Jew non outside Germany should be permitted to come back under German sovereignty.

Representatives of DPs from the American and the French Zone declared that Mr. Landau could not be considered to have spoken otherwise than in his own name. The Chairman replied that Mr. Landau had not claimed to have spoken on behalf of the delegation.

RABBI JOSEPH GABRIEL (U.S.A.) vice-chairman of the Political Committee said the political resolutions expressed the spirit of the Jewish people's struggle for its rights to live a free national, cultural life. This meant that the Jews demanded more than just their human rights. The world would never be free and secure unless the Jews were permitted to live as one of the free nations of the world.

MR.A.RAISKY (France) expressed his satisfaction over the unanimous adoption of resolutions. He said the fight against USSR coupled with a renewal of a strong Germany were steps preparatory to a third world war which could bring new terrible dangers to the Jews.

MR.M.OREN (Israel) said that resolutions moved during this Assembly proved the existence of forces declaring themselves in favour of real democracy; these forces saw in the Soviet Union a champion of freedom and peace.

DR.DAVID PETERGORSKY (U.S.A.) declared on behalf of the American delegation that unity over political resolutions was about the best service which delegations could render to the Jewish people. It showed also the truly democratic nature of the World Jewish Congress.

016/E/FW





# Bulletin

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

יידישער וועלט־קאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

PRESS COMMUNIQUE NO. 17

Night Session

5th July, 1948.

The late night session opened at 1.15 a.m. with Dr. Nahum Goldmann in the chair.

DR. LEV ZELMANOVITS introducing a joint resolution of the Political Committee and the Committee for Reconstruction on Displaced Persons, conveyed amidst applause a message of solidarity to the Jewish Displaced Persons in the camps of Germany, Austria, Italy and Cyprus on behalf of the Assembly. He paid tribute to the magnificent discipline which the D.P.'s had shown in spite of continued disappointments against which they had set an unparalleled moral resistance. The speaker said the Committee on Reconstruction had the advantage to hear Prof. William Haber, Jewish Adviser to the U.S. military Government in Germany and representatives of all Central Committees in Germany, Austria and Italy. All reports sounded a note of most serious warning especially as regards the position in Germany and Austria which had deteriorated during the last few days as a result of the policy of the Western Powers aiming at an increased transfer of authority to the Germans. This had entailed a stiffening of the German attitude and had strengthened Nazi elements in both zones, which were showing increasing tendencies to come out again into the open. In some regions, especially of Austria and Italy, the personnel of the International Refugee Organisation was moreover openly discriminating against Jews although there was little doubt that such attitude was not in accordance with Headquarters policy.

MR. J. FRIDMAN (France) on behalf of former Jewish Partisans and War Veterans in France, called for the formation by Congress of an international organisation of Jewish Ex-Servicemen, Partisans and Ghetto Fighters by convening a conference of leaders of such fighters from every country. National organisations of this kind already existed in Poland, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

MR. M. GRABOVSKY (Israel) ex-member of the Jewish Brigade, had expressed his approval on behalf of ex-servicemen of Israel.

The assembly took note of the initiative taken by the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation with the participation of the World Jewish Congress and other bodies, for the erection of a memorial (Yad Vashem) near Jerusalem to the 6,000,000 Jewish victims. The Chairman underlined the symbolic significance of the site chosen.

DR.N.GOLDMANN, from the Chair announced that although a great deal of unanimity had been achieved so far, certain difficulties had arisen at the last moment which made it necessary for the session to be adjourned now and to resume at a later hour on Tuesday. Since some delegates had made arrangements to leave Montreux early on Tuesday, the Presidium, after consultation with the delegations concerned, had reached a gentlemen's agreement according to which each delegation will retain the original number of votes allotted to it by the Credentials Committee, irrespective of the number of delegates present when the vote will be taken. The Chairman stressed that it was clearly understood by all concerned, that ~~this exceptional arrangement can in no way~~ serve as a precedent for the future.

The session adjourned at 2.10 a.m.

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# Bulletin

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

יידישער וועלט־קאנגרעס

SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY

CONGRÈS JUIF MONDIAL

הקונגרס היהודי העולמי

PRESS COMMUNIQUE NO.18

Tenth Day

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6th July, 1948.

The Final Session of the World Jewish Congress Second Plenary Assembly opened on Tuesday at 1 p.m. with DR.NAHUM GOLDMANN in the chair.

MR.LEON MEISS, President of the Representative Council of French Jews, brought the greetings of French Jewry. The Council, which represented Jews of all views throughout France, had co-operated with the World Jewish Congress, especially in juridical matters and he hoped that this co-operation would be maintained in future. The speaker referred to the recent pogroms in Morocco and said a formal assurance had been received from the French Government that due punishment would be meted out and that steps would be taken to prevent any recurrence of such outbreaks.

MAJOR PINCHAS STERN, Secretary-General of the Association of Jewish partisans in Poland read a statement on behalf of the Polish delegation calling upon the World Jewish Congress to proclaim April 19th, day of the Warsaw rising, as a national holiday of the Jewish people.

The Chairman then announced that further messages had been received from all parts of the world, including a message from Mr.Auster, mayor of the Jewish part of Jerusalem, and from Mr.Henry Wallace.

## Elections

Dr.Nahum Goldmann then proceeded to the election of the Executive Committee. All delegates and guests rose to their feet and applauded when Dr.STEPHEN S.WISE was proposed as President of the World Jewish Congress. The proposal of DR.NAHUM GOLDMANN as Chairman of the Executive Committee and of DR.LEON A.L.KUBO<sup>W</sup>ITZKI as Chairman of the General Council was also accepted by acclamation.

Before proceeding to present the list of members of the future Executive Committee, the Chairman said it was a sign of the growth of the organisation that when they met first at Geneva in 1936 they had elected an Executive of nine. Now it was a problem of accommodating representatives of some sixty countries and it would prove impossible to direct activities of the World Jewish Congress from one centre only. It was therefore proposed that part of the

Executive should be in the Western Hemisphere with Headquarters in New York, and other parts in Europe and in Israel, but it should be clearly understood that this Executive, in spite of the geographical dispersion would be one organ. It would be for the newly elected Executive to decide upon the division of work; but it should be clear to all that matters of principle and major policy would be decided by the Executive as a whole. Some countries would nominate their representatives on the Executive at a later date. There were for instance a number of Latin American countries not represented at this conference for whom seats had been reserved.

The full list of names of the members of the Executive Committee as proposed will be found in the supplement to this Press Communique.

Before the Chairman proceeded to take the vote, a number of speakers made statements clarifying the attitude of their respective delegations or groups within the World Jewish Congress, to the elections. Among those who spoke were Mr. A. Raisky, Dr. Joachim Prinz, Mr. Oren, Mr. S. Burg, Mr. Anselm Reiss, Dr. I. Schwarzbart, Mr. F. Hollander, Mr. A. Kovensky and Capt. Mirsky.

At 2.15 p.m. the vote was taken. There was no dissenting vote, but in accordance with an agreement between the Executive and a number of delegations it was put on record that 27 delegates had abstained from voting.

First among the final speakers who were called by the Chairman as the concluding session drew to its close, was LADY READING (Great Britain). She said they had all learned a great deal during this Congress, about one another and of the problems that were confronting them. They had faced their differences and learned how to reconcile them and how to reach agreement. As the first speaker of the newly elected Executive Committee, Lady Reading declared, she would like to say that they would work in the spirit of agreement, because such a spirit was best for the Jewish people as a whole. They hoped they would be found not unworthy of the trust put in them. Lady Reading paid tribute to the preparatory work done in New York and in London where the British delegation had compiled the bulk of the working papers upon which the Committees had relied. She also paid a special tribute to Dr. G. M. Riegner who had handled the organisation of the Second Assembly in the most efficient way, and to all delegates, who never slept, never ate, never grew tired of listening to speeches or making them. "I would just end on a note with which, I am sure, you will all agree. We will work together and stand together, and I hope that the bodies which have not joined us yet - such as the Board of Deputies - will come in and strengthen us, because in unity lies our only hope of survival."

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE took the floor amid loud cheers, with all the delegates and guests rising to their feet. "We accept the duties and commitments of unity which your vote has placed upon us", he said. They would do all within their power, within the laws of the lands in which they were living, to help build, to serve, to strengthen the State of Israel. "We shall do all that it is possible to do - and I am serving notice of this intention of ours on the United Nations and especially on France - to protect and safeguard the endangered Jewries in the Arab lands; let the Arabs of the Near and Middle East and of North Africa understand that they must reckon with the conscience

of mankind. We shall not allow another Hitler pogrom against Jews. We are resolved to be peacemakers in the world, but on one condition: The peace we crave must be a peace of justice and righteousness, of human equality and human freedom."

Dr. Wise said he had been a lad of 24 years when he attended the 2nd Zionist Congress. His teachers had thought him crazy. Two months before he died, Theodor Herzl had told him: "I shall not see the Jewish State - but you, Wise, will live to see it." - "Mercifully, it has been granted to me to see the fulfilment of this great vision. And I am telling you: There will be peace in Israel before the end of 1948. I was a half-Jew when I attended my first Zionist Congress; I grew to be a Jew, fully, passionately, when I went to Poland in 1936. There I felt and realised that I belonged to a great people; to a people which suffered in silence and indignity, a people of courage - that courage which culminated in Warsaw; From the Warsaw of 1936 I went to Geneva where my vision of a great, a comprehensive, a fighting organisation uniting Jewry throughout the world, was shared by two comrades - the late Leo Motzkin and Nahum Goldmann.

I think you have made a mistake in electing me to the office of President of the World Jewish Congress; I am too old by now to be your President. But if need be, I shall bow to your judgement in all humility, I shall serve you with all my strength and up to the last hour of my life I shall be devoted to the service of my people. A people united, invincible, unshakeable, indestructable.

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN, Chairman of the Executive Committee, first paid tribute to divers groups within Congress which by their sense of responsibility had enabled this Assembly to emerge as a united and unified organisation.

"I do not often use the term "historical" - but I look upon this Congress of ours as a historical event. Nobody could foresee from the outset if it would be possible to establish unity. Had we failed, it would still have been our sacred duty to attempt to achieve that unity. However we are parting to-day not weakened but strengthened."

The new Executive, Dr. Goldmann said, faced a difficult task. it was a large body of complex composition, both geographically and politically and all those who have been elected to office have taken upon themselves a heavy burden. They were determined to discharge their duty to the utmost of their ability. They would defend Jewish rights wherever defence was required; they would assist Israel wherever Israel might ask and need such assistance; they would not hesitate to criticize Governments which infringed Jewish rights, and they would not shrink from praising Governments which stood up for the equality of their citizens in law and fact. They would without fear or favour attack or praise whether these Governments were headed by Truma or Stalin

whether they were Governments of Venezuela, Guatemala, Rumania or Czechoslovakia. They would join all peoples which were fighting for a better world, and would seek to find allies where such allies could be found.

The new Executive would be facing a difficult task especially because they were entering a difficult era. They lived in times of ideological and political conflict which at times assumed most brutal forms. These were not easy times for anybody especially for the Jewish people. These were times when mistrust, suspicion and distortion reigned supreme, poisoning public life in general and relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish world in particular. They called for a cool, intelligent, visionary Jewish policy.

In the two years to come before they met again, they must tackle two principle tasks: First they had to maintain and strengthen the Jewish position in any part of the world where Jews lived, to be ever-vigilant against dangers looming in many lands, to prevent a renewed threat to the lives of our people. Second, the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish people must make whatever modest contribution they could to fashion this troubled world into a world of peace, of security, of amity among nations, religions and races. The interests of the Jewish people coincided with progress throughout the world. They would not be able to secure Jewish rights and achieve Jewish safety, unless peace and security were established for all the peoples of the globe.

Dr. Goldmann ended by expressing the hope that when they meet again two years hence, they would meet as the representatives of Jewish communities which had prospered and whose positions had improved; he hoped fervently that Dr. Stephen Wise, that great leader of Jewry and of the World Jewish Congress, would be with them and that Israel would have achieved consolidation and grown strong among its neighbours and among the nations of a world at peace.

After Dr. Goldmann had expressed the thanks and appreciation of the Executive and of the Assembly to Dr. G.M. Riegner, to the heads of Departments and their staff, who had made it possible for this Congress to proceed smoothly under improvised and often difficult conditions, the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress ended shortly before 3 p.m. on Tuesday afternoon, July 6th to the strains of "Hatikvah", the Jewish national anthem.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE - President of World Jewish Congress  
DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN - Chairman of Executive Committee  
DR. A. L. KUBOWITZKI - Chairman of General Council

AMERICA

Rabbi Philip Bernstein  
Rabbi S. Federbusch  
Leon Gellman  
Israel Goldstein  
Judge Louis Levinthal  
Louis Lipsky  
Robert S. Marcus U S A  
Irving Miller  
Shad Polier  
Dr. J. Prinz  
David Petegorsky  
Dr. Ignace Schwarzbart  
Louis Segal  
Dr. J. Tenenbaum  
Baruch Zuckerman

Samuel Bronfman Montréal  
Rabbi Maurice Perlzweig Toronto  
Dr. Jacob Hellmann Buenos Aires

EUROPE

Dr. N. Barou  
Dr. R. Bienenfeld  
Alec Easterman  
S. Levenberg  
Lady Eva Reading  
Rabbi Koppel Rosen  
Mrs. Rebecca Schiff  
Sidney S. Silverman  
Dr. A. Steinberg  
Dr. R. Cantoni  
Marc Jarblum  
Israel Jefroykin  
Rabbi R. Kapel  
Dr. Modiano  
Dr. M. Oren  
Dr. G.M. Riegner  
Dr. Moshe Sneh  
Hillel Storch

OPEN  
POLAND 2  
Roumania 2  
Hungary 2  
Bulgaria 1  
France 1

PALESTINE

A. Bialopolski  
Dr. M. Nurock  
Anselm Reiss  
Dr. A.L. Tartakower  
l. general Zionist

July 6th 1948.

# RESOLUTIONS

adopted by the  
SECOND PLENARY ASSEMBLY  
of the  
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Montreux, Switzerland

JUNE 27th—JULY 6th, 1948

260.3

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## GENERAL POLITICAL RESOLUTION.

**W**E, the representatives of Jewish communities and organisations throughout the world, gathered at the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress at Montreux, Switzerland, declare :—

1. We reaffirm the unity of the Jewish people and their desire to live, in equality and dignity, in a world of peace, democracy and international co-operation, and together with other democratic peoples, to contribute to the freedom and happiness of mankind.
2. The tragedy of the past twelve years has demonstrated that the primary conditions of Jewish survival are the independence and security of the State of Israel, the elimination of the forces of Fascism everywhere and the establishment of those conditions under which free Jewish economic, cultural and spiritual development is rendered possible and encouraged.
3. The Jewish people are profoundly convinced that the free political economic and cultural development of mankind can be achieved only in a world united in dedication to the peace and welfare of mankind. The Jewish people, therefore, view with grave concern those developments whose results, and, in some instances whose purposes, are to divide the world into conflicting and antagonistic spheres of interest. We urge the nations of the world to co-operate in complete unity and to resist division by strengthening the authority of the United Nations, by promoting, earnestly and whole-heartedly, the work of the United Nations, and by facilitating the co-operation of the peoples of the world through voluntary international democratic organisations.
4. As a people whose traditions and ideals are based on the fundamental principles of democracy and social justice, and whose fate is inseparably linked with the future of the democratic system, the Jewish people are resolved to work together with all democratic groups for the advancement of democracy and for the right of all human beings to security, peace and liberty.
5. We regard anti-Semitism both as an integral element in the attempt to subvert human liberty and as one of the gravest threats to the survival of the Jewish people. We, therefore, assert that it is the responsibility of all governments to eliminate anti-Jewish as well as all other forms of racial discrimination. It is no less the duty of the Jewish people to co-operate with all friends of freedom in a common struggle for social progress and a durable peace, and in opposing racialism and all other forces tending to increase the danger of war.

6. In view of the challenge to the Jewish people by reactionary anti-democratic forces throughout the world, we affirm that our common purpose is to secure the status and rights of the Jewish people everywhere, to contribute to the advancement of democracy and to establish conditions favourable to the creative development of Jewish economic, cultural, spiritual and religious life. It is, therefore, imperative that effective co-ordination be achieved between Jewish effort and activity in all lands, and that the World Jewish Congress, as a world-wide organisation operating with collective responsibility and purpose, be supported and strengthened.
7. To render the World Jewish Congress an even more effective instrument of Jewish survival, Jewish communities in all lands should constitute and organise themselves democratically and on a representative basis in order that they may contribute freely and in complete equality to the tasks and responsibilities of the world-wide organisation and that they may be able to deal more effectively with the particular problems affecting their respective communities. Where such democratic national Jewish bodies already exist, they should be fully supported by all Jewish groups in those lands.
8. Since the formal inauguration of the World Jewish Congress in 1936, it has consistently pursued the policy of co-ordinating the Jewries of the world on a programme of constructive self-help, mutual aid and solidarity, so as to form an effective world-wide organisation through the voluntary unity of Jewish communities and organisations, acting co-operatively for the rights, liberties and survival of the Jewish people.
9. It is the fundamental aim of the World Jewish Congress to achieve the aforementioned purposes by functioning as the democratic and representative organisation of the Jewish people.

## DECLARATION ON ISRAEL.

**A**S representatives and spokesmen of the broad masses of the Jewish people throughout the world, we hail with pride and joy the establishment of the State of Israel. We offer our boundless gratitude to our fellow-Jews in Eretz Israel for the fulfilment of the millennial hopes of our people for national restoration in the land of our fathers.

We salute the heroism of the Haganah, the Jewish Defence Army, whose military achievements in the face of fearful odds have added another glorious chapter to the history of Jewish valour. We salute the courage of Israel's Jews who have permitted neither military aggression nor political pressure to daunt them in their valiant battle for the defence, consolidation and international recognition of the new State.

The World Jewish Congress calls with confidence on every section of the Jewish people to support and to sustain with all its resources the struggle for the independence and integrity of the State of Israel until that struggle shall have been crowned with final victory. We call on our fellow-Jews everywhere to give fullest moral and material support to Israel in its resistance to any efforts which seek to diminish the sovereignty or to reduce the territory of the new State. In that resistance, we and they are fortified by the knowledge that we are defending the judgment of the United Nations, arrived at after exhaustive inquiry and discussion. We protest against the demands by aggressive powers to jeopardise the rights of the Jewish people in Israel by political and military action.

We acknowledge with gratitude the action already taken by nations in according recognition to the State of Israel. They have spoken not only for the moral conscience of their own people; they have reflected the moral recognition which has been accorded Israel by all men of good will throughout the world. We appeal most earnestly to all other nations of the world to follow their example and to match the moral recognition of Israel by men and women everywhere with political recognition by their constituted authorities. They have stood with unfailing consistency by the United Nations. We are entitled to expect that the United Nations shall now stand by us.

The Jewish people in the State of Israel and throughout the world has never sought and does not seek conflict with the Arab peoples. We seek for the State of Israel no more than equal status with the other nations of the world within the framework of the United Nations, as we seek for Jews everywhere equal rights as Jews and human beings. Because the State of Israel embodies, as the Yishuv has hitherto embodied, the noble, ethical and moral values of our people, we are supremely certain that it will seek to work out its destiny in peaceful co-operation with its Arab neighbours and on a basis of respect for the human rights and full equality of all its inhabitants without distinction. The re-establishment of peace in Palestine

will thus serve the cause of progress in the Middle East and will provide the opportunity for the renewal of the ancient tradition of Arab-Jewish co-operation in Israel and other lands throughout the world.

Confident of the justice of the cause of Israel, we, the delegates to this Second Plenary Session of the World Jewish Congress, solemnly pledge ourselves to support the State of Israel by every means and with all our resources in the struggle for its integrity and independence; and in this hour of trial, of struggle, and of fulfilment, we sent to its citizens and soldiers the ancient Jewish greetings: **BE STRONG AND OF GOOD COURAGE.**

### JEWIS IN ARAB COUNTRIES.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, conscious of its responsibilities in safeguarding the rights of Jews in all lands;

disturbed about the grave situation facing the Jews living among the Arab peoples;

recognising the alarming proportions which anti-Jewish propaganda has assumed in certain countries, resulting in violence and crimes against the life and property of Jews and culminating in massacre of innocent people;

fearing that similar crimes may recur in the future;

calls upon all Arab peoples to follow an attitude of friendship and brotherhood towards the Jewish communities, who for many centuries have lived with them in peace as good neighbours, and to resist aggression and provocation against the Jews;

appeals to all governments and appropriate authorities to put an end to agitation and propaganda directed against the Jews, to take every possible measure to prevent dangers facing their Jewish citizens, to bring to trial and punish those responsible for having committed acts of violence and to abstain from all forms of discrimination and oppression directed against the Jewish people;

requests the United Nations and all its members to use all their influence with the countries and governments concerned to assure the dignity, security and safety of the Jewish communities which are in danger.

The Congress emphasises the extremely urgent character of this appeal.

### HUMAN RIGHTS.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, whilst noting with satisfaction that the United Nations have given priority in their Agenda to the speedy introduction of a Bill of Human Rights, desires to emphasise:

That no such Bill would be worthy of its name unless it secured effectively full equality by law and in practice for all human beings without distinction of race, religion, language and sex;

nor would such a Bill fulfil its purpose unless it excluded from its protection in respect of their destructive activities individuals and groups aiming at the destruction of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

nor would such a Bill fulfil its purpose without effectively combating the spirit of intolerance and hatred against nations, racial or religious groups, by promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and by banning all education opposed to these principles.

The World Jewish Congress declares that an appropriate procedure within the framework of the United Nations in regard to petitions alleging infringement of human rights is an indispensable prerequisite for the implementation of a Bill of Human Rights.

The World Jewish Congress reminds all civilised nations of the world:

That the whole Jewish population under Nazi and Fascist governments in Europe were deprived of all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

that Governments failed to take effective measures to prevent this suppression of human rights;

That at present, three years after the cessation of hostilities, in spite of the victory of the Allied Democracies, the teachings of Nazism and Fascism are still spreading intolerance and hatred against the Jews in many countries;

that appropriate measures to fight racial hatred and anti-Semitic propaganda have not yet been introduced by all governments.

The World Jewish Congress solemnly calls upon the nations of the world to realise that the preservation of human rights and fundamental freedoms is a vital condition of the survival of humanity and is of particular significance for the Jewish people, the majority of whom are spread as minority groups amongst the nations of the globe, and whose group rights, including facilities for the development of their religious and cultural life, must be internationally secured.

The World Jewish Congress warns that a repetition of the Nazi and Fascist onslaught against human rights and fundamental freedoms must inevitably lead to a new war, which may result in the destruction of civilisation.

## GENOCIDE.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress welcomes the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, declaring Genocide to be an international crime entailing international responsibility on the part of States and individuals and requesting the Economic and Social Council to prepare a Draft of a Convention on Genocide for submission to that body.

The World Jewish Congress appeals to the Assembly of the United Nations to adopt as soon as possible a Convention on Genocide, with special regard to international machinery for the prevention and punishment of this crime as well as to effective rules of implementation.

The Congress reminds all Member States of their obligation under the United Nations Charter to promote Human Rights and calls upon all Member States to ratify such a Convention without delay.

## RACIALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress reminds all governments and peoples of the world of the recognised and established fact:

That racialism and anti-Semitism is everywhere the forerunner of Fascism ;

that the preaching of these doctrines is again being used by the foes of democracy as one of the main instruments to destroy democracy ;

that racial and anti-Semitic propaganda inevitably undermines respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms by fostering the spirit of intolerance and hatred which must endanger the security of all minority groups and friendship between nations ;

that democracy cannot be defended against Fascism unless it resists by adequate means the Fascist onslaught against the equality and security of all human beings and unless positive measures are taken to guarantee that equality ;

that the efficacy of a legislative programme for combating such subversive movements has been amply proven.

The Congress, therefore, appeals to all governments and nations of the world to outlaw racialism and anti-Semitism, especially by :

Making incitement to hatred against racial or religious groups a punishable offence under domestic law ;

prohibiting the misuse of freedom of speech, press or assembly for the spreading of racialism and anti-Semitism by banning the teaching of racialism and anti-Semitism and by examining the text-books of all educational institutions with this purpose in view ;

promoting group amity and understanding among all democratic elements and by effective support of the United Nations' Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).

The World Jewish Congress calls on all Jewish organisations together with all non-Jewish democratic and progressive organisations, in those countries where anti-Semitic movements emerge, to continue and strengthen the common struggle against anti-Semitism and racialism and the expressions of them in practice.

## GERMANY.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, recalling the terrible and inhuman sufferings and persecution inflicted upon the world and, specifically, upon the Jews of Europe by Germany and the German people, resulting in six million Jewish dead and the uprooting and homelessness of most of those who, thanks to Allied victory, escaped this fate ;

mindful of the anti-Semitic propaganda disseminated by Germany and the German people throughout the world ;

taking account of the incalculable material damage caused to European Jewry by Germany and the German people ;

aware of the present state of mind of the German people who do not show signs of repentance for their misdeeds or any desire on their part to embrace democracy and to become a freedom-loving nation ;

having regard to the persistence of anti-Semitism in Germany ;

reaffirms the previous resolutions adopted by the World Jewish Congress in regard to Germany and particularly the determination of the Jewish people never again to settle on the bloodstained soil of Germany ;

voices its deep concern at the failure of the Allied denazification programme as well as the fact that active Nazis and others who co-operated with the National-Socialist movement have been installed in important posts in the political and economic life of the country and in the administration of justice ;

calls upon the Allied nations, especially the Great Powers, to include in whatever settlement, temporary or permanent, of the German problem they may make, the following provisions in favour of the Jewish people and Jews :—

(a) Recognition of Germany's guilt for the unprecedented tragedy which befell the Jews after the accession of the Nazis to power in Germany.

(b) Payment of reparations by Germany in favour of the uprooted Jews, to be used for their rehabilitation and resettlement, primarily in Palestine.

(c) Restoration in full of the economic rights of Jews in and from Germany, insofar as it has not yet been done by the Allies. Whenever restitution is impossible or inappropriate full compensation should be made therefor. The export of the property or compensation coming under this proviso should be facilitated and expedited.

(d) Heirless and unclaimed Jewish property should be assigned, insofar as it has not yet been done, to a Jewish organisation representative of the Jews in and outside Germany and used for rehabilitation and resettlement of Jews in the countries of the residence of the victims and in Israel.

(e) The consequences of the failure of denazification and purification of Germany should be remedied.

(f) All discriminatory legislation should, insofar as it has not yet been done, be abrogated and provisions made to ban the introduction of such laws and practices as well as of anti-Semitic teachings and practices in the future. No one shall be prosecuted for the violation of any law to be abolished as a result of such abrogation.

(g) Germany should recognise a special responsibility towards displaced Jews who live at present within her borders or who may come there in future, should be responsible for their maintenance and be obliged to provide them with the necessary means for their economic rehabilitation to the extent that this is not being done by the Allies or IRO.

(h) The legal status of Jews and their communities be guaranteed internationally.

(i) The implementation of the foregoing provisions should be put under strict international control and supervision by the proper Allied authorities.

The World Jewish Congress demands that, in the peace treaties with Germany, areas which were detached from Germany and in which there now reside considerable numbers of Jews and other victims of Nazism and racial persecution, shall not be returned to Germany.

The Congress regards any attempt to reconstitute the German State as an economic and political, and, therefore, inevitably a military power, in the absence of sufficient evidence of its capacity or willingness to serve the interests of peace and democracy, as a threat to Jewish security and the peace of the world.

## DESECRATION OF JEWISH CEMETERIES IN GERMANY.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress expresses its consternation and indignation at the continued wave of desecration of Jewish cemeteries in Germany and, in view of the obvious inability of the German authorities to take effective measures to put an end to these crimes, demands that immediate preventive measures be taken and the perpetrators be effectively punished by the Occupying Powers in whose zones of Germany these misdeeds are occurring.

The Congress declares further that Germany's desire to return to the community of nations must be regarded as unacceptable by the civilised world so long as she is not ready and in a position by her own strength to suppress these new crimes against Jews and Jewish institutions.

## JEWIS IN AUSTRIA.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress declares that an ever-increasing part of the Austrian population has become conscious of the crimes committed by the Nazi regime against the Jews, and that they are prepared to fight, in a unified front, together with the victims of Nazism, against a revival of Nazism.

The Congress expresses its apprehension that Nazi forces in Austria are still working, through propaganda and attempts at reorganisation, for the revival of Nazism, that they are gaining strength and are consolidating their position in the economic and administrative spheres.

The Congress states that little has been accomplished as yet to redress the wrongs done to the Jews of Austria; that there has been great delay in the application of laws already passed, and, especially, that a number of laws, whose introduction was promised and which were of importance for Jewish rehabilitation, have not yet been enacted.

The Congress expresses the hope that, in the forthcoming treaty with Austria and in her domestic law and practice, guarantees will be laid down which will make a revival of Nazism impossible and will secure the existence and rehabilitation of the Jewish community.

## PUNISHMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, recalling the repeated and solemn proclamations of all Governments that all guilty of crimes against humanity would be brought to justice irrespective of the nationality of the victims—

protests against the fact that large numbers of those who were guilty of crimes against the Jewish people have remained unpunished and, in many instances, have not been brought to trial, especially in the Western Zones of Germany and Austria;

notes with deepest concern that the most cruel crimes against humanity committed against Jews of former enemy nationality or against Stateless Jews have been excluded from the competence of the International Tribunal of Nuremberg and of Allied Military Courts;

declares its strongest protest against the dissolution of the International War Crimes Commission at a time when tens of thousands of *prima facie* war criminals have been neither indicted nor surrendered to governments anxious to institute criminal proceedings against them;

registers its indignation that the permission shall have been granted to persons under suspicion of having committed crimes against humanity to occupy public offices in Germany and Austria or elsewhere;

The World Jewish Congress expresses its strong condemnation of the intention of Allied Governments to leave the prosecution of War Crimes and crimes against humanity within the exclusive competence of German Courts, and appeals in the name of justice to all Allied Governments to introduce appropriate measures to enable Allied Authorities to exercise

appropriate control of the administration of justice and to include provisions for the re-examination of court sentences.

The World Jewish Congress calls upon the United Nations to make the principles embodied in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal the basis of International Criminal Law applicable in time of war and peace without regard to the nationality of the victims and to institute adequate procedure and machinery to attain this end.

### JEWIS OF FORMER ENEMY NATIONALITY.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, recalling that Jews of former enemy nationality were during the war not only the victims of persecution in enemy countries, but have actively supported the Allied cause as the natural opponents of Nazi and Fascist aggression; that, nevertheless, even after the cessation of hostilities such Jews are still treated in several Allied countries as enemy nationals; that their assets in Allied countries have not been generally exempted from measures of seizure and confiscation; that they are still discriminated against in several Allied countries in respect of their economic rights, including the right to work, and are denied the right of naturalisation—

appeals, therefore, to all Allied nations to exempt, insofar as this has not yet been done, Jews of former enemy nationality from all legal disabilities imposed upon former enemy nationals;

calls upon the Allied Nations to exempt Jews of former enemy nationality, insofar as this has not yet been done, from all measures of sequestration and seizure of assets in Allied countries;

expresses gratitude to those Allied and other governments which assisted Jews of former enemy nationality resident in their countries by granting them refuge, the right to work and naturalisation, and urges all other government to follow this example;

urges that such Jews as have been deprived of their citizenship by former enemy countries should not be compelled or subjected to any pressure, direct or indirect, to resume their former nationality; should not be considered in law or, in fact, as enemy alien nationals, and that this loss of nationality should be legally construed to have commenced from the date that the decree depriving said Jews of their nationality became the law of these countries.

### COMMEMORATION OF THE WARSAW GHETTO RISING.

**T**HE World Jewish Congress calls on all Jewish communities of the world to recognise the 19th April, the day which means the beginning of the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto, as a solemn National Memorial Day.

### DISPLACED PERSONS.

**I.**  
**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress views with deep concern that more than three years after the cessation of hostilities almost 200,000 Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecutions are still forced to live in the camps of Germany, Austria, Italy, Cyprus and elsewhere.

**II.**  
The Representatives of world Jewry gathered at the Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress send greetings to their uprooted brethren in the Displaced Persons Camps. They pay high tribute to the various Central Committees of Jewish Displaced Persons and to the Jewish D.P.s themselves for their magnificent discipline and high morale, in spite of many disappointments. They commend the great efforts made by these survivors for their self-rehabilitation. The World Jewish Congress representatives appreciate the indefatigable struggle of these Jewish D.P.s for their national redemption in Palestine.

**III.**  
The Jewish D.P.s find consolation in the fact that the Jewish State of Israel has become an unshakable reality, a state to which the majority of them desire to go, and should be given the opportunity of doing so, in order to rehabilitate themselves in security, dignity and peace.

The World Jewish Congress, therefore, appeals to the nations of the world, as well as to the agencies concerned, and especially to the powers occupying Germany and Austria, to afford every facility for a speedy and large-scale resettlement of Jewish D.P.s in Israel.

**IV.**  
The World Jewish Congress is aware of the fact that some Jewish D.P.s wish to be admitted to countries other than Israel, especially where the reunion of scattered Jewish families is involved.

With deep regret the Congress records the fact that many countries of immigration carry on, in law and in fact, discriminatory immigration policies against Jews and Jewish D.P.s a policy in contradiction to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter and all basic concepts of human rights, as embodied in the draft Bill of Human Rights.

The World Jewish Congress strongly recommends the adoption by any government of immigration legislation or practice which discriminates against the admission to its country of displaced Jewish persons, while offering special preference to displaced persons not of the Jewish faith, including some who have themselves participated in the annihilation of European Jews. The Congress declares that Jews will not and cannot tolerate or acquiesce in such discrimination.

The World Jewish Congress, cognisant of the fact that anti-Semitism in post-war Germany has not only persisted but continues to increase in intensity, thus placing in jeopardy the existence of Jewish D.P.s who now reside on German territory, appeals to the Allied Powers to do everything within their power to stem this trend. In this connection, it urges upon

these governments a course of action according to which, even after the administration of Germany territory is returned to Germans, the D.P.s shall continue to be under Allied jurisdiction and that, specifically, Germans shall not participate through their police, or in any other manner, in the control or administration of D.P.s camps.

Because of the perils resulting from the rising anti-Semitism in Germany, it is more than ever urgent that the D.P.s camps be liquidated by facilitating the emigration of Jews from that country on the basis of top priority.

The World Jewish Congress calls the attention of the Allied Powers to the fact that a resurgence of anti-Semitism has taken place in Austria threatening the existence of the Jewish D.P.s and calls upon those powers to take effective measures to safeguard the Jewish D.P.s and to make certain that they shall remain under Allied or international jurisdiction. It demands that the liquidation of Jewish Displaced Persons Camps in Austria shall be regarded also on a basis of high priority by all authorities concerned.

#### VI.

The World Jewish Congress wishes to record its appreciation of the unique efforts of various Jewish organisations and communities to bring assistance to Jewish D.P.s and afford them political guidance. It also expresses its appreciation of the activities of UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. During the past year, the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organisation has been active on their behalf. The World Jewish Congress wishes to record in this connection that, as the work of the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organisation during the past year has not been effectively administered in certain localities, resulting in iniquities and unnecessary suffering, it demands that such iniquities will be eradicated and that this Organisation will effectively implement the important tasks which have been assigned to it. This Organisation is evidence of the necessity of an international approach by the nations of the world to the question of post-war rehabilitation.

#### VII.

The World Jewish Congress wishes to express its appreciation to those military authorities and Jewish advisers who have served the cause of the Jewish D.P.s in the various zones of Germany and in Austria for the assistance they have given to these organisations representing the Jewish D.P.s. The World Jewish Congress also expresses appreciation to those governments which have opened their doors to Jewish refugees and which have granted special consideration to D.P.s. It appeals to these governments to uphold and continue their laudable approach to this grave humanitarian problem.

## RESTITUTION, INDEMNIFICATION AND MASTERLESS PROPERTIES.

### *Restitution.*

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress calls upon the competent authorities to enact promptly, insofar as it has not yet been done, all measures necessary to restore to the rightful Jewish owners or their successors property of which they were deprived under Nazi or Axis domination.

The Congress expresses its special concern that no restitution laws have as yet been enacted in the British Zone of Germany and in Berlin.

### *Indemnification.*

The Congress calls upon all authorities concerned to enact and implement at once, insofar as it has not yet been done, measures necessary to compensate all Jewish victims of racialism and Nazism for the losses inflicted upon them, insofar as they are not indemnified through restitution.

### *Implementation of Restitution and Indemnification.*

The Congress appeals to all authorities concerned, including the Allies, to take, without delay, all the necessary and appropriate measures to speed up the process of restitution and indemnification under existing legislation and to eliminate all existing delays and impediments thereto.

The Congress calls upon these authorities to provide the victims of anti-Jewish persecution with the means necessary for the repayment of amounts due by those victims to the present owners, whenever the legal owner does not possess these sums, and to put at the disposal of these victims funds necessary for their economic rehabilitation, in advance of the full recovery of the property, rights and interests of which they were deprived.

### *Masterless, Unclaimed and Communal Jewish Properties.*

The Congress voices its deep apprehension that masterless and unclaimed properties which belonged to Jews, and properties of Jewish communities and organisations, have in most cases not yet been made available for Jewish purposes.

The Congress calls upon all Governments and authorities concerned to enact and implement, at the earliest moment, insofar as it has not yet been done, laws and regulations assigning all such properties, rights and interests, under their jurisdiction, for purposes of Jewish rehabilitation and reconstruction in the countries of the residence of the Jewish victims of persecution and in Israel, and to transfer these assets to appropriate Jewish representative bodies.

## CHILDREN.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress again directs the attention to the tragic problem of Jewish children separated from the Jewish community through the events of the war and Nazi persecution.

Despite all efforts of Jewish organisations, supported in a few instances by public and ecclesiastical authorities, hundreds of such children still remain in non-Jewish homes and institutions and are thus being deprived of Jewish education and of contact with their own people.

The Congress appeals to all persons of good will to co-operate in tracing such children and to have them reunited with the Jewish community. It calls upon all the appropriate Jewish bodies to make the maximum efforts to have this problem solved in the spirit of real humanity and in the vital interests of the Jewish community.

## KFAR ETZION.

**I**N consequence of unprovoked Arab attacks against the Colony of Kfar Etzion last May a large number of Jewish civilian casualties resulted. It has come to the attention of the World Jewish Congress that between 100 and 150 Jewish dead remain unburied in the environments of this settlement which is now controlled by the Arab Legion of Transjordan. Despite repeated requests by the Jewish authorities and the International Red Cross that Jewish representatives be permitted to enter this territory in order to accord the final rites to these murdered Jews, the Transjordan authorities have thus far refused to honour such requests.

This Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, consisting of delegates representing Jews and Jewish communities of almost all the countries of the world, expresses its deep sense of indignation at this defiance not only of the laws of war and of nations but of all the established practices of mankind since early times.

The failure to grant the elementary human right of a lasting rest for these martyrs among their own people constitutes a flagrant repudiation of even the minimum standards of human behaviour and human dignity.

The Congress therefore appeals to the conscience of civilised mankind and to the United Nations and to Count Bernadotte, its mediator in Palestine, to permit the Jewish religious authorities to enter this hallowed territory so that they may perform, without further delay, the last rites of Judaism upon those who have fallen on behalf of their people and their land.

## DEMOGRAPHY.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress emphasises the danger which threatens the Jewish people as a result of the continuous decline in the natural growth of the Jewish population, and considers the struggle against this phenomenon as one of the most important tasks in the field of Jewish social work. This aim can be achieved mainly through suitable propaganda and through a system of Jewish social policy, which will facilitate the creation of families, and which will safeguard the existence, education and future of Jewish children.

The Second Plenary Assembly directs the Executive to convene, in the nearest future, a conference of Jewish organisations, particularly those engaged in the work of social relief, in order to discuss the problem before outlined and to decide on the methods of Jewish social work in this sphere. The Congress recommends that Keren Hatoldoth, which has done so much pioneering work in this field, shall be invited to participate in such a conference.

## JEWISH CULTURE

### Declaration on General Principles

1. Every catastrophe in our history has brought us face to face with the tragic problem of our survival. This challenge has always been met by strengthening of the inner cohesion.

The present disaster which has no equal even in our long history of martyrdom, while alienating certain elements of our people whose ties to the Jewish root were weak, strengthened the national will and deepened the national consciousness of the majority of the Jewish people. The catastrophe broke the indifference to Jewish destiny and strengthened the will to return to the Jewish fold, while the striving to find forms of Jewish life which would secure the national continuity has become general.

The emergence of a Jewish State immeasurably strengthens the spiritual influence of the Yishuv in Eretz Israel upon the Jews of all lands. It enhances the consciousness of human dignity among Jews and awakens new national creative forces.

However, the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz Israel, the realisation of the dream of fifty generations, renders the question of national continuity and development in the Galuth even more vital and urgent. At the same time it would be difficult to imagine the future growth and prosperity of the community in Eretz Israel without a parallel development of Jewish national life outside Israel.

Throughout the generations the Jewish people had a homogeneous spiritual outlook moulded by the common Torah-culture, with its own essence and ways of life. Moreover, the majority of the Jewish people until recently had one common language. This almost monolithic spiritual character of the Jewish people has now been shattered. The Jewish people is now dispersed over more than ninety countries and, as never before in its history, is thus affected by a differentiation in language and culture. The task of linking together the widespread and spiritually divided parts of the Jewish people is a most difficult and responsible one, which, however, cannot be avoided or ignored. The achievement of this end must become the lofty historic mission of the World Jewish Congress which has manifested its common interest in Jews everywhere and is striving to become the representative organ of World Jewry.

2. While the spreading Jewish communal activities tend increasingly towards unity, there still exists grave division and fragmentation in the sphere of education, this most important facet of Jewish national existence. There is still lacking a generally recognised and authoritative body able to lay down general principles of Jewish education. Local communities and country-wide organisations will have to assume not only the material responsibility of organising and maintaining a wide net of educational institutions, but will also have to strive to realise at least a minimum programme which will guarantee that every school will inculcate in the Jewish child an attachment to the Jewish people, its past, its ideals and its hopes for the future. Jewish education must bring the Jewish child back to the sources of the Jewish spirit through the Hebrew and Yiddish languages



and literature. These two languages are not only the outward forms of Jewish substance, they are themselves an organic part of the Jewish heritage and a fount of eternal values and creation: Hebrew—as the language of the great Jewish past and as the living tongue of the Yishuv in Israel, and Yiddish—as the expression of Jewish life and Jewish creative power of the masses outside Israel.

To embrace all Jewish cultural activities in their entirety would go beyond the scope of the World Jewish Congress, but the World Jewish Congress is called upon to stimulate and co-ordinate them. The practical work itself must be left in the hands of the individual Jewish communities and the organised Jewish cultural institutions. The World Jewish Congress must, however, show a genuine interest for and give its moral and material support to the central cultural and educational institutions irrespective of whether they represent the traditional approach to the substance of Judaism, or the modern conceptions concerning the essence of Jewish culture. The World Jewish Congress must consider each of these doctrines competing in the field of Jewish culture as factors which help in varying degrees to uproot ignorance among Jews and thereby strengthen the foundations of Jewish survival and of the future of the Jewish people as an entity in its own right and as a member of the family of nations.

#### RESOLUTION.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress resolves:—

1. That in all sections of the World Jewish Congress and in its affiliated organisations, departments and regional councils for culture and education should be established with the aim of strengthening and co-ordinating Jewish education and Jewish cultural work in general. The main task of these local sections should be to assist in establishing Jewish schools and to see that they be maintained or subsidised through local governments or Jewish communities, depending on existing conditions.

These departments and regional councils should also aim at helping to develop the existing part-time schools into full-time day schools.

2. The Executive is instructed to assist in establishing teachers' seminaries in various countries and to expand existing seminaries.

3. The Congress recommends that Jewish communities in need of help shall, for a specific period, engage teachers, rabbis and cultural workers from Israel and other Jewish centres and encourage the publication of text books in relation to local needs and conditions, as well as the co-ordination of activities of various centres in this field.

4. The Congress calls for the strengthening of educational work among adults through aid in establishing institutions such as evening classes, people's universities, lecture bureaux and the introduction and exchange of lecturers and artists between various Jewish centres.

5. The Plenary Assembly—

(a) recommends the encouragement by all available resources of cultural work among Jewish youth organisations of all trends and co-operation between the various countries in this field.

(b) resolves to support morally and spiritually the World Union of Jewish Students and to create scholarships for Jewish youth.

(c) recognises the importance of the Book Supply activities of the World Jewish Congress and recommends that this work be continued and co-ordinated with the activity of other organisations in this field.

(d) recommends the School Adoption Plan of the World Jewish Congress which helps Jewish schools in various countries, as a very good method of strengthening the Jewish school system in the destroyed communities and urges that this activity should be maintained and expanded.

6. The Plenary Assembly directs that the World Jewish Congress, together with other Jewish organisations, continue their efforts to recover as quickly as possible Jewish treasures which were looted by the Germans before and during the war in order that they be returned to their owners. Where there are no surviving heirs left, these treasures shall be handed over to higher educational and scientific institutions, particularly to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

7. The Plenary Assembly directs the World Jewish Congress to help ensure the rebuilding and rehabilitation of Jewish schools and such institutions as lending libraries, museums, monuments and cemeteries.

8. The Congress welcomes the work of the research institutions and historical commissions in all countries, and particularly the Institute of Jewish Affairs which collect and work on the material and documents in connection with the epoch of the Jewish destruction and heroism in that period. The collected material should become the common treasure of the Jewish people and should be centralised in co-operation with the Institute of Jewish Affairs in one common centre. The existence of such a centre should not affect the autonomy of their respective national institutions. The Yad Vashem shall be regarded as such a centre.

9. The Plenary Assembly recommends increased co-operation with UNESCO and other international organisations which deal with the strengthening of peace and understanding among the peoples and appeals to UNESCO to increase its help by re-establishing the destroyed Jewish cultural institutions which existed in the countries of the German occupation, by removing discrimination in schools and revising text books which have discriminatory tendencies.

10. The Plenary Assembly recommends—

(a) the creation of annual awards for outstanding literary, scientific and artistic achievements with the aim of encouraging Jewish literature and science;

(b) the establishment of a special fund for Jewish writers, artists and intellectuals, to enable them to devote themselves for a given period to their work.

11. The Plenary Assembly calls on the World Jewish Congress to adopt all possible measures which can lead to closer cultural co-operation with the Jews of the Soviet Union.

12. The Plenary Assembly recommends that the Cultural Department of the World Jewish Congress publish a central monthly periodical and a Year Book in which all aspects of Jewish life throughout the world may be reflected, as well as to support the publication of important local organs.

13. Recognising the necessity of co-ordinating, consolidating and expanding activity in the field of culture and education in all countries and spheres, and welcoming all the initiatives already displayed in organising cultural activities, the Congress recommends that the newly elected bodies of the World Jewish Congress convene a World Congress for Jewish Integral culture and recommends as a preparatory measure contact with existing cultural Jewish organisations for this purpose.

14. Considering the radio programmes from Israel as an important branch of cultural activity for Jews in the diaspora, the Congress recommends negotiations with the appropriate authorities in Israel in order to organise such programmes.

15. Regarding cultural work as one of the most important fields of activity, the Plenary Assembly recommends that twenty per cent. of the general budget of the World Jewish Congress be allocated to the needs of the Cultural Department.

### RELIEF.

**T**HE Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, having heard reports on the relief activities of the World Jewish Congress during the years of war and after, expresses its appreciation and gratitude to all those responsible for the pioneer work done in this particular field. The Congress also expresses its gratitude to its affiliated bodies whose whole hearted co-operation made possible the raising of funds needed for the work of relief and rehabilitation carried out by the World Jewish Congress.

The Congress, faced with the continued mass poverty and sufferings in the Jewish Communities of Europe and with hundreds of thousands of Jewish Displaced Persons, expresses its firm belief that more extensive social planning and broader and more comprehensive social programmes are required to achieve the rehabilitation of Jews and Jewish Communities. At the same time, the Congress stresses that the relief work must be done in the spirit of real democracy, of Jewish national solidarity and of the fullest participation in its administration on the part of those to whom assistance is being rendered.

The Congress calls upon the Executive to influence the relief work done by the various Jewish bodies in the above-mentioned spirit and to make the necessary efforts to achieve the co-ordination of the Congress relief activities with the activities of other major Jewish relief agencies through continuous consultation and co-operation.

The Congress reiterates the fundamental principle proclaimed by the World Jewish Congress and realised in its activities, according to which there exists a close correlation between relief and political activities. While recognising the great contribution made by Jewish organisations through mobilisation of private resources for purposes of direct relief, the Congress therefore feels that intensive efforts should be made to secure a far more adequate measure of assistance for Jewish relief and rehabilitation from public resources. The Congress expects that the work already accomplished in influencing the policies of Governmental, inter-Governmental and International Agencies in obtaining their participation in the work of relief and rehabilitation for the Jewish population, will be continued in the same spirit with the same vigour as it had been in the past.

The Congress underlines the exceptional importance of the pioneer work which the World Jewish Congress has carried out in the sphere of relief work and expresses the hope that it will continue to be effective and active as a pioneer in the field of future Relief work.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

### CHAPTER I

#### AIMS AND COMPOSITION

##### *Article 1*

The World Jewish Congress is a voluntary association of representative Jewish bodies, communities and organisations throughout the world, which affiliate under this constitution.

##### *Article 2.*

The World Jewish Congress is organised to assure the survival, and to foster the unity of the Jewish people; and to that end:—

(a) to co-ordinate the efforts of its affiliated organisations with respect to the political, economic, social and cultural problems of the Jewish people;

(b) to secure the rights, status and interests of Jews and Jewish communities and to defend them wherever they are denied, violated or imperilled;

(c) to encourage and assist the creative development of Jewish social and cultural life throughout the world;

(d) to represent and act on behalf of its affiliated organisations before governmental, inter-governmental and other international authorities with respect to matters which concern the Jewish people as a whole.

The World Jewish Congress strives to co-operate with all peoples on the basis of universal ideals of peace, freedom and justice.

##### *Article 3.*

Affiliation with the World Jewish Congress shall in no way affect the autonomy of affiliates with regard to the internal and religious affairs of their respective Jewish communities nor imply any authorization to the World Jewish Congress to intervene in the domestic political affairs of that country.

##### *Article 4*

1. Jewish bodies, communities and organisations, formed and acting in accordance with democratic principles, which subscribe to the purpose of the World Jewish Congress and agree to abide by the provisions of this constitution, may affiliate as constituent or associate members upon approval by the Executive Committee.

2. (a) Constituent membership shall be granted to only one national Jewish body, community or organisation in any country.

(b) The constituent member shall be the generally recognized or acknowledged representative Jewish body of the country. In the absence

of any such body, or the failure of any such body to apply for affiliation or its disqualification, the Executive Committee may accept as the constituent member for such country that body which in its view best qualifies for membership.

(c) Under special circumstances the Executive Committee may by a two-thirds vote of its members grant constituent membership to such other body or bodies upon such terms and conditions as the Executive Committee may prescribe.

3. Associate membership may be granted to international organisations by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Committee on such terms and conditions as the Executive Committee may find appropriate.

## CHAPTER II.

### ORGANS.

#### Article 5.

The organs of the World Jewish Congress are: The Plenary Assembly; the General Council; the Executive Committee; and such subsidiary organs as the Executive Committee may deem necessary to establish.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE PLENARY ASSEMBLY.

#### Article 6.

The Plenary Assembly is the supreme authority of the World Jewish Congress in all matters.

#### Article 7.

1. The Executive Committee shall summon the Plenary Assembly to an ordinary session every second year.

2. When circumstances render it necessary, the Executive Committee may, by a vote of two-thirds of its members, postpone the ordinary session of the Plenary Assembly for not more than one year. Further postponements require the approval of the General Council by a vote of two-thirds of its members present and voting.

#### Article 8.

1. The Executive Committee shall, upon request of three-fourths of its members, summon an extraordinary session of the Plenary Assembly. Members not present may submit their votes in writing. The business of such session shall be limited to those matters proposed by the Executive Committee.

2. On the written request of two-thirds of the members of the General Council, the Executive Committee shall summon an extraordinary session to consider those matters specified in the request. Such session shall be convened within six weeks from the receipt of the requisition and shall be held not later than two months from the date of its convocation.

#### Article 9.

1. The Plenary Assembly shall consist of delegates elected by member organisations so as truly to reflect the composition of the respective community.

2. The number of delegates allotted to each constituent member shall be determined by the General Council with due regard to the Jewish population of the respective country. No country shall be entitled to more than two-fifths of the total of the number of delegates.

3. The number of delegates allotted to associate members shall be fixed by the Executive Committee, but shall not exceed five for any associate member.

4. The validity of the election or designation of the delegates shall be subject to confirmation by the Credentials Committee.

5. The members of the Executive Committee and of the General Council shall have the right to take full part in the proceedings of the Plenary Assembly, but without voting rights unless they are elected delegates.

#### Article 10.

1. The proceedings of the Plenary Assembly shall be conducted by a Presidium elected by it for the duration of the session.

2. The proceedings of the Plenary Assembly shall be conducted in accordance with rules of procedure to be proposed by the Executive Committee and approved by the Plenary Assembly.

3. Every delegate shall have one vote in the Plenary Assembly.

4. Decisions of the Plenary Assembly shall be by a simple majority of those present and voting unless otherwise provided in this Constitution.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

#### Article 11.

1. The General Council consists of

(a) Representatives of constituent member organisations nominated by them and elected by the Plenary Assembly. Any vacancy due to death, resignation or other reason shall be filled by the respective nominating organisation.

(b) Not more than ten members elected *ad personam* by the Plenary Assembly.

(c) Not more than fifteen members co-opted by the General Council.

(d) Members of the Executive Committee.

#### Article 12.

The functions of the General Council shall be to receive and approve the reports of the Executive Committee and to determine policy, programme and financial affairs in accordance with the decisions of the Plenary Assembly.

*Article 13.*

1. The General Council shall meet in ordinary session not less than once a year.
2. On the written request to the Chairman of the General Council by not less than two-thirds of its members an extraordinary session of the General Council shall be summoned within one month from the receipt of the request and shall be held not later than one month from the date of its convocation.

CHAPTER V.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

*Article 14.*

The Executive Committee conducts the affairs and acts on behalf of the World Jewish Congress in accordance with the decisions of the Plenary Assembly and the General Council.

*Article 15.*

1. The Plenary Assembly elects the Executive Committee.
2. The Executive Committee shall have power to fill vacancies arising by reason of death or resignation, and subject to confirmation by the General Council, to co-opt additional members but not more than one-fifth of the number elected by the Plenary Assembly.

CHAPTER VI.

OFFICERS.

*Article 16.*

1. The Plenary Assembly elects the President of the World Jewish Congress, the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Chairman of the General Council.
2. The President shall be a member of the Executive Committee with full rights.
3. If the office of President becomes vacant, the Chairman of the Executive Committee shall act as President until the next meeting of the General Council which shall elect a President to hold office until the next ordinary session of the Plenary Assembly.

*Article 17.*

1. The General Council fills any vacancy occurring in the office of its Chairman and elects its other officers.
2. The Chairman of the General Council summons and presides over the meetings of the General Council.

*Article 18.*

The Executive Committee fills any vacancy occurring in the office of its Chairman, elects its other officers and determines its administrative personnel and machinery.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

*Article 19.*

1. The General Council shall elect a Credentials Committee to examine and determine the validity of the mandates of delegates and to report its findings to the Plenary Assembly.
2. There shall be a right of appeal from the decision of the Credentials Committee to the Presidium of the Plenary Assembly.

CHAPTER VIII.

FINANCES.

*Article 20.*

The revenue of the World Jewish Congress shall consist of:—

- (a) Contributions of member organisations to be determined in accordance with a key to be adopted by the Plenary Assembly and/or the General Council.
- (b) Other voluntary contributions of organisations or individuals.

CHAPTER IX.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

*Article 21.*

This constitution may be amended only upon a decision of a Plenary Assembly at which not less than three-fourths of the constituent member organisations are represented. Amendments require a two-thirds majority of delegates present and voting.

CHAPTER X.

FINAL REGULATIONS.

*Article 22.*

If necessary for the effective operation and conduct of the World Jewish Congress and its affairs the Executive Committee is empowered to take all the appropriate measures for registration or incorporation in any country or countries and with any authority or organisation.

*Article 23.*

The present constitution shall come into force immediately.

## GENERAL COUNCIL

(Supplement)

The Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, in accordance with Article 13, paragraph 1 (a) of the Constitution, established the following key for the election of members of the General Council:

Member organisations representing a country or territory with a Jewish population—

|                           |                 |          |
|---------------------------|-----------------|----------|
| between 20,000 and 75,000 | are entitled to | one seat |
| „ 75,000 „ 150,000 „ „ „  | two seats       |          |
| „ 150,000 „ 350,000 „ „ „ | three „         |          |
| „ 350,000 „ 700,000 „ „ „ | four „          |          |

and for every additional 400,000 or fraction thereof to an additional seat.

Israel is entitled to three seats in addition to those computed by the key.

Member organisations representing a country or territory of less than 20,000 may be combined with other member organisations in a similar position to attain the required minimum for representation in the General Council.

The Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress, taking into consideration the Constitution adopted by that Assembly, recognizes that special situations may arise for which no specific provisions have been made and could not practically be disposed of by a constitution.

Such situations are *inter alia* :

1. Definite departure of a member of the General Council from a country where he has residence when elected to the Council.
2. Such changes in the size of population of a Jewish community as will affect the key of its representation in the General Council.
3. Change of the personal circumstances under which a representative was nominated.

The Plenary Assembly recognizes that in such and similar situations proper representation of the respective community on the General Council may no longer prevail. The Assembly therefore recommends that the members of the General Council concerned will make it possible to their nominating member-organisation to make the necessary corrections with regard to their representation so that it truly reflects the internal composition of their community.

## LIST OF OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

elected by the

Second Plenary Assembly of the World Jewish Congress:

- Dr. Stephen S. Wise—President of the World Jewish Congress.  
Dr. Nahum Goldman—Chairman of the Executive Committee.  
Dr. A. L. Kubowitzki—Chairman of the General Council.

### AMERICAN BRANCH:

- |                        |                                  |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Rabbi Philip Bernstein | Dr. Joachim Prinz                |
| Rabbi Simon Federbusch | Dr. David Petegorsky             |
| Leon Gellman           | Dr. Ignacy Schwarzbart           |
| Dr. Israel Goldstein   | Louis Segal                      |
| Judge Louis Levinthal  | Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum             |
| Louis Lipsky           | Baruch Zuckerman—all New York    |
| Dr. Robert S. Marcus   | Samuel Bronfman (Montreal)       |
| Rabbi Irving Miller    | Rabbi M. L. Perlzweig (Toronto)  |
| Shad Polier            | Dr. Jacob Hellman (Buenos Aires) |

### EUROPEAN BRANCH:

- |                               |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Dr. Noah Barou                | Raffaele Cantoni (Rome)         |
| Dr. F. R. Bienenfeld          | Marc Jarblum                    |
| Alex L. Easterman             | Israel Jefroykin                |
| Dr. S. Levenberg              | Rabbi R. Kapel                  |
| The Marchioness of Reading    | Dr. J. Modiano                  |
| Rabbi Kopul Rosen             | Dr. Mordechai Oren—all Paris    |
| Mrs. Rebecca Sieff            | Dr. Gerhard M. Riegner (Geneva) |
| Sidney S. Silverman, M.P.     | Dr. Moshe Sneh                  |
| Dr. Aron Steinberg—all London | Hillel Storch (Stockholm)       |

### ISRAELI BRANCH:

- |                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Abraham Bialopolski  | Anselm Reiss            |
| Dr. Mordechai Nurock | Dr. Arich L. Tartakower |

The following seats were kept open for nominations to be made at a later date :—

- |               |             |             |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| Argentina (1) | France (1)  | Mexico (1)  |
| Brazil (1)    | Hungary (2) | Poland (2)  |
| Bulgaria (1)  | Israel (1)  | Rumania (2) |

# DELEGATES

## ARGENTINA:

Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas.

Abramovich, I. Lapaco, L.  
Firstatter, Dr. J. Schusheim, Dr. L.  
Gesang, H. Swarsensky, Dr. H.  
Kovensky, Dr. J.

Alternate:

Gojchgelerint, I.

## AUSTRALIA:

Executive Council of Australian Jewry.

Klippel, A. Machover, Dr. J.

## AUSTRIA:

Jewish Community of Vienna  
Union of Austrian Jewish Communities.

Maurer, Dr. E. Schapira, Dr. D.

Alternate:

Kohn, M.

Jewish Central Committee of Liberated Jews for the U.S. Zone  
(Salzburg).

Geller, S. Wiesenthal, S.  
Strauch, Dr. Z.

International Committee for  
Former Jewish Concentration Camp Inmates and Refugees.

Teichholz, B.

Alternate:

Neufeld, L.

## BELGIUM:

Conseil des Associations Juives de Belgique.

Bieber, S. Heiber, A.  
Gunzburg, Prof. N. Ryba, A.

Alternates:

Borenstein, J. Fleischer, A.

## BRAZIL:

Confederation des Associations des Juifs de Bresil.

Hoff, Dr. M. Lemle, Rabbi E.  
Koogan, A. Lipski, J.

## BULGARIA:

Consistoire Central des Juifs.

Levy, S. A. Natan Primo, Prof. J.  
Moshew, I.

## CANADA:

Canadian Jewish Congress.

Perlzweig, Dr. M. L.

## CHILE:

Comite Representativo de la Colectividad Israelita.  
Segall, S.

## CHINA:

World Jewish Congress China Section.  
Cyrinsky, G.

## COSTA RICA:

Centro Israelita Sionista.  
Polakiewicz, Dr. M.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA:

Council of Jewish Communities of Bohemia-Moravia-Silesia.

Fertig, Dr. B. Ungar, Dr. E.  
Simkova, Mrs. L.

Union of Jewish Communities of Slovakia.

Frieder, E. Winterstein Dr. V  
Krasnansky, O.

## EIRE:

Jewish Representative Council of Eire.

Feldmann, K. Segal, J.

## FINLAND:

Central Committee of Jewish Communities in Finland.

Straschefskey, Dr. H.

Alternate:

Berlinger, Rabbi E.

## FRANCE:

Delegation Française du Congrès Juif Mondial.

Blum, I. Grinberg, R.  
Braun, H. Kapel, Rabbi R.  
Drori, P. Topiol, M.  
Fortzetter, Mrs. T. Zucker, S.  
Fridman, J.

## GERMANY:

### A.—BERLIN

Jewish Community.  
Fabian, Dr. H. E.

### B.—BRITISH ZONE

Central Committee of Liberated Jews.

Goldstein, H. Weintraub, S.  
Laufer, B. Wollheim, N.  
Rosensaft, J.

Alternate:

Rosenthal, D

**C.—FRENCH ZONE**

Oberrat der Israeliten Badens.  
Rosenberger, N.

Landesverband der Israelitischen Gemeinden Rheinland und Pfalz.  
Bern, A.

Central Committee of Liberated Jews.  
Gerstenfeld, M.

Alternate:

Berkovicz, Z.

Juedische Gemeinde Saar.  
Levy, Senatspraesident A.

**D.—U.S. ZONE**

Central Committee of Liberated Jews.

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Chwojnik, Dr. M. | Rubinstein, Ruvin |
| Eife, Ch.        | Slomowicz, S.     |
| Feffer, L.       | Szwarzblat, P.    |
| Piekatsch, P.    | Treger, D.        |

Interessenvertretung der Juedischen Gemeinden.

|              |            |
|--------------|------------|
| Epstein, Dr. | Landau, E. |
|--------------|------------|

Alternate:

Auerbach, Dr. Ph.

**GREAT BRITAIN:**

World Jewish Congress British Section.

|                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Bakstansky, L.    | Nathani, I.             |
| Cohen, Rev. A.    | Nahum, Mrs. M.          |
| Harris, W.        | Reading, Marchioness of |
| Jacobs, N. M.     | Shaerf, Mrs. R.         |
| Levenberg, Dr. S. | Steff, Mrs. J. M.       |
| Margulies, B.     | Silverman, S. S., M.P.  |
| Myer, H.          |                         |

Alternates:

|             |                           |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| Beilin, L.  | Goldberg, I.              |
| Berner, M.  | Lincoln, Com. A. F., K.C. |
| Fellman, S. | Orbach, M., M.P.          |
| Freeman, H. |                           |

**GREECE:**

Central Board of Jewish Communities.  
Klee, Dr. H.

**HUNGARY:**

World Jewish Congress Hungarian Section.

|                 |                |
|-----------------|----------------|
| Beck, Dr. S.    | Stoekler, L.   |
| Benedek, Dr. L. | Szuecs, Dr. J. |
| Bisseliches, M. | Ungar, Dr. B.  |
| Geyer, Dr. A.   |                |

**INDIA:**

Jewish Association of Calcutta.  
Cohen, D.

**ISRAEL:**

Vaad Leumi.

Bialopolski, A.  
Burg, Dr. J.  
Grabovski, M.  
Hacohen, S. L.  
Kahane, Dr. Z.

Oren, M.  
Reiss, A.  
Tartakower, Dr. A. L.  
West, B.  
Zerubavel, J.

**ITALY:**

Union of Italian Jewish Communities.

|                     |                |
|---------------------|----------------|
| Bonfiglioli, Dr. R. | Viterbo, C. A. |
| Canтони, R.         |                |

Organisation of Jewish Refugees in Italy.

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| Bernstein, Dr. L. | Horowitz, E. |
| Friedmann, W.     |              |

Alternates:

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| Dobrik, A.    | Kahan, I. |
| Duvdewani, B. |           |

**LUXEMBOURG:**

Consistoire Israelite de Luxembourg.  
Kratzenstein, Grand Rabbin Dr. J.

**MEXICO:**

Comite Central Israelita de Mexico.

|                 |               |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Drucker, Dr. P. | Knoepfler, J. |
| Frumin, J.      | Mitrani, V.   |

**NETHERLANDS:**

Dutch Advisory Committee for the World Jewish Congress.

|                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| Goldlust, W.        | Nordheim, Mrs. M. B. |
| Kleerekoper, Dr. S. |                      |

**NORWAY:**

Mosaiska Trossamfund.

Bernstein, M.

Alternate:

Koritzinsky, H.

**POLAND:**

Central Committee of Jews in Poland.

|                        |             |
|------------------------|-------------|
| Berman, Dr. A.         | Parnass, H. |
| Fischgrund, S.         | Sack, J.    |
| Kahane, Chief Rabbi D. | Smolar, G.  |
| Lazebnik, J.           | Stern, P.   |
| Mirski, M.             |             |

**PORTUGAL:**

Communitate Israelita.

Sequeria, Dr. S.

Alternate:

Rytten, M.

**RUMANIA:****World Jewish Congress Rumanian Section.**

Bacal, I.  
 Benevisti, Dr. M.  
 Dasgalu, Ing. A.  
 Esselson, I.  
 Feldman, B., M.P.  
 Isovic, Prof. P.

Kohn, Dr. H.  
 Leibovici, S., M.P.  
 Manolescu, E., M.P.  
 Rosen, Chief Rabbi M.  
 Tumarchin, I.

**U.S.A:****American Jewish Congress.**

Annes, Mrs. P.  
 Annes, P.  
 Aronin, Mrs. B.  
 Baron, Mrs. F.  
 Baumgold, J.  
 Berman, Rabbi M.  
 Booth, S.  
 Brodsky, D.  
 Brown, S.  
 Brusk, Mrs. T.  
 Edelstein, Mrs. F.  
 Federbush, Dr. S.  
 Fisher, Rabbi J.  
 Frankel, Mrs. H.  
 Frankel, H.  
 Gabriel, Rabbi I.  
 Glasser, Mrs. L.  
 Kahn, A.  
 Kirschblum, Rabbi M.

Knopf, S. H.  
 Kubowitzki, Mrs. M.  
 Marcus, Dr. R. S.  
 Petegorsky, Dr. D.  
 Polier, S.  
 Prinz, Dr. J.  
 Ratsprecher, Mrs. L.  
 Schwarzbart, Dr. I.  
 Silber, A.  
 Silber, Mrs. A.  
 Steinberg, M.  
 Tenenbaum, J.  
 Tenenbaum, Mrs. S.  
 Wein, H.  
 Wise, Dr. Stephen S.  
 Wohl, Rabbi S.  
 Zenowitz, A.  
 Zuckerman, Mrs. N.

**SWEDEN:****World Jewish Congress Swedish Section.**

Aronzon, Z.  
 Berman, K.

Lapidus, L.

**Alternate:**

Hollaender, F.

**Jewish Community Malmoe.**

Marcus, L.

**Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Sweden.**

Albirt, I.

Schaechter, J.

**Alternates:**

Barburger, Dr. E.  
 Benzian, J. H.  
 Bychowski, M.

Goldstein, M.  
 Rost, Dr. N.  
 Tisch, Dr. E.

**SWITZERLAND:****Union of Swiss Jewish Communities.**

Cohn, Dr. M.  
 Guggenheim, Dr. G.

Nordmann, Mr. J.

**Alternates:**

Kohn, Dr. F.  
 Rosenblatt, W.

Wieler, R.

**URUGUAY:**

Comite Central Israelita del Uruguay.  
 Burstein, I.

**YUGOSLAVIA:****Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia.**

Alcalay, D.  
 Kadelburg, Dr. L.

Vajs, Dr. A.

**Alternate:**

Stajner, A.

**SCANDINAVIAN YOUTH FEDERATION:**

Hofstater, M.

**WORLD UNION OF JEWISH STUDENTS:**

Brunswig, Dr. H.

Feigel, S.

**Alternates:**

Kaufmann, A.

Rabner, E.

**MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Wise, Dr. Stephen S., President New York  
 Goldman, Dr. Nahum, Chairman of the Executive ”  
 Kubowitzki, Dr. A. Leon, Secretary General ”

Ehrenpreis, Chief Rabbi M. Stockholm  
 Federbusch, Dr. S. New York  
 Jarblum, Marc Paris  
 Jefroykin, I. ”  
 Nurock, Dr. M. New York  
 Perlzweig, Dr. M. L. Toronto  
 Reiss, Anselm Tel Aviv  
 Schwarzbart, Dr. I. New York  
 Tartakower, Dr. Arich Jerusalem  
 Tenenbaum, Dr. J. New York  
 Zuckermann, Baruch ”

**MEMBERS OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE  
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 Marcus, Dr. R. S. Robinson, Dr. N.  
 Petegorsky, Dr. D.

**MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN SECRETARIAT**

Barou, Dr. N. London  
 Barber, Dr. S. ”  
 Bienenfeld, Dr. F. ”  
 Cahn-Debre, Dr. S. Paris



Easterman, A. L.  
Raisky, A.  
Riegner, Dr. G. M.  
Roth, Dr. S.  
Storch, H.  
Zelmanovits, Dr. L.

London  
Paris  
Geneva  
London  
Stockholm  
London

## MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Bialopolski, A.  
Fischer, W.  
Guggenheim, Dr. G.  
Hellmann, Dr. J.  
Kahane, Dr. S. Z.  
Silberschein, Dr. A.  
Sneh, Dr. M.

Tel Aviv  
Bucharest - Montreux  
Zurich  
Buenos Aires  
Tel Aviv  
Geneva  
Tel Aviv

## FRATERNAL DELEGATES

### DENMARK.

Mosaiska Foersamlingen.  
Melchior, P.

### FRANCE.

Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France (CRIF)

Fischer, J.

Meiss, Dr. L.

World Federation of Sephardi Jews.

Camhy, O.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Brotman, A. G.  
Cohen, I.

Riebenfeld, Dr. P.

### SWEDEN.

Mosaiska Foersamlingen.  
Wolf, Prof. E.

## DIRECTORS OF DEPARTMENTS.

Baum, K. Public Relations Department, European Secretariat, London  
Grossman, K. Relief Department, New York.  
Pulverman, W. Financial Control Department, New York.

## IN CHARGE OF EUROPEAN OFFICES.

Becker, F. W.J.C. Office, Italy.  
Becker, Miss M. Secretariat Geneva Office.  
Hilb, Miss E. W.J.C., New York, delegate to the Swedish Office.  
Liban, Dr. J. W.J.C., Prague Office.  
Stiassny, E. W.J.C. Office, Austria.

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