REPORT

of the

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

Dore Schary, National Chairman
Benjamin R. Epstein, National Director

1964

Submitted to

The Board of Governors of B'nai B'rith

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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December 1, 1964

TO THE B'NAI B'RITH BOARD OF GOVERNORS:

The National Commission of the Anti-Defamation League of Binai Birith is pleased to submit herewith a report of its operations in the current year.

To provide as thorough a picture as possible, the report which follows is in two sections. The first touches on highlights and notable events of national and international scope, which, by their very importance, have dominated the year's activities. The second section provides many more details and outlines ADL's purposes, structure and budgeting process. Fund-raising procedures and problems of the ADL and the financial picture for 1964-1965 are also detailed.

I would like here to pay tribute to the leadership of those who have made our campaign successful in 1964. Special mention should be made of Mr. Paul H. Sampliner, national chairman of the ADL Appeal, Mr. Chester Roth, the general chairman for New York, where more than half of the total sums available to the ADL were raised, and to Mr. Leo Carlin, whose leadership made the ADL Appeal in Chicago a success.

I have asked our national treasurer, Mr. Benjamin Greenberg, to represent the ADL Commission at the Board of Governors meeting, since I cannot be present personally. His many years of devoted service to ADL and B'nai B'rith and his intimate knowledge of our fiscal operations qualify him uniquely to speak for us.

Few, if any, of the achievements recorded in the report which follows would have been possible without the devoted service of ADL's lay leadership and its cooperation with a highly competent and experienced ADL staff. Of tremendous help in the work was the cooperation of the Lodges and Chapters of B'nai B'rith and the invaluable assistance rendered, on a daily basis, and in crucial situations, by President Label Katz and the Executive President Maurice Bisgyer.

ADL is grateful, too, for the many services of the B'nai B'rith Women's Council, its president Mrs. Leonard P. Sims, and its executive secretary Miriam Albert.

Finally, I would extend my personal regards and sincere appreciation to the Board of Governors of B'nai B'rith whose attention and helpful understanding makes all of our tasks at the Anti-Defamation League easier.

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Dore Schary

National Chairman

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SECTION I

Introduction

For the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1964 was a year of such unprecedented activity, excitement and major achievement that no compact report such as this can hope to touch upon all of its works. This report, therefore, should be considered a review only of the major issues and the most dramatic events in which the ADL was involved.

These are the peaks in a vast volume of civil rights and community service activities, program, and educational projects which engage ADL's lay leadership, B'nai B'rith leaders and members, and ADL's professional staff on a day to day basis throughout the country. Some of the highlights touched upon in the following pages are achievements which could not have been reached without these long-term activities.

ADL's work in relation to the Ecumenical Council might not have been possible without its research program and its many years of programming of Jewish-Catholic colloquia with Catholic institutions. The years of cooperative ventures with both Catholics and Protestants made possible the unprecedented response of Christian leaders to the protest against Soviet anti-Semitism. ADL's years of community service activities and its understanding of the Washington scene enabled the agency to carry out its leadership conference on civil rights. ADL's long-term research experience and projects contributed vastly to all of the major achievements. But this is running ahead of the story, even though it is designed to place this brief report in proper context and against its organizational backdrop.

The three major problems which shaped the work of the ADL during the past twelve months were the civil rights revolution, the mushrooming of the Radical Right, and the always continuing problem of how the general community feels about and acts toward Jews.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The past year saw ADL heavily engaged in dealing with the reaction to the Negro civil rights movement and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Race relations responsibilities turned out to be far greater than had been anticipated at the beginning of the year. Though it was a year of perhaps the greatest progress to date in Negro civil rights achievements, it was also a year of growing racial tensions and accompanying violence both in the North and South, and an increasing tendency toward extremism in both white and Negro communities.

During the year, the de facto segregation issue in Northern public schools reached a peak and resulted in a host of litigation. Some suits were aimed at achieving racial balance in specific schools; others sought to protect the "neighborhood school" concept. ADL was involved in many of these situations and submitted briefs "amicus curiae" in selected cases that came into the courts. At the same time legal research materials were being prepared for the inevitable litigation in the coming months respecting the constitutionality

and enforcement of the Federal Civil Rights Act. The new statute will be tested and re-tested by its opponents in the near future, and legal counteraction will be an important activity.

Because of its acknowledged history of success in difficult human relations situations, ADL was everywhere called upon to help.

It put its skills and experience at the service of hundreds of educational and religious institutions which are reaching out for help in meeting the problems brought to the fore by this revolution. Meetings and consultations with civil rights leaders, government officials, and human relations agencies were held almost daily. ADL served as an indispensible bridge between white and Negro groups in many communities throughout the country, especially in the South, crystallizing liberal opinion and helping the conflicting groups to work out acceptable relationships.

Regional Offices

The regional office structure of the ADL is confronted daily with the problems and stresses of a changing society. The great national movements and changes are only the sum total of the incidents, developments, and problems of local communities.

Thus the Negro social revolution made great demands on ADL regional offices throughout the country; they provided -- and continue to provide -- daily assistance to both Negroes and whites in making the transition to an integrated community.

In the South, it was these offices and their resources that served as a bridge between white and Negro groups in the community, helping to maintain law and order and working to keep open the lines of communication between the various local groups. Our southern regional offices have had to deal with the anti-Semitic by-products of the race revolution and at the same time to interpret the real meaning of the Negro struggle to the Jewish communities. Where problems have been particularly difficult, as in Mississippi and Alabama and other high-tension areas, additional full-time ADL staff members were assigned to assist regular regional office staffs.

But the social revolution was felt as keenly in the North this past year as in the South, and the many tension-ridden communities like Harlem, Brooklyn's Crown Heights, Philadelphia and Chester, Pa., Paterson and Passaic, N.J., and Rochester, N.Y., required all the skill and experience of local ADL resources. Throughout the North, ADL regional offices have worked together with other community groups, with elected officials, and law enforcement agencies to ameliorate some of the basic problems which led to racial violence last summer and which, unless corrected, can lead to a great deal more violence in the decade ahead.

ADL Leaders Go To Washington

Last Spring, at the height of the Civil Rights Bill filibuster on the Senate floor, 120 influential Jewish business and civic leaders from 30 states went to the nation's capital, at the call of ADL, to bring "grass roots" demands for the passage of the Bill to the attention of their Senators. They

went to sound an alarm that time was running out and to urge that the Bill then under debate be passed without weakening deletions and amendments. After their two days of private talks with legislators, Sen. Hubert Humphrey wrote to say: "I am forever grateful...for the ADL's visit to Washington on behalf of the Civil Rights Bill. The business leaders who gave of their valuable time...performed an indispensible service. I know from conversations with many Senators that their visits were truly effective."

Conference of Police Chiefs

Police forces and other law enforcement agencies have an increasingly crucial role these days in maintaining peaceful and harmonious relations in the community. Proper training and understanding in the human relations aspects of their work can therefore have the widest community ramifications.

This past summer, therefore, ADL organized and co-sponsored (with the Potomac Institute of Washington, D.C., the Southwest Center for Law Enforcement Education, and the Human Relations Center of the University of Oklahoma) a Police Executives Conference on Civil Rights. At the two-day meeting, held in the University of Oklahoma, more than 130 top police executives from 31 states carefully considered and discussed the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the range of its implications for law enforcement.

Special Publications

The racial tensions of the past year called for an accelerated and expanded publishing program on the part of ADL. So in addition to its ongoing schedule of materials geared for school and group use, ADL last year published several pamphlets and books designed to be directly effective in civil rights drives.

Perhaps the two most important of these were:

- 1) GUIDELINES: A MANUAL FOR BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES, a 96-page comprehensive manual offering detailed analyses of "what to do" and "how to do it" intended primarily to aid mayors and other top local leaders working to set up programs of communication and cooperation among various racial groups in a community.
- 2) THE PRICE WE PAY, which we produced in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council. This pamphlet documents the vast cost -- in employment, legal procedures, education, culture, and tourism -- incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity.

Another publication, not directly related to the civil rights struggle but dramatizing the great contributions made to American life by its citizens of many backgrounds, cultures, and nationalities, was A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS, President John F. Kennedy's last book. Published in October by Harper and Row, it is a revision and expansion of a booklet written in 1958 by the then Senator Kennedy for ADL's One Nation Library Series.

HOW THE GENERAL COMMUNITY FEELS ABOUT AND ACTS TOWARDS JEWS

The Ecumenical Council

ADL was in an unusual position to make a contribution toward the improvement of world Christian-Jewish relations in the past year -- and as it turns out, to be remarkably effective.

For two years now, the Ecumenical Council's consideration of a declaration to define Catholic relations to Jews has been a subject of world-wide interest. At the Council itself, a sharp conflict had developed as to a definition of the relationships of Jews -- then and now -- to the death of Jesus.

The inappropriateness of Jewish involvement in Christian theology is obvious, but ADL, vitally concerned with the causes and elimination of anti-Semitism, believed that the Christian "deicide" charge against Jews has through the centuries been a prime cause of anti-Semitism. In addition, it had new facts which revealed that this charge remains today an important cause of such feelings.

Two years ago, ADL planned and arranged for a massive research program into anti-Semitism by the University of California Survey Research Center. A phase of that five-year project is a study of the impact of church teachings on Christian attitudes toward Jews. This study is not yet completed. But an "interim" paper provided tangible -- and startling -- statistics of the role played by the "deicide" charge in the attitudes of Catholics and Protestants today toward Jews.

So significant were these statistics, that ADL asked its regional offices to make the figures on Catholic attitudes available, confidentially, to Catholic prelates and other high churchmen in their area prior to the opening of this year's session of the Ecumenical Council. From the first, our regional officials found U.S. Catholic church leaders deeply concerned. Dr. Joseph Lichten, Director of our Department of Inter-Cultural Affairs and for years our chief liaison with Catholic leaders and institutions, was able to discuss the report privately with such men as Cardinal Cushing and Cardinal Bea and with American prelates attached to the Vatican Council secretariat. Last summer, Dr. Lichten was sent to Rome, armed with these statistics, for consultation with sympathetic European prelates and to observe the sessions. Subsequently, these findings were distributed to all the bishops attending the Council.

The remarkable impact of this study was clear not only from the space given to it and the constant references to it in the press, but by the use made of it in official Council circles, where liberal forces cited it to strengthen the case for a forthright elimination of the "deicide" charge.

Soviet Anti-Semitism

The ADL, profoundly disturbed last spring by the documented reports of new and increased discriminatory treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, appealed to American Christian leaders to voice their protest by signing a "Letter of Conscience" addressed to the Soviet government.

ADL's call achieved a response unprecedented in American Jewish-Christian relations. More than 2000 of the highest Christian clergy -- including Cardinals Spellman, Ritter and Cushing, and heads of all the leading Protestant denominations -- sped to the support of this appeal. So great was the response that news of it made banner front page headlines in daily papers throughout the country when it was announced jointly by the President of B'nai B'rith and the Chairman of the ADL.

Anti-Jewish Discrimination

ADL, this past year, continued its vital program of research, investigation and counteraction in the field of anti-Jewish discrimination.

Two major studies -- a resort hotel survey and a law firm survey -- were completed and released during 1964. Both received much attention in the general press and in their respective fields.

The law firm survey, made in cooperation with the Law School of Yale University undertook to examine the recruitment practices of major New York City law firms to determine the extent of discrimination practiced in the legal field. The results showed that Jewish law graduates today face far less discrimination than they did a generation ago, but that they still find it more difficult to obtain jobs and gain partnership promotions, and earn less in their first years of practice than do their Christian classmates.

The resort hotel survey, a re-examination of the hotels studied by ADL eight years ago, showed that almost 60 percent of the resort hotels in the United States that discriminated against Jews in 1957, no longer do so. The new national survey found that, altogether, less than 10 percent still continue anti-Jewish discrimination. ADL attributes the reduction in bias to educational campaigns that have helped overcome public apathy and prejudice, to the enactment of state and municipal laws against discrimination, and to "plain old economics."

(Next year a re-examination will be made of resort hotels to study the present extent of anti-Negro discrimination and to ascertain the impact of the Federal Civil Rights law on this key situation in American life.)

ADL also released the results of a study of university policy on discrimination in social fraternities. The study, made by the Illinois Committee on Human Rights in Higher Education in cooperation with ADL, found that although only two out of 61 national fraternities retain restrictive clauses in their constitutions, this has failed to produce significant racial and religious integration in their membership. The report revealed the need for more vigorous official university policies to eliminate restrictive practices. To date, fewer than 20 percent of colleges and universities with fraternities on campus have taken such action.

THE MUSHROOMING RADICAL RIGHT

The past year saw the ADL's most concentrated efforts to expose the role of the Radical Rightists and other extremists on the American scene and to

check their steadily growing activities.

"Danger On The Right"

Based on four years of intensive research by a large part of ADL's staff, DANGER ON THE RIGHT - a book-length report - was released this past fall by Random House and almost instantly evoked the most exceptional attention of any similar effort in ADL memory. The book, authored jointly by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, reveals the furtive and blatant activities of the Radical Right and its dangers to American democracy. It examines its membership and sponsors and exposes its means of support.

Starting from a pre-release date press conference, the book triggered an extraordinary excitement in the press, radio and TV and among book readers throughout the country. During the course of one weekend, every New York City paper carried the story on its front page, and in the succeeding days several followed with second stories and editorials. Each of the major TV networks carried the release of DANGER ON THE RIGHT in its news reports and followed with comment, conjecture and discussion. The book's authors were called upon to appear on radio and television discussion programs to answer countless additional questions on the threat of extremism. DANGER ON THE RIGHT became the subject of newspaper editorials (pro and con) in various parts of the country and received additional attention when it was reviewed as a book.

The overwhelming majority of opinion lauded the publication as a vitally needed public service. Even its Radical Right detractors enhanced the book's significance as their vituperation and anger acknowledged the validity of the book's charges. A New York Times editorial called DANGER ON THE RIGHT "the most comprehensive study yet made of what these groups stand for, who leads them, how they operate and where they get their money."

New Rightist Threat

Immediately following the election, Radical Rightist groups and ultraconservatives, choosing to interpret the results of November 3 as an endorsement of their policies by 26 million Americans, began launching new propaganda and membership drives. They have announced they will now move more directly into politics and that they intend to redouble their efforts in "grass roots" organizing.

The leading Rightist organization, the John Birch Society -- one of the prime targets of DANGER ON THE RIGHT -- reveals that its membership rose to record heights in the past few months, that new regional offices have been opened throughout the country, and that the number of its bookstores has almost doubled in the past year.

Most alarming is its revelation that it has launched a new drive to recruit members and supporters among police and law enforcement officials across the nation.

On learning this, ADL immediately called on the head of the International Association of Chiefs of Police urging that all local police departments and

their chiefs be made aware of the "significance and possible consequences" of this move, and be alerted to the dangers this threat of infiltration poses to the "proper protection of law and order" in America.

Perhaps the single most important fact that has emerged from our work against the Radical Right in the past year is the realization that these groups will not at one blow take alarm and fade away, but that they will remain threatening forces on the national scene for some time to come.

The New York Times in its editorial lauding DANGER ON THE RIGHT, reminds us that "in a democracy the best antidote to such extremists is...maximum exposure." Such exposure is and will remain one of ADL's chief tasks.

PURPOSE

From its beginnings in 1913 the Anti-Defamation League recognized that anti-Semitism was a facet of a broader problem; and so in its charter stated that "the immediate objective of the League is to stop...the defamation of the Jewish peopleIts ultimate purpose is to secure justice and fair treatment to all citizens alike and to put an end forever to unjust discrimination against any sect or body of citizens." The Constitution of B'nai B'rith and the charter of the ADL define its purposes as follows:

"...to eliminate defamation of Jews and other religious and ethnic groups; to advance proper understanding among all peoples; and to preserve and translate into greater effectiveness the principles of freedom, equality and democracy."

STRUCTURE

The Anti-Defamation League is governed by a National Commission of 110 members plus the former National Chairmen of the Commission who serve for life. The B'nai B'rith Constitution empowers the National Commission to manage its own operations, budget and policy. It requires that a majority of the members of the National Commission shall be members of B'nai B'rith. Fifty-eight members are named by B'nai B'rith either through election, appointment by the President or by virtue of office, to represent the Supreme Lodge, B'nai B'rith Women and B'nai B'rith Districts. Two serve by virtue of office in the League (the Chairman and the National Director). Fifty are elected by the Commission itself from the community at large.

The National Commission meets annually in January. Between meetings of the National Commission, policy is determined by the Executive Committee which consists of the officers, the President and Executive Vice-President of B'nai B'rith, the President of B'nai B'rith Women, the chairmen of six national standing committees and twelve additional members of the Commission elected annually by the Commission. The Executive Committee meets approximately four times each year. Between meetings of the Executive Committee the officers of the League and standing committees are frequently convened to consider problems and various phases of ADL activity.

The Anti-Defamation League consists of five major divisions:

- 1. Civil Rights
- 2. Program
- 3. Public Relations and Production
- 4. Community Service
- 5. Administration and Finance

Each is administered by a standing committee representative of the National Commission and the 44 regional boards. The staff is headed by Benjamin R. Epstein, the National Director. Its membership consists of 126 trained specialists and 130 full time and 16 part time clerical workers.

The League has 25 regional offices throughout the mation. Each office services a geographical area from a portion of a state to four states and is manned by one to five professionals plus clerical staff.

The regional offices are governed by 44 regional or state boards with memberships ranging from 50-200 and a total membership of over 4,500. The regional boards have latitude in determining local policy, and implementing program so long as local policy is consistent with nationally established policy and the bylaws of the ADL. The Regional Advisory Boards recommend regional office budgets and supervise administration and fiscal control of their offices. The membership of regional advisory boards usually includes ADL Commissioners and National Committee members as well as B'nai B'rith elected officials residing within the regional area. The majority of the membership of the alvisory boards is elected from the community at large. The boards meet several times a year but usually designate an executive or administrative committee to carry on during the interim between meetings. These committees meet monthly or even more frequently. Each board also has a number of subcommittees dealing with broad general areas of interest, such as civil rights, program, community service, or finance, and committees which deal with special problems such as race relations, separation of church and state, etc.

BUDGETING PROCESS

Adoption of a budget is the ultimate responsibility of the National Commission. The budgetary process begins with each of the national standing committees. These determine the priorities and budgetary requirements of their operating divisions. Their recommendations are then made to the National Finance Committee. Similarly, each of the advisory boards associated with the regional offices make recommendations on behalf of their offices. These reach the Finance Committee through the Community Service Committee. The Finance Committee examines the budget intensively and presents a coordinated budgetary recommendation to the National Commission for consideration and action. Thus, the budget, as finally adopted, represents the judgment of a large group of dedicated laymen based upon a thorough examination and understanding of the needs and financial resources of the agency.

The ADL Program is in five parts:

- 1. Civil Rights
- 2. Human Relations Education
- 3. Image of the American Jew
- 4. Community Relations
- 5. Research

CIVIL RIGHTS

The basic functions of the Civil Rights Program are to:

- . Help keep our nation secure against racial and religious bigots by exposing their troublemaking activities.
- . Tear down the walls of anti-Jewish and other anti-minority discrimination in employment, education, housing, and other areas of our social and economic life.
- . Maintain a constant vigil to encourage full compliance with civil rights laws, governmental regulations and judicial decisions.

- . Participate in court action to strengthen and sustain civil rights and liberties.
- . Teach the need for civil rights legislation and strive, through education, to win compliance with present laws.
- . Get the facts and figures on anti-Semites and other peddlers of hate and of those who support them.
- . Maintain association with Jewish communities around the world for a complete picture of anti-Semitism abroad and its impact upon America.
- . Conduct research in the foregoing fields to increase working knowledge and to help formulate effective methods of counteraction.

Some of the major concerns of ADL in the field of civil rights during 1964 are presented.

The year 1964 has seen the ADL heavily engaged on a broad front in checking the steadily growing activity of Radical Right extremists all across the country; in monitoring the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and other racist, anti-Semitic organizations in reaction to the Negro civil rights movement and the enactment of the Civil Rights Act; and in studying the role of the Radical Rightists, racists and extremists in the American body politic.

The single most important fact that has emerged from the work of the ADL in 1964 is that its targets of concern will probably remain dynamic forces on the national scene for some time to come.

The recent coalescing of right wing forces has called for a tremendous increase in the investigative work of the ADL's Fact Finding Department. The proliferation of chapters and branches of the assorted dozen important extreme right wing organizations required the expenditure of funds neither anticipated or budgeted.

During 1964, the agency engaged in vast research used in "Danger on the Right" by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, published by Random House, October 9. This is a book length report on the activities of the American Radical Right and the extreme Conservatives who make common cause with it. Press conferences held in advance of the publication date attracted wide attention and extensive newspaper and editorial coverage indicating the general concern about the Radical Right and its effect upon the political, social and moral complexion of the nation.

A word of explanation is in order regarding ADL's concern about extremism and the Radical Right. As noted above, even in its beginnings this agency was not concerned solely with anti-Semitic activities. We believed at the time, as we believe now, that to defend and strengthen the rights of any group of Americans reinforces the rights of all - and, therefore, the very structure of our democracy.

The League has maintained a continuing concern with domestic extremist political movements. In the thirties the ADL fought communism and Nazism in this country, not only because these movements victimized minority groups, but because ADL recognized that they tore at the democratic structure of our society. Over the years the League joined in the struggle against an amorphous isolationist movement crystallized at

different times in an America First Committee, a Christian front and in McCarthyism. ADL fought the resurgence of the Klan after the Supreme Court desegregation decisions, as well as the anti-Catholic propaganda in the 1960 election. Today the United States faces new attacks on our democracy by an extremist movement which has mush-roomed in the past few years and which is broadly referred to as the Radical Right.

The year also saw the resources of the League taxed by a growing need for research and evaluative trend reporting, not only on the activities of the Radical Right, but on the extremist quotient in the 1964 Presidential campaign, on growing radial tensions and accompanying violence, and on an increasing tendency toward extremism in both the white and the Negro communities.

It is no longer secret that during 1964 there was a renewed Arab international campaign against Jews, Zionists and Israel. In addition to the increased responsibilities growing out of this resurgent anti-Jewish activity, special efforts were required to expose the Soviet anti-Jewish campaign. ADL, acting in its capacity as consultant and guide to B'nai B'rith, and in cooperation with other agencies, is conducting a well-organized effort to alert the American people to this difficult problem.

The two major studies -- the resort hotel survey and the law firm survey -- were completed and released during 1964. Both received excellent reception from the general press, the resort industry and the legal profession. A third study, to be completed before the end of the year, concerns the utilization of Jewish personnel in the directorial, officer and top executive ranks of the Bell Telephone System, including the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and its 22 telephone company subsidiaries.

In 1965, a re-examination will be made of the resort hotels in the United States to ascertain the impact of the passage of the Federal Civil Rights Law on this key situation in American life

Race Relations responsibilities turned out to be far greater than anticipated at the beginning of the year. The tensions and eruptions of violence in Negro ghettos of key cities (New York, Chicago, Rochester, and Jersey City) required great time and effort. Almost daily meetings with civil rights leaders, government officials, and human relations agencies, were essential. And there is no evidence that this situation will subside in the very near future. 1965 may well see more of the same.

During the year the de facto segregation issue in Northern public schools reached a peak, and resulted in a host of litigation. Some law suits were aimed at achieving racial balance in school plants. Others sought to protect the "neighborhood school" concept. Necessarily, ADL is involved in many of these situations and is in the midst of the preparation of briefs amicus curiae in selected cases. At the same time, legal research materials are being prepared for inevitable litigation in the coming months respecting the constitutionality and enforcement of the Federal Civil Rights Act. The federal statute will be tested and re-tested by its opponents. Legal counter action will be an important activity.

HUMAN RELATIONS EDUCATION

The basic functions of the Human Relations Education Program are to:

. Instruct teachers in methods of utilizing the classroom as an instrument for democracy.

- . Prepare material to make human relations an integral part of school curricula.
- . Provide counsel to educators and school systems on recognizing and removing prejudice in youngsters.
- . Sponsor conferences and foster collaboration with Catholic and Protestant groups on matters which affect all faiths.
- . Organize national and regional conferences, workshops and institutes to discuss and analyze current problems and resources in the human relations field.
- . Put ADL skills and experience at the service of hundreds of educational and religious institutions concerned with problems of interracial understanding and develop human relations programs as part of the educational activities of these institutions.
- . Spotlight specific problems of prejudice. Underway, is a five-year, half-million dollar project under the direction of the University of California's Survey Research Center. Its aim: to uncover the social, economic and psychological roots of American anti-Semitism so as to better plan programs aimed at their elimination.
- . Work in the field of television and radio for dissemination of human relations program.
- . Produce and encourage production of human-relations-oriented motion pictures for educational use.
- . Publish materials, books, pamphlets and reprints to be utilized in educational programs of schools, colleges, religious groups, special interest groups and for general readership.
- . Initiate and encourage research by college professors and students on intergroup relations, summarize all such research annually and undertake a program on the practical application of research.

The underlying purpose of the Program Division is to eliminate prejudice and affect social change. To do this it must first ascertain what the root causes of prejudice are and then determine the most effective methods of dealing with them.

Because the events of the day have forced the eyes and mind, if not the conscience, of all America, to focus on incidents of discrimination and defamation, our agency is in an excellent position today to bring its human relations program to the attention of more people, groups and institutions.

Schools and churches, the two great educational forces in American society, are reaching out for help in meeting the critical human relations problems brought to the fore by this revolution. The ADL is presented with a challenge for which it must be prepared.

Educators and clergymen are more open and receptive than ever before to accepting guidance and materials on an understanding of the Jew and the evils that stem from anti-Semitism. We are pleased with the growing relationship, between the ADL

and Christian church groups. This relationship is evidenced by 20 jointly (ADL-Catholic Church) sponsored conferences at Catholic colleges; by the willingness of Catholic and Protestant theological seminaries to discuss curriculum content; by the inclusion of ADL materials in dozens of Christian publications; by the participation of ADL staff and consultants in many church-sponsored summer camps and conclaves; and by the special projects of the ADL relating to the Ecumenical Council. It was gratifyingly seen in the "Letter of Conscience" -- a protest of Soviet anti-Semitism sent to the leaders of the Soviet Union and signed by over 2,000 Christian clergymen.

We are invited to do more: to provide more materials and more personnel; to sponsor more Catholic-Jewish and Protestant-Jewish conferences, dialogues and confrontations. The importance of our participation is strengthened by preliminary findings of the University of California study on anti-Semitism; these findings not only indicate that attitudes towards Jews are more unfavorable than were previously thought -- but unfortunately -- that there is a high correlation between these unfavorable attitudes and church education.

ADL resource units on human rights and civil rights, programmatic aids, and the development of special techniques for the classroom teacher, are being widely used in schools throughout the country. There is a demand from educators for more such materials -- and for ADL's help in developing curricula, from kindergarten to college levels, on minority groups and intergroup relations.

Especially effective has been ADL's "person-to-person" work with educators. During the past few years, ADL has conducted 25 conferences of educators -- in almost as many states. Our staff has participated in dozens of other seminars and conventions of educators, where they have always provided, the teachers and administrators with pertinent information, practical, applicable techniques and useful materials on human relations work -- and with the desire to put these programs and projects into effect.

There is, however, an urgent need throughout the country for additional educational staff specialists; for more consultants to help in curriculum planning; for the training of more experts in intergroup relations; for more state and regional seminars - and for a national conference. As in the past, whenever possible the costs of these conferences would be shared with participating universities.

Working with Columbia University and the University of Chicago, ADL has sponsored human relations conferences with leaders of our nation's business community. If we are to affect a change in the pattern of prejudice and discrimination of business and industry, these contacts must be continuous, expanded and intensified.

This summer, ADL co-sponsored the Police Executives Conference on Civil Rights. The conference, held at the University of Aklahoma, drew over 130 people from 31 states. Police forces play an increasingly important role in maintaining peaceful and harmonious relations in the community. Proper training in the human relations aspects of their work can therefore have wide ramifications. ADL is being called upon to provide materials, films and additional conferences for our law enforcement officers.

Racial, religious and radical tensions of the day have called for an accelerated and expanded publishing program. In addition to our ongoing schedule of materials geared for school and group use, ADL has recently published "Guidelines: A Manual

for Bi-Racial Committees" by George Schermer, and, in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, "The Price We Pay," a pamphlet documenting the vast cost incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Both have been widely accepted by civic and community agencies throughout the country.

This October, Harper and Row published "A Nation of Immigrants" a book by John F. Kennedy. It is an expansion and revision of an ADL booklet written by the late President urging a re-examination of the immigration policy of the United States. A press run of 200,000 copies has been ordered by the publisher for the first edition.

Over the past several years ADL has established itself as a leading distributor and producer of audio-visual materials in the human relations field. The demand, however, far exceeds the supply. Films and filmstrips are needed on the history of the Jews in the United States, the nature of prejudice, simplified anthropology with regard to race and ethnic groups, etc. While costs for producing these materials are high more and more schools, religious groups and organizations use these films and filmstrips in their educational programs.

Committed to the concept that basic research is essential to our most effective functioning, ADL has sponsored and subsidized both large and small research projects for some time. We are past the half way mark in our major scientific research study on anti-Semitism being conducted at the Survey Research Center of the University of California. One major aspect of the study has been completed and the results are in the process of being published. Another, religious education and anti-Semitism, is nearing completion. Other phases of the study -- anti-Semitism among adolescents, institutionalized anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism and political extremism and a national survey of attitudes towards Jews among both white and Negro population -- have progressed sufficiently to indicate that this study will not only make a marked impact upon the program and projects of the Anti-Defamation League but will make a major contribution to the entire field of human relations.

The study of the effect of Christian religion on the attitude towards Jews has been of enormous importance. Preliminary results were made available in a confidential document to leading prelates involved in the Ecumenical Council. Cardinal Bea, in his address to the Council Fathers made reference to the University of Calfornia studies in pleading for a strong statement on the elimination of the deicide charge. In addition a Butch documentation center related to the Ecumenical Council, reproduced the preliminary report of the study as it relates to Catholics and distributed it to the 2500 Council Fathers.

The ADL has a commitment to the University of California to provide \$500,000 for this project and by December 31, 1964 more than \$300,000 will have been transmitted to the University. It was our original plan to raise these funds entirely through direct gifts to the University from individuals and foundations. However, in order to fulfill the needs of the project as they accrued, it has been necessary for the ADL to provide funds from its own resources during 1963 and again in 1964. We are confident that the findings of the project when completed will fully justify such support by ADL and the community at large.

Needed is a sustained program of small grant research. Topical, pinpointed research has proved of tremendous value in the past. And there are many capable sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, educators and political and social scientists eager to undertake such projects for the future.

THE IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN JEW

The basic functions of the departments concerned with the image of the American Jew are to:

- . Present an image of the American Jew as he really is -- as a man dedicated to freedom, a citizen who loves and has given much to his land.
- . Fight vicious stereotypes of Jews and other minority group members with an information program explaining the dangers inherent in such stereotypes.
- . Help make bias and bigotry, in the minds of millions of Americans, unfashionable and untenable, through educational and public affairs events participated in by the most respected leaders in American life.
- . Provide opinion-molders with basic background material -- with research and authoritative information on human rights and human relations that become part of newspaper and magazine articles, radio and television shows reaching all America.
- . Provide materials for the development of an informed constituency that is prepared to further programs of the League on a volunteer basis.

THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The basic functions of the community relations program are performed by 25 regional offices strategically located, professionally staffed, and buttressed by devoted volunteers to make possible...

- . The synchronization of ADL national programs with local problems, local traditions.
- . The conference table approach that brings Jews together with their fellow Americans in a spirit of mutal understanding.
 - . The close liaison with civic and religious leaders, editors, and educators.
- . The translation of broad human relations concepts into the kind of grass roots, neighbor-to-neighbor approach that is a prerequisite for democratic action.

The regional offices are governed by 44 regional and state boards with a total membership of over 4,500. Regional boards participate not only in the execution of ADL national policy but also in its formulation. All national commissioners and national committee members are members of regional boards as well, and are guided by local problems in setting national policies. All offices are professionally staffed, some by only a single man. These and some of the larger offices are acutely in need of additional personnel and other services.

The regional effice structure of the ADL is confronted daily with the problems and stresses of a changing society. The great national movements and changes are only the sum total of the incidents, developments and problems of local communities and neighborhoods throughout the country. When the ADL moves to counteract an anti-Semitic incident, eliminate employment, housing or social discrimination, ameliorate race tensions, assure the separation of church and state, educate about Russian anti-

Semitism, or expose the anti-democratic activities of radical right extremists, it is usually an ADL regional office through which the League acts. On the positive side it is the regional office structure which acts as the League's representative to the local school system, a neighborhood church or the editor of a newspaper.

Thus, in 1964, the Negro social revolution made great demands on the regional offices of the ADL. These offices provide daily assistance to both Negroes and whites in making the transition to an integrated community. When trouble occurs the regional office resources have provided valuable assistance in maintaining law and order and keeping the lines of communications open between Negroes and whites. In many instances the regional offices have been most helpful in dealing with the anti-Semitic by-products of the race revolution and in assisting the local Jewish community with respect to its special community relations problems. Thus, during the summer of 1964, three ADL staff members have been working full time in Mississippi. We can anticipate that such concentrated services will be required in this tense and violence-ridden state for some time to come. Similarly, Alabama and other Southern states have required the assignment of special ADL field staff for lengthy periods of time.

The ADL maintains five full time offices with a staff of eight professionally trained persons to service 13 Southern states. The League is the only Jewish agency which maintains intensive operations in this area. The problems are difficult, delicate and complex. To meet the needs of the area the agency could well utilize an area staff of at least twice its present size. This would permit us to detail men permanently to work and reside in the tension areas, as well as to carry on positive work in many parts of the South which are not ready for rapid change. Close observers of the Southern scene have recognized the progress made in cities such as Atlanta, Houston and Richmond where the League has maintained excellent offices over the past two decades.

The social revolution extends into the North as well. There are several communities which are tension-ridden and deserve more concentrated attention than they have received thus far. For example, many of the suburban areas around large cities are now undergoing rapid population changes. Many of them stand on the brink of the kind of violence recently witnessed in Harlem, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Paterson, Passaic and Rochester. Throughout the North ADL offices have labored together with other community organizations in an attempt to ameliorate many of the basic problems which led to racial violence during the summer of 1964 and which can lead to a great deal more violence during the decade ahead. In addition, regional offices are charged with the very difficult task of carrying on an educational program in the Jewish community of interpreting the meaning of the Negro social revolution.

The above description of regional office involvement with the problems of the social revolution is illustrative of the work carried on in every area of concern in the Jewish community. A regional office may find itself involved at the same time not only with potential racial violence, but also with religious practices in public schools, establishing a conference on common concerns with Protestant or Catholic clergy, investigating the activities of a radical right group, appearing on a television panel to discuss problems germane to the field of human relations, or setting up a program in intercultural education. Obviously, a one or two-man office finds it difficult to cope with such a broad range of activities. That so much is accomplished by these offices can be ascribed not only to the high degree of skill of the ADL regional staff, but also to the dedication of thousands of volunteers who lend their talents to this program across the country.

The strength of ADL over the years has been its ability to work as a community organization where the people are -- in cities like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, where there are large Jewish populations, and in the rural Midwest, the South and the Rocky Mountain states, where Jews number less that one-half of one per cent of the population. In these latter areas of sparse Jewish population, it has been the experience of the League that the services and organizing ability of a skilled ADL professional are especially needed. Considering the startling growth of the Radical Right movement in these sections, it is to be hoped that it will be possible to place more staff in these areas.

Although the regional offices of the Anti-Defamation League are part of a national structure, they are also very much a part of the local community. Through the regional and state boards they are governed by local needs and sensitive to local situations. They are considered to be instruments of the local community and the channel to and from a large national organization. In many communities in which the regional offices operate, they are the only Jewish community relations agency with a professionally trained staff and an ongoing program. In a few communities, the ADL regional office has been designated as the official community relations agency of the local federation. Sometimes the ADL director serves in the dual capacity as ADL regional director and the executive head of the CRC.

Even in those communities in which a full time or part time CRC office operates, the ADL regional office seeks to make its services, materials and resources, as well as its volunteer constituency in B'nai B'rith, available to the CRC.

However, the ADL office is never established to service one community, but rather a state or larger geographical area. It is the responsibility of the regional staff to visit as many communities within the area as possible and to make the ADL services, program and materials available. In most cases, the only personnel trained in community relations skills available is the ADL regional staff. In these smaller communities as well as the larger ones, the ADL staff seeks to make itself a part of the community and to respond to its special needs and problems.

The Anti-Defamation League has established the kind of position and status on the American scene which has created unlimited opportunities to work in positive fashion with educators, clergymen, public officials, civil leaders, and mass media representatives. They seek ADL materials, and even more, its aid and assistance in forwarding programs designed to combat prejudice and build democratic values. A tremendous number of doors are open to ADL at this time. How many of these doors the league can enter is limited only by restriction of manpower and budget.

ADL FINANCES - 1964-1965

ADL's 1964 budget, approved by its National Commission, is \$4,317,000. This budget is divided into two parts. Part I, \$3,250,000, covers the items authorized for expenditure and is described as the "operating budget." It embraces the minimum cost of the basic staff structure, office facilities, publications, projects and other operative expenses for 1964. Part II, \$1,067,000, represents the additional needs of the agency, authorization for which is largely dependent upon the availability of funds.

ADL will spend approximately \$3,400,000 during the year 1964. This includes certain expenditures not included in the original operating budget but authorized later in the year. Most of these additional expenditures involved matters arising from the increase in racial tensions and the Radical Right movements and incidents which have stemmed from them during the year.

Projected expenditures for 1964 are compared in summary with the corresponding expenditures for 1963 in the following table:

	1963 <u>Actual</u>	1964 Projected	Increase
Agency operating expenses exclusive of campaign costs	\$ 2 438 000	\$ 2 645 000	\$ 207 000
Campaign costs	552 000	565 00 0	13 000
Allocation to BBYSA	170 000	140 000	(30 000)
University of California research	44 000	50 000	6 000
Total	3 204 000	3 400 000	196 000

As indicated previously, ADL employed 126 trained specialists and 146 clerical and other personnel. It is now estimated that ADL will spend \$2,001,800 for staff compensation in 1964 and an additional \$175,000 for its personnel welfare program (social security, hospitalization, medical and major medical insurance, retirement plan and life insurance). Thus, staff compensation and other benefits will aggregate \$2,176,800 in 1964 or 68% of total operating expenses. The balance of the expenditures are made up of publications, audio-visual materials, programmatic activities, meetings and conferences, travel and the cost of maintaining and servicing the national offices and 25 regional offices throughout the United States.

Revenues on a <u>cash basis</u> are projected at \$3,420,000 for the year 1964 and are summarized by source in the table which follows.

ADL campaign:

New York campaign	\$ 1 700 000
Chicago campaign	350 000
Welfare fund campaign	775 000
Supplemental campaign and special gifts	225 000
Total	3 050 000
JDA campaign (in liquidation)	60 000
Grants by B'nai B'rith Service Funds	300 000
Allocation from Ellis Funds	10 000
Total estimated revenues, on cash basis	3 420 000

Pledges and allocations (as distinguished from cash revenues) are compared in the table below.

	1962 JDA Campaign	1963 ADL Campaign	1964 ADL Campaign		
New York	\$ 2 300 000	\$ 1 809 000	\$ 1 800 000		
Chicago	460 000	358 000	375 000		
Welfare fund campaign	1 600 000	879 000	900 000		
Supplemental campaigns and special gifts	300 000	250 000	250 000		
Totals	4 660 000	3 296 000	3 325 000		

The figures for 1964 are tentative and depend to a large extent on the outcome of the 1964 campaign which is currently in progress.

The estimated campaign results are set forth below on a percentage basis.

	1962 JDA Campaign	1963 ADL Campaign	1964 ADL Campaign
New York	49.3%	54.9%	54.2%
Chicago	10	10.9	11.3
Welfare fund cities	34.3	26.6	27
Supplemental campaigns and special gifts	6.4	7.6	7.5
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Campaign costs for the year 1964 will amount to \$565,000 which includes \$88,700 applicable to activities in welfare fund cities, supplemental campaigns, etc.

Several financial tabulations are submitted in this report. One of them is a consolidated balance sheet of all funds at December 31, 1963 together with a projected balance sheet at December 31, 1964. The projected balance sheet is based on anticipated revenues and expenditures for the year.

Another tabulation sets forth in summary form the revenues and expenditures on a cash basis for the years 1961, 1962 and 1963 together with the projected amounts for the year 1964.

A more detailed analysis of the expenditures of the League for the years 1961 through 1964 will be submitted to LCBC and its member agencies together with comparable figures on the 1965 budget.

ADL is currently engaged in the formulation of a 1965 budget. This is a complex, time-consuming process. The final determination of the budget will be made by the National Commission which meets in January 1965.

Based upon work done to date by the standing committees, regional offices and the National Administrative Staff Committee, a budget has been prepared totaling \$4,584,000. The operating budget which constitutes authorization for expenditure is estimated within the larger figure at \$3,500,000.

Thus, the 1965 budget will again be presented in two parts. Part I, the operating budget of \$3,500,000 and Part II, the additional needs of the agency which totals \$1,084,000.

Approximately 20% of the additional needs, \$200,000, is required by the Civil Rights Division. The funds are needed to expand investigative and field services throughout the country, to engage in additional industry-wide surveys on employment discrimination and to augment facilities to cope with the problems arising from the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the accelerated activities of the Radical Right and other developments in areas of ADL concern.

About 35% or \$362,000 has been requested by the Program Division for additional staff, additional programmatic materials and other needs for greatly expanded activities in the educational, interreligious, and audio-visual departments and other aspects of the human relations education program of ADL.

About 45%, \$472,000, has been requested by the Community Service Division for additional staff and facilities to service the tremendously increased demands imposed on the regional offices for additional services in light of the accelerated social changes in community life.

In the preceding part of this report, brief reference was made to the research project undertaken by the University of California. The commitment for this project was \$500,000. To date, \$296,900 has been transmitted to the University of California leaving a balance of \$203,100. All but \$43,850 forwarded to the University of California came from specially earmarked gifts to the University from individuals and foundations for this specific project. The balance of \$203,100 will be required in 1964, 1965 and 1966. It is anticipated that ADL will be required to appropriate about \$50,000 of this amount from its own funds as the earmarked pledges are currently insufficient to meet the commitments.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

BALANCE SHEET

Assets:		December 31 1963		December 31 1964*		
nabels;						
Cash balances	\$	399	600	\$	462	200
Stocks and bonds, at co	ost	312	700		310	000
Advance for B'nai B'rit	th building	125	000		125	000
Other assets		13	300		10	000
Total assets		850	600		907	200
Liabilities		68	400		50	000
Fund balances:						
General fund		233	500		253	500
Reserve fund		374	700		439	700
Ellis fund		119	900		109	900
Kahn fund		54	100		54	100
Total fund balances		782	200		857	200

^{*}Projected based upon estimate of revenues and expenditures for 1964

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH SUMMARY OF REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES

	1961 <u>Actual</u>	1962 <u>Actual</u>	1963 <u>Actual</u>	Original 1964 Operating Budget	1964 Estimate	Tentative 1965 Operating Budget
Revenues:						
ADL Appeal	\$ -	\$ -	\$2 354 361	\$2 900 000	\$3 050 000	\$3 150 000
Joint Defense Appeal	1 950 000	1 950 000	541 077	40 000	60 000	none
B'nai B'rith Service Funds	s 280 1 22	300 000	300 000	300 000	300 000	300 000
Other	46 140	47 379	41 635	10 000	10 000	10 000
Total revenues	2 276 262	2 297 379	3 237 073	3 250 000	3 420 000	3 460 000
Expenditures:						
Civil Rights	443 967	476 754	506 648	516 789	560 000	575 000
Human Relations Education	311 350	305 332	377 989	366 429	420 000	450 000
Community Relations	912 236	973 171	1 066 575	1 078 092	1 170 000	1 260 000
Image of the American Jew	116 668	133 071	169 569	173 680	185 000	190 000
Administration	269 816	296 669	292 211	286 675	310 000	310 000
Renovation and furnishing of new national						
headquarters		-	24 500	50 000	_ *	
Total	2 054 037	2 184 997	2 437 492	2 471 665	2 645 000	2 785 000
Fund Raising	-	-	552 384	563 335	565 000	580 000
Grant to BBYSA	200 000	200 000	170 000	140 000	140 000	110 000
University of California	-		43 850	75 000	50 000	25 000
Total expenditures	2 254 037	2 384 997	3 203 726	3 250 000	3 400 000	3 500 000
Surplus or (deficit)	22 225	(87 618)	33 347	none	20 000	(40 000)

^{*}Amounts spent in 1964 for renovation and furnishing of new national headquarters are included in operational expenditures.