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Arab boycott, 1962-1978.

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CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022 PLaza 2-1616 Cable Address: COJOGRA

January 19, 1970

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN TRADE UNION COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

HADASSAH

JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL— AMERICAN SECTION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT—
Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH YOUTH COUNCIL

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Dear Colleague:

As you know there will be a National Emergency Conference on Peace in the Middle East to be held in Washington on January 25/26.

In order to plan the seating arrangements for the dias I am requesting the name of your president or representative who will sit on the dias representing your organization.

I am asking you to please contact me or my secretary immediately in order that the proper arrangements be made.

Sincerely

Ayth Stromberg

90

MEMORANDUM

Date March 16, 1970 (dictated March 12)

From_	Julian Feldman	
То	Rabbi Schindler	
Copy fo	or information of Al Vorspan	
Subject.	March 6 MEETING ON THE ARAB BOYCOTT	

I sat in on this hastily called meeting at your request. It was chaired by Arnold Foster. I could not identify all of the twenty-odd people there, but the few names I could identify were: Harold Stromberg - Conference of Presidents; Henry Levy; Jackie Aviat; George Gruen - American Jewish Committee; Abe Pox; Phil Baum; Sara Ann Fillar - Histradut; Abe Baer - NCRAC; H. Steinberg - American Zionist Council; and Echod Mouchli, who apparently was the Economic Attache of the Israeli Consulate.

This apparently was the first full meeting of the Committee on the Arab Boycott which has apparently met sporadically in the past because of confusion as to appropriate and feasible action - such confusion stemming not only from the American Jewish organizations but also from the Israeli government which has had an ambivalent and inconstant response to the boycott.

Mr. Mouchli reviewed the Israeli government's policy which is apparently to encourage blackmailed governments to insist on selling to both sides. The specific problem at this meeting was Japan where the policy vis-a-vis the Arab boycott has been inconsistent and where the government and the large conglomerates, such as Mitsubishi and Mitsui, have generally withstood Arab threats although there have been some difficulties on which there have been private negotiations. Apparently, George Gruen and Echod Mouchli have negotiated with Panasonic on a confidential basis with what seems to be mixed success.

The Japanese government appears to have given lip service to its devotion to freedom of trade but has disassociated itself from this problem on an official basis, claiming that it is a matter between Japanese and Arab companies involved. It is noted, however, that Japan buys oil from the Arabs, though it is currently seeking other sources.

The immediate current problem is related to EXPO 70 where Israel - for economy reasons - has no pavilion. The planned opening of the Fair was to include a parade, sponsored by a Japanese radio station, on March 15th in which 280 traffic policemen from 52 countries were to march. Israel had been invited to send four participants and was planning to do so. Nine other countries who, like Israel, had no pavilion or other representation at the Fair, were also scheduled to march in the opening parade

Memo to Rabbi Schindler

Subject: March 6 MEETING ON THE ARAB BOYCOTT

(Austria, Spain, Hungary, Roumania, Poland, Kenya, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Ireland). Saudi Arabia gave the Japanese an ultimatum that if Israeli policemen marched they would withdraw all of their participation in the exhibit and the participation of other Arab countries. Israel turned down the Japanese suggestion that its policemen get sick on March 15 and Japan reportedly gave some consideration to completely eliminating the parade. Another possibility considered was to exclude all of the participants who do not have exhibits. (Some of this background is detailed in the enclosed wire service sheet).

Subsequently, however, Japan succumbed to the Arab pressure and sent a wire to Israel only cancelling her participation in the parade.

Mr. Mouchli brought an "unofficial" request from the Israeli government that the American Jewish organizations issue a strong statement of denunciation of this action.

The lively debate which ensued included the following points.

- Why had Israel permitted to get itself into the situation where there was no formal presence at such an important world stage.
- If action is taken, it cannot be a halfway action, we must go all the way and really pound away at our position of protest.
- 3. Regardless of the strength of our protest, is this action likely to meet with success.
- 4. Successful or not, is the issue here worth the kind of energy and public relations credit which would be used up.
- 5. If we are just getting ourselves on the record, maybe protest would be better coming from the Israeli government rather than from the American Jewish organizations.
- 6. Noting that the negotiations for reciprocity between Japan Airlines and El Al are currently stalled in the face of Arab pressure, and that B'nai B'rith is already putting considerable pressure on JAL through its tour department, perhaps this is an inappropriate device for putting the heat on Japan.

Memo to Rabbi Schindler

Subject: March 6 MEETING ON THE ARAB BOYCOTT

After considerable discussion it was the consensus that the blatancy and rank injustice of this situation made it undesirable to permit the incident to pass unnoticed. The Chairman was thereupon authorized to draft a protest which would put "a committee of the Conference of Presidents of major American Jewish organizations" on record as protest in the strongest possible terms the action taken to disinvite the Israeli delegates. This was to have been released to the press Friday afternoon. However, I did not see anything mout this matter in the newspapers on Saturday or any subsequent time.



N.P.

AMIR

WY Phone ServiTelegr. 797-3311

LEHALAN HAMAAMAR HAMVUKASH BEHEMSHECH LESICHATENU HATELEFONIT:

EXPO IS FAR GAME FOR MIDEAST POLITICS

TOKY, FEB 25 --

ONLY 18 DAYS BEFORE THE OPENING OF JAPAN'S EXPO '70, DEDICATED
TO "PROGRESS AND HARMONY FOR MANKIND," FAIR OFFICIALS ARE
FINDING OUT THE HARD WAY THAT ORIENTAL FINESSE IS NO MATCH FOT THE
BROILING PASSIONS OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.

THE SEEMINGLY UNCONTROVERSIAL ISSUE THAT HAS SUDDENLY PLUNGED.

EMPARRASSED EXPO OFFICIALS INTO THEIR FIRST PROTOCOL SNAFU IS

THE LOND PLANNED PARTICIAPATION BY FOUR INVITED ISRAELI POLICEMEN

IN THE GRAND OPENING PARADE TO BE STAGED ON MARCH 15 BY 280

TRAFFIC POLICEMEN FROM 52 COUNTRIES.

AS IT HAPPENS, HOWEVER, JAPAN IS CURRENTLY WALKING A NERVOUS
TIGHTROPE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD OVER A THREATENED
BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE CARS .

LAST YEAR JAPANESE AUTO EXPORTS TO SEVEN ARABLEAGUE COUNTRIES

TOTALED 48 MILLION DOLLARS, AND A JAPANESE MISSION RETURNED FROM

THE MIDDLE EAST YESTERDAY WITH A FRONT-PAGE WARNING THAT THE CHANCES

FOR AVOIDING A BOUCOTT WERE NO BETTER THAT 50-50.

THE ARAPS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ANGERED BY A JOINT VENTURE DEAL RECENTLY SIGNED BETWEEN JAPAN'S MISSAN MOTORS AND THE FORD MOTOR CO., UNDER ATTACK FOR OPERATING AN ASSEMBLY PLANT IN ISRAEL.

WHEN SAUDI ARABIA AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES TAKING PART IN THE POLICE PARADE FOUND OUT RECENTLY THAT ISRAEL HAD BEEN INCLUDED, TOO, THE DIPLOMATIC WIRES BEGAN BUZZING.

THE JAPANESE POLITELY SUGGESTED THAT THE TEL AVIV FOURSOME MIGHT LIKE TO GET SICK ON THE INAUGURAL MORNING, BUT TEL AVIV STOLIDLY RESPONDED THAT AN INVITATION IS AN INVITATION.

AT LATEST REPORTS, THE SUGGESTIONS WERE GETTING MORE INSISTENT,

AND EXPO OFFICIALS WERE PRIVATELY POINTING OUT TO THOSE INTERESTED

THAT SAUD ARABIA, KUWAIT, ABU DHABI AND EGYPT HAD ENTERED

PAVILIONS OR EXHIBITS, WHILE ISRAEL HAD BEGGED OFF FOR

ECONOMY REASONS.

ONE POSSIBLE WAY OUT NOW BEING CONSIDERED BY FAIR OFFICIALS WOULD BE TO EXCLUDE NOT ONLY ISRAEL BUT ALL EIGHT PARADE PARTICIPANTS WITHOUT EXHIBITS IN EXPO.

AD KAN

SHAG :-:

MEMORANDUM

March 18, 1970

From Rabbi Alexander M Schin	ndler
ToJulian Feldman	
Copy for information of Al	Vorspan
Subject	

Thanks for your very helpful report covering the Arab Boycott Committee. I appreciate your covering this meeting for me and informing me, so thoroughly, of its work.

As I told you so often -- and the repetition of my statement is your fault for doing so well -- it's a delight to have you on our staff.

(File in Pres. Conf. Common arch Baycatt)

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Steering Committee Meeting

April 10, 1967--11:30 a.m. 515 Park Avenue, New York

THOSE PRESENT:

Dr. Joachim Prinz, presiding. Mrs. Rose Halprin, Isidore Hamlin, Yehuda Hellman, Rabbi Joseph Karasick, Dr. William Korey, Rabbi Gershon Levi, Rabbi Pesach Levovitz, Morton London, Will Maslow, Henry Rapaport, Rabbi Alex Schindler, Jacques Torczyner

The steering committee met to discuss (1) Presidents Conference testimony at Congressional anti-boycott legislation hearings (2) the Arab boycott and Japan, and (3) a Presidents Conference meeting in Jerusalem in July 1968.

Following are the recommendations of the committee:

- (1) That the overall moral position in support of strengthening anti-boycott legislation be presented at the Congressional hearings by the chairman of the Presidents Conference, or other designee in the name of the Conference.
- (2) That the Presidents Conference in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League convene appress conference with Japanese newspapermen so that the Arab boycott story may be presented, and that American concern may be conveyed.

(For your further information, we are attaching hereto a summary of the March 29, 1967 meeting of the technical subcommittee on the Arab Boycott at which both matters were discussed.)

(3) That a working party be appointed to project a tentative program for a Presidents Conference meeting in Jerusalem in July 1968 in conjunction with the 20th anniversary celebration of Israel's independence. The group's recommendations would then be referred back to the steering committee.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK PLaza 5-9316-7-8 Cable Address: Cojogra

Chairman, AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

President, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Chairman, AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

Chairman, AMERICAN TRADE UNION COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

President, B'NAI B'RITH

President,
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN
RABBIS

President,
COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS
and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

President, HADASSAH

President,
JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—
AMERICAN SECTION

President,
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Commander, JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.

President, LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT

President, MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

Chairman, NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

President,
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

President, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL

President, THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

President,
RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

President, UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

President, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

President,
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
President,
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

April 3, 1967

A -GONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FROM YEHUDA HELLMAN

For the record -- we are attaching a brief summary of the March 29, 1967 meeting of the technical subcommittee on the Arab Boycott.

You will recall that there was unanimous agreement that Dr. Joachim Prinz should offer testimony, as Presidents Conference chairman, at the Congressional hearings on anti-boycott legislation.

Too, a report was rendered on Arab boycott activities in Japan and the educational steps to be undertaken in this country to try to mitigate its effects.

You may recall that this problem was first raised at the June 21, 1966 meeting of the technical subcommittee -- and that the Anti-Defamation League was asked to report back to the subcommittee.

I wish to add a personal comment here. The fact that the problem was first brought to the table of the sub-committee--that preparatory work was undertaken--and that a concensus was reached after a full discussion by the subcommittee, points to the practicality of the goals and techniques decided upon by the subcommittee.

The immediate task in this area, of course, is to interest some 50 businessmen doing a million dollars plus trade with Japan.

Technical Subcommittee on the Arab Boycott

of the

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Summary -- March 29, 1967 Meeting

THOSE PRESENT: Yehuda Hellman, presiding, Jack Baker, Philip Baum, Al Chernin, Ruth Hershman, Frank Phillips, Harry Steinberg, Miriam Taub, Rabbi Jerome Unger, Dr. Seymour Weisman. (Mr. Nat Belth, ADL P.R. director and Mr. Nat Kameny, ADL board member, also participated.)

First, the subcommittee discussed the advisability of Presidents Conference testimony in support of strengthening anti-boycott legislation in Congress. Mr. Baum said that in addition to business testimony, there is value in having the overall moral position presented. Moreover, it is within the purview of a civic organization to petition government on occasion.

Dr. Seymour Weisman then moved that Dr. Joachim Prinz be asked to testify, as chairman of the Presidents Conference, at the Congressional hearings on anti-boycott legislation. The recommendation seconded by Mr. Baum was unanimously approved.

Next, the subcommittee heard a report on Arab boycott activities in Japan. Japanese trade with the Arab nations totals over a billion and a quarter dollars; trade with Israel amounting to \$25-30 million is restricted to small companies not doing business with Arab states because of boycott threats. It was thought that the time had come to use the American scene as a leverage to encourage the Japanese to withstand Arab pressure and normalize business relations with Israel.

Three approaches were suggested at this stage:

- 1) interest some 40-50 large American importers of Japanese goods to write letters to their dealers in Japan. (These businessmen will be furnished with background material as well as a sample letter.)
- 2) convene an unpublicized press conference with Japanese newspaper men here in the States so that the Arab boycott story may be presented and that American concern may be conveyed in Japan.
- 3) establish a committee of businessmen to remove barriers from international trade with Israel.

Mr. Baker said that the ADL was ready to convene a press conference and that a fact sheet on the boycott was being prepared. In answer to questions raised, he emphasized that there would be no domestic publicity. The approach, he reported, would be friendly and educational.

WHEN SILENCE LEAKS

West German Chancellor Ludwig Erhard's special envoy, Dr. Kurt Birrenbach, is due to arrive in Israel today for what is hoped will be the third and final round of discussions for an overall agreement between Israel and Bonn on the future of relations between the two countries.

According to all accounts the previous talks with Dr. Birrenbach were cordial and friendly, with both parties clearly aware of the deeply sensitive nature of the circumstances surrounding the discussions.

It was because of this awareness, and especially because of the German Chancellor's desire to avoid unduly ruffling Arab feelings, that the talks were draped in heavy secrecy. This desire went so far during Dr. Birrenbach's first visit that the Bonn Government was unwilling to reveal even the identity of those Israela leader with whom the envoy met here.

That this curtain of secrecy was quickly pierced was only to have been expected. For an active press as exists in Israel and Germany cannot be prevented from discovering the elementary facts of such a mission.

It would have been better had this been reslized here from the outset. For as the talks continued the world press found itself receiving obviously planted reports on alleged difficulties and stiff conditions imposed by Israel for its agreement to establish diplomatic relations with West Germany.

While these reports - emanating apparently from Bonn sources who were interested either in sabotaging Dr. Erhard or smoothing over Arab feelings - were circulated, Israel officials, bound by a commitment to silence, found themselves at a distinct disadvantage.

This kind of propaganda footwork was repeated by German government sources during Dr. Birrenbach's second visit, when they "reverled" that Bonn had not agreed to Israel's demand for a German guarantee of Israel's borders.

The result, of course, was that the delicate talks were enveloped in reports and impressions that could only dam ge the image of Israel's diplomacy, while at the same time confusing the Israel citizen.

No one today would advocate a return to the Wilsonian concept of diplomacy of "open covenants openly arrived at." For the sensitive dealings between modern governments often demand secrecy in order to succeed. However, secrecy can also be exploited to disrupt or damage or confuse.

In the case of the negotiations with Dr. Birrenbech his misuse of a commitment to secrecy bred suspicions concerning talks whose painful historical context required that they be carried on with utmost correctness.

It is hoped therefore that the present round of talks will not be accompanied by a similar spectacle, and that they will now be concluded with an agreement and public announcement befitting their historical moment.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE New York 22, New York Tel.: PL 5-9316-7-8

Date: March 18th, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To:

To: Members associated in the Conference of Presidents

From:

From:

Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find a report on the Cukurs Case. We are sending you this confidential report on the suggestion of Dr. Natan Lerner of the World Jewish Congress. The report does not deal with the Cukurs assassination but with his years in Brazil. In an attached letter Dr. Lerner writes:

"As you probably know, the Uruguayan press is blaming Israel. The Uruguayan Government, on the other hand, adopted a friendly attitude towards the representatives of Israel. Just two days ago, LE MONDE of Paris reported that the Brazilian police considers that Cukurs was killed by former SS men for reasons of security."

Dr. Lerner requests that this material be circulated as confidential intended for interior purposes only and not be given to the press.

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS BRAZIL

REFORT ON THE CUKURS CASE

I suppose you are informed by the world press about the latest developments in this case, of which I want to report the Brazilian reaction.

It was on Sunday, March 7th, that the Brazilian radio broadcast the news of the murder of Herbert Cukurs in a chalet on the Carrasco beach in Montevideo. Until yesterday the radio and the newspapers carried various news, scmetimes contradictory and mostly confusing, both as to the identity of the corpse found and that of the murderers. In the meantime, the body found in a trunk in the chalet was identified as being really that of Cukurs, who without any doubt had been killed. (We still do not know whether the murder took place in the chalet, or elsewhere and the body brought there.) As to the supposed murderers, we learned from the radio and Brazilian newspapers, that there are a number of suspects: the murderers were French or Austrian or Dutch, or even Israeli, and according to a police investigator in Uruguay, an Israeli diplomatic car, which allegedly bore blood stains, was seen before in the neighborhood of the chalet.

All the newspapers were of the unanimous view - without, however, presenting proof - that it was the work of a Jewish group avenging itself on the Nazi murder-er, Cukurs.

Cukurs' family in Sao Paulo made a statement that Cukurs made the trip to Montevideo on the invitation of a Dutchman named Anton Kunzle/establish there with him a pleasure-boat business on a lake, similar to that he had run years ago in Rio. On the plane with Cukurs were also two Frenchmen, one of whom was said to be Taussig (described also as an Austrian.) All three allegedly disappeared after the murder.

The scn of Cukurs in Sao Paulo stated that his father had many times before been threatened, and that he had always been afraid of being murdered by Jews. For this reason he left with his family a list of suspects: Senator Aarao Steinbruch, Dr. Alfredo Gartenberg, Dr. Marcos Constantino, Dr. Israel Skolnikov and two other unimportant Brazilian Jews. (Sen. Steinbruch was the President of the Jewish Federation in Rio, Drs. Gartenberg and Constantino its Executive Directors, and Dr. Skolnikov member of its Executive, who, between 1949 and 1964, investigated Cukurs' past, hearing various witnesses, and consequently impeded the naturalization that Cukurs applied for three times during that period, as stated below in detail.) All these persons denied, in statements to the press, that they had any connection with the case. Dr. Steinbruch declared that he considered it below his dignity to make any comments.

The Brazilian press is dealing daily with the case. All papers, without exception, speak about the "Nazi murderer Cukurs," offering a lot of material to prove his past as the murderer of thousands of Jews in Riga, including children, the aged, and the sick. We furnished the press with documentary material about Cukurs, including literature.

So far the entire press is meaching to aur satisfaction, and one of the most important newspapers, "Jornal do Brasil," went even so far as to say today in its editorial, i. al.: "Even if Jews killed Cukurs, they were right, for he was a

cold-blooded Nazi killer, and nobody could blame Jews avenging the innocent deaths of their parents, and children." Some of the Jews here are a little bit worried by the fact that the newspapers unanimously suspect a Jewish group as responsible for Cukurs' death, although, as noted, they are so far sympathetic to the Jewish side of the story. No anti-Semitic manifestations have yet occurred.

We have just learned that Cukurs was assassinated on February 24th, and that the news about the murder was divulged through Bonn. In the Brazilian papers there appeared also a rebuttal from the Israel Embassy in Montevideo regarding the statement of the police investigator (reportedly the chief of the Montevideo political police) that an Israeli diplomat or his car were involved in the case. I shall keep you informed. The Brazilian press, and also all the international news agencies, as well as the "New York Times" are in permanent touch with the Federation in Rio.

The following is background information:

Herbert Cukurs - former Latvian Air Force Captain in Riga, one of the leaders of the Latvian "Perkonkrust" even before the Nazi occupation of Latvia - found his way to Brazil in 1946 and settled in Rio de Janeiro. He came with a Jewish girl who introduced him to the Zionist Organization in Rio as her savior. (That is true. Some of the Nazi murderers were protected by Jews whom they had saved for their own eventual protection.) In 1949 Cukurs was recognized by some Jews as a Nazi responsible - together with Viktor Arajs - for the murder of about 32,000 Jews in Riga. The information about Cukurs at that time stemmed mainly from Max Kaufmann's book "Churben Lettlands." In the late forties, Rabbi Nurcok visited Brazil for the WJC and accused Cukurs as responsible for the death of many Jews in Riga. He called for his prosecution as a Nazi criminal. Some Latvian Jews also presented to the Federation of Jewish Societies of Rio de Janeiro the transcripts of statements not under oath by Landau, Jaffe, Gersztein, Tukacier, Shapiro, Fiszkin and Schub, taken by the Board of Investigation of War Crimes in the Baltic Countries, with its seat in London at the WJC.

On the basis of this material, the Federation of Jewish Societies of Rio, on the initiative of the WJC, requested, at that time, the expulsion of Cukurs from Brazil, but this could not be achieved, because Cukurs had become the father of a child born in Brazil.

Cukurs, apparently feeling insecure in Rio and wanting to work on his naturalization in secret, thus avoiding the Federation's attention, later moved from Rio to Niteroa and then to Santos, and from there to Sao Paulo, where he lived undisturbed until his death, becoming even materially well off. (He was an airplane constructor.) Unexpectedly, in 1950, the Federation learned that Cukurs was about to become a Brazilian citizen by naturalization (he was asked only to attach to his file in the Ministry a document about his economic position). The Federation, therefore, intervened with the Ministry and, as it could not obtain an absolute undertaking that citizenship would be denied, it mobilized Brazilian publio opinion through the press and some MP's. Almost all newspapers reacted and spoke up against granting citizenship to Cukurs, describing his Nazi past on the basis of the material put at their disposal by the Federation. Public reaction was excellent (though we learned that some Catholic forces were behind Cukurs because "he is a good Catholic" and some sentimental Brazilians because, so they say, "he has been in Brazil for so many years with a good record and even has Brazilian children.") The same happened again in 1960, when he applied for naturalization once more.

write against the manner of Eichmann's capture, mainly against the violation of our neighbor's sovereignty, though all of them condemned Eichmann. One very serious newspaper, always friendly to Jews, went so far as to write, i.al.: "We would most strongly protest if this new justice (a la Eichmann) would be practiced in Brazil against Cukurs. The authorities are duty-bound to protect Cukurs by all means."

In this development of the Eichmann case, Cukurs saw a very good opportunity for himself. He went to the Sao Paulo police, asking for protection, because "his life was endangered by Jews and he was afraid of being kidnapped." He got protection. He also asked the police for an investigation of himself. The police of Sao Paulo accepted this request, hearing Cukurs' own testimony in four long interviews. He denied the accusations against him, saying: that he never persecuted, but saved Jews; described German Nazi atrocities against Jews which he saw with his own eyes; but, at the same time, talked much about Jewish Latvian Communists who received the Russian Army with music in 1939, describing them as onemies of Latvia and the Latvian people, and therefore, many Jews had to pay, but that he himself did not do any wrong against Jews, fighting only against the Russians and the Communists as a Latvian patriot and Catholic. Cukurs appeared at the investigations with his attorney and achieved publication of his testimony in the newspapers. He went so far as to challenge the President of the Federation of Rio, Dr. Steinbruch (who happens to be a member of the Brazilian Parliament) to discuss the case with him on television, which a TV company of Sao Paulo was ready to arrange. As Dr. Steinbruch declined, saying that he could not sit at a table with a proven murderer, Cukurs declared on television and in the press, that the Federation "has been accusing him for ten years without having proof against him, and had not even the courage to come and discuss the case in public."

Cukurs' third bid for naturalization in 1963 definitely failed.

About Cukurs see the following literature:

Gerald Reitlinger, "Die Endloesung," where Cukurs' name appears as that of a Nazi murderer, with his chief, Viktor Arajs.

Testimonies at the "Wiener Library" in London from Landau, Jaffe, Gersztein, Tukacier, Shapiro, Fiszkin and Schub. The Federation in Rio has also the testimony of Hillel Melamed.

Finally we have extracts (but not the books) from "Yahadut Latvia," published in Tel Aviv 1953, where on p. 16 in "Yiskor" by Rabbi M. Nurock, Cukurs is mentioned, and from "The Last Way of Latvian Judaism" by Elhanan Kremer, where Cukurs is mentioned on pp. 330-334.



All this material was put at the disposal of the Brazilian press, which made good use of it.

Joseph 1

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS 515 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

December 17, 1964

To: .

Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From.

Yehuda Hellman

Following, please find the suggested reply of the Presidents Conference to West German Foreign Minister Gerhard Schroeder.

Would you please let us know, as soon as possible, if this text meets with your approval.

SUGGESTED REPLY OF THE PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE TO WEST GERMAN FOREIGN MINISTER GERHARD SCHROEDER

We are in receipt of your reply of November 24, 1964 to our wife of November 20. We are cognizant of the efforts of West Germany to bring Nazi war criminals to trial, as enumerated in detail in your telegram. Indeed, we were encouraged by these efforts and had hoped that they represented a recognition by the German Government of the obligation it owes to the victims of the Nazi holocaust and to the world at large. We have considered these trials to be indispensable to the moral redemption and rehabilitation of the German people in the post-war era.

Your statistical reference to these efforts, however, in no way meets the issue raised by the imminent coming into force of the statute of limitations. Your allegation that "It is very unlikely that a substantial number of hitherto unknown Nazi criminals will be discovered in the future" is necessarily speculative. Moreover, it contradicts the estimates of many leading authorities who believe that the number may run into the many thousands. The history of war crime prosecutions has shown that new information and new indictments arise constantly as a result of fresh evidence uncovered in connection with current investigations. In a more fundamental sense, however, this statistical approach is irrelevant. It evokes quantitative criteria that are altogether unrelated to the moral issue at stake. Whether there be many or few, every Nazi criminal guilty of mass atrocities and genocide must be brought to justice. Each person implicated in mass murder of innocent human beings must be made aware that as long as he lives and wherever he may hide he faces the prospect of being made accountable in a court of law.

It is widely recognized by civilized nations, and it was reaffirmed at Nurenberg, that major crimes against humanity must not be regarded as ordinary crimes, nor can they be subject only to the provisions of ordinary domestic codes. We had hoped that West Germany's signature to the Genocide Convention constituted recognition of this principle which supports the broadest respect of human life. Its present attitude, however, constitutes a complete negation of its professed adherance to this moral principle.

In our telegram we protested the continued participation of German scientists in the development of weapons of mass destruction for the United Arab Republic. It has long been the publically declared intention of the United Arab Republic to use these weapons in a war of destruction against Israel, a country which serves as the home of the surviving remant of the Nazi holocaust. And yet, in spite of a provision in the West German constitution barring the participation of German citizens in the manufacture of weapons intended for use in an aggressive war, the German Government has failed to act in this matter. Your ommission of any reference to this issue in your reply strikes us as further evidence of your disregard of the moral considerations implicit in these descrisions.

This attitude of moral indifference, which has caused the West German Government to evade its responsibilities with respect to the extension of the statute of limitations and the withdrawal of German scientists from Cairo undermines our confidence in your government's awareness of the as yet unredeemed obligation of the German people to history and to the survivors of the Nazi holocaust. Until your government has demonstrated its clear understanding of this obligation and its readiness to discharge it in these two major areas of Jewish and general humanitarian concern, Germany s claim to a genuine rebirth and a new moral posture must be vigorously rejected.

Love 1/7/65

515 Park Avenue New York 22, New York PLaza 5-9316-7-8

November 24, 1964

TO: MEMBERS ASSOCIATED IN THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS

FROM: YEHUDA HELLMAN

Below you will find the text of a telegram which the Presidents! Com-seference has received from the German Foreign Minister, Gerhard Schroeder.

This was in response to our telegram to him dated November 20, 1964, a copy of which was sent to you in a memo on that day (November 20th).

"I regret very much that the tight schedule of my talks in Washington makes it impossible for me to see you at this time as you had wished.

Please be assured, however, that the Federal Government is deeply aware of the problems you wanted to discuss with me and is examining all possibilities to bring about a solution which takes into account both the moral as well as the legal aspects.

After World War II Allied courts have sentenced more than 5000 persons, German courts 5445 persons for Nazi crimes; of these 818 were sentenced to death, 486 of them having been executed. Until now the German authorities have investigated the records of more than 30,000 persons. Until January 1, 1964 12,882 persons have been brought to trial. Now about 750 criminal proceedings are pending, which will engage the German courts for many more years. In all these cases the period of limitation for the prosecution of crimes has been brought to run again by judicial acts, so that the criminal proceeding of the crimes concerned is not stopped.

It is very unlikely that a substantial number of hitherto unknown Nazi criminals will be discovered in the future. To safeguard all possibilities of criminal proceeding the federal government has issued on November 20th the following worldwide appeal for assistance in bringing to justice all Nazi criminals:

'Allied and German courts have already passed final judgment on the great majority of national-socialist crimes and penal proceedings have been instituted regarding a number of other crimes.

Determined to punish national-socialist crimes and to restore violated justice, but considering, on the other hand, that the period of limitation in respect of crimes committed prior to May 9, 1945, cannot, for constitutional reasons, be extended. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany requests all governments, organizations and individual persons, both in Germany and abroad, to make available without delay to the 'Zentralstelle der Landesjustizver-waltungen zur Aufklaerung Nationalsozialistischer Gewalttaten' (Central Office of the Land Judicial Administrations for the Elucidation of National Socialist Crimes), Ludwigsburg, Schorudorfer Strasse 28, either original documents, photostat or microfilm copies of material in their possession relating of offenses and their perpetrators still unknown in the Federal Republic of Germany.

All diplomatic or consular missions abroad of the Federal Republic of Germany will accept and forward any documentation intended for the above-mentioned Zentrallstelle.'

We very much hope that this appeal will bring the results that you and we hope for."

Gerhard Schroeder German Foreign Minister

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Tel.: PL 5-1820 Cable Address: COJOGRA

To: Members associated with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

From: Yehuda Hellman

I would like to bring to your attention the fact that Israel's Parliament declared yesterday in a unanimous resolution that it was the duty of the West German Government to put an immediate end to the dangerous activity of West German scientists working in Egypt on the development of weapons of mass destruction to be used against Israel.

Enclosed please find the full text of the resolution as adopted by the Knesset.

Also enclosed please find the full text of the statement of the Foreign Minister of the State of Israel on the same subject. This statement was made in the Knesset yesterday.

It is being suggested that this whole problem be brought by you to the attention of the Jewish Community and to the attention of public opinion in general.

It is in this connection that we also would like to inform you that the West German Government has declined comment on the Israeli demand that German scientists be stopped from working on Egyptian armament projects. A German Government spokesman said that no comment would be made until am official report on the Statement by Foreign Minister Golda Meir was available.

The Israeli demand apparently caught the Bonn Government off guard. It seems that the Germans had not expected that the case of the alleged Israeli agents in Switzerland would produce such drastic results.

YH:cs encl.

TEXT OF THE KNESSET RESOLUTION

- 1. The Knesset resolves that the activity of German scientists and experts, working in Egypt on the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction to be used against Israel, is a grave danger to the security of Israel and its population.
- 2. The German people cannot absolve itself of the responsibility for the continuation of this vile work. It is the duty of the German Government to put an immediate end to this dangerous activity of its citizens and to take all steps required to prevent this cooperation with the Egyptian Government.
- 3. The Knesset calls upon enlightened world public opinion to exercise its influence without delay in order to put a stop to this activity of German experts, whose aim is to expose to destruction the State of Israel, the home of the remnants of our people who have survived the Nazi Holocaust.

TEXT OF FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENT TO KNESSET

"As the Knesset is aware, I requested a meeting of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, at which I reported on the activities of German scientists and technicians in Egypt, as well as the circumstances in which an Israeli national was arrested in Switzerland.

"At a prolonged session of the committee, many details were reported concerning the activities of these scientists, and the appeals of the Government of Israel to various parties, concerning their activities. The Knesset will certainly not expect that these details should be revealed here. As far as the circumstances of the arrest of the Israeli national are concerned, I must say that with all our appreciation for the traditional, friendly relations existing between the peoples and governments of Switzerland and Israel, we find incomprehensible certain steps taken in this matter by the Swiss authorities.

"For a considerable period now, the Egyptian ruler has attempted to accumulate considerable might in order to realize his avowed aim of annihilating the State of Israel, and for years large amounts of weapons have streamed into Egypt. Recently, a new element was added to the scene - a group of scientists, as well as hundreds of German technicians, who are assisting in the development of Egyptian offensive missiles, am even in the development of weapons prohibited by international law, and serving the exclusive purpose of annihilating life. These types of weapons, which other powers are unwilling and uninterested to supply to Egypt, the Egyptian Government is attempting to get by means of a band of unprincipled scientists, who are prepared not only to act in accordance with Egypt's desire, but also contribute of their own free will to this aim.

"There is no doubt that the driving force wehind the schemes of this criminal gang, are lust for gain on one hand, and on the other, a Nazi bent for hatred of Israel and destruction of Jews. Back in the days of Hitler, the intimate contact between Cairo and the Nazis was well known, and it is no secret that Cairo today serves as a center and place of asylum for Nazi leaders. We cannot believe for a moment that this situation should be in accord with the desires of the Government of the German Federal Republic. However, these scientists and technicians are her citizens and her nationals. The German Government cannot remain indifferent to the fact that 18 years after the fall of the Hitler regime, which caused the holocaust of millions of Jews, members of the same people should again be connected with acts intended to annihilate the State of Israel, which contains the survivors of holocaust and destruction.

(Con't.)

"Not a few Germans, who unblemished past we do not doubt, and who disapprove of the activities of the scientists and technicians in Egypt, have stressed the legal difficulties in preventing German citizens from travelling to Egypt and carrying out their nefarious activities there. We say to the German Government and to the masses of German people, who recoil from Germany's Nazi past and desire another Germany, that we cannot acquiesce in this explanation, and we are convinced that enlightened public opinion throughout the world is at our side. We request that the Government of Germany should put an end to the activities of these scientists, and if, for this purpose, legal or other steps should be necessary, we demand that these steps should be undertaken now in order to end immediately this collaboration between German citizens and the Government of Egypt."



CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS 515 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

Tel.: PL 5-9316-7-8

Date: February 24, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

The following is the full text of the statement issued after the meeting of the Conference on Tuesday, February 23rd. Please bring it to the attention of your leadership, chapters and affiliated organizations. It should be used in your home organs as well and brought to the attention of as wide a range of Jewish and non-Jewish public opinion as possible.

In continuing the letterwriting campaign that was iniated earlier, this statement can be used as background material. Continue to write and cable the German Embassy in Washington, c/o Ambassador Karl Heinrich Knappstein. It is advisable that copies of these letters be brought to the attention of our Department of State. It is very important that the tone of all communications be responsible and firm. Exaggerations are only harmful. Public expressions by community and local organizations should be fully encouraged.

Also enclosed you will find the release to the press incorporating the following statement.

"Attempts by West Germany to justify her recent actions have occasioned bitter disappointment. West Germany still does not understand the pervasive immorality of her attempt to purchase diplomatic advantage by dealing in the security of Israel, a country which gave haven to Jews who survived the Hitler holocaust and for whose safety Germany must feel forever responsible.

We hope the German government harbors no illusion that it has already provided sufficient proof of a new moral posture. This would be a tragic misreading of German responsibility after World War II. Germany owes a transcendental moral indebtedness to the Jewish people that exceeds any program of material compensation.

By surrendering to Nasser's threats and halting arms shipments to Israel, West Germany has disavowed its solemn commitments. But despite this unilateral action, these commitments remain alive and binding.

Ironically, this retreat from principle has served no purpose other than to exacerbate world tensions. Reports from Cairo indicate that the Egyptian dictator has been encouraged by this easy capitulation to intensify his dangerous demands. It is clear that Nassar's insatiable policies can be countered only by firmness. He must not be allowed to advance his goals by disrupting relationships among other states.

Germany is slowly awakening to the realization that submission to blackmail cannot constitute a foreign policy. It would be tragic if this hard lesson is learned only at Israel's expense. We are encouraged by reports that a significant sector of German opinion rejects its government's position.

The unwise and unavailing course pursued by West Germany during the past few weeks has aroused mounting public concern. All Americans are apprehensive over the grave threat to world peace embodied in the series of decisions by the West German government that have endangered the fragile balance in the Middle East. These apprehensions and the deep feeling of American Jewry will be fully pressed upon our own government. We shall urge the United States to use its good offices to persuade West Germany to remain faithful to its commitments and to resist Egyptian threats motivated by her publically declared intention to destroy Israel.

We hope that further steps will be obviated by the immediate resumption and scrupulous fulfillment by West Germany of its agreements with Israel and the discharge of its enduring responsibilities to the Jewish people. But neither as Americans, nor as Jews, do we intend to remain silent witnesses to the unfolding of these events."

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS

OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

PLaza 5-9316-7-8 515 Park Avenue - New York 22, N.Y.

COJOGRA

Contact: Richard Cohen TR 9 - 4500

> For Release Friday AM, Feb. 26

American Jews will urge the Johnson Administration to persuade West Germany to restore the "fragile balance" in the Middle East by resuming arms deliveries to Israel, a spokesman for 20 leading U.S. Jewish groups announced yesterday.

Dr. Joachim Prinz, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said the decision to seek U.S. intervention was taken at a meeting of the Conference earlier this week.

Dr. Prinz said there was unanimous agreement among the Jewish agencies that the Bonn regime's action in cutting off military supplies to Israel constituted a "grave threat to world peace.

"We shall urge the United States to use its good offices to persuade West Germany to remain faithful to its commitments and to resist Egyptian threats motivated by a publicly-declared intention to destroy Israel," he declared.

"Neither as Americans nor as Jews do we intend to remain silent witnesses to the unfolding of these events."

Dr. Prinz, who is president of the American Jewish Congress, spoke in the name of the 20 Jewish religious and lay organizations making up the Presidents' Conference, the most representative and comprehensive grouping of Jewish agencies in the country. Its statements are regarded as speaking for the overwhelming majority of American Jews

The American Jewish leader voiced "bitter disappointment" at what he described as "the pervasive immorality of West Germany's attempt to purchase diplomatic advantage by dealing in the security of Israel, a country established to give haven to those Jews who managed to survive the Hitler holocaust and for whose safety Germany must feel forever responsible." He continued:

"We hope the German government harbors no illusion that it has already provided sufficient proof of a new moral posture. This would be a tragic misreading of German responsibility after World War II.

"Germany owes a transcendental moral indebtedness that exceeds any program of material compensation.

"By surrendering to Nasser's threats and halting arms shipments to Israel, West Germany has disavowed its solemn commitments, but despite this unilateral repudiation these commitments remain alive and binding."

Dr. Prinz, a former rabbi of Berlin who was expelled by the Hitler regime for his anti-Nazi sermons, said it was ironic that West Germany's "retreat from principle" had served no purpose "other than to exacerbate world tensions."

Reports from Cairo, he said, indicated that President Nasser of Egypt had been "encouraged by this easy capitulation to intensify his dangerous demands.

"It is clear that Nasser's insatiable policies can be countered only by firmness," Dr. Prinz declared. "He must not be allowed to-advance his goals by disrupting the relationships among other states."

The American Jewish Congress president said he was encouraged by reports that a "significant sector" of German opinion opposed the Bonn government's action. But he said it would be "tragic" if this lesson had to be learned at Israel's expense.

"The unwise and unavailing course pursued by West Germany during the past few weeks has aroused mounting public concern," Dr. Prinz asserted.

"All Americans are apprehensive over the grave threat to world peace embodied in the series of decisions by the West German Government that have endangered the fragile balance in the Middle East.

"These apprehensions and the deep feeling of American Jewry will be fully pressed upon our own Government.

"We hope that further steps will be obviated by the immediate resumption and scrupulous fulfillment by West Germany of its agreements with Israel and the discharge of its enduring responsibilities to the Jewish people."

The 20 groups represented in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations are:

American Israel Public Affairs
Committee
American Jewish Congress
American Zionist Council
American Trade Union Council
for Histadrut
B'nai B'rith
Central Conference of
American Babbis
Hadassah
Jewish Agency for Israel -American Section
Jewish Labor Committee
Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.

Labor Zionist Movement
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi
National Community Relations
Advisory Council
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Young Israel
Rabbinical Assembly
Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
United Synagogue of America
Zionist Organization of America

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"We hope the German government harbors no illusion that it has already provided sufficient proof of a new moral posture. This would be a tragic misreading of German responsibility after World War II.

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"It is clear that Nasser's insatiable policies can be countered only by firmness," Dr. Prinz declared. "He must not be allowed to advance his goals by disrupting the relationships among other states."

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Advisory Council
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Young Israel
Rabbinical Assembly
Union of Orthodox Jewish
Congregations of America
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
United Synagogue of America
Zionist Organization of America

MEMORANDUM

From_		February 19, 1965	
r rom_	Rabbi Jay Kaufman		
То _	Mr. Albert Vorspan		
Сору б	for information of Rabbis Maurice N. Elsendrath,	Balfour Brickmer & Richard G. Hirsc	h
Subjec	ct		

The Presidents Conference decided to have a letter writing campaign to the German Ambassador on withholding of arms, rather than another massive public outcry as in the case of the Statute of Limitations. Two techniques will be used, continued public pressure on the statute of limitations because that is a moral position which becomes fuzzy with arms, and letter writing from many people, best if important Jews and Christians do so on their own personal or business letterheads. Each agency is to push its own people to write letters.

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE 1737 H ST., N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 Telephone 298-7174

Dear Friend:

Public opinion may persuade West Germany to reconsider its decision to suspend arms shipments to Israel, if Americans let the Germans know how they feel. This report may be helpful for speeches, statements, resolutions and letters to the press, Congress, the Department of State, and the West German embassy and consulates.

With the compliments of

I. L. KENEN Executive Director

February 15, 1965

BONN CAPITULATES TO CAIRO

The West German government has surrendered to Nasser's blackmail at the expense of Israel's security.

Bonn has promised Cairo to suspend further U.S.-approved shipments of tanks and helicopters to Israel.

What does Bonn gain in exchange for this extraordinary concession?

President Nasser has merely promised not to extend full diplomatic recognition to East Germany when its Communist leader, Walter Ulbricht, visits Cairo on Feb. 24.

He will not withdraw the invitation to Ulbricht. He may tone down the reception. But that won't cost Egypt anything. Indeed, it will save on hospitality bills.

Egypt also claims that West Germany, in another gesture of appeasement, promised not to enter into full diplomatic relations with Israel. Bonn has denied making that commitment. But Bonn has refrained from recognizing Israel de jure for more than 15 years - in deference to Cairo's pressure. And there is still no sign that Bonn will change its policy on recognition. It would not impress us very much if it did, at this late date and on the heels of the arms cut-off.

Bonn's infamous barter has handed a victory to Moscow diplomacy because it weakens Israel, strengthens East Germany and bolsters Egypt.

As for Israel, it is obvious that Israel must have weapons to preserve the arms balance and enable her to deter aggression. The weakening of Israel would undermine resistance to Soviet penetration throughout the entire Near East.

As for East Germany, it is reported that Nasser extended the invitation to Ulbricht at the behest of the Soviet Union's Deputy Premier Alexander Shelepin, who came to Cairo last December to assure worried Egyptians that the new Soviet rulers would carry out Khrushchev's May promise of a \$280 million loan to Egypt. It is believed that the Soviet Union may be parceling out some of this aid via East Germany. Ulbricht, in fact, is bringing a deal to trade about \$75 million in industrial equipment in exchange for Egyptian cotton.

This official visit by East Germany's head of state seems tantamount to recognition. But if it is so interpreted, then Bonn is automatically compelled by its Hallstein doctrine to sever relations with Cairo.

Accordingly, Nasser's invitation to Ulbricht was a gamble. If Bonn reacted in maximum indignation and cut off relations, Bonn would also have halted credits and aid, which are estimated at \$300 million - and this at a time when Nasser desperately needs new loans from the West to pay urgent bills for food, consumer goods, machinery and to stave off creditors. Obviously, Nasser stood to lose much more than West Germany did. West Germany had tremendous leverage. But it failed to use it. Instead, Nasser used his - and won.

He intimidated Bonn by the threat to recognize Ulbricht, and to send an ambassador to East Berlin. And, instead of halting aid to Egypt, West Germany went far beyond the call of appeasement. It halted military aid to Israel.

Once again, Nasser has demonstrated how to exploit rivalries on the world scene in order to extort aid from all sides. He attacks the United States and tells us to jump in the Mediterranean. (This is also for the ears of Shelepin, De Gaulle and Chou En-Lai.) He invites Ulbricht and tells Erhard, in effect, to go jump in the Rhine.

Perhaps Nasser was emboldened in the negotiations with Bonn by Washington's reaction to his insulting Port Said speech.

An angry and indignant Congress wanted to ban a \$37 million food shipment to Egypt. Congress then reluctantly allowed the White House flexibility because the White House insisted that this would enable the Administration to "influence" Cairo to "moderate" its attitude. (Many of Israel's friends did not oppose the President's urgent appeal, although they favored the House ban.)

One day after Congress voted to until President Johnson's hand - Cairo proceeded to tie Erhard's.

For Egypt did <u>not</u> "get the message" from the <u>Hill</u>. The Egyptians have gloatingly interpreted the White House appeal for flexibility as a pro-Egyptian gesture and a blow at Israel and its supporters.

Cairo now celebrates a triple victory over Washington, Bonn and Israel. Aggression and arrogance feed on appeasement.

The Washington Post of Feb. 14, quotes Cairo's Al Gomhuria: "Who could believe that the day would come when Cairo would say its word and Western capitals would not only listen to it but tremble with fear." The Cairo paper went on to say that Washington tried to bring pressure by threatening to halt food shipments but Nasser refused to yield. "Zionism should know that Washington, Bonn, London and Paris cannot impose an opinion on us."

Washington has lostface in the Near East.

And West Germany will lose face and prestige in this country. "Their refusal to stand behind their commitment is believed to have damaged their international image," The New York Times reported Feb. 14.

The new Germany has been trying to persuade the world that it has reformed and that it has stamped out Naziism and the Nazis. But events of the last two years are disconcerting and discouraging; the refusal

from

The Washington Post

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1965

Bowing to Blackmail

Both as a political and symbolic matter, West Germany's decision to cancel arms shipments to Israel is highly unfortunate. President Nasser had threatened to recognize East Germany if Bonn did not terminate an arms agreement with Israel. With inglorious alacrity, West Germany collapsed before this blackmail threat and put herself in the wrong with a nation—that above all others deserves sympathetic consideration from Germany.

The amount of money involved was relatively modest. West Germany has never officially disclosed her arms agreement with Israel, but the total amount is believed to be \$60 million and it is estimated that 80 per cent of the deliveries have already been made. But if the amount was small, the principle was large.

In diplomacy as in common crime, blackmailers have an insatiable thirst. Mr. Nasser was able to dictate Bonn's foreign policy by a verbal threat and by inviting Walter Ulbricht, head of the East German regime, to Cairo for a visit. Having surrendered once, West Germany may be asked to take other steps adverse to Israel in order to prevent possible recognition of East Germany.

As a symbolic matter, Bonn's position is an unhappy one. It may be that West Germany has done much to provide material compensation for wartime atrocities, and no doubt Bonn cannot be expected to condition every aspect of its foreign policy to the memory of a haunted past. Still, it is true that Germany is tailoring her policies to the demand of an Egyptian dictator who has sworn to destroy the nation of Israel. Such is the truth, no matter how it is rationalized in Germany.

to extend the statute of limitations on war crimes when it expires next May 8; the refusal to recognize Israel de jure; the refusal to take effective action to bring back the German scientists who have helped Egypt develop its missiles and jet planes. And now, as reparations come to an end, West Germany breaks an agreement to arm Israel, in painful surrender to the neo-Nazis of the Nile.

Of course, the West Germans can claim that our Government does not show them a very good example. Our Government, too, turns the cheek to Nasser. It is not too late for Bonn to reconsider - and Washington ought to help Bonn reconsider.

Bonn and Washington can force Nasser to abandon his blackmail by joint resistance to his pressures. Nasser needs the West far more than the West needs him. But, deplorably, the impression grows that Western policy in the Near East is dictated by fear of Nasser. And he exploits that fear to the utmost.

P.S. LATE DEVELOPMENTS - Bonn has now hardened its attitude and insists that Egypt cancel the Ulbricht visit or forfeit West German aid....Israel has rejected West Germany's offers of monetary compensation in lieu of arms.

The New York Times.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1965

Bonn's Mideast Muddle

The West Germans have made an almost incredible mess of the linked issues of arms to Israel and relations with Egypt. As a result, President Nasser has been greatly strengthened; tensions in the already tense Middle East have risen; West German relations with Israel, which had improved so greatly in recent years, have again sunk to a low of bitterness and anger; and Communist East Germany, Bonn's enemy, achieves a triumph.

It may have been an error on Chancellor Adenauer's part to make the \$80 million arms agreement with Israel in 1960, but, once made, there was no excuse not to go through with it. Israel's perennially dangerous position, surrounded as she is by Arab nations determined to destroy her, meant that she needed arms to sustain what Prime Minister Eshkol of Israel yesterday called "a balance of deterrence." However, the arms could have been obtained elsewhere.

Another basic error has been Bcnn's persistence in the "Hallstein Doctrine" of not dealing with any nation that recognizes East Germany. This has proved to be more of a nuisance in recent years than an asset, and it has by no means been strictly honored. President Nasser all along demanded that Germany cease her arms shipments to Israel, but he got nowhere until he had the bold idea of inviting East Germany's President Ulbricht to Egypt as a state guest. Bonn objected that this was de facto recognition and made the egregious error of trying to buy off Mr. Nasser by halting the arms shipments to Israel. This crude maneuver had no effect on the Egyptians. President Ulbricht is going to Cairo anyway, and he will get red carpet treatment.

Now Germany threatens to cut off economic aid to Egypt if the Ulbricht visit is carried out. Such aid amounted to nearly \$200 million during the first five-year plan. However, President Nasser has proved in the past that he is allergic to dictation based on aid.

Meanwhile, supplies of Russian arms to Egypt and the other Arab countries have been increasing. The Israelis have a right to be profoundly disturbed as well as angry by the loss of the remainder of the arms—some \$20 million worth—which they expected from Germany.

The whole affair has been an ignominious defeat for West Germany, but it has also raised the danger level in the Middle East. Southeast Asia and the Congo are not the only parts of the world where war is possible.

515 Park Avenue New York 22, New York Tel.: PL 5-9316-7-8

Date: February 17, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

I would like to inform you that in accordance with the decisions adopted at the last meeting of the Presidents Conference which was held on Friday, February 12th, Dr. Joachim Prinz, Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations has issued the following statement to the press:

"We feel a sense of anguish and bitter disappointment over reports from Bonn and Cairo that the West German government has decided to terminate military assistance it had been extending to Israel in accordance with Germany's clear commitments.

It is apparent that the Bonn regime surrendered to President Nasser's blackmail threat to recognize East Germany. In so doing, the German government abandoned the grave burden it carries for the life and liberty of those Jews who managed to outlive Hitler -- and for the country of Israel which was established to give them haven.

This decision by West Germany constitutes a breach of international morality which cannot fail but have ever widening consequences. Reports from Cairo already indicate that the Egyptian dictator has been encouraged by Germany's capitulation to intensify the blackmail and to increase its belligerency against Israel. Thus, Germany's action has endangered Israel's security and has jeopardized the fragile balance that alone has deterred Arab aggression in the Middle East.

We cannot help but contrast Germany's ignoble alacrity in acceding to Nasser's dictates with her tenacity in resisting demands from the free world for the withdrawal of German scientists from Cairo developing weapons of destruction for Egypt's war machine. We are disturbed by Germany's ready responsiveness to the compulsion of blackmail and her relative indifference to the dictates of morality.

We are aware of the political threats Nasser has applied to induce Germany to abandon Israel at this hour. But it is exactly this displacement of morality by diplomacy -- this yielding of principle to pressure -- that condemns the West German nation in the eyes of those who believe that the German people owe a special and as yet unredeemed obligation to history and to the survivors of the Nazi holocaust.

We urge the German government and those elements in Germany who have striven for a genuine moral rebirth of their country to reconsider and reject a dishonorable course which is consonant neither with Germany's professed new moral posture nor with indeed her own long range interests.

We are encouraged by news only this morning that Germany

is now actively reviewing these policies and is awakening to the realization that submission to blackmail does not constitute a foreign policy. But it would be tragic if this hard lesson is learned only at Israel's expense.

We ardently hope that the last word on this matter has not yet been heard. We urge the West German government to resume and fulfill its pledge to Israel and to discharge its special and enduring responsibility for the safety and secutity of the surviving victims of Nazism. In this way, too, Germany can help safeguard the permanent interests of the free world from those who would undermine them."



AS CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF TWENTY-ONE
MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, I EARNESTLY EXPRESS TO
YOU OUR DEEP APPREHENSIONS AND CONCERN OVER RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE ARAB TERRORIST ATTACKS AND HARRASSMENTS OF ISRAEL IN GROSS VIOLATION OF
INTERNATIONAL LAW BE BROUGHT TO AN END AND THAT A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ARAB AGGRESSOR AND THE VICTIM BE RECOGNIZED.
THE MOUNTING TENSIONS ON THE ISRAEL ARAB BORDERS MAY CONCEIVABLY
LEAD TO A MISCALCULATION WHICH COULD EMBROIL THE AREA IN A MAJOR
CONFLAGRATION THAT COULD ENDANGER PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE
RESPECTFULLY REQUEST OUR GOVERNMENT TO MAKE KNOWN TO THE WORLD
NOW ITS COMMITMENT TO SAFEGUARD ISRAEL'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
AND SECURITY.

RESPECTFULLY YOURS,

DR. JOACHIM PRINZ, CHAIRMAN CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS (N.Y.) The following statement was issued today by Dr. Joachim Prinz, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, representing 21 of the country's largest national Jewish groups:

"Arab armed forced have attacked Israel -- the inevitable culmination of 20 years of aggression aimed at destroying the State and people of Israel.

"Our hearts are with our brethren in Israel in this desperate hour. To them we pledge everything that is within our power to give, to the end that peace and justice may be restored to the Promised Land.

"Our own Government has a grave responsibility in this hour. America's vital interests in the Middle East are at stake. To protect these interests, we call on our Government to employ whatever means may be necessary to support the people of Israel in their struggle for survival.

"We stand in solidarity with them, proud of their courage and determined that they shall live in their own land and in peace."

STATEMENT OF AMBASSADOR GIDEON RAFAEL, PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ISRAEL, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL JUNE 5, 1967.

Mr. President,

I wish to draw the Council's attention to the grave news that fighting has erupted on Israel's frontiers and that the Israel Defense Forces are now repelling the Egyptian Army and Air Force. I have so far received only first reports about the developments. From these it is evident that in the early hours of this morning Egyptian armoured columns moved in an offensive thrust against Israel's borders. At the same time Egyptian planes took off from airfields in Sinai and struck out toward Israel. Egyptian artillery in the Gaza Strip shelled the Israel villages of Kissufim, Nahal-Oz and Ein Hashelosha and bombed Natanya and Kfar Yavetz. Israeli forces engaged the Egyptians in the air and on land, and fighting is still going on.

This is a situation of utmost gravity. Though the reports in my possession are incomplete, one thing is already clear -- the huge armies which Egypt has concentrated in Sinai in the last fortnight are now carrying out the order of the day of their commander General Murtagi, who said on June 3: "The eyes of the whole world are looking on you in your glorious war against the Israelis' aggressiveness on the soil of your homeland, hoping to see the outcome of your holy war in victory for the rights of the Arab people.

"The outcome of this special moment is of historic importance for our Arab people and its holy war for restoring the rights of the Arabs which were plundered from them in Palestine. Reconquer the stolen land with God's help and the power of justice and with the strength of your arms and your united faith."

The Egyptian forces met with the immediate response of the Israel Defense Forces acting in self-defense. In accordance with Article 51 of the Charter, I bring this development to the immediate attention of the Security Council. The Israel Minister of Defense in a message to the Israel Defense Forces on June 5 stated, and I quote: "Soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces! We have no aim of conquest. Our sole objectives are to put an end to the Arab attempt to conquer our land and cut off and suppress the blockade and the belligerence mounted against us.

"Egypt has recruited and taken command of the armed forces of Syria, Jordan and Iraq. Military units from Kuwait to Algeria have joined them. Their numbers are greater than ours, but we will prevail over them. We are a small but brave people. We want peace, but we are ready to fight for our land and our lives."

I am to the best of my ability remaining in communication with my Government in Jerusalem and I shall keep the Council informed of further developments.

Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS_{11/20/64}

515 PARK AVENUE •

· NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

TO:

Members Associated in Conference of Presidents

FROM:

Yehuda Hellman

AMERICAN JEWISH A R C H I V E S

Enclosed is the full text of the address made before the Conference of Presidents on November 10, 1964 by Mr. Nachum Shamir, Economic Minister of the State of Israel.

Also enclosed is the full text of the telegram which was sent to the German Foreign Minister, simultaneously to Bonn and to the German Embassy in Washington. A copy of this telegram was also sent to our State Dept.

Thank you Mr. Chairman. Ladies and Gentlemen: I am somewhat scared to speak to so many presidents of this wonderful American Jewry. It is my first appearance with your group. After long meditation I have decided not to make my task too easy and read the speech, but rather try to make it an informing talk about problems with which I am dealing. Speaking about Israel's economy is somewhat complicated -- in a way schizophrenic. At a Bonds' meeting we praise the economy; the next day at a UJA meeting we tell how badly money is needed; and the third day we go to Washington for help. And when looking for investors, you can't do so without telling of the good things. Speaking about economy, I would rather start with defense. Our problems of security, I would say, are so vital and so decisive in our lives that our whole existence depends upon it. Not long ago, General Clay issued a report for President Kennedy about developing countries, and Israel was one of the few countries that, according to the report, have developed enough to be phased out of the foreign aid program of the United States. But this comparison to other countries was lacking in one major thing. If we could get military aid as the other countries, we could probably also be phased out from the foreign aid program. But unfortunately, our foreign debt reached a figure of 1 billion 100 million dollars, and a very big part of it is because of our defense expenditures. Today, a Mirage Plane costs 12 million plus. But Kruschev said to Nasser that his arsenals are open to him. New supplies are flowing into Egypt. One thing that really should bother us. There are some other wars in the world; there are probably some wars in preparation. But there is only one war where the enemy declares total annihilation as a goal. Here we are, 20 years after World War II, when even Hitler tried to conceal his real aims toward the Jews. The Arabs are openly declaring war -- a war of total annihilation and nobody seems to be shocked. All our neighboring countries are at war with us. Last week, Ben Bella offered his army to fight Tschombe in the Congo and to fight the Jews in Palestine.

We are trying to make our modest contribution to the family of nations. We have now some 1200 people in Africa, Asia and South America. I think our contribution is big. Coming to our economical problems, we find our main one is promoting exports. Our trade gap was 400 million last year, and it might be close to 500 million this year. How to overcome this problem? How can we develop our exports?

We are living in an age of clubs. The nations are also organizing clubs. Whoever wants to get into a club has to pay a high admission fee. Our wages are not the lowest, and productivity not the highest. To compete is difficult. We are unable to develop our exports to Europe in a satisfactory way. Now the new government in Great Britain has imposed higher tariffs on imports. Half of our products exported to the United Kingdom will be affected. The United States has also quite a high protective tariff.

Our industrial production the last year grew by 14-15%. The merchandise available for export is less than ever because the Israel market is consuming more and more. The affluent society of Israel is one of the biggest barriers for our exports.

What we are doing here is to promote the little merchandise and goods we have and to try to sell it on the American market. The balance of trade with the United States is negative for Israel. We buy here three times as much in goods

and services than the United States buys in Israel. In manufactured goods the ratio is 1 to 4.

We have another problem that we are faced with, that of the Arab boycott. It is like walking on a tight rope. If you speak about it you serve their purpose. The more you speak the more it hurts. This is mainly psychological warfare. To find the proper balance is very difficult and complicated. The Arabs have stepped up their economic war against Israel. This is an open and vast field for activity. They are sending, daily, hundreds of letters to different firms in the hope that they will disclose information about trade with Israel. I want you to know that Israel buys 1/3 of the total export of the United States to the Near East. In 1949, we exported 20 million dollars worth of goods. This was negligible, but now that we are exporting \$600 million a year, we are more exposed to attack.

We are entering a second stage of industrial development. The first stage was difficult and ambitious. We have prepared a plan for industrial development until 1970. We have to increase our exports $2\frac{1}{2}$ times to reach the $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollar mark. We need know-how. We have the problem of shortage of labor. Instead of building industries that are absorbing a lot of manpower, we have to get into industries that will utilize mechanization and automation.

And, of course, what can be done about the Arab boycott? This boycott is of a unique character. It is forcing third parties to boycott us, sometimes against the American anti-trust laws. We think we should explain the problems, the nature, the business and moral sides, etc. to all Chambers of Commerce all over the United States. We could also retaliate. But should we really go this far?

We have to build our economy for the future. Let us hope that the troubles we

Thank you.

TELEGRAM TO FOREIGN MINISTER, WEST GERMANY

We believe that your visit to the United States presents the proper occasion for American Jews to raise the subject of the mounting grievances of Jews everywhere over many of the current positions of your government. We are mindful of the steps taken by West Germany to make some amends for the violence and brutality visited upon European Jewry during the Hitler period. We hope, however, that the German government does not harbor the illusion that any one regards these efforts at material reparation as a sufficient demonstration of a new moral posture. This would be a tragic misreading both of the reparations program and of the German responsibility after World War II. However, we find no other explanation of current West German attitudes on such matters as the extension of the statute of limitations, and the withdrawal of German scientists in Egypt.

We are appalled by the recent announcement of West Germany's refusal to extend the present statute of limitations for war crimes prosecution. Other nations, including Belgium, East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union, have acted to abolish such bars to prosecution within their own jurisdictions. West Germany, as the scene of the horror in the past and as an ally of the free world in the present, can hardly afford to do less.

We reject the argument that all persons vulnerable to potential prosecution as war criminals are covered by the present law. Indeed, if this were so then extending the statute of limitations at the most would be harmless. Obviously, the statute of limitations is being retained and insisted upon only because it will have some effect. And the only effect it can have is to immunize from prosecution war criminals whose identity will be disclosed in the future.

Similarly, we cannot understand the inability of the Bundestag to prevent continued participation by German rocket scientists and other technicians in developing sophisticated armaments for the United Arab Republic in Cairo. The West German constitution prohibits preparation for aggressive war and bars the participation of German citizens in the manufacture of weapons intended for use in aggressive hostilities. Apparently the West German government is unwilling publicly to acknowledge the possibility that Egypt is planning a war of aggression against Israel. Instead West Germany would rather continue to risk Israel's security than alienate Arab business firms.

We believe the German people owe a special, and as yet unredeemed, obligation both to history and to those who survived the Nazi holocaust. For all of its industrial might and political influence, West Germany cannot lay claim to a genuine rebirth in the postwar period until it has demonstrated its clear understanding of this obligation and its readiness to discharge it. The evident reluctance of German spokesmen to act in these areas of Jewish concern do not enhance our confidence in the sincerity or genuineness of current efforts toward this end.

515 PARK AVENUE •

· NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

TO:

MEMBERS ASSOCIATED IN THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS

FROM:

YEHUDA HELLMAN

August 17, 1964

AMERICAN TEVVISH

Enclosed please find some background material in connection with the renewed incidents on the Israel-Syrian border.

FROM: YEHUDA HELLMAN

SOME BACKGROUND MATERIAL IN CONNECTION WITH RENEWED BORDER INCIDENTS ON THE ISRAEL-SYRIAN BORDER

Israel's border with Syria has again recently become the scene of incidents and clashes. These clashes have their inner logic rooted in intra-Arab developments. The relationship between Cairo and Damascus has worsened considerably-recently and it seems that the Syrians need this active anti-Israel posture in order to divert attention from internal strains.

There is every reason to believe that Nasser will continue his pressure against Syria, particularly in view of the forthcoming new Arab Summit Conference which will take place next month.

Following please find some background material in connection with the Middle Eastern situation based upon reports which came from Beirut, Lebanon. According to these reports, the central debate in Arab politics today is between those who want to see an Arab world united around Cairo and those who prefer a more polycentric arrangement with several centers of local influence and power, cooperating closely with each other but nevertheless fully autonomous.

The Ba'th regime in Syria is for the moment the chief advocate of this polycentric view and, as such, it has drawn upon itself the full weight of Cairo's hostility.

The Ba'th leaders contest President Nasser's thesis that the Egyptian revolution and its ideas must be taken as the sole model for all the Arab states.

They argue that each revolutionary experiment in the area - whether Nasser's in Egypt, the FLN's in Algeria or their own in Syria - has something unique to contribute and must be given equal status with the others. They would like to see a "meeting" of Arab revolutions and an exchange and cross-fertilization of ideas and practical experience.

They are at the moment holding out a hand of friendship to Nasser but they have been sharply repulsed. Indeed, the propaganda war waged against the Ba'th regime has rarely been fiercer and the strong suggestion is that an attempt will be made to overthrow the Syrian Government before the next Arab Summit Conference due to be held in Alexandria early in September.

- 2 -

This aim has been stated unambiguously, A group of Cairo-sponsored Syrian exiles met in Beirut from July 14-18 to set on foot a political and military organization dedicated to the destruction of the Ba'th. They have called their movement the Arab Socialist Union for the Syrian region, modeling it on the organization of the same name in the UAR.

A resolution adopted at the Conference declares that: "The Arab Socialist Union in the Syrian region assumes as its first task the restoration of the United Arab Republic (the union of Syria and Egypt) by removing the secessionist Ba'thist regime." The Conference also reaffirmed the central Nasserist credo that the Egyptian revolution must be accepted as the base and vanguard of the Arab revolutionary struggle everywhere and that Nasser's uncontested leadership of the movement must be recognized.

Coordination Treaties:

Parallel to these hostile activities against Syria, Nasser has in recent weeks been seeking to put his relations with his allies on a more formal basis. Agreements have been concluded with the Yemen and Iraq providing for the coordination of policies in the political, military, economic, social, cultural and propaganda fields. These wide-ranging "coordination treaties" stop far short of a constitutional union. Their aim is not to create a single Arab state, but to align Arab policies on Cairo which, as suggested, is one of the constants of Nasser's political program.

To make coordination smoother, both Iraq and Yemen have been encouraged to model themselves on the UAR's internal political and economic organization. Thus Iraq, in mid-July, created in turn an Arab Socialist Union as a single Government party and nationalized all banks, insurance companies, and leading industrial companies. Former shareholders will be given seats on the boards of management and a 25 per cent share of profits in cash and social benefits.

These revolutionary and wholly unexpected measures threaten to undermine President Aref's support among the middle elasses. It also remains to be seen whether Iraq's small and ill-trained civil service can cope with the task of running the country's major economic enterprises.

These Iraqi developments are being very closely watched in Cairo. Aref is Nasser's chief ally in Arab Asia. Much of the success of Egypt's present Arab policy depends on his durability. Were his regime to be overthrown and replaced by a Government less dependent on Cairo, the pattern of Arab politics would once more be radically changed and the Ba'th in Syria would breathe more freely.

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS 515 Park Avenue New York 22, New York

Date: June 19, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents.

From: Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find the full text of Lewis H. Weinstein's letter to Mr. Phillips Talbot, Assistant Secretary of State.

As you recall, this letter was sent in accordance with the decision adopted by the meeting of the Presidents' Conference which took place on June 16, 1964.

Please note that we had decided that this letter should be considered as an internal document and should not be given to the press at the present time.

YH:md Enc:2



Mr. Phillips Talbot Assistant Secretary of State Department of State Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Talbot:

It was a pleasure to meet with you on Tuesday, and I deeply appreciate your frank and enlightening comments on current developments in our country's Near East policy.

At a meeting with my colleagues in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, I reported your impression of Premier Eshkol's visit, including your description of the warmth of the personal rapport. We are all deeply gratified that the meetings between President Johnson and the Premier advanced not only the cause of American-Israel friendship but the prospects for peace in the region as well.

We also discussed the details of the International Monetary Fund loan to Egypt, and I must tell you frankly that all of us have strong doubts and reservations about economic aid to Egypt as long as that country openly calls for the liquidation of Israel and uses its foreign exchange to pay for missiles and to acquire new and dangerous weapons. It is our understanding that there may soon be additional loans to Egypt by our own Government, You will recall that last fall Congress adopted an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act calling on the Administration to bar economic assistance to countries preparing for aggression. Obviously, it is the responsibility of the Administration to make its own determination as to whether Nasser's threats are to be regarded as preparations for aggression disqualifying him from further assistance from our country, but certainly there is evidence to support any such determination.

All of us would like to see a rise of living standards in Egypt and we are fully sympathetic with projects designed for that purpose. It has seemed to us, therefore, that if our Government is to continue assistance to Egypt, it must make every possible effort to persuade Egypt to discontinue the acquisition of weapons and to call a halt to the frightening arms race which burdens the economies of all the peoples of the region and which menaces their security and survival.

The leadership of our Conference has also been devoting a great deal of its concern to the problem of the German scientists who are now in Egypt. It is clear that Egypt is squandering substantial funds to finance these "free-booters" (to use the phrase which you employed during our talk) who are contributing to Nasser's military might, bolstering his aggressive posture and expanding his capacity to carry out his threats.

Not only as friends of Israel - but as American citizens and taxpayers - we cannot be reconciled to the fact that we may thus be contributing to this murderous enterprise.

My associates were pleased to learn that you have agreed to meet with our Conference for a full discussion of the issues that concern us, including those that we touched upon in our Tuesday talk. We hope that this can be arranged for early September and we look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

ik be -

Lewis H. Weinstein Chairman.

MEMORANDUM

Date August 27, 1963

Copy for information of_

From

Gunther Lawrence

Rabbi Jay Kaufman

ubject / Presidents Conference -- meeting on Israel, August 26th.

The meeting dealt primarily with a personal assessment by Ambassador Michael Comay of the current UN discussion on the Syria-Israel complaints in the Security Council.

The Ambassador immediately dismissed the Jordanian incident as being in no way connected with the problems involving Syria. At the most, it could be blamed on Jordanian soldiers who are influenced by Nasser policies. Both countries - each for its own reasons - consider this an unwelcome incident and are trying to calm it down.

The entire Syria-Israel debate at the UN centers around the Bull Report which has just been delivered today and will be studied by the governments tomorrow, since the Security Council meeting has been postponed until Wednesday to give them a chance to digest the Report. The Ambassador expects the Bull Report not to come to any conclusion, since he himself will stress that this is not the role of the general, to condemn any particular government. Second, the evidence will lean in favor of Israel's charge against the Syrians, although the document will not contain a concrete verdict in favor of Israel.

The Report (purported to be 50 pages long) will also be weighted down with a history of other border incidents and kidnappings.

Rabbi Jay Kaufman

-2- August 27, 1963

Ambassador Comay indicated that this time the United States will not shirk its duty and will arrive at some clear-cut course of action.

An interesting side-light was the Ambassadors' political-analyst-type speculation on the current Russian attitude. He said that for the first time he got the impression that the Soviet Union will not offer the Arabs the carte blanche veto they have given them in the previous Council discussions. He believes that this is based on factors such as the general

He concluded by saying that the Israel government already feels that it has made a positive public relations gain by presenting this to the UN Security Council and that Israel was forced to put this before the Council in light of the seriousness of the situation. Beyond this he would not speculate.

global situation relating to Soviet-Chinese-American relations and possibly some anti-Communist governments in Iraq and Syria.

Thank you.

MEMORANDUM

	Date November 20, 1963
From Rabbi Samuel Cook	
To Dr. M. Eisendrath	
Copy for information of Rabbi Kaufman	
Subject	

Earlier today, I attended an emergency meeting of the Presidents' Group at 515 Park Avenue. The meeting was called by Label Katz and the speaker was Golda Meir. Mrs. Meir was anxious to inform the group about disturbing developments in the United Nations, where, earlier this morning, the American representative (Blimton) submitted a United States Resolution in connection with the Arab refugges. The resolution was most unacceptable to Israel.

Mrs. Meir spent an hour reviewing talks that had been going on between Israel and the United States for half a year. In the light of these talks, Israel felt greatly disappointed, even to the extent of feeling betrayed, by the developments of this morning at the U.N.

I doubt whether describing the details of her talk will be necessary for this memo, especially since the up-shot in the discussion that followed her talk did not lead to any action other than the appointment of a Committee to decide whether to make protest, in the name of the Presidents Group, to President Kennedy or the State Department.

The impression I have is that The next meeting of the Presidents' Group will take place on December 300.200

November 21, 1963

As an addendum to my previous mem@ about the Presidents' Group, I attach what appeared in the New York Times this morning. From this article, you can pretty well gather the contents of the remarks Mrs. Meir made to the Presidents' Group.

attacked to

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Tel.: PL 5-1820

Cable Address: COJOGRA

September 16, 1963

Rabbi Jay Kaufman Union of American Hebrew Congregations 838 Fifth Avenue New York 21, New York

Dear Jay:

This is most probably the worst time of the year to write to you, however, I would like to refer to your report to the Conference on September 25th. On re-reading the recommendations of the Committee on Structure and Scope, I recall that there was unanimous opinion on the part of the committee members that the Presidents Conference should, from time to time, put on its agenda non-political problems...a sort of "people to people" program. I think it was Isaiah Minkoff who advanced this proposal, and I believe it would be of value if you would mention it in your report on the 25th of September.

By the way, as you can see from the memorandum of September 13, Mrs. Golda Meir is also going to speak that day. I will let you know as soon as possible whether you will be scheduled to speak in the morning or in the afternoon. This depends on Mrs. Meir's schedule at the United Nations.

Although the Union is not a member of COJO, I am enclosing for your information a memorandum which contains a report on the recent meeting of COJO in Geneva. You will find of particular interest the section dealing with the work of COJO in connection with the Ecumenical Council and also those paragraphs which deal with Jewish education.

L'SHANA TOVA!

Cordially,

Yehuda Hellman / Executive Director

YH: dm encl.

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Participating Organizations:

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
B'NAI B'RITH
BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF
BRITISH JEWS
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS
CONSEIL REPRESENTATIF DES
JUIFS DE FRANCE (C.R.I.F.)
DELEGACION DE ASOCIACIONES
ISRAELITAS ARGENTINAS
(D.A.I.A.)
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF
AUSTRALIAN JEWRY
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH
BOARD OF DEPUTIES
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

August 28, 1963

bserver: JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL FROM: Yehuda Hellman

TO:

Organizations associated with the World Conference of Jewish Organizations

Enclosed please find the minutes of the meeting of the World Conference of Jewish Organizations which took place in Geneva on August 14, 1963. These minutes also include the decisions which were adopted by the Presidium of the World Council on Jewish Education and the resolution which was adopted under the name of "Basis of Organization" which should be regarded as a recommendation to member organizations and also the full text of the resolution which was adopted by the delegates in connection with the Franz Maurer case.

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

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JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH
EOARD OF DEPUTIES
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Observer: JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL August 29, 1963

Summary of the Minutes of the Meeting of the World Conference of Jewish Organizations (COJO) which took place in Geneva on August 14, 1963

AMERICAN JEWISH

In opening the meeting, Dr. Nahum Goldmann delivered a brief review of anti-Jewish propaganda financed by Arabs in Latin America. He informed the meeting that the Jewish community is watching this situation closely. He also informed the delegates that the conference dealing with the problem of Soviet Jewry would be shortly convened in South America and that this conference would be patterned after the Paris conference which took place three years ago.

Dr. Goldmann then announced that the agenda of the meeting would include the following points:

- 1) a report on our work in connection with the Ecumenical Council, and
- 2) organizational problems.

Dr. Goldmann informed the delegates that simultaneous with this meeting a meeting of the Presidium of the Temporary World Council on Jewish Education would be held in Geneva. He welcomed Mr. Philip Lown, president of the American Association for Jewish Education as a guest of this meeting, particularly as Mr. Lown had come especially from New York to attend these deliberations at Geneva. He also welcomed Rabbi Joseph Lookstein who was elected together with Mr. Lown to represent the United States Jewish community at the Presidium of the World Council of Jewish Education. He thanked both gentlemen for having made this special effort in order to attend.

Dr. Goldmann announced that Mr. Zvi Lurie, member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, Dr. S. Levenberg of London and Dr. M. Avidor of Jerusalem would attend this meeting as observers on behalf of the Jewish Agency.

Dr. Goldmann then called on Dr. Gerhard Riegner to give his report on the Ecumenical Council.

Dr. Reigner observed that Pope John had become an international symbol and the interest of the world had focused upon his personality. No one could have foreseen what course the Church was to follow after his death. However, informed sources insisted that the process of adaptation initiated, to a great extent, under Pope John's leadership, would not be interrupted. The forces set in motion in the Catholic world were so strong that apparently it had become impossible to reverse the process.

Dr. Reigner continued that it was his feeling that this opinion would prove to be correct. Pope Paul, though a different personality, is following the line which the late Pope had initiated. Although Pope Paul is much more of a politician and has much deeper roots in the previous period of the Church (he worked closely with Pope Pius), his present policies are based on the current climate of opinion in the Church.

Dr. Reigner delivered a detailed report about the work being done in preparation for the second Ecumenical Council which will convene at the end of September. He went on to note that COJO had approached church leaders in over 30 countries throughout the world. He commented that "we have undertaken a great task and we have done tremendous work and are proud of it." He added that there are however still many factors which will influence the final decision of the Council which we cannot predict. As an example of possible, unforseeable influences, he mentioned the forthcoming productions of the new Hochut play.

Dr. Reigner went on to say that pressures were exerted to issue statements concerning the play. However, "we have refused." He felt that one had to have a positive outlook although one could not predict with certainty the outcome of the forthcoming sessions of the Council, as far as a positive result affecting Jews was concerned. Mr. Ehrlich then commented that it was important that if a document be adopted to deal with Jews then this document should be within the scheme of Ecumenism and not the Vatican. (Which means that the same dignity be accorded to Jews as to all other non-Catholic religions.) He went on to say that as a whole, the climate and atmosphere had changed for the better. For example, after Father Weigel made his declaration in the United States to the effect that no statement would be made on the subject of the Jews at the Ecumenical Council because of Arab pressure, the office of Cardinal Bea immediately announced that Father Weigel was incorrect and that Weigel was not empowered to make any statements in connection with the Ecumenical Council.

Dr. Ehrlich reported that he had spoken to Cardinal Bea in connection with the Hochut play and that the Cardinal did not display too much concern on this matter. The Cardinal was glad that the Israelis would not produce the play within the next few months, or during the time when the voting at the Council will take place. Dr. Ehrlich concluded that our attitude should be that we have nothing to do with the play.

Sir Barnett Janner stated that other sections of the Christian community are disturbed about the play and are trying to prevent its production. He expressed the opinion that the Jewish community should try to play the matter down.

Mr. Benjamin Tabachinsky (Jewish Labor Committee), Dr. Levenberg (London, Jewish Agency) and Dr. Nahum Goldmann disagreed with Sir Barnett Janner, and their opinions, in summary, were that the play was not written by a Jew, and that its general content was not the responsibility of the Jewish community, and that the Jewish community should not act as a censor for the theatre nor react to this play in one way or another. Dr. Goldmann added that it was to be assumed that some people would "put pressure" on Billy Rose not to produce the play in New York but that even if he does not produce it, someone else would because of the play's tremendous impact. However, he went on, this situation does not call for any official action by the Jewish community or by COJO.

The discussion was concluded and Dr. Reigner and Dr. Ehrlich were requested to continue their work at the Vatican in the spirit of the memorandum submitted by COJO.

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

Dr. Goldmann asked Mr. Hellman to comment on the various proposals submitted regarding the reorganization of COJO. Mr. Hellman reviewed the essentials of a proposal received from the Executive Council of Australian Jewry and the amendment submitted by the Board of Deputies of British Jews. Mr. Hellman pointed out that the proposals basically underlined one essential point: that when a situation arises effecting an internal situation in a given community, COJO should not adopt any specific course of action without the consent of the representative organization of that Jewish community. If such a representative organization is not affiliated with COJO, then its point of view should be expressed through a member organization of COJO to which that community is affiliated. Mr. Hellman said that he felt that the time had come for COJO to improve its present vague working rules and regulations.

Dr. Goldmann then commented that although there was no constitution or formal rules and regulations, it was clear that all those who originally joined COJO did so on the basis of the unanimity rule. This matter, in terms of COJO's past history, should not be obscured.

Mr. Eliezer Argov proposed that a committee be appointed which could prepare one document containing all points of view.

Mr. Katz stated that in his opinion the discussion was an indication of the progress that had been made by COJO. The real problem before the membership was how it could organize into a more formal body. Mr. Katz suggested that a criteria for membership be evolved which would take into account the factor of international and national organizations and their eligibility for membership in COJO. He underlined the fact that the B'nai B'rith endorses the concept of COJO and of unity in the Jewish world.

Mr. Abbey (Canadian Jewish Congress) commented that if the question of criteria of membership was introduced into the debate, it would be essential that the delegates be given the opportunity to again discuss these matters with their respective organizations. Dr. Roth and Mr. Bloch suggested that a committee be appointed as suggested by Mr. Argov.

Mr. Paul Jacob (B'nai B'rith - Europe) emphasized that he would have to discuss these matters within his own organization first and he doubted whether this was an appropriate time to appoint a subcommitte

Mr. Bloch, in reply, stated that the whole matter could be simplified if all organizations would be presented with one single text for the consideration.

The following committee was appointed by Dr. Goldmann to study the various proposals and to work out a draft for the consideration of the members of COJO: Mr. Arnold Bloch, Chairman (Executive Council of Australian Jewry); Mr. Benjamin Tabachinsky (Jewish Labor Committee); Mr. A.G. Brotman (Board of Deputies of British Jews); Dr. S. Roth (World Jewish Congress); Mr. Hayim Pinner (B'nai B'rith) and Dr. I. Goldenberg (DAIA).

Dr. Goldmann then stated that the problem being discussed was of particular importance to the World Jewish Congress. In the event that COJO should decide to become a functioning organization the World Jewish Congress would be confronted with the question of "to be or not to be." (The other organizations such as B'nai B'rith or the Labor Committee would not be affected.) On the other hand, Dr. Goldmann pointed out that even as a non-functioning body, COJO should increase its coordinating functions. There was no reason why there should not be a permanent coordinating group in America and England. There is no reason why closer coordination cannot be established, for example, between the Board of Deputies, the B'nai B'rith and the World Jewish Congress in England. Dr. Goldmann also mentioned the problem of the budget which he said should be provided by all members of COJO. The Commission which is being appointed now should discuss the future of COJO in the light of these questions. Dr. Goldmann concluded that Mr. Katz was correct in emphasizing that the whole problem of membership must be discussed The morning session was then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION:

Mr. Katz announced the decisions adopted by the Presidium of the World Council on Jewish Education as follows:

THE PROVISIONAL WORLD COUNCIL ON JEWISH EDUCATION

- 1. The Presidium of the Provisional World Council on Jewish Education met at Geneva on August 14, 1963. Six members attended: Dr. N. Goldmann, Sir Barnett Janner, Mr. Label Katz, Rabbi J. Lockst. Mr. Philip Lown and Dr. V. Modiano. Mr. Moshe Sharett, the seventh member, was unable to attend. Dr. Moshe Avidor, Coordinator of the Council and Mr. Yehuda Hellman, Secretary to the Presidium, also participated at the meeting.
- 2. The Presidium decided to complete the nomination of the first 35 members of the Provisional Council by the end of October.

- on Jewish Education will meet. The March 1964 meeting will also have to decide on the structural organization of the Council for the years 1964-66.
- The Presidium decided to ask the organizations and communities participating in the Provisional World Council on Jewish Education to contribute their share towards the required expenditure for the proposed activities until March 1964 as well as for convening the Council in March 1964.
- It is estimated that the Council's budget for 1964 will amount to at least 100,000 dollars, and various Jewish organizations indicated their willingness to contribute towards this budget.
- The Presidium has taken note of the seriousness of the problem of teachers in the field of Jewish education and believes that this issue should be given priority in the work of the World Council on Jewish Education.
- The Presidium subsequently consulted with members of the Provisional Council attending the COJO meeting at an informal meeting and took note of their opinions and proposals.

Mr. Katz then noted that since Mr. Shazar had assumed the Presidency of Israel, Mr. Moshe Sharett was elected to succeed him as a member of the Presidium. Three additional members, Dr. V. Modiano of France, Mr. Philip Lown and Rabbi Joseph Lookstein of America, had also been appointed. Mr. Katz announced that the next meeting of the World Council would take place in Brussels on the 11th and 12th of March, following the March 9th and 10th meetings of COJO.

Mr. Tabachinsky then stated that he was not satisfied with the resolutions adopted. He believed it was impossible to discuss the problem of Jewish education today without also insuring that adequate funds be available. He suggested that a one hundred million dollar fund be established to be made available on a ten year basis at ten million dollars per year. He concluded that without such a fund, it would be impossible to cope with the problem of the shortage of Jewish teachers.

Mr. Katz then called on Mr. Arnold Bloch to present the proposals of his committee in connection with the reorganization of COJO. Mr. Bloch's report was as follows:

The meeting of COJO held in Geneva on the 14th of August 1963 -

I. Recommends to members the approval of the following basis of organization.

BASIS OF ORGANIZATION

A, COJO is a voluntary association of representative bodies meeting for consultation and, if need be, for joint action under which members' independence and freedom of action is fully reserved. its members are as follows:

American Jewish Congress
B'nai B'rith
Board of Deputies of British Jews
Canadian Jewish Congress
Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France
Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas
Executive Council of Australian Jewry
Jewish Labor Committee
South African Jewish Board of Deputies
World Jewish Congress

B. In a country where an overall representative organisation exists only that organisation will be eligible for membership in COJO.

The following present national members of COJO are accepted as overall representative organisations in respect of their national communities:

The British Board of Deputies

The Canadian Jewish Congress

The Conseil representatif des Juifs de France

The Executive Council of Australian Jewry

The South African Jewish Board of Deputies

The Delegacion de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas

C. As from the adoption of this Basis of Organisation decisions of COJO shall be made on the following bases:

a) Each member shall have one vote

b) The Chairman shall have no casting vote and if voting is equal the resolution shall be considered lost.

- c) Resolutions shall be adopted by majority vote but any dissentient member may declare within a reasonable time that it reserves its freedom on the subject of the resolut: and in that event that member shall not be bound by the resolution.
- d) No resolution may be adopted which specifically affects the Jews of any country in which there is an overall representative organisation if, after debate, that organisation dissents from the resolution. Such dissent may only be expressed if the organisation is not itself a member of COJO, by a member of COJO to which the organisation is affiliated or if it is not so affiliated, by a member of COJO which it authorises to act on its behalf.
- D. COJO shall be maintained by the contributions of its members.
- E. Such contributions shall be assessed only by agreement, and shall be based upon the resources of the respective organisations, and where these are overall Jewish representative organisations, the members and resources of the Communities represented.

- II. Requests that the basis of organisation be formally adoped at the next meeting of COJO.
- III. Requests that any proposed amendments be submitted to the Secretariat for circulation not later than the 31st of December, 1963
- IV. Resolves that the Presidium establish a special committee to consider the problems involved in the formulation of a constitution consistent with the above basis of organisation, including the question admission of new members, and that the Committee present its report to a later meeting.

In the debate that followed, Mr. Katz, Dr. Goldmann, Dr. Levenberg, Mr. Bloch, Mr. Teff, Dr. Roth, Mr. Monroe, Dr. Jacob, Dr. Reigner, Sir Barnett Janner, Dr. Perlzweig, Lady Janner, Lady Reading, Mr. Linton and Counselor Moss discussed the above resolution and agreed that paragraph 3D was not adequately phrased and the debate centered on the best possible rephrasing of paragraph 3D.

Sir Barnett Janner then moved for the following amendment to paragraph 3D:

No resolution may be adopted which specifically effects the Jews of any country in which there is an overall organization, if after debate, that organization dissents from the resolution. Such dissent may also be expressed if the organization is not itself a member of COJO, by a member of COJO to which the organization is affiliated. If it is not so affiliated, and COJO deems it necessary then COJO may call upon it to do so either through its direct representatives or by a member of COJO which acts on its behalf.

The delegates then voted unanimously to accept the amended document. It was recommended that the delegates present the proposals in a favorable light and that a final resolution be adopted at the next meeting of COJO to be held in Europe in March.

Mr. Tabachinsky informed the delegates that he was proceeding to Vienna in order to review the Maurer case with the Austrian authorities. A subcommittee was appointed headed by Mr. Tabachinsky and composed also of Mr. Brotman and Dr. Perlzweig which formulated the following resolution which was subsequently made public by COJO:

The World Conference of Jewish Organizations, composed of Jewish representative bodies from all parts of the world, at its meeting in Geneva, noted with distress and astonishment the acquittal of Franz Maurer by an Austrian Court of First Instance, of the charge of participation in the murder of tens of thousands of Jews in Vilna and other localities in Poland.

This amazing verdict was arrived at in the face of the sworn testimony of first hand witnesses from many parts of the world who were survivors of these mass murders.

The reaction of world opinion to this conspicuous affront to the principles of justice has already begun to express itself in public demonstrations in the cities of many countries, including Austria itself.

The Conference, taking into account that notice of appeal has been given by the prosecution, expressed the hope that the judicial authorities in Austria would ensure that justice should prevail.

The Conference, expressing the anxiety of enlightened public opinion, which is disturbed by repeated manifestations of a surprising Nazi mentality in Austria, urged on the authorities of the Republic of Austria to exercise all their powers to eradicate this evil.

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515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Tel.: PL 5-1820



Cable Address: COJOGRA

July 10, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

In view of the fact that the June 20th meeting of the Conference of Presidents, in which Mr. Harlan Cleveland, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, and Mr. William Crawford, Officer-in-Charge of Lebanon Isreal Affairs, participated, was intended as an off-the-record meeting, we are not going to send out minutes of this meeting.

However, a comprehensive report on the proceedings is available in the Conference of Presidents files. In case you would want a copy, please let us know and we will be glad to forward this material to you.

This is again to remind you that the next meeting of the Conference of Presidents is going to take place on September 25. More details concerning this meeting will be forwarded to you at a later date.

YH:cs

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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Cable Address: COJOGRA

July 5, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents From: Yehuda Hellman

This is to inform you that the next <u>regular</u> meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations will take place on September 25.

We are writing to you well ahead of time because this meeting is being planned as a full-day session. The morning session will begin at 10:30 A.M. This will be followed by a luncheon meeting, and then there will be an afternoon session which we hope will be over by approximately 4:30 P.M.

This full-day session is going to be devoted to a comprehensive discussion of matters of policy, in connection with American-Israel relations, and officials of the State Department will participate. A full session will also be devoted to internal problems of the Conference.

A much more detailed agenda will be forwarded to you at a later date. We just would like to make sure that you block off this date on your calendar upon receipt of this memorandum.

YH:cs

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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Cable Address: COJOGRA

September 4, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

Below is a short summary of the minutes of the Presidents Conference which took place on August 26th and dealt with the recent incursions by Syria into Israel territory.

Rabbi Miller opened the meeting and thanked all those present for having found it possible to attend this meeting on such short notice in view of the fact that telephone invitations were issued earlier in the morning. Rabbi Miller then introduced Ambassador Michael Come who addressed himself first to the exchange of fire which occured on the morning of August 25th in the Jerusalem area.

Mr. Comay stated that "the Jerusalem flare-up was unexpected; it is unclear why it happened. We are inclined to play down its significance, to regard it as almost accidental and without political significance. It may possibly have been perpetrated by a Nasser or Syrian provacateur. It is unlikely that this was Amman policy. On the contrary, this is probably unwelcome to Jordan. There has been no renewal of shooting in two days. Israel and Jordan have both lodged complaints and asked for an emergency meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission. A subcommittee made arrangements for an investigation. The prospect is that Israel and Jordan will unofficially agree that it should not be played up; neither side will insist on a verdict. This is not to be tied up with the Syrian incident."

Turning to the incidents at Almagor, Mr. Comay in reply to questions posed by members of the Conference, made the following observations: No one can tell what position the Soviet Union will take; there are factors which may have affected the Russian position (the Moscow Treaty, the Sino-Soviet difficulties, the fact that Russian influence in the Middle East has declined in the past year.) All of these factors have to be taken into account. Israel's concern now is what the United States will do. Israel is asking the Security Council to condemn Syria and to demand that Syria cease its violations of the Armistic Agreement.

The Bull report, to be distributed later today, will deal with a variety of points. Almagor is the main issue for Israel; it will be a test of the Security Council Bull will not say that Syria is responsible. He can only transmit the statements of Israel witnesses and the corraborating evidence found by United Nations observers. General Bull's responsibility is only to transmit a statement of fact. It is up to the Security Council to judge, and it is up to the United States to take the lead. The report will also probably deal with the recent kidnappings, the Mixed Armistice Commission, et cetera.

With reference to Mixed Armistice Commission, Israel has been out of it since 1951 on the grounds that Syria has nothing to do with the demilitarized zone in Israel. There has been pressure on Israel to return. The United Nations has also demanded the right of its inspectors to move freely around the border. Israel has not agreed for security reasons. (An Israeli officer must accompany U.N. personnel.)

It is unlikely that the Bull report will corroborate the Syrian complaint against Israel.

Israel will make an effort to steer clear of all but the main issue—Almagor. Syria will try everything possible to focus on the demilitarized zone, the Mixed Armistice Commission, etc.

Although Bull will most probably not attempt to fix the blame on Syrians (and this is not his job), the dry evidence will make a very strong impression and leave little room for any but the Israel explanation.

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Rabbi Miller thanked Ambassador Comay for spending as much time with the Conference as he did despite his heavy commitments at the United Nations. Rabbi Miller then announced that the next meeting of the Presidents Conference would be held on September 25 at 10:30 A.M. The meeting will last for several hours. The agenda will include the report of the Committee on Structure and Scope of the Presidents Conference.

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515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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September 5, 1963

TO: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

FROM: Yehuda Hellman, Executive Director

We are forwarding to you under separate cover a short summary of the minutes of the emergency meeting of the Conference of Presidents which took place on August 26th and was devoted to the Syrian-Israeli border conflict.

The following is a summary of the proceedings at the Security Council of the United Nations dealing with the Israeli complaint before the Security Council regarding the murder of two Israeli citizens at Almagor on August 19th 1963 and the Syrian counter-complaint.

Israel's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Michael Comay presented Israel's complaint to the Security Council at the United Nations and the Security Council requested General Bull, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization to make an on-the-spot investigation and to present a report to the Council on the Israeli charges and the Syrian counter-charges. General Bull submitted a detailed document establishing the pertinent facts involved. The report does not condemn either party but rather leaves the members of the Security Council to draw their own conclusions.

The following draft resolution was consequently presented on August 28 to members of the Security Council by two of its permanent members, the United States and the United Kingdom:

DRAFT RESOLUTION: UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM

The Security Council,

Having heard the statements of the Representatives of Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic,

Taking into consideration the report of the Secretary General dated 24 August 1963,

- 1. <u>Condemns</u> the wanton murder at Almagor in Israel territory of two Israel citizens on 19 August 1963;
- 2. Calls the attention of the Syrian Arab Republic to evidence in the Secretary General's report to the effect that those responsible for the killings appear to have been an armed group who entered Israel territory from the direction of the Jordan River and afterwards left in the same direction;

- 3. Notes with satisfaction that the report of the Secretary General indicates that, although there was an exchange of fire, there was no substantial show of force in the Demilitarized Zone on 20 August 1963;
- 4. Appeals to the parties to cooperate in the early exchange of prisoners in accordance with the suggestion contained in paragraph 49 of the Secretary General's report;
- 5. Notes from the report of the Secretary General that the Chief of Staff of United Nations Truce Supervision Organization has proposed to the parties concerned certain measures to alleviate tension and restore tranquility in the area;
- 6. <u>Calls upon</u> the parties to offer to the Chief of Staff all possible cooperation in the pursuit of this end in conformity with the General Armistice Agreement;
- 7. Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council by December 31, 1963 on the progress made in regard to the measures proposed by the Chief of Staff.

#

After introducing the above resolution, Ambassador Stevenson took the floor and made the following statement:

The first order of business for us today is to consider Israel's complaint regarding the wanton murder of two of its citizens. The picture of two innocent farmers, murdered in cold blood by a raiding party which struck them down at work in their fields must distress us all.

We can sympathize with the sense of outrage felt by the people of Israel, especially since this slaughter follows so close upon the Syrian abduction of three Israeli subjects, including two young girls, who were boating on Lake Tiberias. The United States deeply deplores these incidents.

The evidence cited in the report of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization is admittedly circumstantial, but its implications are clear enough. The testimony of the survivor of the attack who saw the uniformed men shooting down his companions; the tracks which the U.N. officials found leading to the scene of the crime and continuing in the direction of Syria, the spent bullets, cartridge cases, and grenade fragments found in the vicinity of the attack; and the departure afterwards in the same direction, all add up to a clear picture which permits objective observers to draw the same conclusions about the origin of the attack.

Also we have before us a Syrian counter-complaint about incidents of August 20, 1963, which the UN investigation has not corroborated.

As the Security Council is well aware, these incidents are the latest in a long history of unrest and bloodshed on these frontiers.

Difficulties on the Syrian-Israeli frontiers have broken out periodically ever since the signing of the General Armistice Agreement back in 1948. Indeed this Council has devoted nearly 200 sessions -- one fifth of all its

meetings -- to this subject. The nature of the alleged violations of the agreement varies somewhat from time to time; but the fundamental cause of the difficulties remains the same; it springs from the failure of the two parties to live in peaceful -- if armed -- truce in accordance with the armistice agreement. This failure is at the cost -- now as in the past -of human lives lost and continuing threats to peace. Although we find ourselves back in session again on the same general issue, I would like to emphasize that the United States does not consider either past or present efforts of this Council to be in vain. Above all, we wish to state that we consider any other remedy for these difficulties than resort to the United Nations to be dangerous to peace and intolerable to the international community. In the present connection, we believe there are some hopeful signs. During the debate in the Security Council on the Tiberias incident in the spring of 1962, the United States Representative stressed repeatedly the necessity for shunning direct unilateral action in the face of provocation and for appealing to this body to cope with threats to the peace. We are gratified to note that these new complaints have been brought to the Security Council.

Of course, we also continue to believe that fuller recourse should be had to United Nations machinery provided locally for dealing with such complain

Now that the Council has been summoned to act, it must accept its responsibilities and act with courage and wisdom in the light of the best evidence available to it. For us the course which this body should follow is clear. In all justice and in the interests of law and order in international affairs, we believe this reprehensible act of murder on August 20 deserves the strongest condemnation. Only then can it be made clear that outrages of this kind cannot pass without the stern disapproval of the international community.

In our consideration of this case we are fortunate to have before us the report submitted by the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. We all here owe a debt of gratitude to the new Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, Lt. General Odd Bull, and to other United Nations officials, for the excellent work they are doing in this area. General Bull's skilland tact in obtaining the agreement of both parties to observe a cease-fire and to permit visits by the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization to both the demilitarized zone and defensive areas are highly commendable.

This brings me to what we regard as the heart of the troubles which have erupted so often on the Israel-Syrian frontier. It is evident that largely as a result of the conflicting interests of the two parties, and the varying interpretations which they have chosen to place upon the meaning of the General Armistice Agreement, the United Nations peace-keeping machinery is unable to function as effectively as was originally intended and expected. This problem came to the attention of the Security Council during its meetings on this subject in April of 1962 and you will recall that the resolution of April 9, 1962, endorsed the measures recommended by the then Chief of Staff for the strengthening of the Truce Supervision Organization in its tasks of maintaining and restoring the peace and detecting and deterring future incidents, and called upon the Israeli and Syrian authorities to assist the Chief of Staff in their early implementation. Unfortunately no notable progress resulted from that section of the resolution.

We now have before us some recommendations which General Bull has in mind for the strengthening of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization machinery. These recommendations have been proposed by General Bull in the light of his three months' study of the problem. We believe the proposals are wise ones and have been advanced in full appreciation of the special points of view of the two sides. We believe that one element in his proposals is absolutely vital. Without it none of the others is likely to be very meaningful. I refer to Paragraph 41 in the report. In it, General Bull calls for the parties to "comply fully with the order contained in the Security Council Resolution of 11 August 1949 to observe an unconditional cease-fire and should also abstain from any acts of hostility as provided in the General Armistice Agreement." General Bull adds (and we fully endorse his statement):

"I cannot therefore subscribe to any policy by the parties based on the use of force, nor can I condone any firing for whatever purpose across the armistice demarcation line."

We believe details of the plan for strengthening the United Nations Truce Observation Organization should be worked out by the Chief of Staff in consultation with the Governments of Israel and Syria. What is vital is the full and willing cooperation, without reservation, of the two sides with the Chief of Staff in what he is trying to accomplish. He will be able to strengthen the United Nations Truce Observation Organization only if the two sides are willing to cooperate with him in his efforts. Ultimately the United Nations Truce Observation Organization can only be as useful as the two sides want it to be.

Our belief is that the United Nations peace keeping organization, strengthened by such measures as the Chief of Staff proposes, could prevent many of the kinds of incidents which both sides in this controversy are complaining about to the Security Council today. And if these incidents can be avoided, surely the tension which has gripped the frontiers of Syria and Israel can be relaxed and the danger of raids and retaliation significantly reduced. This would be in the interests of both Israel and Syria and in the interests of peace in the Near East.

We do not believe that anybody can lightly refuse to extend his full cooperation. The peace and well-being of the people of the area depend too much upon it. The judgment of the United Nations and the world communit is based upon it. In the interests of all, we bespeak that cooperation vital to the success of our efforts here today in behalf of international peace.

#

In the debate that followed, broad support of the United States - United Kingdom Draft Resolution was indicated. It was clear from the onset that Morocco would naturally oppose. However, the cardinal question remained the attitude of the Soviet Union and whether that nation would use the power of the veto despite the clear indication of Syrian guilt.

Below is an editorial printed in the New York Herald Tribune on Monday, September 2, 1963, which attempts to analyze the international implications of the Soviet attitude:

THE SOVIET VETO WILL TELL

Tomorrow's vote in the Security Council will provide the first formal test of Soviet intentions since the signing of the nuclear test-ban treaty. The Russians have been telling us that the treaty should improve the atmosphere, prepare the way for other agreements and promote "peaceful co-existence" between East and West. We shall see tomorrow whether we should put any more credence than before in Soviet words.

The issue before the Security Council is whether to adopt an Anglo-American draft resolution which would severely censure Syria for violating the Israeli frontier. Evidence gathered by the UN and accepted by the majority of the eleven members of the Council is that the Syrians had committed wanton murder of two Israeli farmers.

The case is as clear-cut as any to be brought before the Council, and the broader significance of tomorrow's vote, apart from the immediate issue, is whether the Russians are resolved to paralyze the will of the majority with their veto and to continue their reckless and mischievous game of Middle East power politics.

If Mr. Khrushchev casts his veto, as his UN delegate indicated Friday he would do, then it will be clear for all to see that his behavior both in the UN and in the Middle East is little different from that of Mr. Stalin. His aim, as in the case of his predecessor, would be to immobilize the Security Council and to encourage the Arabs to make war on Israel so that communism might present itself as an alternative to the misery it helped to promote.

That would not necessarily be an argument against ratifying the nuclear test-ban treaty, but it would help cure us of any illusions that the Russians want a genuine settlement with the West.

#

On Friday, August 30th, the Moroccan Representative to the United Nations, in the Security Council, Mr. Dey Ould Sidi Baba, introduced a draft amendment to the two-power resolution. The amendment suggested that the Council state that it "regrets the death at Almagor in Israel territory of two persons on 19 August 1963." Mr. Sidi Baba then proceeded to state that "the condemnation the draft now carried was not, in his view appropriate since a well-established attack had not been proved."* The Moroccan delegate also requested that the Council adjourn until September 3rd in order to give its members additional time to consider the Moroccan amendment.

^{*} United Nations Press Release SC/2512 - 30 August 1963

Over the weekend Arab representatives in the respective capitals of the countries represented in the Security Council emphasized that the Moroccan resolution was more balanced "and would avoid any condemnation of Syria." When the Council again convened on Tuesday, September 3rd, the Moroccan proposal was presented for a vote and received its only support from the Soviet Union and Morocco. All other members abstained and consequently the amendment failed.

When the United States - United Kingdom Draft Resolution was presented, eight hands were raised in favor (Brazil, France, Ghana, Nationalist China, Norway and the Philippines). One member abstained (Venezuela) and two negative votes were cast (Morocco and the Soviet Union). Thus the apprehensions expressed in the New York Herald Tribune editorial of September 2nd were realized.

The following is a summary of a statement made by Ambassador Michael Comay after the vote was taken:

Mr. Comay said the debate had witnessed a sincere effort by the majority to take a decision based squarely on the available facts, having the effect of pacifying the Israel-Syria border. That effort, he stated had been blocked by the negative vote of one permanent member.

He said the employment of the "veto" to "shield the Arab party" had been regrettable in the past. It was even more regrettable now, when the same great Power had joined with others in an historic attempt to relax international tension "and might have been expected to extend the same attitude to the task of peace-keeping in the Middle East."

Mr. Comay added that Syria could take "very little comfort" from the failure of the draft to be adopted because "no veto can wipe out the damning facts."

He said the "veto" could not delete the "clear view" of every member, except Morocco and the USSR.

The fact that amendments designed to "water down" the resolution had been supported only by Morocco and the Soviet Union was a circumstance that spoke for itself, he said.

He regarded Israel's complaint as being "vindicated, and Syria as morally condemned." He hoped Syria would not fail to pay heed to the weight of international opinion.

Turning then to the "statesman-like and timely appeal" of the President, he said Israel would faithfully observe its undertaking regarding the cease-fire, He hoped there would be no more firing across the border by Syria.

On the specific question of detainees, the representative of Israel said he was authorized by his Government to state that it would welcome an immediate and simultaneous return of all persons mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, including the three Israelis "abducted" on 17 July.

It had been essential to indicate to Syria that "its use of murder and force" as instruments of policy could not be condoned, he stated.

He said he assured the Council that Israel was most anxious to keep the borders peaceful and stable until a permanent peace was attained. To that end, he said, Israel would continue to extend its co-operation to the United Nations representatives.

#

The general feeling of impartial observers at the United Nations was that although the Soviet Union had from a formal point of view succeeded to kill the United States - United Kingdom Resolution, Israel had emerged as moral victor. Not only did the United States, the United Kingdom and France (the three Western Powers) stand by Israel, but also Ghana (representing Africa) and the Philippines (representing Asia) stood by Israel and continued to defend the Israeli position despite all Arab efforts to the contrary.

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515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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To:

Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

Below is the text of a telegram which was sent today by the Chairman of the Conference to the President. Similar telegrams were sent by Rabbi Miller to the Secretary of State and to Ambassador Stevenson.

> ON BEHALF OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, I WISH TO EXPRESS TO YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, OUR PROFOUND APPRECIATION OF THE POSITION TAKEN BY OUR GOVERNMENT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON ISRAEL'S CHARGES AGAINST SYRIA IN CON-NECTION WITH THE ALMAGOR MURDERS ON AUGUST 19TH. WE WERE GREATLY HEARTENED BY AMBASSADOR STEVENSON'S CALL TO THE COUNCIL TO "ACCEPT ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AND ACT WITH COURAGE AND WISDOM." IT IS OUR SINCERE HOPE THAT REGARDLESS OF THE FINAL OUTCOME, OUR COUN. TRY'S FIRM POSITION WILL DETER FURTHER AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE AND PROMOTE STABILITY AND ORDER.

> > RESPECTFULLY YOURS, RABBI IRVING MILLER, CHAIRMAN CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MA AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

> > > September 4, 1963

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Tel.: PL 5-1820

Cable Address: COJOGRA

June 3, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

I would like to bring to your attention the following excerpt from the editorial which appeared in the Jerusalem Post on Friday, May 31. It deals with the possible consequences of the failure of the Tripartite Arab Federation to materialize at the present. The editorial, entitled "Through Israeli Eyes", points out the following:

"For Israel -- at least for the time being -- the outlook is not likely to change substantially one way or the other. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the indefinite deferment of Arab federation and the repeated failure to attain it are necessary a blessing. The raw, opinionated, inexperienced and numerically negligible Ba'th, which currently acts as a bulwark against total Nasserist domination of Iraq and Syria, could prove far more adventurous and reckless -- and therefore more of a threat to the area's peace and its security than Nasser. Moreover, the Ba'th cannot be said to hold any promise of real stability inside the countries in which it is now in power -- and without stability no Arab regime can hope to muster enough time or courage to do some badly needed fresh thinking on the subject of Israel's existence."

I also would like to bring to your attention the context of "Ben-Gurion's Exchange of Letters with JFK and Other Leaders on the Middle East." I am quoting on this the Jerusalem Post Diplomatic Reporter of Friday, May 31.

"The Foreign Ministry spokesman yesterday confirmed that Prime Minister Ben-Gurion had recently exchanged letters with President Kennedy and "other heads of state" on the Middle East situation.

The exchange was initiated by Mr. Ben-Gurion in response to the dangers to Israel posed by the new moves for Arab federation.

It is believed that in addition to Mr. Kennedy, the Prime Minister communicated with Premier Khrushchev, President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan.

Officials confirmed a report in "Yediot Aharonot" yesterday that a reply had been received from Mr. Kennedy, but declined to comment on its contents.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's letters are understood to have proposed a joint U.S.-Soviet guarantee of Israel's borders or, failing that, a military pact with the U.S. to deter Arab aggression -- proposals which he voiced in a television interview with the American CBS radio network.

Mr. Ben-Guiron also urged the powers to use their influence, publicly and through diplomatic channels, to proclaim their concern for the situation in the area and to dissuade Egypt from any adventures likely to lead to conflict.

It is believed the recent statements made in Washington, London and Paris, expressing concern for the stability of the region, were a direct result of these exchanges.

In his letters the Prime Minister is believed to have stressed that so long as there is no joint Soviet-U.S. agreement to withhold arms from Egypt, Israel must continue to strengthen its deterrent force. Mr. Ben-Gurion is believed to have pointed out to President Kennedy that the U.S. policy of trying to contain the arms race in the area, when Soviet arms continue to flow to Egypt, would merely deprive Israel of the weapons it needed and increase the danger of war."

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Tel.: PL 5-1820

Cable Address: COJOGRA

May 24, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From: Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find the edited and final text of the Letter which was sent in the name of the presidents associated in the Conference to the President of the United States.

This letter was dated May 22, 1963.

Hon. John F. Kennedy The White House Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Thoughtful Americans share your concern over the threats to peace in the Middle East. Instead of diminishing, Arab threats to attack and destroy Israel have increased, accompanied by massive rearmament of Egypt and other Arab countries by the Soviet Union.

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, therefore, welcomes the statement you made at your press conference on May 8th, voicing your determination to oppose aggression whether direct or indirect. The Conference is also gratified to know that it is our country's intention to work through the United Nations and to act on its own to prevent or stop such aggression.

Against this background, Mr. President, we most respectfully suggest to you that unless urgent steps are taken, especially by our own country; the serious situation now obtaining in the Middle East may well explode into war. Indeed, while the Arab States continue to receive arms in increasing numbers from the Soviet Union, the possession of additional deterrent arms by Israel would further deter aggression. In this context, your decision to sell Israel Hawk missiles was a meaningful and significant act.

Under all circumstances, it must be made clear beyond danger of miscalculation that Israel, openly and repeatedly threatened by liquidation, does not stand alone. Only thus can Arab designs for aggression be thwarted.

Once again, we are encouraged by the continuing and striking evidence of your concern with this problem, and your readiness to provide in this, as in so many other sensitive situations, firm and inspiring leadership.

Respectfully yours,

Irving Miller Chairman

Following on the next page are the names of the presidents who comprise the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein	President	American Israel Public Affairs Committee
Rabbi Joachim Prinz	President	American Jewish Congress
Rabbi Irving Miller	President	American Zionist Council
Mr. Moe Falikman	President	American Trade Union Council for Histadrut
Mr. Label Katz	President	B'nai B'rith
Mrs. S. Kramarsky	President	Hadassah
Dr. Emanuel Neumann	President	American Section of the Jewish Agen for Israel
Mr. Adolph Held	President	Jewish Labor Committee
Mr. Morton London	Commander	Jewish War Veterans of the United States
Mrs. Clara Leff	President	Labor Zionist Movement
Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum	President	Misrachi Hapoel Misrachi
Mr. Lewis Weinstein	President	National Community Relations Advisory Council
Mrs. Joseph Willen	President	National Council of Jewish Women
Rabbi David Hill	President	National Council of Young Israel
Mr. Moses Feurestein	President	Union of Orthodox Jewish Organiza- tions of America
Dr. Maurice Eisendrath	President	Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Mr. George Maislen	President	United Synagogue of America
Dr. Max Nussbaum	President	Zionist Organization of America

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May 15, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Presidents Conference

From: Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find a short summary of the meeting of May 13th, which was held in the Delmonico Hotel and lasted from 1 P.M. to 3 P.M.

YH:cs encl.

PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE MEETING May 13, 1963

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 1 P.M. Rabbi Miller welcomed the guests, who expressed appreciation for the opportunity afforded them to meet the Conference. One of them made a few remarks of an informative nature. After the guests had left, Rabbi Miller called upon Mr. Katz and Commander London to report on their visit with Governor Harriman last Wednesday, May 8th.

Mr. Katz and Commander London discussed first their visit with Mr. Strong (Mr. Talbot was out of the country.) Both men pointed out that Mr. Strong had been firm in asserting that he did not feel the situation was as serious as they believed. Using the term, "Myth of the Missiles", he said all reports indicated that Egypt's wea pons were unsophisticated and comparable to World War I bombs and TNT. He also stated outright that as far as the State Department was concerned, they would not recommend any sort of pact with Israel, since this would offset the efforts of the United States to wean the Arab countries away from Russia.

Mr. Harriman differed with Mr. Strong in his analysis of the missile programs. He said he was still awaiting evaluation of U.S. observers, but that the existence of missiles — whether big or little — was a very serious situation. However, he indicated that reports from the State Department and the Pentagon did not agree with our appraisals, and that he believed Israel could discharge itself well in any military undertaking.

Where a mutual agreement or draft pact were concerned, he said he thought this would be "counter-productive" for the same reasons Strong gave. As far as other affirmations of support, he said he relied greatly on the President's statement, and indicated that through private channels Nasser had been warned not to take any offensive action.

He condemned Radio Cairo propaganda as "the most vicious in the world", and also drew analogies between Indian nationalism and Arab pannationalism which were unfavorable to Nasser. He said that he could well understand and respect our position with respect to German scientists in Egypt.

At the close of the visit, Governor Harriman indicated his door was open for further discussion and consultation.

Mr. Sy Kenen then asked for the floor and informed the group of the legislative situation in connection with developments in the Middle East. He also suggested that letters should be written to the President commending him for his statement of May 8th, and urging that his

affirmation of support be followed by more concrete and firm measures that would lead to implementation. However, he suggested that he felt the situation did not call for a mass campaign of letter-writing.

Mr. Label Katz suggested that a steering committee be appointed that could deal with this problem on a day-to-day basis. The committee could then be in a position to get all the information, study it, and then make suggestions for implementation.

A discussion followed in which Dr. Neumann, Rabbi Kaufman, Mrs. Halprin, Mr. Segal, Mr. London, Mr. Tabachinsky and Mr. Minkoff spoke. Almost all the speakers expressed themselves in support of a steering committee for the purpose of working out a well-considered statement to the President, and providing information and guidelines to the constituencie Caution was urged in formulating a letter to the President, in that both commendation and a call for firmer measures should be expressed. Commander London underlined that he would urge the steering committee not to send out any statement until all organizations receive a copy and express agreement with it.

Mr.Tabachinsky (speaking in Yiddish) asked that in the future the Chairman should always come prepared with concrete recommendations to the meeting, which the plenum would then discuss, either rejecting or accepting. This would make the discussions more concrete and more realistic. He also urged the Chairman not to forget his group this time, and appoint a representative from his organization to the steering committee.

Rabbi Miller summarized the discussion as follows:

- 1. The Chairman will appoint a steering committee to keep in daily touch with the present situation, and to take such action as is called for within the policy enunciated at this meeting.
- 2. Mr. Kenen will prepare a fact sheet which, upon approval of the steering committee, will be made available to the organizations, to be distributed among their constituencies for educational purposes.
- 3. Mr. Kenen will deal with the legislative situation in Washington and advise the steering committee of the results.
- 4. A letter will be prepared by the Chairman to be sent to the President with reference to his statement on May 8th, and will be circulated among the presidents. Upon receiving their approval, the letter will be forwarded to President Kennedy.

Following this summary, the meeting was adjourned.

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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May 15, 1963

To: Members Associated in the Presidents Conference From: Yehuda Hellman

Rabbi Miller has asked me to inform you that in conformity with the decisions as summarized at the meeting of the Conference of Presidents on May 13th, he has appointed the presidents (or their representatives) of the following organizations to serve on the steering committee, which is to deal with the present situation on a day-to-day basis:

1. American Israel Public Affairs Committee

2. American Jewish Congress

3. B'nai B'rith

4. Hadassah

5. Jewish Labor Committee

6. United Synagogue of America

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS MAY 515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N.Y. Tel.: PL 5-1820 Cable Address: COJOGRA May 16, 1963 To: All Members Associated in the Presidents Conference From: Yehuda Hellman Rabbi Miller has asked me to bring to your attention as soon as

possible the following memorandum:

"I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I proposed to send to the President on behalf of the Conference, in accordance with the decision of last Monday's meeting.

Since time is of the essence, I would plead with you to read it immediately so that we may receive your approval no later than Friday, May 17, when the office of the Conference will call you on the phone."

YH:cs encl.

Dear Mr. President:

The Conference of Presidents welcomes the statement on the Middle East which you made at your press conference on May 8th. It gave clear expression both to your determination to oppose aggression whether direct or indirect, as well as to our country's intention to work thrugh the United Nations and to act on its own to prevent or stop such aggression.

Americans of all faiths share your concern over recent developments in the Middle East. Instead of diminishing, Arab threats to attack and destroy Israel have increased, accompanied by massive rearmament of Egypt and other Arab countries by the Soviet Union. Unless urgent and decisive steps are taken, more especially by our own country, the serious situation now obtaining in the Middle East may well explode into war.

Against this background we most respectfully suggest to you that a further clarification of the policy you enounced on the 8th of May would serve to remove doubts and dangers of miscalculation. Indeed while the Arab States continue to receive arms in increasing numbers from the Soviet Union, the possession of deterrent arms by Israel would preserve the balance of military power and thus further deter aggression. In this context your decision to sell Israel Hawk missiles was a meaningful and significant act. Under all circumstances Israel, openly and repeatedly threatened with liquidation, must know that it does not stand alone. Only thus can Arab designs for aggression be thwarted.

Once again we are encouraged by the continuing and striking evidence of your concern with this problem and your readiness to provide in this, as in so many other sensitive situations, firm and inspiring leadership.

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AMERICAN JEWApril 24, 1963

To:

Members Participating in the Conference of Presidents

From:

Yehuda Hellman

Enclosed please find a short summary of the meeting of the Presidents Conference which took place on April 5, 1963 at the Delmonico Hotel in New York.

YH:cs encl.

515 PARK AVENUE · NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

Tel.: PL 5-1820 Cable Address: COJOGRA

MEETING OF APRIL 5, 1963

Rabbi Miller opened the meeting at 12:30, and thanked the guests who were present.

A comprehensive report about the work of German scientists in Egype, and other related problems, was then rendered. The following members participated in the debate that ensued: Commander Norton London, Dr. Joachim Prinz, Rabbi David Hill, and Rabbi Irving Miller.

Rabbi Miller congratulated Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who had just assumed the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency in New York, and he wished him a successful tenure of office.

Rabbi Miller then proceeded to congratulate Mrs. Joseph Willen, the new President of the National Council of Jewish Women. He regretted very much that Mrs. Willen could not be present because of a previous commitment, and he requested Miss Hannah Stein to convey to her new President the sincere congratulations of the Presidents Conference. Miss Stein thanked Rabbi Miller in the name of Mrs. Willen, and said that she would convey the greetings of the gathering to her.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Rabbi Miller proceeded to discuss the budget of the Presidents Conference. He proposed that the Conference continue for the near future, as of April 1, 1963, on the same basis as in the previous year (April 1962-April 1963). Rabbi Miller told the Conference that the first meeting of the Subcommittee on Structure and Scope had already taken place on March 15, and that two further meetings were scheduled; one to take place on April 18 and the second on April 30. He said that this Committee would, among other things, review the budget of the Presidents Conference, and that in the meantime he proposed that the Conference continue without change until such time as Rabbi Kaufman would be able to bring in his report to the plenary meeting of the Conference of Presidents. Rabbi Miller's suggestion met with unanimous approval.

The meeting then adjourned, and the Chairman thanked the guests present who had come especially in order to attend this meeting. He described the discussion that took place as very important and most useful.

The Presidents of the following organizations were either present or represented at this meeting:

American Israel Public Affairs Committee American Jewish Congress American Zionist Council American Trade Union Council for Histadrut B'nai B'rith Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (OBSERVER) Hadassah Jewish Agency for Israel Jewish Labor Committee Jewish War Veterans of the United States Labor Zionist Movement Misrachi Hapoel Misrachi National Community Relations Advisory Council National Council of Jewish Women National Council of Young Israel Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America Union of American Hebrew Congregations Zionist Organization of America

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Cable Address: COJOGRA

May 14, 1963

To:

Members Associated in the Conference of Presidents

From:

Yehuda Hellman

The following resolution was passed in the Knesset following Prime Minister Ben Gurion's statement.

The Knesset notes the statement made by the Prime Minister on May 7, 1963.

The Knesset draws the attention of the great powers and world public opinion to the threat to Israel's existence which is contained in the plan of action of the Federation of Egypt, Syria and Iraq, headed by Nasser.

The Knesset instructs the Government to increase and strengthen the preventive force and state of preparedness of the Defence Force of Israel, and to continue to reinforce the frontier settlements.

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May 14, 1963

To:

Members Associated in the Presidents Conference

From:

Yehuda Hellman

The following is the text of the Foreign Policy Statement made by Prime Minister Ben Gurion in the Knesset in the afternoon of May 13th.

"We have done everything, and we shall continue to do everything, to prevent German experts assisting the Hitler of our days — the one in Egypt — I believe the work that has been done has been successful and it has not yet been completed. But we shall not deceive the people, and distract their attention and the world's from the true danger that threatens us from our neighbours, with the ugly and dangerous racist theory that it is not Hitler's Fascist and Nazi teachings but the German race that constitutes a danger to Israel. A scientist from any other country who helps Nasser in his Nazi designs to destroy Israel is no less dangerous than a German scientist who does so; all the true danger that threatens us from Egypt consists in the conventional arms that flow to Egypt and are continuing to flow, though the suppliers know what the arms are meant for," Mr. Ben Gurion declared.

"Mr. Ben-Eliezer was right in saying that the main point of my statement was that Israel's policy is devoted to the prevention of war, and war will be prevented, not by saying 'peace, peace' when there is no peace, but in two ways, and in these alone: by constantly increasing the deterrent strength of the Israel Defense Forces and by securing the moral and political support of all those world forces that are as concerned as we are for the preservation of peace in the Middle East," the Prime Minister went on.

"We are in favour of general disarmament in Israel and the Arab countries under mutual supervision. Anyone who speaks specifically of limited and not general disarmament does not understand the reality of the position and ignores the dangers threatening us from conventional arms - and rockets, bombers, submarines, tanks, and artillery are conventional arms.

(Con't.)

"The position in our area is not like the position in the world at large. Here there is no cold war, in which no country threatens to destroy the other, but the contrary, all proclaim their desire for peaceful coexistence. In our area, not a single Arab country has yet declared in favour of peaceful coexistence, and the recent treaty of union between three Arab States contains an official declaration on the destruction of Israel under the mask of the liberation of Palestine.

"I know, from scores of talks that people who have visited Egypt have had with the Egyptian dictator, that he is capable of telling the man he is talking to whatever he would like to hear; he has no compuction in telling Smith one thing and Jones the opposite. I remember that about six months ago or more, he told two distinguished visitors, who, he apparently realized, were not enemies of Israel, that if Israel gave the Arab refugees freedom of choice whether to return to her territory, not more than sixty thousand refugees would return. And I should not be surprised if he told the American or British Ambassador tomorrow that he has no intention at all of attacking Israel, since Israel is not mentioned by name in the tripartite treaty, and that all the anxiety of lovers of peace and friends of Israel during the past few weeks is without foundation.

"Perhaps some people may be, or may pretend to be, simple enough to accept such hypocritical statements. But I am confident that not only will the Jews in Israel and the world at large not be deceived by these verbal acrobatics, but the same also applies to every upright and decent man who is truly concerned for peace in the area, and does not want to see Israel destroyed, even if the process is described as "the liberation of Palestine."

Referring to the failure of Nasser's visit to Algeria last week and the Ben-Bella--Nasser joint declaration on the "Liberation of Palestine," the Prime Minister declared: "Not common friendship for the benefit of the Arab peoples, but common hatred of Israel - that is the only thing which unites the Arab rulers today. This is what we must bring to the attention of the entire world - Governments and public opinion; we must bring home to the world the grave danger involved in this hatred, and its moral and political responsibility to ensure, as far as possible, peaceful coexistence for all the countries and all the peoples in this area."

Mr. Ben-Gurion replied to opposition members who had discussed alliances and guarantees, saying "There is nothing wrong in an alliance that is meant only for defence.

"But neither a guarantee nor an alliance is sufficient without strength of our own, adequate to deter because it can act at a time of inescapable neccesity, and act with success. Such a force, and only such a force, is capable of deterring and preventing war. Therefore, we must, to the utmost of our capacity, increase the deterrent strength of the Israel Defence Forces."

Pointing out "that not all our friends understand the vital need to increase the deterrent strength of the Israel Defence Forces as the most effective means of preserving peace," Mr. Ben-Gurion referred to President Kennedy's statement

last Wednesday saying, "He continues to follow the traditional American policy of friendship towards Israel, is not content with continuing this assistance, but has made a number of important new departures in this direction. It is not out of an unfriendly atittude to the Arab peoples that he does so - America gives more aid to the Arab countries than does any other State. The aid to Israel is given out af a sincere desire to assist in the development of this small country, the only one in the Middle East that is capable of serving as an example to all its enighbours - and it serves as an example to many developed countries - in its democratic regime, the liberty of its citizens and respect for human dignity."

In conclusion the Prime Minister declared: If it was in the American President's power to prevent the flow of arms to all the countries of the Near East, he would undoubtedly bring great benefits to the area and to the world, and there is nothing for which we more fervently pray than to be rid of the need to waste manpower and material resources on defence - resources that we need so much in order to absorb the immigrants, develop the country, especially its wastelands, improve education, and foster science, literature and the arts. But the President of the United States is as well aware as I am that we are the only country in the world all of whose neighbours preach its destruction and are preparing to wipe it off the face of the earth.

"If there was a possibility of joint action between the United States and the Soviet Union, not only to prevent the arms race, but to bring about, as we propose, general disarmament in Israel and the Arab countries, thus safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial independence of all the Middle East countries - that would be one of the greatest acts of peace in the world. I do not know whether this is possible at this time, though that is what we aspire for, and the moment the two powers respond to this demand we shall be ready to respond to a joint demand from them, in the hope that our neighbors will do the same, for I have hardly the slightest doubt that these two powers are capable of bringing about peace in our area through joint and coordinated action.

"At this hour, however, no such joint action exists, though I do not despair of the possibility in the future. And when there is no joint action the President of the U.S. can only withhold arms from Israel, but he has no power at all to prevent the constant stream of arms to Egypt from the countries of the Communist bloc.

"Thus the limitation of the arms race of which the President speaks - and I have no doubt at all of his good intentions - amounts in practice only to the withholding of arms from Israel, at a time when Egypt, whose armaments are already twice or three times those of Israel - continues to receive a flow of arms from the Soviet Union and its allies. It is just such one-sided action that is liable to intensify the danger of war in the Middle East.

"Israel therefore insists - and I am confident that the American people, headed by its President, will understand this - that so long as there is no cooperation between the two great powers for safeguarding the peace and security of all the countries of the Middle East, and Egypt continues to receive arms from one side - Israel is entitled to strengthen her forces with sufficient equipment to enable them to serve the principal purpose to which they are dedicated: to deter and to prevent war.

(Continued) "This is Israel's policy, and she is entitled both to aid in strengthening her Defence Forces, and to joint efforts to ensure peace for all the countries in the area, from all the states in the world to whom peace is not an empty slogan but a sincere desire, as it is the most profound and sincere desire of Israel."



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May 10, 1963

To: Members participating in the Presidents Conference From: Yehuda Hellman

The New York Times of Friday, May 10th, carries a dispatch datelined Jerusalem, May 9th, under the heading of: "KENNEDY'S STAND PLEASES ISRAELIS". Commenting on the statement by the President in his press conference of May 8th concerning the situation in the Middle East, Mr. W. Granger Blair, cabling to the United States from Israel, wrote: "The Israeli Government's attitude was believed to be reflected in a general way in editorials published by the newspapers, Jerusalem Post and Maariv."

Following please find the full text of the Jerusalem Post editorial which was referred to. As you can see, the headline of the New York Times does not reflect fully the position expressed by the Jerusalem Post.

"President Kennedy's statement will be welcomed in Israel. It is good that the U.S. should be concerned for our security and that of the whole area; it is good that they should say that they are opposed to aggression and preparation for aggression. In fact, despite the State Department's habitual doubts and hesitations, this country has many genuine friends in the United States.

Such a basis of underlying friendship can produce a somewhat incomplete gesture, such as that made yesterday: in the long run it is much more to be valued than technical help given as a matter of political expediency. But it is by no means an empty gesture. A reasonable Nasser — and that is the face he turns to the U.S. — should accept the statement as a warning that he cannot possibly gain by any attempt to destroy Israel. But perhaps, if he were reasonable, we should in any case not have to fear an attempt to destroy us.

At the same time it is clear that the American statement does not go far, and cannot go very far. Once rocket war has been launched on us, it will be too late to "take steps." Throughout the turbulent 15 years of the State, it has been our aim to prevent attack before it starts. And what constitutes "preparation for aggression"? The destruction of Israel is listed high up among the aims of Nasser's new Federation, and yet the British have already given their opinion that this is not evidence that any Arab state is contemplating an attack on Israel, that is, preparing for aggression.

(Continued)

Would it constitute"preparation for aggression" if a Nasser-engineered coup in Jordan brought Egyptian military forces into the other half of the Old City without a shot being fired? In 1956 it was held here that if Iraqi troops crossed the Jordan and established themselves on the western bank of the river, we should consider our security had been threatened. Would Pentagon military experts necessarily consider such a move a threat? And would America also consider itself under an obligation to intervene if, under such circumstances, we used force to secure our strategic position on the frontier of a Kingdom of Jordan that might have ceased to exist in the meantime?

Certainly, threats from Egypt have been perennial, and have not always materialized, so that the wording of the threats is perhaps no longer the main clue to peace or war. We have reconciled ourselves to the position that the desire to destroy us exists, and learned to judge the seriousness of the actual position at any point by examining the Egyptian military potential, and any strategic advantage that the Federation might offer Nasser. We cannot expect any outside power to estimate the gravity of this situation exactly as we do, nor can we, in a matter of our own survival and security, be expected to accept the judgment of anyone not immediately involved. President Kennedy's statement, therefore, is in the nature of the "moral and political influence" which Mr. Ben-Gurion on Monday said was the second element in the prevention of an outbreak, having listed the deterrent strength of our own military forces as the first.

It is worth remembering, however, that there is a healthy realism in the U.S. today. They have been involved in the sharpest form of Cold War with the Soviet Union for so long that they differentiate without any difficulty between lip-service to world peace and appeals for global disarmament, and the stubborn refusal to permit effecient inspection of nuclear armaments. If they will judge Nasser as carefully by his armaments, his expansionism and his methods of bringing about political change in his Federation partners, we shall have considerably less to worry about."

(Jerusalem Post - May 8, 1963)

515 PARK AVENUE . NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

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May 10, 1963

To: Members garticipating in the Presidents Conference

From: Yehuda Hellman

ARCHIVES

Enclosed please find a short summary of the meeting of the Presidents Conference, which took place on Tuesday, May 7th, in the Delmonico Hotel in New York.

A more detailed summary of the minutes is also available, and we will be happy to send it out upon request.

YH:cs encl.

PRESIDENTS CONFERENCE MEETING MAY 7, 1963

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman at 11 A.M. Rabbi Miller announced that the next meeting of the Presidents Conference would take place as planned on May 13th at 1 P.M. He then went on to discuss the reasons for calling this special assembly.

Rabbi Miller explained that the Jewish War Veterans and the American Jewish Congress had, in letters to him, objected to his sending a letter to Governor W. Averell Harriman on April 22, requesting an appointment. This letter had followed the Harriman statement to Representative Farbstein, made public on April 12, in which, Rabbi Miller said, "Harriman sought somehow to justify the presence of German scientists in Cairo." The two organizations had questioned Rabbi Miller's perogative to write this particular letter without the authorization of the Conference and without taking action to express the views of the Conference with respect to the Harriman statement. After reading the letters in question into the record, Rabbi Miller called for discussion.

Commander London and Rabbi Prinz expounded on their viewpoints. Both agreed that the core of their objection was in the procedure involved in taking such action. Commander London said: "Some presidents have been consulted but not all of us were. We should have called a meeting immediately, met on short notice and discussed it." Rabbi Prinz stated: "We are your counselors. By sitting around the table we might have arrived at the very same decision, but I want to be consulted on such matters." He also expressed regret that "the voice of this Conference was not heard..." in response to Harriman's statement.

Mr. Tabachinsky, Rabbi Kirshblum, and Mr. Label Katz supported Rabbi Miller in his decision to send the letter. Mr. Tabachinsky criticized the group for what he felt amounted to bickering, and explained that his organization was excluded from consultation very often because it was not part of the Subcommittee, and requested that this situation be remedied. Rabbi Kirshblum urged that this matter be put aside for a discussion of more crucial issues, and expressed the view that a meeting with Harriman would result in a full report on the Middle East situation, and a more realistic basis for making decisions. Mr. Katz stated: "I do not share the viewpoint that the Chairman cannot make this kind of overture, not only to Mr. Harriman, but to any government official. As long as the Chairman does not enunciate a policy statement, he has the right to maintain contact and relationships." Mr. Minkoff felt that the Technical Public ommittee should have been consulted, and suggested that its actual functions be reviewed.

Rabbi Miller explained that, prior to sending the letter to Harriman, he had consulted with his predecessors, Phil Klutznick and Label Katz. It was their opinion also that an attack on Harriman was not wise at that time. He stressed that the letter in question was for the purpose of establishing comtact with Harriman and involving him. There were no congratulations or an ensuing exchange of messages. He agreed that the letter should have been circulated and regretted this oversight, but held

that "any action on the part of the Conference before a visit with Harriman would have been very inadvisable."

In answer to a question by Mr. Maslow, Rabbi Miller explained that there was a delay in calling a Subcommittee meeting after the initial request on April 12th (a Friday), because of the Passover Holidays. The Subcommittee was convened at the earliest practical date.

This discussion was brought to a close by Rabbi Kaufman's proposal that the procedures involved in sending the letter to Harriman, along with the question of the Subcommittee's functions, be referred to the Committee on Structure and Scope. This proposal was seconded by Dr. Neumann and Mr. Minkoff, and unanimously accepted.

Rabbi Miller then disclosed that as a result of his letter, a meeting had been arranged with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Label Katz and himself for the following day, May 8th at 5 P.M. Mr. Talbot had also requested that Rabbi Miller visit him first at 4 P.M. the same day.

A comprehensive discussion followed on the situation in the Middle East, particularly as it effects Israel's security. Rabbi Bernstein, Mr. Katz, Commander London, Mr. Minkoff, Dr. Neumann, Mrs. Leff and Mr. Barr took part in this discussion.

Dr. Neumann requested that Rabbi Miller come to the next meeting on May 13th with formulated recommendations based on the talks with Harriman, with regard to the counsel and guidance to be offered to the organizations, and with regard to a public statement of position, whether by the Presidents Conference as a whole, or by individual organizations. He expressed his belief that the discussion had been valuable and enlightening.

Mr. Barr felt that it was unfortunate that the American Jewish Committee was neither a participant or an observer in the Presidents Conference. He also expressed strong disapproval of individuals who were leaving before the close of the meeting, and particularly that no concrete decisions had been reached.

Rabbi Miller responded to Mr. Barr's last point by saying that meaningful action could be taken only after the visit with Harriman, and that the meeting on Monday would be the appropriate time for such decisions.

Dr. Freund from Hadassah declared that her group would not wait until Monday, and would take action now. She expressed disappointment that the Table of the Presidents Conference had not been represented at the important Public Affairs Committee meeting held last weekend.

Mr. Minkoff agreed with Rabbi Miller that the Conference as a whole could not take action today, but believed that it had not been indicated that individual organizations must also wait. Rabbi Miller, and the assembly at large, confirmed Mr. Minkoff's impression.

The meeting was then adjourned by Rabbi Miller.