

MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1961-1996. Series B: Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, 1962-1996.

> Box 20

Folder 9a

Budget and finance, 1963-1993.

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MEMORANDUM

October 29, 1993

Alexander M. Schindler Fred Cohen

ver

FRØM:

TO:

Attached please find a dues statement from the Presidents Conference. Please remit.

Note: I have initialed it for Rabbi Schindler as he instructed me by phone.



10/29 2/29 original sent struct to accounting with a note to plo

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Lester Pollack Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Vice Chairman

October 25, 1993

Mr. Melvin Merians Rabbi Alexander Schindler Union of American Hebrew Congregations 333 Seventh Avenue New York, N.Y. 10001

Dear Mel and Alex,

As you know, an increase in dues for the 1993-94 fiscal year with a minimum dues of \$5,000 was approved by the Conference last year. The Budget and Finance Committee has been working on recommendations for fair and equitable increases as part of an overall approach to the Conference's funding. You will receive further notice regarding the new dues structure along with the Conference budget.

In the interim, we ask that you continue to pay dues according to the current schedule and have enclosed a current statement of your account. We ask that you give this your prompt attention.

Sincerely,

Xustur Lester Pollack Chairman

Malcolm Hoenlein Executive Vice Chairman

110 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 318-6111 • FAX # (212) 644-4135



Lester Pollack Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Vice Chairman

October 22, 1993

To: Rabbi Alexander Schindler/Melvin Merians UAHC

From: Lester Pollack Malcolm Hoenlein

DUES STATEMENT

Annual Dues 1993-1994 Fiscal Year: \$ 6,000.00

Balance Due:

\$ 2,000.00

110 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 318-6111 • FAX # (212) 644-4135

COPY

MEMORANDUM

April 14, 1992

FROM: Edith J. Miller

TO: Fred Cohen

COPY:

If it is possible, can you please make a payment of \$3000 to the Presidents Conference to complete our subvention this year. If you send the check to me, I will forward it.

Many thanks.

MEMORANDUM

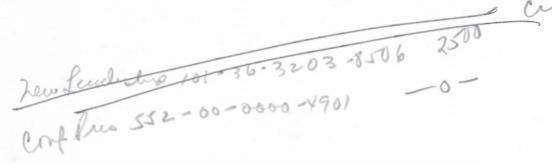
April 13, 1992

FROM: Edith J. Miller TO: Fred Cohen

COPY:

Please let me know where we stand in terms of dues to the Presidents' Conference. I just received a call from them about our dues and I want to have the correct information at hand.

Shall balance com



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Shoshana S. Cardin Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

April 13, 1992

To: Presidents and Executive Directors From: Shoshana S. Cardin, Chairman Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Director

Pending the upcoming meeting of the Budget Committee, an

invoice for your agency's annual dues is enclosed. The Conference is experiencing severe financial pressures and can not continue to function properly or to serve agencies whose accounts are not current.

We ask that you give this your prompt attention.

SSC MH

110 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 318-6111 • FAX # (212) 644-4135



Shoshana S. Cardin Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

April 13, 1992

To: Rabbi Alexander Schindler/Melvin Merians UAHC

From: Shoshana S. Cardin Malcolm Hoenlein

DUES STATEMENT

Annual Dues 1992-1993 Fiscal Year: \$ 6,000.00

Past Due:

Balance Due:

\$ 9,000.00

\$ 3,000.00

110 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 318-6111 • FAX # (212) 644-4135

Jue Cor

Opp

July 19, 1991 8 Av 5751

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director Presidents' Conference 110 East 59th Street New York, NY 10022

Dear Malcolm:

Enclosed herewith is a check for \$1,000. from the UAHC. This represents the first payment towards our subvention to the Presidents' Conference for the 1991-92 fiscal year.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edith J. Miller Assistant to the President

Encl.

MEMORANDUM

Copy.

JULY 16, 1991

From: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

To: Fred Cohen

RE; 1991-92 SUBVENTION/Presidents' Conference

Please issue a check for \$1000. to the Presidents' Conference as a first payment towards our 1991-92 subventionof \$6000. Send the check to Edie Miller for transmittal.

Many thanks.

Presidents' Conference called seeking dues payment...1990-91 budgeted \$6000. and paid \$6000.

1991-92 budgeted \$6000. - shall we send a payment of \$1000. or so?

7/16



July 15, 1991 4 Av 5751

Shoshana S. Cardin, Chair Presidents' Conference 110 East 59th Street New York, NY 10022

Dear Shoshana:

Please note that I wish to have Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie represent the UAHC on the National Coordinating Committee for Jerusalem 25. Eric is, as you know, Executive Director of ARZA and can be reached at 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10021, 212-249-0100.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS	
F MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZAT	TIONS

Shoshana S. Cardin Chairman

· Jair

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

July 1, 1991

Dear Colleague,

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Pursuant to the decisions taken at recent Conference meetings and the recommendation of the Scope Committee, I am inviting our member organizations to designate a representative to serve on the National Coordinating Committee for Jerusalem 25. May 30, 1992 will mark 25 years since Jerusalem's reunification. We hope to use the coming months to build up to the commemoration through a variety of educational efforts (similar to the National Committee for Israel's 40th anniversary). The celebration will provide us with an opportunity to emphasize Jerusalem's significance and the importance of its remaining the unified capital of Israel.

Please submit the name, address, telephone number and any positions held by the designee to the Conference office. Tell wighter

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Shoshana S. Cardin

Shoshana S. Cardin Chairman

110 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 318-6111 • FAX # (212) 644-4135

American Israel Public Affairs Committee

American Gathering/Federation Jewish Holocaust Survivors American Jewish Committee American Jewish Congress American ORT Federation American Sephardi Federation American Zionist Federation American Zionist Youth Foundation AMIT Women

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Association of Reform Zionists of America

B'nai B'rith

B'nai B'rith Women Bnai Zion Central Conference of American

Rabbis "Council of Jewish Federations "Development Corporation for Israel Emunah Women of America

Federation of Reconstructionist Congregations and Havurot Hadassah 'Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society

Jewish Community Centers Association Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs Jewish Labor Committee Jewish National Fund Jewish War Veterans of USA "Joint Distribution Committee National Conference on Soviet lewry National Committee for Labor Israel National Council of Jewish Women

NA'AMAT USA

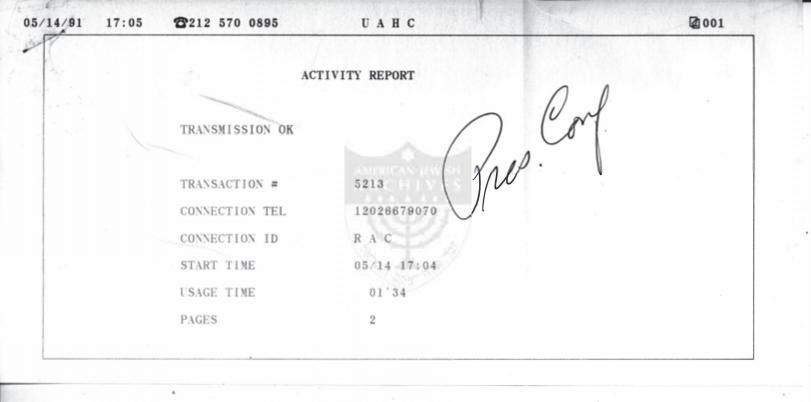
Labor Zionist Alliance

Mercaz

National Council of Young Israel National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods

National Jewish Comm Relations Advisory Council "Poale Agudath Israel Ribbinical Assembly Rabbinical Council of America Religious Zionists of America Union of American Hebrew Congregations Union of Councils for Soviet Jews Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America "United Israel Appeal

United Jewish Appeal United Synagogue of America WIZO USA Women's American ORT Women's League for Conservative Judaism Women's League for Israel Workmen's Circle World Zionist Organization/ American Section Zionist Organization of America Official Observer



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Shoshana S. Cardin Chairman

Malcolm I. Hoenlein Executive Director

May 14, 1991

Please share with Congregational Rabbis and Synagogue Presidents

Shavuot Mobilization for the Israel Absorption Loan Program

During the next five years Israel will absorb more than one million immigrants. Their successful integration into Israeli life requires the development of housing, infrastructure and jobs. To help finance this massive operation, Israel will ask the United States Congress and the Administration to "guarantee" or "co-sign" a five-year loan package. These guarantees will enable Israel to obtain favorable terms for commercial loans. The Conference of Presidents and its member agencies are developing strategies for a nationally coordinated campaign to sensitize the American Jewish community, the Congress and the Administration to the importance of the absorption loan program.

Securing these loan guarantees will require broad Congressional backing. Constituents must help educate their elected representatives about Israel's efforts and sacrifices to absorb one million immigrants during the next five years and articulate their support for American participation in this effort. <u>Rabbis and synagogue leaders have a crucial role to play in mobilizing millions of synagogue members across the United States to communicate with their Congressmen and Senators.</u>

During Shavuot please begin to educate and activate congregants about this crucial humanitarian issue and ask them to communicate with members of Congress immediately. A sample letter is included. It is important that we begin now to communicate support for congressional authorization of this absorption loan program.

In the coming weeks you will receive additional background information and resource material to assist your involvement in this important community mobilization effort. Please contact movement leadership or the Conference office, (212) 318-6111, for further information.

SAMPLE LETTER TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

U.S. Senate Washington, D.C. 20510 U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Senator/Representative:

Like the United States, Israel is an immigrant society. Today, Israel faces her largest immigration challenge. After a several decade campaign by Congress and the American public, Soviet Jews are finally able to leave the Soviet Union after years of being unable to practice Judaism and having to endure government-sanctioned persecution when desiring to emigrate. Whereas perestroika has opened the doors for immigration-one million Jews are expected to immigrate to Israel over the next few years-fears are that the decaying economy and political infrastructure in the Soviet Union could result in the resurgence of violent anti-semitism and a cut-off in emigration.

Quickening the pace of emigration is essential and depends on Israel's financial ability to absorb the Soviet Jews. Although the Soviet Jews are highly-educated professionals--40% of them have college degrees--they can only leave the Soviet Union with the equivalent of \$100 and few belongings. Israel must pay the cost of bringing them to Israel, provide housing and teach them Hebrew. She must also address the staggering \$50 billion cost of building homes, expanding the infrastructure and creating the jobs necessary to integrate them into Israeli society.

Israelis and the world Jewish community will shoulder most of the responsibility for absorbing the immigrants. This year, for the first time in Israel's history, Israel's defense needs will not be her biggest expenditure--absorption will. In 1991, \$6 billion, or 20% of her budget, will go towards this. Already amongst the most-taxed people in the world, Israelis will absorb a 5% increase in the income tax, a raise in the tax from 16-18% on most goods and services, and a 20% tax on savings accounts. In addition, the American Jewish community raised \$2 billion last year and agreed in April to "co-sign" or "guarantee" \$900 million in loans to Israel.

Even with these efforts, Israel will need assistance from the United States. Israel may ask the U.S. government to "co-sign" or "guarantee" a five-year loan package. These guarantees will enable Israel to go to American banks to get \$10 billion in loans at low interest and extended repayment rates. They will receive 30 years rather than the usual seven to repay such a loan, thus giving Israel the time to reap the benefits of economic expansion that these educated immigrants will help provide. Israel's economy is expected to grow by 9% a year through 1995.

I urge you to support absorption guarantees for Israel when they are requested this fall. By supporting the guarantees you will build on the work you have already done for Soviet Jewry. These guarantees will ensure an expansion of Israel's economy and infrastructure to best utilize the skills and talents of the Soviet immigrants. As well, you will be helping to fulfill the Zionist dream of a land where Jews can live up to their full potential without fear of persecution or prejudice.

Sincerely,

Your Name and Address

Greedorf

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Fred Cohen

October 2, 1989

I'm glad that we can send our full subvention of \$6000. to the Presidents' Conference. They are in dire need of funds. Please get a check to them as soon as you can. Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

Yoshua M. Dwork

We received a call from Yehuda Hellman urging that at least some payment be made on UAHC dues to the Presidents' Conference. They are in dire need of funds and a payment Ts due on Yehuda's pension. Anything we can send towards our subvention will be most helpful. Please do the best you can. Thank you.



October 26, 1971

Mr. Yehuda Hellman Bonference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Hellman:

I am glad that we were able to send you \$2,000.

You persist in sending us a bill for a total of \$4,000. As I recall, we agreed in Geneva that our obligation for the year is only \$3,000, which means, of course, that we owe you only \$1,000.

Please correct your records accordingly.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

ţ,

October 19, 1971

And to Volume Awak

TO: UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS Rabbi Alex Schindler

FROM: Dr. William A. Wexler, Chairman

This is to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your check # 5720 dated October 14, 1971 , in the amount of \$ 2,000.

Your share of the expenses of the Presidents Conference during the period
pril 1, 1971, through March 31, 1972\$4,000
Amount received to date
Total amount due\$2,000

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WAW:rb

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April 19, 1971

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations 515 Park Avenue New York, N.Y. 10022

Gentlemen:

We are in receipt of your statement received on April 19, 1971 requesting \$3,000 as our share of your 4/1/71 - 3/31/72 expenses plus an additional request for \$1,000.

Our fiscal year is from 7/1/71 to 6/30/72 and our budget for this year is closed and is going into print. Since we received no request prior to our closing our budget, we assumed that the \$2,000 allocated in 1970-71 would still suffice.

Please advise us in the future by the middle of March, so that we may take up your request with our budget committee.

Very truly yours,

JD/ev

Joshua Dwork Director of Finance

cc: Rabbi A.M. Schindler Rabbi M.E. Eisendrath Earl Morse



JULY 1969

Plenary Session of World Conference of Jewish Organizations

Hotel DuRhone . Geneva, Switzerland

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to the meeting of the

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Geneve - July 1969

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Segal, Dr. Simon

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Baum, Phil Lelyveld, Rabbi Arthur J.

B'NAI B'RITH

Bloch, Georges M. Cohen-Adad, Andre Edelsberg, Herman Ehrlich, Dr. E. L. Goldstein, James Jacob, Paul Kaufman, Rabbi Jay Kaufmann, Dr. Hans Pinner, Hayim Warburg, G. Wexler, Dr. William A. Worms, Fred Simon

BOARD OF DEPUTIES OF BRITISH JEWS

Fidler, Alderman Michael M. Janner, Sir Barnett Marks, Abraham J.

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Abbey, Monroe Gaisin, Nathan Kanee, Sol Klinghofer, Dr. Joseph

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Feuerstein, Moses I.

Miller, Rabbi Israel Schacter, Rabbi Herschel Schenk, Mrs. Max Solender, Sanford Stolarsky, Israel

CONSEIL REPRESENTATIF DES JUIFS DE FRANCE

Kahn, Gaston Moch, Maurice Weill, Eugene

DELEGACION DE ASOCIACIONES ISRAELITAS ARGENTINAS

Fainguersh, Gregorio Gesang, Herzl

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF AUSTRALIAN JEWRY

Falk, Gerald Y.

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

Bass, Hyman Minkoff, Isaiah

JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

Horowitz, Louis

SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES

Philips, N.

UNITED HIAS SERVICE

Seidemann, Leonard

DELEGATES (cont.)

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

Hellman, Yehuda

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS

Goldmann, Dr. Nahum Goldstein, Dr. Israel Halevy, Jacob Halprin, Mrs. Rose Hausmann, Gordon Jabes, Andre Kaplan, Armand Levenberg, Dr. S. Linton, I.J. Perlzweig, Dr. Maurice L. Prinz, Dr. Joachim Reiss, A. Riegner, Dr. Gerhart M. Roth, Dr. S. J. Tartakower, Prof. Arie VanDam, Dr. H. G. Weiss, Dr. Samson Winterstein, Dr. V.

WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

Avriel, Ehud Bar-on, Mordechai Dultzin, L. Finkielsztejn, Jaime Jacobson, Mrs. Charlotte Pincus, Louis A.

PLENARY MEETING

WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

The 1969 COJO Plenary Meeting convened in the Hotel duRhone, Geneve, Switzerland, July 18-20, 1969.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann opened the first session and welcomed the delegates, noting that all the organizations participating in COJO were present. He noted with satisfaction that the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the American Jewish Committee were represented by observers.

Dr. Goldmann then delivered his opening remarks

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* * *DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN* * *

The first item on our agenda is: ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE-EAST --A Discussion Of The Problems Facing Israel.

It is necessary that Jewish groups take a hard look at the world situation vis-a-vis the relations of non-Jews towards Jews. We must be aware that as times change, our position in the world as Jews, also changes. The Germans have for many years (since World War II) leaned over backwards towards the Jews because of guilt feelings. This is certainly an unnatural relationship; it continues today, though Germany's desire to compensate is lessening and they now want to "normalize" relations. Israel was formed under these unusual circumstances following the holocaust; she was "spoiled" in a certain sense. Today many nations feel it is no longer necessary for Israel to receive special treatment. Recently, Le Monde had an article in which Israel was told to stop reminding the world of Auschwitz. For these reasons, we must reappraise our position in the world and be cognizant of the changes that have occurred.

Years ago we were a minority in the forefront of the fight of the "have nots" and, in general, were on the side of minority groups in their struggles. But this has changed radically. We lost a genius like Trotsky to this fight, and he exemplifies the many intellectuals who have left our ranks. Today it seems we are interested in maintaining the status quo -- economically, socially and politically. Today the Jews are a wealthy and politically emancipated people and many are even tied to reactionary and dictatorial regimes.

I say this not as a criticism, but in order to elucidate the facts before us so that we may understand our altered world-wide position. We are now influential in many areas, and what happens in one part of the world may have repercussions elsewhere. The world is no longer isolated. These are revolutionary times for the majority of the people in the world. Hundreds of millions of people are today asking for retribution from the wealthy; and in this great struggle taking place in all parts of the world, we are on the side of the wealthy.

- 1 -

The shape of our Jewish communities is changing and in some countries the communities are disappearing. But we must see this in its proper perspective. In Cuba, for example, the Jewish community is disappearing because of the revolutionary movement which has taken place there--not because of anti-Semitism. Castro is not an anti-Semite. But Cuba, after all, has only a small Jewish community. This situation will yet occur in parts of Latin America where large and important Jewish communities now exist. And so, seen in its new perspective, we become aware that one of the consequences of our siding with the wealthy is that the New Left, now on the rise, has developed a new "anti-Jewishness", in distinct contradiction to the progressive movements of the past. The life of the Jewish communities around the world is bound up with the life of Israel.

We here today, must sit together and discuss this matter, though we may not have the answers that will solve the problem, for the majority of Jews live in the Golah. The Jews in Israel have an independent, separate existence as Israelis that leaves them less vulnerable to the problems I have raised. Time does not stand still. Today Russia may be considered part of the status quo and we do not yet know the role China will play, Therefore, the Jewish people's greatest need today is foresight and planning. We cannot discuss the problems facing individual communities without putting them in their broader context, for they can no longer be seen as isolated cases. We need statesmanship and solidarity among the Jewish people, which is the purpose of COJO. Here we can plan together, functioning as a unit where possible.

Part of the problem between Israel and the Golah is based on our lack of planning. It is not good enough for various organizations to be contacted by Israel and asked for their help in a crisis situation. The Prime Minister's Conference held in January, 1969, was an historic event, but follow-up is also important. During 1967 we faced a test of solidarity. But then we had the sympathy of the world (except a portion of the left) and now that this situation has changed, we will have to endure a much more severe test of solidarity. Therefore, we must discuss the public relations situation of Israel in various parts of the world and what we can do about it. We must stand behind Israel as long as her survival is not aboutely secure. The isolation she now faces will intensify. In 1967 it was not necessary for us to justify our support for Israel but it is becoming more and more necessary for us to defend her. It is because of all that I have just said to you who are here assembled around the table of COJO, that Israel has been placed as the first item on our agenda.

Let me now introduce to you Ambassador Z. Divon of the Israel Foreign Office; Mr. Zvi Netzer, an advisor to the Israel Foreign Office; and Ambassador M. Kidron, Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations in Geneve, who will now greet us. Following his remarks, Dr. Yaacov Herzog, Director General of the Prime Minister's Office, will deliver his address.

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AMBASSADOR M. KIDRON

On behalf of the Government of Israel, I would like to greet you. I see around me the distinguished leaders of world Jewry.

What is COJO's role? Is it to serve as a meeting place alone? If a highly effective COJO had existed during the early 1930's, perhaps the world situation would have turned out differently for the Jews. And so, aware of the need for an effective body, we wish this meeting well and hope your deliberations will be fruitful.

DR. YAACOV HERZOG

I would like to set up guidelines for this discussion. On the negative side, there is the development of Arab arms' strength--in light of the three stages enunciated by Nasser (Stage 1: initial defense; Stage 2: preparation; Stage 3: offensive), who claims they are now in the third stage; also the fact that the Fatah has gained great recognition in international consciousness and that there has been a dangerous breakdown among intel-

lectuals, who are conducting an amorphous search which is taking them further away from Israel. All told, leftists and their fellow travellers represent a significant segment of opposition to Israel in the Western World. Finally, the Western World in general no longer believes that a peace settlement can be reached in the near future and therefore takes for granted that nothing more than a slow progression towards peace can be achieved between the Arabs and Israelis. On the positive side; we must realize that Russia does not seem to want war in the Middle-East despite her rearming of Cairo and Damascus. She has, after all, given them notice of her plans to talk with the United States and other powers and has therefore moved somewhat from her previous posture of threats, explicit or implied. Finally, there is the beginning of an historical understanding between the Arabs and Israelis.

The most important question which has surfaced over the past year, is whether time is working in favor or against a Middle-East peace. Those countries that were our friends in 1967 (the United States, the United Kingdom, Latin American countries, Scandinavia, etc. -- with France still in question), are still "with us" on the question: "no withdrawal without peace" as enunciated in the June 1967 Johnson position. But they differ from us in their interpretation of how peace is to be achieved. This raises a public relations problem. The United States' involvements around the world affect their attitude in the Middle East; therefore the conflict existing between us regarding time assessment is highly relevant as it is at the root of the United States' attitude towards the Middle East today. A second public relations problem is evidenced by the attitude of the intellectuals, referred to earlier, for they see Israel as a symbol of all that they are against. To them it is a country in an alien land with "Jewish money", supported by imperialism. These problems must be dealt with by Israel, as she well knows.

A final point to keep in mind, concerning public relations, is that the Catholic church seems thus far to have maintained a position of positive neutrality, even in France, and has not really joined the fight to take Jerusalem out of Israeli hands. Their entire apparatus of Catholic publications has maintained silence, unlike the Protestant church which seems to have a closer meeting of minds with the New Left and others who question the morality of the existence of the State of Israel. Thus the silence of the Catholic church is an important phenomenon and we must watch developments in these areas for their public relations value cannot be over-emphasized. Let us now turn to relations on the other side, between Cairo and her ally, Moscow. Nasser has managed to convince the Russians that his ouster would mean the take-over of his country by a right-wing regime while, ironically, he has managed to convince the United States of the exact opposite. No man in history has failed as much as Nasser and yet retained power.

I mentioned earlier the beginning of historical understanding developing between the Arabs and Israelis. I say this because it seems that Arab leaders now speak of Israel as a reality. I recall Nasser's pre-1967 remarks on his image of Israel: "...we do not need to fight this little state, for the logic of time will vitiate the state if we consider the birth rate of the Arabs and the problem of public relations towards Israel. In this light, how long can this artificial state maintain itself? Therefore, we will not have to fire a shot because the impact of the world will press in on this tiny alien body." At Khartoum he said "No recognition, no peace, no negotiations." He also has made clear: "If we are again defeated the world will never hear again of the Arab people," meaning that the Arab world would cease to be viewed as a major factor on the world scene and would no longer be among the three or four major civilizations of our day. When challenged by some of his friends to sit at a table with Israel, Nasser replied, "I cannot meet with them because as long as I do not do so, they have not won the war and are not part of the Middl -East. Therefore, as an Arab patriot, I cannot sit down with them and thus recognize their existence in the Arab world."

This indeed has been the crux of the problem over the past two years. And yet, Nasser knows the truth: Nasser and Hussein have come to the historical awareness that Israel is a reality and that one way or another they have to deal with this reality which will neither evaporate or disappear.But in order to boost the morale of his people, he must continue his line and has therefore initiated numerous fights across the Suez.

Even beyond the question of a growing mutual awareness, let us consider the question now constantly being asked: Where is Israel going? Classical Zionism never understood the problems of the Middle-East: the problem of introducing the Jews into the Middle-East. In 1917 the Jews thought that the Arabs were anxious for them to come. But this is not the way it actually happened. Perhaps the Jews would not have come if they had realized the problem. Lester Pearson has said that in the late 1940's he had thought the problems between the Arabs and Jews were only temporary and that he would not have supported the establishment of the State of Israel if he had realized then that this was not the case. Even so, I believe the Arab as well as the Israeli today is trying to understand each others place in history. This is why I believe that today many Arab and Israeli leaders are beginning to understand the historical dimensions of their peoples.

Finally, let me ask that we now have a discussion on these questions. We are all part of Klal Yisroel and should express the doubts we may feel and should speak frankly in private meetings (not publicly).

--- QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD ---

1. <u>Rabbi Israel Miller</u>: Would you please address yourself to the problem of Israel's so-called "intransigence" as many people feel that some initiative on Israel's part could be taken on issues non-vital to security. I would also like to hear your views on the refuggee question, as it

is a major problem we face with the Protestant church.

ANSWER: As an example of what we are now trying to do in the West Bank, our government has decided to foster large-scale economic investments for development there. Agreement has been reached in this regard and factories will be moving in. We are trying to develop investments preferably by non-Jewish companies, though some investments by Jews may occur. Also, we now have 19,000 Arab laborers working in Israel. Concerning the refugee problem, the Prime Minister has instructed a committee to move ahead with preparations for a pilot project so that Israel will be able to show whit can be done on behalf of the refugees. 2. Dr. Samson Weiss: What can you tell us about

the role of the Fatah?

- ANSWER: There is a growing fear in the Arab countries of the Fatah. Lebanon has tried to block them, and Hussein is now talking about taking drastic action against them. I think he will be able to survive even if he does this, but he will not be able to seal off the borders. The regular Jordanian forces have been helping the Fatah--though during the past few weeks they have been showing restraint.
- 3. Gordon Hausmann: What is your opinion of the

problem of the oft-cited "Palestinian People"?

- ANSWER: Neither Nasser, Hussein, the Syrians nor Shukairy have actually proclaimed a Palestinian People. In 1922 the concept was destroyed by Churchill when Jordan was created. The term, Palestinian People, is essentially a Jewish term. People in the West Bank today generally do not support the Fatah. They have a fatalistic attitude towards the future. They do not want war, but wish to stand aside and wait to see what unfolds. The more their autonomy is developed by us, the greater will be their feeling that they have a stake in us. So we can see that these people are the victims of circumstances. We must have harmony with them and I think time is working in our favor in this regard.
- Gerald Falk: Do you think a solution to the Vietnam problem might have an affect on the Middle-

East settlement?

- ANSWER: It seems that the United States does not correlate the two issues. The fear that the Middle-East might become a second Vietnam is lessening.
- 5. <u>Dr. Simon Segal</u>: Has any movement taken place regarding the points raised in the big power talks?

- 7 -

ANSWER: The great powers should not dictate a settlement in the Middle-East. They are vitiating the factor of time; they are developing illusions and blocking communication. However the Russians now are prepared to accept a package settlement in the Middle East and this is a step forward because it means they can no longer say Israel is preventing peace by not withdrawing. All elements of the security council resolution are interlocking. The Russians are not able to move Masser from his commitment not to make peace, but they have been talking with him in this regard. The Egyptians are preventing the other Arab countries from negotiating for peace because it is in their interest to have additional fronts.

6. Isaiah Minkoff: What do you think of Gunnar

Jarring's role?

1 9 31 5

ANSWER: Gunnar Jarring does not move without the great powers. We are generally in support of the Jarring Mission.

-DISCUSSION-

* * *RABBI HERSCHEL SCHACTER* * *

On January 2, 1969, a delegation of the Presidents Conference met with former Secretary of State Dean Rusk. It was a fruitful session in which we reviewed the positions of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. At the conclusion of our meeting, Mr. Rusk said off-thecuff: "Why don't you please tell your Israeli friends that while the United States does not expect Israel to become an American satellite, they must understand that the United States cannot become an Israeli satellite."

This statement has considerable implications. I feel that we ought to allow enough time for a discussion of the complicated problems before us, particularly from the point of view of public relations (the image of Israel and the image of the Jewish people) with regard to non-Jews. COJO can act as the instrument through which a consensus could be developed. The Prime Minister's Conference held this past January was vitally important because it was a great demonstration of Jewish solidarity at which time specific issues were discussed and public relations approaches explored. But follow-up must take place. Prime Minister Eshkol made a contribution by convening the Conference and Dr. Herzog did a great deal in implementing it. But within COJO we must continue so that we hammer out a measure of unanimity, generally missing in leadership councils.

Almost everyone is interested in supporting Israel but there are Jewish leaders today -- even in the United States -- who seek to "save Israel from the Israelis". They do so with the best of intentions. Therefore, there is a need to develop an approach towards unanimity so as to avoid confusion and to prevent the spread of ideas that can be turned against Israel. COJO might serve as the framework for an agreed approach to basic problems concerning Israel. There must be a greater measure of coordination among world Jewish leaders and we must devote more time to this process. Israel will need the solidarity of world Jewry. Yet in the past we have often used different and conflicting avenues in our attempts to achieve our objectives. Thus we need improved public relations programs. The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations is trying to do this now.

* * *DR. JOACHIM PRINZ* * *

I am not expressing my views in any official capacity. I am speaking for myself alone. I am not satisfied with the address I delivered at the Prime Minister's Conference in January. I was ill at the time and took the floor because friends insisted I do so. Today I will make my position clearer.

What is the function of this meeting in regard to Dr. Herzog's analysis? It is to interpret the mood of the Golah. I want to disassociate myself from what Rabbi Schacter said. Cordination through Jewish organizations has been over-emphasized and over-rated. In the United States only 15% of the Jewish population is organized in secular Jewish organizations. I believe the government of Israel is sometimes overwhelmed by the patriotism of Jewish leaders, and I consider myself among them, but what the leaders stand for is not necessarily an expression of what the vast majority of the Jews believe. Therefore, I am warning against our over-rating outbursts of patriotism. I want the government and the people of Israel to accept the expression of American Jewish solidarity with Israel as an axiom of Jewish life; but for us to repeat this over and over again will not help. Our solidarity consists of many irrational, emotional, intellectual, religious and moral aspects.

I am not convinced that there will be an American Jewry in 50 years. But I am convinced that the dilution of Jewish values is so great, and the enculturation of our people with non-Jewish values and involvements is so tremendous, that I am obsessed with many fears. The <u>only thing which can guarantee the creative develop-</u> <u>ment of the Jewish people, is the State of Israel.</u> Therefore a declaration of solidarity with Israel is a declaration for the survival of the Jewish people in Golah. It is one of the tragedies of my life that I do not live in Israel. But, when we make our declaration of solidarity with Israel, we should realize that it does not fully represent the mood of the Golah. When I speak of solidarity, I do not mean unanimity of opinion on all problems facing Israel.

For this reason, I was distressed when Golda Meir attached me bitterly for my statements at the Prime Minister's Conference. Dr. Herzog asks us today to be frank; but it is untenable for me to be so if my frankness is to be rejected in the manner in which it was last January. The Golah must have its own convictions. However, I am not a believer in any organized attempt on the part of the Golah to become political counselors to the State of Israel concerning its foreign policy. I think this is dangerous. Ambassador Eban spoke in favor of this, but I opposed him. Such conduct would be tragic for the Jews in the Golah and beneath the status of the soverignty of Israel for her to allow organizations to become advisors and counselors in her foreign policy.

I want now to make clear the mood of American Jewry towards Israel--as I see it. The United States is one of the sickest countries in the world, divided by alienation within all groups (Jewish as well as Christian), with doubts about its national purpose, preoccupation with issues that are connected neither with Israel nor the Jewish People, but with the problems of life in the Twentieth Century in its broader context: the preoccupation with injustice, poverty, and so forth. Many people do not understand that even though Israel holds a position of centrality among organized Jewish thought, Israel is only peripheral among individual Jewish people. UJA substitutes for religion in their eyes. One day, when Israel becomes economically independent, American Judaism may very well become extinct; for this financial assistance is to them a form of occupational therapy.

The average American Jew thought that Israel had rejected the Four-Power talks even before they had taken place; and I do not understand why Israel did so with such vehemence and passion. Approximately 80-85% of American Jewry did not vote for President Nixon and he knows this. Secretary of State Rogers appeared irritated at the recent Presidents Conference meeting with him and I sensed his uneasiness. He asked us: "What did you want the United States to do? Stand back and do nothing to help formulate a settlement?" I personally felt in an awkward position denouncing the Four-Power talks, for it enabled the United States to then ask us if we would have preferred them to do nothing.

DR. HERZOG

As far as President Nixon is concerned, I would like to state clearly that in the period of 1957-60, when Nixon was Vice President, he was friendly to Israel. Yet his recent assessment that an imminent danger of war--a "powder keg" situation--existed points out the difference in our assessments.

DR. PRINZ

Let me make another point. Within the liberal forces in America, there is dissatisfaction over Israel's interpretation of the Fatah. Living in the shadow of Vietnam as we do in the United States, with so many of our people deeply troubled over the war, we find many of our young people identifying the Fatah with the Viet-cong, who they see as both intelligent and dedicated. So that, when Israel describes the Fatah as illiterate hoodlums, this interpretation is not acceptable to them. Recently, Le Monde wrête an article on the Fatah, saying that a majority of them are educated. In today's world, with approximately 30,000 Jewish professors at universities, the Jewish community is thinking things through for itself. When we speak of public relations, we are referring to the establishment of an image representing the best in Israel. In this regard, I believe it is vitally important for a very solemn proclamation or

declaration to be made by Israel stating her national goals, in light of her present situation. I would like to see a moral declaration conceiving of herself as the guardian of justice and peace, thus making a great contribution to what we here glibly refer to as "the image of Israel." The image of Israel is the image of the Jew.

* * *DR. S. LEVENBERG* * *

I have but one criticism of what Dr. Prinz said. I found a contradiction in his remark on the one hand that he disagrees with Ambassador Eban's request for us to offer advise on policy affairs, and, on the other hand, he also criticizes Israel when she demands solidarity. I found this unclear. But, what was quite clear, was his description of the mood of American Jewry.

Whenever a government is unsatisfied with Israel there is an uneasiness among Jews and in the United "States there is a public relations problem. But generally speaking, two years after the Six-Day War, I find it quite clear that: 1-Israel's position among the Jews of the world has been maintained; 2-Jews do not say that Israel should just withdraw; 3-The question of Jewish solidarity among American Jews, I feel is not necessarily comparable with that of British Jews; their situations are different. On behalf of my colleagues in England, let me state that they have generally stood solidly behind Israel and given her their support. Recently, when Golda Meir came to England, she said, "We are partners in stubborness." I do believe it is right for Israel to act as she does. Many people ask, "What will be the outcome of all this?" but I disagree with the validity of such a question, because there is no such thing as "an end." The world doesn't function in this manner. The "end" is nowhere. One makes progress here and there and that is all.

I do deprecate statements by responsible Israeli leaders, however, that say the Soviet Union will not intervene. I believe we should all read carefully the Gromyko Statement presented at the Supreme Soviet. The mentality of showing their strength was exemplified in Czechoslovakia. I suggest we all read the statements periodically coming out of Russia. The relationship between Russia and the UAR is continually being strengthened. We really ought to take more seriously what they write and say in regard to Israel.

There are 36% Arabs in the over-all territory controlled by Israel and soon there will be at least 40%. If there is no settlement, then the Arabs can conceivably say that with a 40% Arab population, a defacto bi-national state exists and will therefore demand a full voice in the government.

Arab propaganda has never been so well organized as it is today -- which brings us to the problem of public relations. Beirut "research centers" are flooding the world with material. They have a great deal of money. We have to discuss the problem of the four-power talks, the question of the so-called "Palestinians" and so forth. What shall we do about these questions? The Arabs deal with them and yet we do not formulate answers. They are surely leading in this public relations campaign.

Therefore, let me make a suggestion: The best Jewish forces available should be mobilized in the sphere of mass media communications, to convene a conference of whatever size necessary, making use of the best "brains" to discuss the manner in which our views should be presented. Country-wide and regional conferences should be called on these matters. Our people are challenging us to allow them to be involved in these issues and we must do something about this.

* * *MR. LOUIS A. PINCUS* * *

I want to address myself to Dr. Prinz's remarks. The problem he raised has for months also been bothering me. When this discussion moves into a higher plane of morality and when intellectuals ask, "What right has Israel to be there?", then we must look to Classical Zionism for our answer. I do not know whether a declaration of moral intent should actually be made. But I want to tell Dr. Prinz that it is important that Jewish consciousness accept the Jewish State fully. In this regard, I am more concerned with the Jews than non-Jews. Ne will be unable even to hold those Jews now with us if we do not turn to a posture of Classical Zionism. We cannot hold them merely by showing how decently we are acting towards the Arabs in the occupied areas.

I believe Dr. Herzog was mistaken when he said that at the beginning we did not understand fully the Arab problem. I believe we did in fact understand it, but were not allowed to solve it. We have never been permitted to get to the root cause of the problem, and to the extent that we have been able to do so, we have tackled the problem. We have a case unparalleled in the treatment of minorities. Just consider how we treated those Arabs who stayed behind during the first Arab-Israeli War. In 1917 there were many things we did not realize. The Zionists then thought that Jews from all over the world would just get up and come to Israel. Did they?

I am worried lest Jewish strength erode. Regarding the question "How long?" I must say, as an Israeli, that as far as one can see considering the world situation as it is today vis-a-vis Russia, China and the United States, there is no "end" in sight in the immediate future. Some problems depend on the change in historical circumstances in order to help bring about their solution. In this situation, -- as it has developed since the Six-Day War -- Israel must "take it on the chin" for a very long time. This requires a different kind of Jewish solidarity.

As far as the United States is concerned, I don't think President Nixon will substantially change the American stand on Israel. I believe he is concerned about the internal front and does not want to lose Jewish support in the United States. Therefore, we must find a way to reach those Jews who today criticize Israel's "intransigence". We must find a way to reach them so that no Jews allow themselves to be used as a wedge by the forces opposed to Israel.

I do believe that there must be a free exchange between Israel and the Golah. But, in the present crisis, there are limitations on the nature and form it can take. Of all the things Israel expects from the Jews during this crisis period, it is that Jewish leadership make certain that they themselves understand the situation, express their opinions among themselves, make a decision and then all should support it. That is the meaning of Jewish solidarity today.

DR. SIMON SEGAL

For how long shall we expect this crisis period to continue?

L. PINCUS

The crisis period will last for as long as it lasts. The point to be made here is that Israel expects from the Jews in the Diaspora the same support she expects in Israel. Today, in the world of mass media, there are about 14 Arab states that spend money on public relations against Israel. Israel does not have the money to do the same job and even if she did, she still has only one embassy in a given country, and only one channel through which to work. I don't agree with Joachim's (Pr+nz) pessimism of American Jewry. I believe there is much potential support there which we have not as yet been able to harness.

In the days to come, those individuals involved in Jewish life, should get together country-by-country and make this problem their business so that they can stem this anti-Jewish, anti-Israel campaign which challenges the Jewish people and their right to support a Jewish state.

DR. GOLDMANN

I thank you all for a fruitful discussion. Let me now announce the names of those appointed to the Resolutions Committee and ask them to begin their deliberations immediately.

> Dr. Perlzweig, Chairman Phil Baum H. Edelsberg S. Levenberg

The meeting adjourned, to re-convene at 3:00 p.m.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The meeting was called to order at 3:00 p.m.

* * *SIR BARNETT JANNER* * *

It has been suggested here that we in the Diaspora should be allowed to express opinions that criticize or differ from those of Israel. I believe this is correct -- but only internally -- because we cannot presume to know enough facts with which to justly and publicly criticize the Government of Israel; they possess more facts than we do.

There is now a wonderful opportunity available to our youth in the Diaspora and I wish they understood it; they can go out -- as we did 30 years ago -- and try to reach others, for Arab propaganda is reaching out and attracting the attention of many people. In England for example, there never were pro-Arabs in the House, but there now are. There is also an enormous Arab campaign underway, receiving advise from a large public relations firm. Advertisements are being issued, falsely listing as subscribers to their pro-Arab magazine, famous individuals who have not given consent for the use of their names. We must compete with these efforts. We should not allow ourselves to be divided and must fight attempts being made to distinguish between Zionists and non-Zionists. This is the very tactic the Arabs would like to see perfected.

We in England, try to keep up-to-date on articles published concerning Zionism, Judaism and related subjects, so that -- if necessary -- we may answer them immediately. In the Board of Deputies of British Jews, they do things differently. There the Committees do the work -- not the President.

Dr. Levenberg is accepted by the British authorities as representing the Board of Deputies of British Jews and is known to be connected with the Zionist movement.

Contrary to what has been said about the situation in the United States, I believe that in Britain, the "man on the street" is with us. When Golda Meir was there recently, she made a great impression on the people. She was favorably and sympathetically received. I believe we have a just cause; however, the truth does not go as far as a carefully conceived lie and we must therefore organize so that our true and just cause will become more widely known and understood.

* * *RABBI JAY KAUFMAN* * *

During the Prime Minister's Conference many of us learned the danger of speaking with candor, as Dr. Herzog now urges. One is taking a chance when he does this, for Dr. Herzog said after the January sessions in Jerusalem that Israel is under a "seige mentality" and we in the Diaspora must at times "turn the other cheek". Perhaps COJO is the proper forum for such give-and-take discussions. Yet, if we cannot have a true dialogue in which we express our divergent views, then let us agree not to exchange "candid" views at all, for when many of us have spoken our minds in the past we have often been interrupted and booed. Let us not be hypocritical.

I agree with Mr. Pincus's reference to Dr. Prinz's remarks as "a cry without words" -- one that transcends words. There are many differences in approach.

The centrality of Israel to Jewish life is now accepted by those within Israel; but Israel is not central in the day-to-day lives of American Jews. It is the defense of Israel that is at the center of their work. Israelis refuse to believe this, but it is true.

On the issue of public relations, let me mention what I believe is a great mistake being made by most people working in the field. Often an Israeli spokesman or newpaper emphasizes military successes, glorifying the military, and thus causing an adverse reaction among those in the Diaspora. Recently, in a TV broadcast in which David Frost interviewed Moshe Dayan, the latter said that war is "a most exciting experience"; I do not know if this remark is being quoted in its proper context, but I cite it in order to emphasize that such statements will invariably be misinterpreted by some and used against us. Another example, which I quote from memory, is statement by Dayan: "If I were an Arab I would feel the same as they do." I writhe to hear this. (Expressions of disagreement by some delegates were heard.)

There ought to be a different emphasis mentioning the face of Israel as it really is in other areas. So much is happening in Israel which the world hungers to know -- especially in this period of revolt against the establishment. We in the Galut, with our Galut mentalities are more self-conscious of life among the goyim -- for obvious reasons, as is well known. But in Israel, there is a revolt by their youth -- a renaissance of idealism and dedication which we never hear about. And much is being done on the Arabs' behalf which is also not well publicized. For example, who is even aware that those most distressed by the Arabs' situation in occupied Jerusalem are the Efendi because they feel that by treating the Arabs so well, Israel is ruining their chances to further exploit the Arabs, who will now no longer accept the Efendi's low working conditions.

And so, we do not need simply greater coverage by the mass media, but public relations which emphasize the heretofore unpublicized true and authentic aspects of Jewish life, which Israel exemplifies more than any other place in the world. We do not merely want correct responses following incidents, but long-range planning whch stresses the positive morality emanating from Israel.

* * *GERALD FALK* * *

I think Australia serves as a good "sounding board" to measure the effectiveness of the Arab propaganda campaigns being waged, since Australia, as a nation, has generally shown great support for Israel. On February 3, 1969, our Prime Minister stated, "All parties to the dispute should sit down around the conference table face-to-face and begin discussions aimed at restoring peace in the Middle-East. Any settlement must accept Israel as a sovereign nation...."

But there has been a change in this attitude by our Prime Minister. He has since said that there must be some sort of settlement but has not mentioned the need for face-to-face talks. Arab propaganda in Australia is something new and its development must be counter-acted. There is now an Arab newspaper which distributes impressive and expensive material through the mail to interested parties, arousing many questions that are left unanswered by us. We ought not rely too heavily on the use of materials emanating from Israel as they do not always represent the most effective presentation possible. We must realize that while Israel knows the facts, she does not necessarily know the most effective way to present them in each of the various localities. Local people in a given area know best how to disseminate information.

* * *ISAIAH MINKOFF* * *

Our discussion this morning was divided into two areas: Dr. Herzog's statement and the discussion it aroused; and the subsequent discussion on public relations and its limitations.

Dr. Herzog's statement was based on abstractions; it led to a discussion of Classical Zionism, which in turn evoked some requests for complete, unswerving, unquestioning solidarity on our part. This may become a new demand on us and it raises a problem. Let us suppose Israel had a different government with which we disagreed basically. Would we still be asked, according to this theory and under these circumstances, to give unswerving, unquestioning loyalty to that government?

I believe the American Jew today is ready to be of complete service to Israel; the real tests were in pre-1947, in 1957 and again in 1967. Then what is the dilemma? We are ready and willing to support Israel on every issue facing her today, yet what has happened? A few voices spoke up in disagreement with Israel's attitude on the Four-Power talks and look at the strong reaction! But I was surprised that so few spoke up! This is a free society. The fact that we have so many diverse opinions is our strength, not our weakness. Mr. Eban invited us to voice our criticisms last January. Many of us were reluctant to do so then, as we had come to Israel to show solidarity. Yet his was an invitation to speak frankly.

Regarding the second issue before us; let me emphasize that public relations is not omnipotent. It can serve policies. We tend to view it as a tool for interpreting positions already taken by Israel and through which we can intensify our efforts when faced with a particularly difficult position. Thus we speak of public relations as a means of helping Israel; we do not expect Israel to subordinate herself to our public relations. This meeting should be the forum for our discussion of what public relations really means. If we cannot do this here, with all of us assembled at this table, then where?

Finally, let me state that those who may seek to divide American Jewry, placing a wedge between us, will be unable to do so. The entire Jewish community today is ready to serve and they must be addressed in terms relevant to today.

* * *RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD* * *

We have raised a question concerning the nature of our dialogue. I think it concerns the manner in which we talk to one another, rather than the substance of our discussions. We ought to recognize the psychology of those in the Golah as well as those in Israel. Solidarity must provide the unity of discipline necessary in times of crisis as well as the understanding among ourselves of the need for free expression of opinion and development of positions -- an inbred part of our Jewishness. We cannot ask Jews not to do this. We must talk to each other as equals and as brothers and find those forums at which we can "let down our hair" and talk thoughtfully.

There seems to be developing at this meeting a sharing of opinions, and I am glad to see it. We must speak up when we feel this will help Israel -though they may feel differently.

Ours is a just cause; we have the truth on our side and we want to present it effectively to the world. In my congregation, young people come to me saying that we are guilty of lending ourselves to a cause that has no justice, in which other people's land has been expropriated. I cannot brush them side. I must answer them persuasively. I believe we have a case -- for today's intransigence is caused by the other side. We must express the real anguish that the Golah feels. We must learn once again to talk intimately, speaking with utmost frankness on the issues, hammering out our views and presenting them in a united voice through proper public relations channels.

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* * *EUGENE WEILL* * *

The majority of Jews in France receive information about Israel through the general press -- not the Jewish press, and in this respect Israel's public relations in France is on a low level. There should be one central address through which information is disseminated to us, thus enabling us to communicate it to the press. On the whole, I think we are reaching public opinion which is generally pro-Israel; even much of the New Left still supports Israel. Therefore, if we could have the right information available to us at the right time it would be very helpful.

* * *DR. SIMON SEGAL* * *

It was previously stated here that time is on Israel's side. I do not believe we can build a country on this premise, for if such a great mistake was made by Classical Zionists in evaluating the Arab question, then how can we be sure the present evaluation is correct? The reaction of the Golah to Israeli acts differs according to the specific act. Some of us were disturbed by Israel's vehement reaction to the Four-Power talks -- and her expectance that we would react similarly.

When decent, intelligent Americans are at times dissatisfied with Israel's acts or explanations, though the people may not be right, Israel should nevertheless examine the reasons behind their criticism. They are often legitimate. We ought not lump together all criticism, claiming it all results from Arab propaganda. It is often said that when we issue statements they are educational, but when issued by the other side, they are propaganda.

In order to counter this "propaganda", Israel ought to cooperate more closely with those Jewish organizations with public relations departments having expertise in the field. If relied on judiciously, Israel could increase ten-fold her effectiveness in this area. In the United States we expect to have in the near future better cooperation and coordination among the organizations themselves.

* * *FRED WORMS* * *

Many positive aspects of the Arab/Jewish relationship, evident in Israel, ought to be brought to the attention of the many people anxious to know of them. Aside from this information gap, there is also a generation gap. Mr. Pincus has said that he envisages a long period of stale-mate before us -- perhaps decades. When COJO convenes in ten or twenty years will there be continuity with the next generation? How many of us here are under 50 years of age?

Rabbi Lelyveld has raised important questions. Our youth in America, Britain, Israel -- must be brought together. We need an atmosphere of greater receptivity towards the youth. Some of our children now go to Israel, seeing it first hand; this number must be increased. We certainly ought to allocate time at a conference such as this for a discussion of our youth. Why isn't this a subject on our agenda?

DR. YAACOV HERZOG -summation-

Dr. Segal, it is my opinion that time has thus far worked in our favor.

We have discussed here the question: "How will this all end?" The uneasiness we feel, after twenty years of statehood, concerns our sovereignty. We had previously thought Israel's sovereignty was accepted by the world and now basic challenges are being made to the whole concept of Zionism.

It is my impression that we did not properly grasp the Arab question in the early days of the movement; Classical Zionism did not adequately educate the Jewish people to an understanding of this problem. The question is: How do we explain to the world the historical roots of our relationship with Israel?

The beginning of an understanding by the Arabs of the reality of the situation seems now to be developing. But across the world -- among the New Left, which includes many Jewish students -- we are being challenged. We must face up to this challenge. I was recently told by a Frenchman that he finds Classical Zionism to be in contradiction to the modern world of the 20th Century, which he feels is represented by the following individuals:

1)	Cardinal of Paris	-	Catholic
2)	Mauriac	-	Liberal
3)	DeGaulle	Υ.	Historical
4)	Malraux		Cultural
5)	Sartre/Camus	-	Existentialist

These individuals all agree on the morality and basic right of the Jews to be in the land of Israel, but they are all deeply troubled by the Arab problem. They agree that the Jewish people are in a unique situation and have a link with Israel beyond time and conventional morality. In fact, if they did not see Israel as unique they would surely oppose the Jews and side with the Arabs.

Our tragedy with today's youth is that we have not been able to reach them concerning the uniqueness of the Jewish people and the fact that contemporary Jewish history is the culmination of a 4000 year revolt against accepted notions.

There are two points we ought to seriously consider:

- The challenge to Israel and the nature of our response in terms of public relations.
- 2) The need for total solidarity on essential points -- and the question of how we shall attain it and how we can implement it.

These are the two central points before us. I know that the Prime Minister has definite views about them. Perhaps a group of leaders can meet in Jerusalem again for basic discussions so that we may reach some conclusions and draw up a program of action on these essential points.

The meeting was adjourned at 6:30 p.m. and delegates were asked to return the following day at 4:00 pm for an Oneg Shabbat.

ONEG SHABBAT

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld presided at the Omeg Shabbat, which began at 4:00 p.m. His opening address, as submitted to us by him, was on the subject of

The 50th Anniversary of the Committee of Jewish Delegations (the struggle for Jewish rights commencing at Versailles)

* * *RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD* * *

The Committee of Jewish Delegations whose memorandum of proposals to the Peace Conference in Paris was submitted in May of 1919--just two months more than fifty years ago--was an unprecedented demonstration of international Jewish unity. The ideological range of its representation went from Z to A: from the Zionist Organization to the American Jewish Committee. Spearheaded by the American Jewish Congress, which was then only one-year old, it included the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Constituent Assembly of Palestinian Jewry, B'nai B'rith, organized Italian Jewry and the several national councils of Eastern European Jewry. Its presidents were Louis Marshall, Leon Reich, Israel Rosoff, Nahum Sokolow and Menahem Ussishkin. What this distinguished and representative body, including the Jews of the Yishuv, was able to unite on was not the question of Jewish statehood, but something in itself equally as revolutionary and certainly worthy of commemoration: the espousal of so-called minority rights, the defense of the individual and corporate freedom of Jews and of all other minority peoples and nationalities. The Committee itself defined a three-fold objective, as follows:

"To secure to the people of the newly created or enlarged States of Europe, with adequate constitutional guarantees and the sanction to be afforded by the League of Nations, the following rights:

> their civil, religious and political liberty as individuals;

2) their right of organization and development as national minorities; and

3) the attainment of equality of status for individuals and for national minorities."

The achievement of unity on these points was the more

remarkable in the light of the controversy that had been raging in the Jewish world. There were Zionists who fervently believed and passionately argued that the battle for minority rights would hinder and delay the establishment of a Jewish State and the ingathering of the exiles; there were Diaspora Nationalists who held the idea of statehood in Palestine or elsewhere to be a will o'the wisp, who with Simon Dubnov predicted that this "illusionary" goal would produce despair greater than that occasioned by the failure of assimilation; and there were those who held the Jews to be a sect, a religious group alone, whose most secure destiny was to be patriotic nationals of the countries in which they resided.

History has rendered its judgments. We are able to view this controversy from the perspective of those who witnessed both the unutterable horror of the nadir of Jewish suffering in the death of the six-million and the glorious fulfilment of our millenial dream in the establishment of the Jewish State. That cause--the struggle for Statehood --had been effectively served at Versailles less than a year earlier by an equally distinguished though ideologically far more homogeneous delegation, which included Chaim Weizmann, Louis Brandeis, Stephen Wise as well as Judge Mack, Louis Marshall and Colonel Harry Cutler who were part of the later Committee of Delegations. Someday a full study must be made of Louis Marshall's role as representative of the inner tensions of Jewish organization: Denounced as a Hof-Jude, a so-called non-Zionist, his staunch Jewish loyalties could be depended upon to override the seething ambivalences of his own constituency -- ambivalences that were not purged until the anti-Zionists withdrew into the mislabeled Council for Judaism a quarter-century later.

At Paris in 1919, other winds were blowing. The euphoria of victory was linked with a messianic zeal for the rights of man and for a remaking of the world so that it would be "safe for democracy." This zeal for the rights of oppressed peoples and of small nations was most ardently and also most naively expressed by the representatives of the United States. The country which had played so large a part in the military victory, now under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, claimed the right of its self-assumed selflessness to speak for its self-proclaimed democratic ideals. Nevertheless, the effort to include in the Covenent of the League of Nations itself, provisions for the protection of national, religious and racial minorities failed, largely because of the Commonwealth interests of Great Britain and because Wilson wanted to avoid "embarrassments" and sought, as he said,

to start an analysis of grant and an or

"to quiet discussion that raises prejudices."

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This was the background that made it necessary to incorporate such protections into the peace treaties themselves and therefore brought the Committee of Jewish Delegations into being. The time was ripe for the effort, for the victor nations were dedicated to national emancipation as it had been envisioned in the 19th Century by Mazzini, who sought "to remake the map of Europe and to rearrange the peoples in accordance with the special mission assigned to each of them by geographical, ethnical and historical conditions."

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While no one then could have predicted the unimaginable depths into which Jewish destiny was to be thrust, no knowing and self-affirming Jew in 1919 could have rested easily in the situation in which his people found itself. The revolution in Russia while it promised the Jews human rights seemed even then to be asking for the surrender of Jewishness in return. In most of Eastern Europe, anti-Semitism was a malign reality. Fresh po groms had broken out in Poland. The memorandum itself pointed out that Roumania had never fulfilled its obligations under the forty-year-old Treaty of Berlin and that the Jews of Roumania were still denied citizenship rights -- of her quarter-of-a-million Jews less than a thousand had been "naturalized" and those only by special legislative acts.

The one positive sign of hope on the international scene, was that which flowed from the Balfour Declaration, then only a year and a half old, and the promise of its incorporation in even stronger form in the new structure. At that moment, however, it did not seem to men of practical judgment that this hope afforded any immediate answer to the existing needs and just demands of 9,000,000 Jews. Those demands as phrased by Dubnov, were unimpeachable: "...as inhabitants of Europe since ancient times, (the Jews) demand equal political and civic rights; as members of a historic nationality united by a common culture, they demand as much autonomy as is appropriate for any nationality that strives to develop freely."

This particularly was, for Dubnov, to be used in the service of a universal ideal. Like all nationalisms of the epoch, Jewish nationalism whether of the Zionist or Diaspora variety was invested with a sense of mission. The redeemed people would serve the cause of liberty for all men. This became the nub of the dialectical problem that plagued the Committee in 1919 and continues to plague us today--the problem of harmonizing national emancipation and the national freedom it implies, with the dream of world order, justice and peace. Let me be clear: this is not solely a Jewish problem. It is the problem of mankind. It was made explicit during the debate on the Covenant by Premier Orlando of Italy. He said:

"We started with two absolute principles...the principle of the sovereignty of state which is supreme ...and...the necessity of imposing from above a restraint on the conduct of states...in order that their <u>liberty should not include the liberty to do</u> evil." (My emphasis).

It was a noble goal and a noble effort. For having written its basic presuppositions in greater or lesser degree into the Versailles treaties, the Committee of 1919, has earned an honoured place in the history of our people and of our time. The failure of the Versailles system was, however, written into the realities of the era. It was hastened, to be sure, by the disgraceful failure of the United States to support its idealistic war-time president. With the refusal of the United States Senate to ratify the Versailles Treaty and the repudiation of the League of Nations in the presidential election of 1920, the most important foundation stone was pried loose from the structure and Europe was left to sink into the anarchy that would condemn the world to an even more demonic struggle only twenty years later. Orlando's dream of "self-constraint" controlled by the public opinion of the world was whistling in the dark.

Thus, too, the minority rights guaranteed to the Jews were a dead end. In Poland, they ended in the pogroms of 1925. And with the mass of the Jews from the Pale of Settlement now under the hegemony of the Soviet Union, we were to witness the complete destruction of their cultural, national and religious rights. The poignancy of the case of Boris Kochubiyevsky provides a dramatic epitaph for minority rights under unabated national sovereignty where the liberty to do evil still prevails. For Kochubiyevsky, in what must be characterized as supreme heroism, dared to assert his Jewishness and to demand the right to emigrate to Israel. His letter to Brezhnev states his "crime":

"I want my children to study in a school in the Hebrew language. I want to read Jewish papers. I want to go to a Jewish theatre."

For this demand, Boris Kochubiyevsky has been sentenced to three years in prison. One part of the lesson seems clear to me. There will be no protection for Jews or for any other minority: blacks, or the toiling masses or Moslems in Yugoslavia or Jews in Iraq, until there is a world organization on world government with sufficient power to deny to its constituent states the right to do evil.

Another part of the lesson flows from the fact that there exists for the Kochubiyevsky's of the world a possibility that did not exist in 1919: A Jewish State stands ready to receive them -- and, indeed, ready to negotiate for their release.

This makes our task somewhat easier today. We are not faced with an impasse in every direction. But the existence of the State does not mean that we can dispense with Diaspora organization. The interactions between a strong, organized Diaspora is necessary to the security The State has the advantage of official entree of both. to the channels of diplomacy and of international discourse. The Jews of the Diaspora, to the extent that their governments are responsive to the will of its citizens, have influence upon the nations of the world. The State promises the possibility of official intervention on behalf of Jews who are the victims of authoritarian governments. The Diaspora is the source of continuing necessary support -- political as well as financial -to the State. Diaspora organization -- such as that which brings us together here today to commemorate the beginnings of fifty years ago -- combines the potential influence of the Jews of the democracies with the voices and the needs of all other Jews the world over, to provide a platform from which they may be enuniciated to all men.

This presupposes that there will be those who will listen and be capable of response, that some form of meaningful world government committed to the rights of men will emerge. Without that basic development, God help not only all of us but all of mankind.

Meanwhile, in our position of greater advantage as Jews and greater peril as human beings, it remains for us to unite as did our predecessors in 1919 on two insistent affirmations:

of the right of groups and nations to exist in freedom so that they may develop each in accord with its own particular national genius; and of the right of individuals to live in freedom, that every man may be master of his own spirit, at liberty to make the choices to which his own soul invites him.

Our task is to claim these rights, corporate and personal for ourselves as Jews and to seek to write them into the basic world structure on behalf of all the children of men.

Dr. S. Levenberg and Dr. Nahum Goldmann also spoke at this session, but in view of the Shabbat, no minutes were taken. Upon receipt of the text of their addresses, we will distribute them to you under separate cover.

SATURDAY NITE SESSION

The session was called to order at 9:25 p.m. by Mr. Louis Pincus, who then introduced Dr. Israel Goldstein, asking him to address the delegates on the subject of the Falashas. His submitted text follows:

* * *DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN* * * "This is not the first time that the subject of the Falashas is on the agenda of COJO. Sometime ago, I was privileged to hear the address of Professor Bentwich before this body on this subject. Professor Bentwich heads a Committee in London, and has for many years given time, thought and effort to this subject, including several visits to Ethiopia and one or two interviews with the Emperor on the subject of the Falashas. I listened to his report with a special dimension of interest, owing to the fact that forty years ago I had been enlisted by the late Professor Faitlovitch, who was dedicated to the Falashas since the time that he had been the pupil of Professor J. Halevy, who had "discovered" them, and I became the first Chairman of the American pro-Falasha Committee.

At that time our project was to raise the funds for a school building on a plot donated by the Emperor Haile Selassie, who had shortly before this ascended the throne and assumed the title of "Lion of Judah". In this school building a number of promising Falasha boys were trained. The principal of the school was Professor Tamrat Emanuel, one of the distinguished disciples whom Professor Faitlovitch had reared. He later held an important post in the Government Education Department. Professor Faitlovitch had two other distinguished pupils. One was Tedasseh Yaakov, who is now a minister in the Government, and the other was Mr. Yonah Bogala, who is the present leader of the Falasha group and their contact with the outside Jewish world.

The interest of American Jewry in the Falasha Jews has been meager and sporadic across the years. Since the death of Professor Faitlovitch in 1954, it has almost waned entirely.

In the last two or three years, however, there has been a sporadic revival of interest, owing partly to the interest shown by American Jewish tourists who have visited Ethiopia, and by a small local committee. Several months ago, my wife and I fulfilled a long held desire to visit the Falashas, and we came there in time for Passover. During our visit I also had occasion to have an audience with the Emperor, a longer conversation with the Governor of Gondar, the province of Ethiopia where most of the Falashas live, a lengthy conversation with Mr. Tedasseh Yaakov, and a thorough discussion with the Israel Ambassador and the members of his staff.

What are the number of the Falashas now in Ethiopia?

When the late Professor Faitlovitch enlisted my interest fifty years ago, he estimated that number to be between 50,000 and 70,000. Today they are about 25,000. Their numbers have declined owing chiefly to the extensive Christian missionary activity and partly because some of them have moved to the cities, or have joined the army and have become assimilated. This decline is an indictment of the neglect on the part of the Jewish people. It is my hope that help extended by Jewish bodies may succeed in stemming this trend.

In appearance the Falashas resemble all the Ethiopians, black in color, with finely chiselled features, topped by grizzly black hair. You know, of course, the general Ethiopian tradition that they are descended from King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Hence the title "Lion of Judah", which was assumed by the Emperor Haile Selassie, and the Mogen David symbol which one sees, sometimes together with the cross, in various public places.

The word "Falashas" has been interpreted to mean "stranger" or "invader", and there is a feeling among the Falashas and their Ethiopian neighbors, that they belong to a different lineage. Their origin is a moot question. Many of the Falashas themselves believe that they came to Ethiopia with Jeremiah from Egypt after the destruction of the First Temple. Some scholars believe that they came to Ethiopia in the fourth century from Southern Arabia. Books on the Falashas have been written by Professor Leslaw in English, Mr. Eshkoli in Hebrew and Professor Ullendorff in English. Professor Ullendorff claims that there are tribes in Ethiopia which are more Semitic in their origin than the Falashas.

As I see it, however, the important fact is that the Falashas are the only group who are more consciously aware of their Judaic descent, but who have for many centuries valiantly maintained their Judaism as they see it. They prefer to be known as "Betah Israel". The Judaism of the Falashas is that of the Torah. The Talmud and Rabbinic Judaism has skipped over them. In addition to the books on the Torah, they also have other sacred books such as the Book of Enoch and the Book of the Jubilee. Their sacred language is Gheez, which is the same as the sacred language of the Ethiopians generally. They have a sect of Kohanim and also an order of Nazirites, who serve as their teachers and religious functionaires. They observe the Sabbath very strictly. They observe circumcision, ritual slaughtering and other Torah laws, and lay special emphasis on the purity of the family life.

Most of the Falashas are scattered in villages in the Gondar region of Ethiopia. The most important village is Ambober. They live in primitive huts and eke out their livelihood from primitive agriculture supplemented by some cattle and sheep raising. Their clothes consist mostly of sacks; sandals are a luxury. They travel barefoot for days to get from one place to another. A few of them are artisans, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and potters.

Through the years, a number of Jewish organizations have shown sporadic interest in the Falashas. These include the Jewish Colonization Association, the Alliance Israelite Francaise, the Joint Distribution Committee, ORT, OSE, the Jewish Agency and the World Jewish Congress.

In the last several years, Professor Tartakower, in addition to Professor Bentwich, has taken an active interest. Some years ago a number of Falasha youth were brought on Youth Aliyah to Kfar Batyah. Most of them have returned, a few have remained in Israel. Among those who returned are some who are now teaching t..e Falasha children Hebrew.

There are several schools, of which Mr. Yonah Bogala is the principal, and they are receiving a modest budget from the Jewish Agency Education Department.

Let me say a few words about my recent Passover visit to the Falashas. It took us an hour-and-a-half by Landrover to cover the thirty kilometers from the city of Gondar to the Village of Ambober, as the roads are fit only for travel by mules. We arrived a few hours before the onset of Passover in time to see some of the young men coming from their ablutions in the river. (The Falashas usually establish their settlements near some body of water so that they can perform their ritual ablutions). Some of the women were still baking their primitive Matzot on small outdoor ovens. We were in time to be received by the children in the school, who greeted us with the songs of Zion. Just before sunset we saw groups of Falashas coming from neighboring villages in order to join in the Passover services at the Ambober Synagogue, a rather substantial structure topped by a Mogen David.

When we came into the Synagogue we were shown the Book of the Torah in Gheez, wrapped in a cloth, and also a small Scroll which had been brought by Mr. Bogala from Jerusalem. The men, the women and the children were in separate groups in the Synagogue. The service was conducted by the Kohanim. It consisted of a chant in Gheez accompanied by the gentle beating of a drum and of cymbals, and a slow swaying movement of the priestly group.

The Falashas used to have the Passover sacrifice offered, but the late Professor Faitlovitch explained to them that it was no longer done among Jewish communities and they have discontinued it in most of their villages.

After an exchange of greetings between the Priests and the visitors, translated from Amharic, the Ethiopian dialect, into Hebrew, and reciprocated by Hebrew translated into Amharic, all of it done through the mediation of Mr. Bogala, we went outside the Synagogue where another phase of the Passover observance was marked. There, wine brought from Jerusalem through the Israel Embassy and Matzot, both those baked locally and those brought from Jerusalem, were distributed. The children asked the four questions in Hebrew reading them from the Haggadot, which had been brought from Jerusalem. The High Priest explained the significance of the festival. There were one or two songs and then the visitors left. One of the Priests whispered into my ear in Hebrew, "Do not forget us". This message, I feel compelled to convey to Jewish groups everywhere.

The problem of what to do about the Falashas is a twofold one. First there is the matter of extending immediate help to them wherever they are. M.rs. Ruth Dayan returned recently from a visit to them, and like all of us who visited them, come back impressed with the necessity of extending immediate help in the way of medical clinics, clothing for the children, toys for the children, etc.

However, the more important of the longer-range problem is essentially that of resettling the Falashas in an area where they can improve their economic and social status. Where they are presently located in the Gondar province, their status is that of serfs, who receive only one-third of what they produce. The landowners are now pressing them to vacate the land, claiming that they need it for their own expanding families. Recently, an area for re-settlement was proposed which would accommodate 1,000 to 1,500 families, giving each family a plot of 100 dunams to cultivate. This area is in the north-western part of Gondar. It turned out, unfortunately, that it is on the border with Sudan, and the border is in dispute. During the time of my visit in Ethiopia, there was, indeed, a border incident. Apparently the 25 or 30 young Falashas who were there as a sort of vanguard were not present when the "invasion" took place, and, therefore, there was no loss of life, but a tractor was burned and a few supplies were destroyed. It is, therefore, dubious whether this area would be suitable. Negotiations are now going on for a different area, considerably east of the first one, and therefore, lying in undisputed Ethiopian territory. This area would have room for about 1,000 families, giving each family approximately 100 dunams for cultivation. It is proposed to start by settling 150 families in 5 or 6 villages. A preliminary investigator has been sent from Israel to report on the agricultural quality of the land. He reports that the land is good, that it is located near water supplies, that it is possible to grow a variety of crops on it, especially cotton, which is an excellent export item, that while it is malarial it is not a very great problem to get rid of the malaria. This land could be secured on the basis of a leasehold on nominal terms. The Government will have to approve. The owners of the land, who have received it as a grant from the Government, cannot sell it, but can only lease it with the approval of the Government, and the Government's approval is assured. The rental payment will be nominal. The problem, however, would be that of securing a long-term lease. It is estimated that the investment ...ecessary for the land reclamation program for the necessary equipment, housing, schools, clinics, etc. would require an investment of \$1,500,000 to enable 1,000 families to settle. It is proposed, however, to start with the settlement of 150 families, and it is estimated that this will involve a cost of approximately \$200,000. If this program will materialize, then agricultural experts from Israel, will,

undoubtedly, be made available to help in developing it.

The question is sometimes asked, "Why not bring the Falashas to Israel on an Aliyah program?" It is a complicated issue. The initial complication is the fact that the Emperor of Ethiopia does not favor a largescale program to bring Falashas to Israel. It may, however, be possible to bring in 50 to 100 families and settle them in agriculture in some appropriate location in the Galil, where the geographical conditions would be somewhat similar to those to which they are accustomed. The attitude of the Rabbinate in Israel comes into question, but I believe that this difficulty is not insuperable. This program, however, lies within the scope of the Jewish Agency and the Government Aliyah and Klitah departments, to determine.

The important solution, therefore, is that of a resettlement program in Ethiopia. Anything which may be done in this direction, would certainly help the morale of the Falashas, many of whom are beginning to despair. It will assure their Jewish future. The attitude of the Governor of Gondar toward a resettlement program is favorable and cooperative.

May I briefly refer to my conversation with the Emperor Haile Selassie. He favors the resettlement program. He believes that whatever help is extended to the Falashas should be extended also to their immediate neighbors, in order not to arouse invidious distinctions. I assured him that this is, indeed, the principle of Jewish philanthropy. He remarked that so far, the Jewish world organizations have done very little for the Falashas. This remark is a challenge to all of us.

There is now in Addis Ababa, a small Jewish committee, consisting mostly of a few Americans who are serving in America's Aid Program. Jewish tourists visiting Ethiopia usually come away with a desire to be helpful and sometimes they enlist sporadic help. This is a problem, however, which is worthy of the coordinated attention of leading Jewish bodies, both for its immediate requirements and for its long-range program. Therefore, I am pleased to have the opportunity of bringing it to the attention of the important Jewish organizations represented in COJO.

May I close with a reference to a document which was my privilege to come upon recently, an appeal by the Late Chief Rabbi of Israel, Rabbi Kook, of blessed memory, who, impressed by the work of Professor Faitlovitch, issued a call to the Jewish people to extend their help.

It was issued Kislov 3, 5682 and reads as follows:

"A sacred duty devolves upon us to exert all our efforts in order to restore the recognition of Judaism, the sanctity of the Faith, the observance of the "mitzvoth" in their purity, and the unity of our sacred nation with its God, to certain portions of our people who because of the trials and tribulations of Galut have been far removed from us both in distance and in views. In many corners distant from the centers of Judaism, tens of thousands of our brothers have remained isolated from Judaism for hundreds of years where their numbers have diminished, many have become assimilated amidst those in whose midst they dwelt, and those who remain are exposed to assimilation and disappearance for the lack of new forces to infuse them with a stream of Jewish life.

"One of these remote corners is Abyssinia, far from the center of Jewish life, where for more than 2,000 years, tens of thousands of Jews have lived, who despite the trials and tribulations they endured, have remained faithful to their Faith and people. But in the course of time, all ties with the large Jewish world have been cut off, so that their numbers are growing ever smaller, conversion to Christianity endangers them, and even those who remain Jews are in a deteriorated physical and spiritual state, and many sections of the Torah have been forgotten and the crisis of physical and spiritual extinction threatens.

"Dr.J. Faitlovitch has dedicated his entire life to the Falashas, to their physical and spiritual condition. With the meager means at his disposal he has succeeded in bringing a few young men of the Falashas to Eretz Israel and to Europe, to make available to them Jewish and general education, so that they may serve as teachers to their brother Falashas in Abyssinia. Yet all he has done is insignificant in comparison with what he could do to fulfill his great mission.

"We, therefore, urge our fellow Jews everywhere to help Dr. Faitlovitch to enable him to continue his sacred work. A sacred duty devolves upon our people to contribute generously toward improving the condition of the Falashas, and to bring their young sons to centers of Jewish life in the Golah and in Eretz Israel and in general to improve their conditions and to educate them in Judaism, in the sanctity of Torah and Mitzvoth and in their ties

and the state of t with the entire Jewish people.

"Brethren, Dr. Faitlovitch is now travelling to Europe and America to find the finances for implementing his program for the benefit of the Falashas. We ask you to receive him with open arms and respond generously to his appeal.

"Brethren, please rescue our brothers, the Falashas, from extinction. Please help restore to us these castoff brothers of ours, so that a tribe of Israel may not disappear. Rescue 50,000 souls of the house of Israel and thus strengthen our people. The Rock of Israel will come to Israel's aid, and will gather our dispersed from the four corners of the earth, that they may come with song to the heights of Zion and bow before the Lord in the holy mountain in Jerusalem."

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* * *LOUIS PINCUS* * *

I would like to refer back to a point made at yesterday's session at which time the main thrust of our debate related to the question of whether we should speak frankly to the Israelis though our remarks may be critical. I misunderstood Rabbi Kaufman's point--as did others. As I now understand it, I believe he was saying that Israel should be mindful of remarks such as those made by Dayan (to which Rabbi Kaufman referred yesterday). I understand that the point he was making did not involve the meaning of Dayan's words, but rather concerned their conceivable interpretation by others.

I would like to tell Rabbi Kaufman that I have no disagreement with him on this and we should have an on-going dialogue between Israel and the Diasporah. But we cannot discuss this subject in an hour or two; this creates tension without clarifying the issue. We need a basic discussion and must give this matter as much time as iry. necessary.

(Mr. L. Dultzin asked to be associated with the remarks made by Mr. Pincus.)

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Mr. E. Litvinoff was then asked to give his presentation on <u>Soviet Jewry</u>. The following is the text of his remarks as submitted to us by him.

* * *E. LITVINOFF* * *

One of the most discredited documents of recent history, it is universally agreed, was the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion". A book which appeared about 80 years ago. A month ago a leading Soviet newspaper in Bielerussia published an article headed They Want to Rule the World". "They" are, of course, the Jews, or the "Zionist-Jews" or the "International Zionist Corporation", the Soviet formula that replaces the Tsarist Elders of Zion. Nor is this an isolated incident. Just one fusillade in a major, world-wide campaign.

Not in the entire history of the Soviet Union, not even at the height of Stalinism, has there been such an outspoken barrage of anti-semitism. Not since the Nazi period has there been such a crude, persistent and widespread campaign of hatred against the Jewish people. It preaches that Jews are alien everywhere, that they have double loyalties, that they subvert everybody's interest for their own ends.

This is an extroadinary--a frightening--development. And one must ask, has the world recognised its forbidding implications? Even more to the point, have we, the Jewish people? Is it possible that in the century of Auschwitz we are still slow to understand that those who engage in anti-semitic incitement are lighting a fuse that can blow up the ground on which we stand?

If this seems exaggerated to anybody please glance at the latest issue of "Jews in Eastern Europe". It gives only a partial idea of the hundreds of articles, broadcasts, publications of all kinds whose message is that the Jews comprise a sinister, powerful international conspiracy that represents a major threat to the peace, security and progress of mankind.

How has this come about? Yes - Zionism is considered an old ideological opponent of Communism. But originally it was a political dispute between two movements competing for influence ever the Jewish masses. In fact the Soviet Union and Communist ideologists always made a point of separating Zionism and the Jewish people. In theory, this distinction still holds, but in practice it is nowadays ignored. One can trace the beginnings of this process to the Stalinist anti-Jewish terror of 1948 after the establishment of Israel, but this was subsequently discredited and its shamefulness acknowledged.

The present situation developed rapidly in the past 2 years. There was the equation with Nazis, the attacks on world Jewry - in Italy, Britain, the United States, France - the invention of the idea of a powerful, ramified international Zionism manipulating U. S. and Western imperialism. At first this was regarded as a reaction to the catastrophic Arab defeat, an attempt to prove that the Arabs were defeated not by Israel's 2 1/2 million but by a tremendous international consortium. It was seen as a political strategy designed to offset the military disaster, as an expression of Soviet rage and frastration.

But in October 1967 a significant development occured that had parallels with September, 1948. In September, 1948, a fundamental change in Soviet policy towards the new State of Israel was publicly inaugurated by a bitter anti-Israel, anti-Zionist article in "Izvestia" signed by Ehrenburg. This was also the beginning of Stalin's ruthless anti-Jewish campaign that raged until his death in 1952.

In October 1967, on the same day, two key articles appeared in the Soviet press - one by Yuri Ivanov in "Komsomolskaia Pravda", the other by the notorious Kichko in the Ukrainian Komsomol newspaper. The texts were much the same. Zionism was named as an international conspiracy of the Jews and as an evil organisation of financiers and rich bourgeoisie which posed a threat to the security of the socialist world and countries struggling to throw off the yoke of colonialism. It was, to quote the new Soviet doctrine, the worst enemy of progress, at least on a par with Western imperialism and neo-Nazism - and often more disgusting.

These two articles opened the floodgates of filth. What in effect they did was to legitimise a new vocabulary of anti-semitism and make it part of the ideology of presentday Soviet communism.

Why? There are several possibilities. Clearly, one was Soviet recognition that a revival of anti-semitism was taking place throughout the world and that it could be profitably exploited. Anti-semitism had become an important component of the New Left spectrum and could serve to harness New Left elements to Soviet purposes. But the appeal was not confined to these alone. Antisemitism is an all-purpose instrument and can be made to appeal to the subtle and sophisticated as well as to the the primitive.

Nor did the Soviet Union fail to notice that many of the most articulate and militant leaders of anti-Communist revolutionary sects, Trotskyists, Anarchists, Maoists, etc. were Jews. The threat they posed to the international Communist movement might be reduced if they could be depicted as alien, Zionist agents, as Soviet propaganda during the May 1968 events in France depicted Dany the Red.

More important, perhaps, was the fact that anti-semitism could be used against internal oppositionists and dissident intellectuals who have recently posed an increasingly serious problem to the Soviet security services, and against reformist and nationalistic tendencies that threatened the cohesion of the Soviet bloc.

Jews and their intellectual associates are very prominent among Soviet dissenters, as they are among dissenters in the West. Also, it has been a paradox that Eastern European resentment at Soviet centralism crystallised in the form of widespread resentment over the extreme partisan support for the Arabs imposed by the Soviet leaders. Even those who had no love for Jews rejoiced at the humiliation Israel inflicted on the protegees of the U.S.S.R. and on the Soviet military equipment so expensively provided for Arab misuse.

So the antisemitic campaign is used to discredit and persecute the internal opposition. It was used with Soviet approval to crush reformist tendencies in Poland, and to crush Communism with a human face in Czechoslovakia.

These are only some of the reasons the U.S.S.R. has chosen to exploit the explosive theme of anti-semitism. But whatever the motives, there can be no doubt that it has today openly declared enmity to world Jewry. It is no longer a question of our being concerned, from a position of happy immunity, with the welfare of our persecuted Soviet Jewish brothers. We, too, are the target: we, too, are under attack. We are reminded once again that when Jews are threatened anywhere, they are threatened everywhere.

I don't want to suggest that our situation is comparable to that of Soviet Jews. They are poor, we are rich. Their means of defence is severely restricted, whereas we can employ all the resources of democracy both on our own behalf and, in some ways, on theirs. But the global incitement of anti-semitism at present carried out by the Soviet Union undermines the security of every Jew. We cannot afford to ignore the implications. Read what the Soviet newspapers write about us. Examine what they say about us in broadcasts that are beamed to Africa, the Middle East, America, every important country in Europe. Ponder the message spelt out in Kichko's latest book, even more explicitly in Yuri Ivanov's "Beware: Zionism", and in dozens of other books published in the U.S.S.R. and Poland and circulated abroad in many languages. They are the crudest possible incitements to hatred. Not the products of a handful of pathegenic extremists, but official expressions of policy by one of the two most powerful states in the world.

If this isn't sufficient, think of the crude anti-semitic sledgehammer that was used to crush the insignificant insignificant in terms of numbers - Jewish community in Poland and it's irreversible effect. Think of the hooligan treatment meted out to Kriegel by Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders when the leaders of sovereign independant Czecheslovakia were dragged in chains to Moscow. Kriegel, as we know, refused to sign the so-called Moscow agreement. He was not at the airport when the Czech leaders were about to return to Prague. Svoboda refused to fly. Brezhnev told him "You'll find your little Jew in the plane." They found Kriegel there still in handcuffs.

We are, of course, under no illusion that this situation enjoys the support of everybody in the U.S.S.R. Insofar as they have been able to, many Soviet intellectuals have expressed disgust over it. There are forces inside the Soviet Communist Party and in the Government who have their misgivings. One could even speculate about the attitude of Mikhail Suslov, an old Soviet reactionary and inveterate anti-semite, who is known to have counselled against the Czech invasion because he was worried about its disastrous effect on the Western Communist movement. For the same reason, Suslov may well be unhappy about the international anti-semitic campaign while emotionally approving it.

But things have changed in the 13 years since 1956 when the problem of Soviet Jews first began to create international concern. Then deStalinisation was in process. The power of the Soviet security forces was being restricted. Khruschev's government was anxious to move out of the cold war and establish a measure of co-existence with the West. Of course anti-semitism existed, but it was denied and when an anti-semitic book or article was picked up in the West, Soviet spokesmen were clearly embarrassed. It is, after all, no more than five years ago that Kichko's "Judaism without Embellishment" and its cartoons caused a great international outcry, not the least indignant being protests from Western Communist parties. But worse things than that first Kichko publication are now commonplace.

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Today deStalinisation has been halted and in some respects reversed. The U.S.S.R. and the United States have a general agreement to avoid a dangerous head-on collision, and a de-facto system of co-existence is in operation less dependent on public opinion. The growing crisis with China, internal opposition, dissension in the Soviet bloc and the schisms of the international Communist movement have given more and more power to the security forces represented by the K.G.B. and by the Army.

In fact, the K.G.B. has been steadily regaining influence since 1959 at least. This growing influence was seen in the predominantly anti-Jewish twist given to the major campaign against economic corruption when the synagogues were represented as centres of speculation and showtrials emphasized the Jewish origin of defendants. With its ingrained traditional suspicion of Jews, whom it regarded as an alien element in Soviet society, the K.G.B. became more and more open in its policy of harrassment. It stepped up the propaganda campaign against Israel. It mounted a frontal attack on expressions of Jewish national feeling, and did its best to isolate Soviet Jews from any contact with Jews overseas, who were often depicted in the Soviet press as agents of Zionist and imperialist subversion. Thus, the psychological climate for the development of the campaign after the Six-Day War was prepared. The celerity with which the Soviet press switched over to general attacks on Jewish communities in the United States, Britain, France and Italy, the grotesquely distorted references to Jewish writings, the teachings of Judaism, the works of Zionist thinkers, showed that much preparatory work had gone on to prepare for this development.

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Any doubts that anti-semitism has been officially licensed by the present Soviet leadership could not survive the publication of Yuri Ivanov's "Beware: Zionism". This book is a milestone. Published only at the beginning of this year and greeted with tumultuous praise by the leading Soviet press and radio outlets, "Beware: Zioni'sm" moves anti-semitism into the centre of Soviet life. It is now the handbook used by Party journalists up and down the length and breadth of the U.S.S.R. Ivanov abandons the polite fiction that Zionism and Jews are separate concepts. The enemy is plainly described as an international "Jewish bourgeoisie" ruthlessly pursuing power and parasitical prosperity.

As the preface states: "Modern Zionism is the ideology, the ramified system of organisations and the political practice of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, fused with the monopolistic circles of the U.S.A. and of other imperialistic powers. The main substance of Zionism is militant chauvinism and anti-communism", the preface emphasises in italics. "Coming out against the socialist concord and against the international communist and workers' movement, Zionism is also fighting against the nationalliberation movement and the peoples The ruling circles of Israel enter the International Jewish Concern with the rights of junior partners (this is one of the main conditions of their existence as ruling circles). The Zionist Concern itself ... represents simultaneously one of the largest amalgamations of capital and a selfstyled world 'Ministry' on the affairs of 'World Jewry', as well as an international intelligence centre and a well-organised service for misinformation and propaganda. The main aim of the Concern's 'departments', all acting under a single management, is profit and enrichment, safeguarding within the framework of the capitalist system, its power and parasitical prosperity".

Clearly Jewish leadership would be in serious dereliction of duty if it did not address itself urgently to this situation. Anti-semitism is an incendiary disorder, as we know, and even if we can't call the fire-brigade, which is usually busy elsewhere when Jews are threatened, it is our plain responsibility to man our own water-pumps.

Nor are the prospects hopeless. It is a well-known characteristic of propagandists that they believe at least 50 per cent of their own lies. Soviet anti-semitic writers have claimed that the Zionists, i.e. Jews, own 1,036 newspapers, have unlimited wealth and immense power and influence. (We only wish it were true). Of course, they know they are exaggerating but they believe enough of this to regard world Jewry as a formidable international force.

And let's face it. We could be. As the massive and effective Jewish support for Israel in June 1967 showed, united Jewish action can have amazing results. We need to marshall the same energy, intelligence and resolution to deal with this - the second greatest problem in Jewish life today. Because it is not only the survival of Jewish identity in the U.S.S.R. that is being threatened. Our own security, our own right to live free and unmolested lives, is again being challenged. I am sure that this is a challenge none of us is prepared to ignore.

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* * *RABBI ISRAEL MILLER* * *

Soviet Jewry is the second-most important item on our agenda. Time is not on our side in this situation and there are three million souls at stake.

Rabbi Herschel Schacter and I--on behalf of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry--met with Ambassador C. Bohlen of the United States Government following the invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Ambassador told us that after having studied Soviet policies for fifty years, he still does not know what the decision-making process is in the Soviet Union.

Since last year's COJO meeting certain changes have occured, which I would like to enumerate.

On the negative side:

1) Today the USSR is the center for anti-Semitic propaganda, particularly through programs being beamed outside their country.

2) The Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia points out the ruthlessness of the USSR when they feel a vital interest is being threatened; I hope Israel is not of vital interest to them.

3) The deadline for repatriation of Jews from Poland represents a hardening of attitude.

On the more positive side:

1) There has been a trickle of emigration from the USSR to Israel.

2) There are signs that the Soviet Jews are beginning to take a hand in their fate and destiny and especially noteworthy are reports that there has been a "Jewish awakening" among the younger generation there.

What can we do to help? We ought to have an exchange of material from country to country so that we can learn from each other's work. I recently attended the London Conference and was heartened by the fact that young peopl are becoming imbued with this problem. We have continued our efforts in the United States and were instrumental in getting many people to urge presidential candidates to state their position on both Israel and Soviet Jewry. Through this effort, I believe the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry reached the people and made them aware of the problem. We have added the youth to our ranks. (Twentysix have been added to the Conference.) Let us remember that it is important for people in each country to rise and speak out on behalf of Soviet Jewry when necessary. Simchat Torah should be turned into an international Jewish effort towards that end. Finally, let me emphasize that the subject of Soviet Jewry is important in itself and cannot be just another item on an organization's agenda.

* * *SIR BARNETT JANNER* * *

As you know, we recently held a Conference on Soviet Jewry in England. We are convinced that the fight must continue and we cannot afford to "let-up". The protests and constant publicity given the matter has affected the USSR--according to those coming from there, who have indicated to us the necessity of continuing our fight. We have approached all British ministers going to Russia, giving them our position on the Soviet Jews, and receiving their promise to convey privately to the Russian authorities the concern felt here.

> Jews and non-Jews in Britain are aware of our problem. We have marched in Hyde Park and have sent messages to the Russian Embassy and will continue our efforts.

* * *GERALD FALK* * *

The Communist Party in Australia is a small and unpopular party. On the issue of Soviet Jewry, we have influenced their position to some degree.

We in Australia are concerned about the movement of a Russian trawler in our fishing waters; this intrusion has engendered a great deal of anti-Soviet feeling and during such times, when the climate has been ripe, we have demonstrated on the issue of Soviet Jewry. We are continuing our publicity on this issue and are keeping the relevant politicians well informed.

* * *MAURICE MOCH* * *

The matter of Soviet Jewry is of highest priority with us. We in the Conseil Representatif des Juifs de France have just prepared a document on this, utilizing the expertise of those of various persuasions, including the left. We held a press conference on this issue; we met with leaders in the Protestant and Catholic churches, and have worked with others, including war veterans. We --along with the Board of Deputies of British Jews-sponsored the recent London meeting and have been in touch with the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry. As our work develops, we believe that French public opinion will be rallied and tangible results will be achieved in the not too distant future. * *SOL KANEE* * *

We in Canada have been involved in this work and have been working closely with Rabbi Israel Miller. At a recent meeting in Ottawa, at which time presentations were made to the government, one was delivered on the subject of the treatment of Jews in Russia.

We have been advised by the Minister of External Affairs; we have involved students and intellectuals, who have also presented a petition on this subject. The Communist Party has witnessed the total departure of its Jewish leadership precisely because of the Party's position on this issue.

Finally, a brief presented by us to the government last May has been circulated throughout the government, as far as I know, from the Prime Minister down.

* * *ARIEH TARTAKOWER* * *

I think Russia has become a major exporter of anti-Semitism, conducting a policy similar to that during Tsarist Russia days. The majority of Jews in Israel feel that there is only one realistic solution: emigration (to Israel). The fundamental slogan today should be: "Let my People Go".We should also consider what can be done on the spot, adopting a position appropriate to the times. Jewish schools are no longer the solution to the problem. They are no longer a realistic solution. We are trying to bring the Hebrew language to Russian Jewry and have made significant achievements in this regard; however, financial means should be made available for such work.

There ought to be a world conference on problems of Soviet Jewry--as we had years ago, with intellectuals. This is important.

Finally, regarding the warning often heard that we should not go "too" far so as not to endanger the situation of the Jews in Russia, let me point out that those coming from Russia recently have told us that whatever we are able to do has considerable significance for them and the more we can do, the more we strengthen the feeling of solidarity between Soviet Jewry and their fellow Jews outside Russia.

* * *DR. SIMON SEGAL* * *

The American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry has proven that only a coordinated total community effort can be effective. Young people, as well as academia and intellectuals, have been attracted to this issue. I therefore suggest that other countries also concentrate on their youth and try to mobilize them.

I do not believe our program, as it has evolved over several years, should be changed radically. We should carefully avoid raising non-existent issues or over-exaggerated reports; we must raise issues only on the basis of factual research, for there now exists a certain degree of cynacism among people regarding the facts. Therefore, the more careful we are, the better it will be in the long run.

National conferences similar to the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry should be created in smaller countries. I appeal particularly to those more remote Jewish communities. Their influence on their governments (such as Sweden, Brazil or Argentina) is important because their countries' support in the United Nations is much sought after. Their voices are also important in the realm of public opinion.

* * * ISAIAH MINKOFF* * *

I would like to make two points: 1) that while it is true the USSR is the greatest anti-Semitic force in the world, it would be wise for us to portray it as a cynical force being pursued for expediency--not as their credo and that of the Communist world. Only in this way can we reach the liberal forces throughout the world; and 2) that our demands on behalf of Soviet Jewry should remain as they have been: we want equal rights under the constitution and a full program of liberation for the Jews of the USSR even if emigration is the only realistic solution, for it is the Jews' right to be equal citizens and it is not our place to take this from them by asking only for emigration.

* * *LOUIS PINCUS* * * .

I also do not agree with Dr. Tartakower's approach. Our demands must be comprehensive--as in the past. We should not now change our policy, suddenly coming out with only one demand.

* * *\$. LEVENBERG* * *

There is generally unanimity amongst ourselves on the issue of Soviet Jewry. But let us make an attempt to study long-range trends. I believe the situation is deteriorating. At the time of the Korean War the Soviet Union regressed on liberality and presently lives in fear of China. What happened in Czechoslovakia is symptomatic; the secret police is growing; freedom is dying out, and Solzhenitsyn's books attest to this trend. Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny are not the only ones determining Soviet policy today-there are now new men coming to power. And, the more the conflict with China grows (and it is frightening to read their articles on China) the more serious the problem of Soviet Jewry will become.

There is now a nation-wide campaign in the Soviet Union of solidarity with the Arabs. One of the speakers at key meetings there has been the well-known Kichko, who's topic has been: the Nature of Zionism. He is part of the new group coming to power.

Inevitably, Jews will be pushed out from various geographical regions and only recently it was revealed that quite a number of Jews who had applied for emigration were arrested. According to Soviet law, there is no prohibition against emigration. (A person wishing to leave must make an official application requesting that his citizenship be changed.) I therefore believe we are on strong ground when we demand that emigration be allowed.

Let me now give you an example concerning religious freedom. Yuri Alexander, a Soviet expert on religion, recently said that the various religious communities there have their own publications, are able to send representatives abroad, and in general enjoy many rights. However, he made an exception regarding the Jews when he said that since the Jewish religious community has so far itself renounced its desire for a separate spiritual existence, in his view the Jewish community must therefore be treated differently than other minorities.

I want to emphasize that Russia is a large country, whose practices vary from place to place and are at times contradictory. But we must be able to prove with intellectually sound arguments that their "anti-Zionism" is "anti-Semitism" in reality. This can help us in our work in the United Nations, as well as in other areas.

The correct presentation of the facts will speak louder than propaganda.

Children

The debate was summarized by Mr. Zvi Netzer of the Israel Foreign Office. His remarks were given in Yiddish, and we are unable to include them as they have not been submitted to our office.

The meeting adjourned at 11:00 p.m.

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION

The meeting was called to order by Alderman Michael Fidler, who introduced the discussion.

A SUMMARY of the discussion on the COJO COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION by RABBI JAY KAUFMAN

The results of our meeting in Geneva were reported successively to the Memorial Foundation and to COJO. Jaime Finkielsztejn and I felt that it was essential that we keep you informed of what transpired and what lies before us.

You will also find attached at the end of my summary, copies of the resolution on structure and the statements of the four committees which we passed unanimously.

Memorial Foundation - My report to the Memorial Foundation dealt briefly with the structure which we had recommended for the COJO Commission on Jewish Education. Jaime Finkielsztejn followed with his description of the mood of the meeting and the benefits which would accrue from the cooperative effort we recommended.

The report was attacked on two levels. The general attack was rooted in scepticism concerning the ability of such an international educational effort to succeed. The World Council On Jewish Education had come before the Memorial Foundation with its request for funds on numerous occasions, promising constructive action which it had failed to produce. There was no condemnation of the integrity or the good will of the members of the World Council - just a feeling that after so many attempts at an inter-related world-wide program the idea itself was not practical.

In response to this very legitimate concern, it was pointed out that the scope of the COJO Commission on Jewish Education was to be considerably less ambitious and that the main thrust of its efforts was to be conducted through the existing educational institutions.

There was a more detailed attack upon the COJO Commission which felt that it was folly to make another attempt and that there was no likelihood of success.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann spoke at the close of the discussion on the subject and indicated his confidence in the format recommended by the people in attendance at the COJO Commission meeting. He felt that when educators of the competence and wide experience of those who attended the sessions reached a unanimous decision, further effort should be made to promote international educational cooperation. Dr. Goldmann mentioned during the course of his comments that he thought this Commission on Jewish Education might better be placed within the structure of the Memorial Foundation. This was a new thought to all of us and was not discussed at great length.

The Memorial Foundation voted to release those funds which had been appropriated to the World Council on Jewish Education and which had been unexpended to be utilized by the COJO Commission on Jewish Education for its activities in the coming year. It was estimated that until a professional could be procured, the expenditures of the COJO Commission will be modest and there will be sufficient funds available for its operation until next year's formal presentation to the Memorial Foundation. At that time a full budget will be prepared and submitted in ample time to meet the requirements of the Memorial Foundation.

COJO The same report was made to the COJO delegates by Jaime Finkielsztejn and myself. Much satisfaction was expressed with the fact that unanimity had been reached by so distinguished a group of educators and that a tone of enthusiasm described by Jaime Finkielsztejn, had come out of the meeting.

There was more extensive discussion at the COJO meeting on the manner in which the educational agencies will use their own facilities and staffs to prepare and share the projects emanating from the COJO Commission.

In that way, it was explained, the limited COJO budget and staff would not constitute the totality of the resources for the educational effort but that this would be supplemented by the much broader resources of all the agencies who volunteer to participate in the educational projects agreed upon.

The question of the formal involvement of the educational agencies themselves was discussed. It was pointed out that the members of the COJO Commission had been appointed <u>ad hominem</u>. Ultimately the agencies themselves would be asked to be involved formally and officially. It was agreed that the people gathered at the COJO Commission would not have agreed to action which was contrary to the interests of their agencies and that would fail to find sympathetic approval from their agencies when approached. However, had the agencies been canvassed at the outset, so long a period of time would have had to elapse before any action could be undertaken, the cause of international educational cooperation would have been lost. It was also pointed out that an effort would be made to have a COJO Commission operative on a modest basis so that when the various educational agencies are approached, there could be more than mere explanations set before them for consideration.

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Dr. Goldmann mentioned the fact that it might be wise to have the Commission on Education attached to the Memorial Foundation instead of COJO because the Memorial Foundation would be the major source of its funds. The Memorial Foundation had voted \$60,000, the Jewish Agency, \$20,000, and the participating member agencies another \$20,000 toward the World Council on Jewish Education budget. It was anticipated that a COJO Commission would operate with the same budget and appeal to the Memorial Foundation for additional sums if a project arose that warranted such a request. This proposal received some further airing by the COJO members. On the one hand it was suggested that what was important was that the Commission on Jewish Education be permitted to function and that its sponsorship not be the key issue. The Commission on Education!s purpose was education and not the strengthening of either COJO or the Memorial Foundation and its welfare should decide where it was to be lodged.

> On the other hand, it was pointed out that the Memorial Foundation had a very wide spectrum of ideological viewpoints represented and that if the Commission on Education was to be an official part of the Memorial Foundation, its activities might elicit opposition from some who found one activity or another ideologically unpalatable. At present, the Memorial Foundation awards sums of money to worthy projects, judges their merit but is not concerned with the nuances of philosophy or ideology. Such might not be the case if the Memorial Foundation assumed formal jurisdiction over the Commission on Education. No such problems exists in COJO for the national organizations represent all views and the international organizations do likewise. Furthermore, it is essential that the educators have a channel into each national and hopefully, major local community in order to implement some of its activities. Hence the relationship with a body like COJO of important community leaders who are not necessarily educators is essential.

This might well have to be aired further so that our future efforts of obtaining a professional and a chairman are not inhibited by indecision.

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We as members of the COJO Commission on Jewish Education have before us two immediate tasks:

1.1

1) To find a professional director. It would be ideal if we could find a man who has educational experience in the t'futsot already resident in Israel. Jaime Finkielsztejn is going to convene a group to see if such a man can be found living in Israel already. But all of us must make our own search for such men wherever they are domiciled in order that we may make a selection from a number of candidates and so choose the best. Please send your recommendations to me as soon as possible.

2) I believe we ought to undertake one or two modest educational programs now even in advance of our finding the professional director.

I believe they can be undertaken by ourselves and demonstrate what we believe can be done and how it will be enacted. Perhaps we might create a list of materials available in all languages for teaching the holocaust to one age level or another for Israel Independence Day, utilizing in either case not only the text and teaching materials available but the audio-visual materials in the various media and the unmet needs which require fulfillment. What modest projects do you feel might be undertaken by us now?

Let me reiterate my gratitude to all of you for your splendid contribution to our efforts and reiterate my hope that the meeting marked only the beginning of our mutuality and it will ultimately produce a substantial enlargement of world Jewish education.

STRUCTURAL RESOLUTIONS

- That the office and the director shall be in Jerusalem.
- II. Motion "A": That the COJO Commission on Jewish Education, as presently constituted (ad hominem) shall be the policy making body, and if necessary, additional members can be coopted.
- III. That the COJO Commission on Jewish Education be divided into regional advisory councils; that the members in Israel shall be of assistance to the director in the discharge of his functions; that the number of members on the advisory council in Israel be increased and that these members may be added to the membership of the COJO Commission on Jewish Education, however, not all those appointed to membership in regional advisory councils automatically become members of the COJO Commission on Jewish Education.

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PROPOSALS BY COMMITTEE NUMBER TWO

Dr. A. Eisenberg, Chairman M. Avidor J. Finkielsztejn Dr. M. Siegel

- I. THAT THE 1970 CONFERENCE SHOULD BE CALLED IN 1970 AS SCHEDULED AND WE SHOULD COOPERATE WITH THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN THIS ENDEAVOR -- BUT THEY SHOULD CALL AND COORDINATE THE CONFERENCE.
- II. THAT WE SHOULD CALL A WORLD CONFERENCE ON JEWISH EDUCATION AS SUGGESTED DURING THE JULY 13th SESSION (yesterday). BUT IT SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN AT A LATER DATE (after 1970) UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE COJO COMMISSION ON JEWISH EDUCATION.

PROPOSALS BY COMMITTEE NUMBER THREE

PUBLICATIONS

Committee:

Miss Barwell, Chairman S. Abramovitch Prof. M. Davis Rabbi A. Schindler

The Committee recommends a limited publication program comprising two items:

- A regular syndicated monthly bulletin entitled "World Jewish Education Digest" -- (a service of the COJO Commission on Jewish Education), to be directed to every Jewish educational and major general Jewish publication for reproduction in whole or in part, to include the following contents:
 - a) News of significant Jewish educational activities and developments anywhere in the Jewish world and of world-wide interest,
 - b) Books for teacher and/or classroom use, briefly reviewed,
 - c) New pedagogical material reviewed,
 - d) Audio-visual aids report,
 - e) Research activities indicated,
 - f) Personality profiles of those professionally engaged in significant Jewish educational activity.

and to be in the following languages: HEBREW, ENGLISH, SPANISH, and FRENCH.

2) A series of educational monographs on professional subjects relating to the whole ladder of Jewish education and forming a constructive contribution to the advancement and development of Jewish education. These are to be prepared by existing organizations operating in the specific fields to be presented, for the COJO Commission on Jewish Education, and to be translated into Hebrew, English, Spanish and French, and distributed to Jewish educational and major general Jewish press plus educators by the Commission. Each monograph is to include an annotated bibliography.

It is envisaged that two or three per annum could be produced in such manner i.e., by working through existing agencies.

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PROPOSALS BY COMMITTEE NUMBER FOUR

Dr. Rosenfeld, Chrmn. Dr. Rinott Dr. Levinas D. Schaumann

- A. The survival of Jewry and Judaism is intimately tied to the content and extent of its educational structure. It is, therefore, imperative:
 - that Jewish education be assigned top priority in all aspects of communal planning and funding. It is of crucial importance that all relevant arms of the Jewish community and all its interested organizations shall mobilize their material resources and their communal influences to expand and enhance the role of Jewish education and its organizational structure and programs.
 - that Jewish education be universalized. It must be made available and accessible to every Jewish boy and girl.
 - 3) that Jewish education must be made truly meaningful. Its essence and design must be fashioned in a manner to assure adherence and commitment of Jewish youth to Jewry and Judaism.
 - 4) that Jewish education be expanded to embrace both formal schooling and the variety of extra-school educational experiences. Similarly, the time budget, in terms of hours, weeks and years, which are assigned to Jewish education must be dramatically increased.
 - 5) that top Jewish communal leadership be convened on all levels -- international, national and local -and mobilized and involved in behalf of Jewish educational programs. The influence of this leadership will give added status and prestige to Jewish schools. It will also open up valuable organizational contacts and the columns of the Jewish press. Finally, it will facilitate the proper funding of all types of formal and informal educational institutions.

B. Though the quantitative aspects of Jewish education are crucial, yet its ultimate success will be determined by its qualitative components. Even the expansion of its scope and its acceptability by a growing population of parents and children will depend ultimately on its essence and content. Successful learning experiences will require candid and revolutionary re-appraisals of all elements of educational theory and practice and a critical re-examination of the content and structure of traditional Jewish schooling patterns.

We shall have to divest ourselves of many prejudices and arm ourselves with an indispensible open-mindedness.

Failures, no matter how prestigiously institutionalized, will have to be identified and rejected. Successful experiences and experiments, no matter how unique or radical will have to be recognized and affirmed.

A new and long look at our Jewish youth is long overdue. It is imperative that we understand the nature and the dynamics of our boys and girls, our young men and women, who are the objects of the educational process. We shall have to search for the cause of their dissatisfaction, to probe the source of their restlessness, to identify the roots of their rebellion and define the quality of their values. We shall have to discover the key which will open up their mind and expose their soul and bind them irrevocably to Jewry and Judaism.

School curricula and courses of study will require a reexamination and revision both from the perspective of consent and priorities. We must make certain that that which we seek to teach will enjoy the essence, the meaning and the relevance so that it will also be learned and embraced.

The pedagogic tools and strategies will have to be reappraised and re-designed to assure their efficacy, their efficiency and their consonance with this new educational formula.

The whole corps of educators from its theoretical architects, its top directors and down the ranks to include all its formal and informal practitioners shall have to be sensitized and retrained for the new educational content, tools and technique.

Israel must become a focal element in the Jewish school and its program. Every Jewish child must be exposed to Israel as an object of study, experience and commitment.

C. This comprehensive re-evaluation and reconstruction of Jewish education is an enormous task. Its success will require the full mobilization of all educational resources of Jewish communities throughout the world.

It will be the purpose of the newly created educational office to stimulate all Jewish communal, educational and ideological organizations to embark forthwith upon this all-important undertaking. They will be best suited to formulate educational programs in conformity with the common educational goals, in consonance with the particular ideological philosophy and in accordance with special needs of the local communities. ય છે. જે જે મુખ્ય પ્રજય થયું છે. આ ગુજરાતમાં પ્રજ

PROPOSALS BY COMMITTEE NUMBER FIVE

ON TEACHER PERSONNEL

Committee Members: Dr. Alvin Schiff, Chairman Levi Gertner Dr. Klinghofer J. Halevy

Introduction Α.

In its totality, this report is an ambitious thrust towards the improvement of the Jewish education profession. In a true sense, it is an expression of Robert Browning's counsel -- "Oh, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's heaven for?"

This report has both its technical or procedural dimensions and theoretic or substantive aspects. Of necessity, stress here is on the technical phases.

While personnel questions vary from community to community, the common characteristics of the personnel problem seem to dictate the establishment of some guiding principles to help improve the status of Jewish educational practitioners. Individual communities will be the deciding factors in the implementation of the recommendations contained in this report.

Β. Perception of Purpose and Challenge of Item Number Five

The following are the challenges to COJO's Education Commission, which derive from the personnel problem in Jewish education.

- 1) To serve as a catalytic agent for improving the image of the 'melamed'.
- To help to bring about necessary steps that will make the Jewish teaching profession more attractive to young adults,
- To motivate action by professional and lay leadership that will help the Jewish teaching profession become a more challenging experience,
- To motivate the eventual upgrading of the quality of instruction in Jewish schools.

(Items no. 1 and no. 2 are technical in nature. Items no. 3 and No. 4 are substantive, and relate to Question Four in the June 17th MEMORANDUM to the COJO Education Commission.

C. Definition of the Personnel Problem

Essentially, the following are the characteristics of the personnel problem in Jewish education:

- 1) Low social status,
- Little or no opportunities for professional advancement,
- Lack of meaningful professional and academic challenge in Jewish teaching,
- 4) Low financial status and lack of economic security,
- 5) Jewish teaching is increasingly becoming a parttime profession,
- b) Jewish teaching, in most countries, is becoming increasingly feminized,
- An uncomfortably large percentage of teachers are unqualified,
- Many of the qualified and unqualified teachers have a poor self-image as individuals and as professionals,

(Items (1) through (4) above, in the order given, are corroborated by Dr. Schiff's recent study of Hebrew Teachers College students in the United States: "The Students in our Hebrew colleges -- Profile and Career Choice." Among other things, the findings of the study reveal that the vast majority of students in the Hebrew Teachers College do not choose Jewish teaching careers. The major reasons were items (1) and (2). For the most part, the respondents feel that the initial salaries in Jewish education are fairly competitive. However, they bemoan the fact that there is so little opportunity for professional and financial advancement.)

D. Technical Recommendations

 A Code of Practice should be prepared by the COJO Commission for full-time teachers. This Code must take into consideration existing codes of practice in the various Jewish communities.

DEFINITION OF FULL-TIME: a 20 hr. instructional load

The PREMISE upon which the code is based is that there must be differential status for qualified teachers. The advantages and benefits of a code of practice should be reserved for qualified or certificate-holding or licensed personnel. The code should include the following items:

- a) Security--shared or contributory pension plans,
- b) Fringe benefit plans -- health insurance, life insurance, and other local or regional benefits, such as social security,
- c) Improvement of financial status -- The Commission should strive to bring about or motivate conditions whereby full-time teachers in Jewish schools will receive salaries at least 10% higher than teachers in their neighborhood public or state schools,
- d) Sick leave policy including some consideration for accumulated sick leave.
- 2) Sabbatical Practices --

After every ten year period of consecutive teaching in a school or school system, all qualified teachers should be eligible for a full year's sabbatical with half salary or a bonus equal to one-half year's salary.

3) International Scholarship Fund--

A special fund should be established to enable teachers and their spouses to visit Israel after every six years of teaching. 4) Organizational Involvement of Jewish Instructional Personrel

Teachers in Jewish schools should be encouraged to become involved in educational policy making and curriculum development. They should be encouraged and helped to become involved in Jewish communal life and even assume positions of leadership where feasible and beneficial.

5) Licensing and Certification Practices --

The COJO Commission should motivate and guide the establishment of licensing and certification procedures in communities and regions where they do not exist for Jewish teaching personnel. To this end, the Commission might circulate extant licensing policies and regulations where needed.

6) Clearing-house for Teacher Personnel Activities --

COJO Commission should circulate, as often as feasible and necessary, information about developments re codes of practice, certification procedures, incentive ideas, etc.

7) Merit Increases --

Where possible, Jewish communities throughout the world should be encouraged to provide increments on the basis of meritorious performance. Merit is to be determined by locally developed criteria.

E. The Substantive Challenges --

The question of educational personnel status cannot be resolved effectively without consideration of the items below. The Committee recommends these items for consideration at a forthcoming meeting of the COJO Commission:

- 1) What kind of teachers do we want to attract?
- What kind of preparation do new teachers need in order to function effectively? (pre-service educ.)
- 3) What is the definition of a teacher's job?
- 4) What is a desirable school climate? What are desirable working conditions for Jewish school personnel?
- What is the relationship of teaching personnel to curriculum planning, curriculum changing, and

curriculum implementation? How can experienced teachers be guided to meet the changing needs of Jewish schools and Jewish pupils? (in-service education)

- 6) What should be the relationship between supervisory personnel - and teaching personnel in Jewish schools?
- Jewish schools?
 7) How can the instructional effectiveness of current teaching personnel be upgraded? (inservice educ.)

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Dr. Roth was then asked to take the floor and address the delegates on the subject: <u>The Situation in Germany</u> and the Statute of Limitations.

* * *DR. S. J. ROTH* * *

The Germans are still very sensitive to public opinion abroad even though they state otherwise. When the whole issue of the Statute of Limitations was debated in Germany, the strongest criticism was from within Germany--from both the press and the Jewish community.

A law was passed in June providing that the crime of genocide does not fall under the Statute of Limitations. However, the Statute of Limitations for murder was extended from December 31, 1969, to December 31, 1970. Further, the investigating judge need merely begin an action--not conclude it--before that date, and then has thirty more years in which to continue the action. However, a study has shown that the lag between the first day of an investigation and the first day of the proceedings is generally six years, and statistical studies regarding the age of the defendants make it clear that it takes many, many years before a trial really begins. Therefore, the new ten-year extension meets the situation, practically speaking in that it is biologically sufficient. This is particularly so because the age of the witness is generally even greater than that of the defendant and without the witness to testify, the trial generally ends with an aquittal. Over the years, only two cases without witnesses anded with convictions.

Morally speaking, however, the ten-year extension is not satisfactory. We could and should have expected a clear decision that Nazi crimes are not subject to the Statute of Limitations. But the following two points are even more significant:

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1) The recent judicial decision of the supreme court and its grave implications regarding war criminals

Preceding last October, the maximum imprisonment for the principal or the accomplice was the same. In October, this inequality was corrected and it was then stated that subjective criteria must be used for certain crimes. It was decided that the principal and the accomplice must each be investigated separately. Therefore, if the subjective criteria are met by the principal, this does not automatically tie-in the accomplice. The question is one of motive, the court decided; and there are different motives for murder. Each must be separately investigated for his motive, fol-

lowing the ruling of June, 1969, in which the supreme court stated that "... base motives must be present in the person." (Racial hatred is an example of base motive.) Thus, in the case of an engineer taking a trainload of people to Auschwitz, it would be necessary--but very difficult--to prove base motive. And what of the desk murderers who signed away inumerable lives without ever killing anyone directly? Previously they could be tried as accessories and now base motive beyond a reasonable doubt must be proved in all these cases. Yet, how easy it is for someone to say he simply did not have base motive and was merely an accomplice to the principal and therefore, without base motive, no longer fits into the category for which the Statute of Limitations was extended. We ought to deal with this matter, but should not be too legalistic in our resolutions. Judges are human and are sensitive to political pressure abroad. Perhaps another division of the court will decide differently from the first, thus enabling the federal court to reconvene on this issue and perhaps change its original decision. Therefore, our objective is to have one court decide that motive is understood by the nature of the crime--not by proving base motive in each case. But to accomplish this, we must have a strong expression of public opinion.

2) The fact that 100% abolition of the Statute of Limitations was not obtained

Section 12

What troubles me here is the reason why we did not obtain 100% abolition. It is political. It was based on the fear of many that the NPD would receive 5% of the votes in the forthcoming general election if the Statute of Limitations were abolished. Therefore, the Christian Democrats favored a compromise resolution, namely the extension from twenty to thirty years.

Let me add, in this connection, a few remarks on the upsurge of German nationalistic feelings. For the first time, the NPD will now be participating in the general election. The Christian Democrats failed to submit their case before the court asking for the abolition of the NPD; and the Socialist Party also failed to ask for a change in the law regarding the NPD. Therefore it seems clear that they both are trying to fight the NPD through political means. Both have published booklets on the subject. The Bavarian Christian Democrat wing, and others, believe the best way to take votes from them is to be almost as nationalistic as they., But the NPD's slogans are both clever and dangerous. And the student unrest, as well as the threats by the NPD's non-parliamentary opposition to disturb the elections, cause the Germans to be even more impressed by "law and order" candidates than the Americans. house a second second second

The real test of German nationalistic feeling, however, will come when it becomes necessary for the people to recognize that there is a German Democratic Republic. The Socialists feel they must recognize the status-quo; but the Nationalists call this kind of ideology "appeasement"--especially those Germans coming from the eastern territories (approximately nine million: six million adults and three million children) who feel very strongly on this issue. Ideas which were formerly espoused only by extreme elements are now becoming popular again.

Aside from these two points, I would also like to mention the danger we face from left-wing tendencies and the cult of revolution. The student left-wing is part of an international trend. I would like to underline, however, that official public opinion as expressed by the government and Parliament is favorable to Israel, as is the press--generally speaking. But the attitude of "the man on the street" is worsening for two reasons: 1) Arab propaganda; and 2) because the Middle-East constantly presents a picture of crises while the German people want peace.

Our major problem is countering Arab propaganda and seeing to it that German public opinion in general remains pro-Israel.

* * *Z. DIVON* * *

I would like to draw attention to the growing cooperation between East Germany and the Arab states. Full recognition and diplomatic status exists between East Germany and five Arab countries, including Egypt. This is an important trend. East Germany has been quite active in assisting the Arabs in their violent anti-Israel campaigns. Former Nazis support the Arabs and the country is now drawing-up practical plans for closer cooperation with the Arabs on military matters. We must also watch carefully and bear in mind the technical skills of East Germany.

It is interesting to note, however, that the Arabs established this close relationship only under Russian pressure, for they also want to have relations with West Germany. Nasser likes to keep his options open.

It is imperative that full exposure be given to the violent anti-Jewish, anti-Israel position of East Germany.

Mr. Reiss, chairman of the World Federation of Polish Jews, was then asked to make his presentation on <u>Poland</u>. The following are excerpts of his address, as submitted to us by him.

* * *A. REISS* * *

Two basic facts must guide our thinking about Polish Jewry. First: this is a settlement in the final stages of dissolution. Second: the initiative for official Polish policy on Jews, as other policies, comes from Moscow rather than Warsaw.

In view of the first fact, the mass exodus of Jews from Poland, I believe we must focus on facilitating that emigration, rather than concerning ourselves with security, civic equality, or other issues appropriate to a more stable Jewish population. In my opinion, all the Jews still left in Poland desire to leave, and the Polisi. Government is not opposed. I consider emigration the only acceptable and constructive resolution of the situation not only in Poland, but in all of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union.

By stating, in the second basic fact, that the power center of Polish policy often resides in Russia, I do not intend to suggest that Poland is a country which loves its Jews, but has been pressured into anti-Semitism. Almost a thousand years of Jewish life in Poland, with all their tragedy and heroism, testify against that. Nevertheless, when we speak of anti-Semitism in Poland at the present moment, we speak of an attitude carefully fostered by the Soviet Union.

In its slavish imitation of the political policy of the Soviet Union toward Jews, Poland has adopted the cynical Russian dodge of being "anti-Zionist" rather than anti-Jewish. It has become a center for some of the most virulent anti-Semitic propaganda in the world.

Not content with such distortions as labeling Israel a militaristic aggressor and the Jews of the rest of the world, champions of imperialism and reaction, Poland has the audacity of rewriting known history. Now it is claimed that the Poles did not collaborate, to some extent, with the Nazis in their country; that they did not enlist in the notorious "Brown Constabulary" and carry out some of the worst terror campaigns against Jews and others in World War II, The new Polish version is--it was the Jews who did this. Polish historians insist that the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt and the uprisings in other Ghettoes, were organized by the Polish underground rather than Jewish youth movements, particularly pioneering Zionist youth. None other than the Assistant Minister of Education and Culture, Casimir Rucznick, also General Secretary of the organization of World War II partisans, is besmirching the memory of the Ghecto heroes by peddling these lies in the public press. Evidently he has forgotten his own role during that period, as a Kapo in the Mathausen Concentration Camp.

For all their zeal in following the Russian line, we expect that the Poles will not abandon their policy of permitting Jewish emigration. We cannot overlook the twenty years, from the end of World War II until 1967, when the Jews in Poland felt generally secure and free, relatively, at least. More specifically, during that period Jews had the right to emigrate to Israel and even take their possessions with them, if they had any.

When I first visited Poland toward the end of 1946, about 170,000 Jews lived there. On my third visit, in 1956, this number had declined to 50,000; plus probably another 10,000 who had completely discarded their identity and were not at all known as Jews. Most of the 120,000 who had left Poland, went to Israel. On my last visit, in April 1967, the Jewish population of Poland was not more than 25,000. Again,the bulk had gone to Israel. Today I estimate the number of Jews in Poland at less than 12,000.

Permit me to tell you a personal experience when I visited in 1956. One of my personal friends, then Assistant Minister of Finance, invited twelve important Jewish Communists to dinner with me. Naturally most of the conversation revolved around events in Israel, since it was only two months after the Sinai Campaign. However, in the course of time we began discussing the situation in Poland, and continued until the wee hours of the morning. At the conclusion of the conversation, I told them that if I were a believing Jewish Communist, I would leave Poland, in order to enable the Polish proletariat to carry out its revolution unhampered by the presence of so many Jews in the leadership of the country. Practically everyone there agreed with me, but explained that a true Communist cannot leave the firing line. In other words -- and this is what I want to emphasize -- even then, Jews were not reassured by their prominence in the Government and Party. They realized the popular resentment of them.

Eventually, this resentment assumed an ideological form. Just two months ago, the outstanding ideologist of the Communist Party, Andrei Werblin, wrote a series of essays in the official Party newspaper, laying down a basis for anti-Semitism in the Communist Party, more or less along the lines I have indicated. Werblin contributed his own "explanation" of why Jews had assumed so many posts of leadership at the outset. According to him, gentile Communists fought the Nazis and were killed, wounded or captured; whereas Jews ran away to Russia and saved themselves.

A few weeks ago there was a conference in Warsaw of the Federation of Fraternal Socialist Societies of the Jews of Poland. The organization is little more than a letterhead anymore. It has long since ceased publishing books; its literary journal, "Yiddishe Shriften", has been abandoned; the daily "Folkshtimme" has been reduced to a weekly which merely reproduces the releases of PAT--the Polish Telegraphic Agency. Actually, the real business of the meeting was to organize emigration. That is the trend of events, because that is what the Jews want and that is what the Polish Government and people want.

The emigration of the remaining Polish Jews involves a number of problems. There are some who live off their meager Government pensions and worry about how they could survive in another country. Students wonder how they could continue their studies outside Poland. Some parents stay on because they are the sole support of their children. Similarly, some parents are dependent on their young.

These problems require speedy and constructive solutions. The Government of Israel, the leadership of the Jewish Agency and the Israeli universities are exerting prodigious efforts, but they cannot handle these problems by themselves. Jewish communities all over the world must also address themselves to the task.

I agree with Mr. Kaplan that no special resolution need be adopted here, on Polish Jewry. What is needed is action, with the hope that the Polish Government will not place barriers in the path of Jews wishing to leave that country.

A report on <u>Czechosłovakia</u> was then rendered by Mr. <u>Armand Kaplan</u>, whose remarks were not recorded--at his request.

The meeting adjourned for lunch and the delegates were asked to reconvene in mid-afternoon.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON

The final session was called to order at 2:30 p.m., presided over by Dr. William A. Wexler.

Mr. Andre Jabes then addressed the delegates on the subject: "The situation of the Jews in Arab countries". The text of his speech, as transmitted by his office to us, follows.

* * * ANDRE JABES* * *

Instead of reviewing the situation of the Jews in all Arab countries, review which has been made to you six months ago, I shall speak only on the two countries where something worth reporting has happened. I refer to Iraq and Egypt. May I add that much of what I shall say is already known to most of you. Furthermore, the representatives of AJDC, United Hias and the Jewish Agency invited at this meeting may want to add something.

IRAQ

It was known on January 27, that 14 Iraqis had been executed, among them 9 Jews. Together with the sad news of the hanging came the horrible details. Everybody knew that the Jews were innocent and that being under permanent strict police control they could materially not act as spies. They had only been presecuted as an alibi for the action taken against political opponents bra ded as spies for Israel. It had been a parody of justice. The Jews had not been enabled to present their defence. When the time of hanging came, the rabbi who had been summoned was not allowed to recite prayers because, requested to recite them in Arabic, he answered that this could not be done. Then the corpses remained exposed for hours in a public square. All Iraqis were repeatedly invited by loudspeakers to gather and participate all together in that day of victory and joy. Lorries went out to collect workers from factories and students from schools and universities and bring them on the scene until it became a sinister huge gathering at the center of which the gallows with the bodies hanging, the Jews wearing the indication that they were Jews. This last detail gave the lie to the Iraqis and to the Arabs and their friends who said that the victims had not been executed as Jews but as criminals.

Again the Israeli Government and all the Jewish organizations appealed to the leaders of the world, the Pope, and the World Council of Churches, the Emperor of Ethiopia, Marshall Tito, Mr. Ceausescu, Mr. Erlander, Mr. Klaus, Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Debre. The appeal went also to U Thant and to the UN Human Rights Commission, to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Council of Europe, the International Committe of the Red Cross, the Trade Unions, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the International Commission of Jurists, the Quakers, Amnesty International.

Most Jewish communities called upon to do so intervened with their own government, with the United Nations, with their national Red Cross Societies. Religious ceremonies were held; meetings and mass rallies of protest took place. Dr. Nahum Goldmann and other Jewish leaders visited heads of states, prime ministers, Foreign Affairs ministers and representatives of the Churches.

Action by the Jews was undertaken in Israel, the USA, Canada, France, the UK, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Rumania, Greece, Scandinavia including Finland, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico and most Latin American countries, India, Australia, South Africa etc....

All these approaches and requests had three aims:

- 1. To bring about general and public protests against the inhuman behaviour of the Iraqis.
- 2. To prevent further trials or executions of Jews.
- 3. To obtain that all Jews be allowed to emigrate from Iraq and Syria and Egypt.

At the Geneva session of the UN Human Rights Commission a written statement concerning the right to emigrate was submitted by 5 organizations: the World Jewish Congress, the International League for the Rights of Man, the International Council of Jewish Women, the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Later at the same session an oral statement was made by Dr. Perlzweig.

The responses to all this action was that many public statements were made. But also many discrete interventions took place and were sometimes more efficient than the public utterances.

Because of the general reaction of horrow and disgust even in the Arab countries the hanging and its conditions were criticized. Not because Jews had been victims of such savage action, but because according to the words of the Egyptian and Lebanese leaders and press agencies, it would harm the Arab cause in the propaganda field. The Iraqis complained bitterly that their "Arab brothers" did not join them in their rejoicing for their victory but they added with arrogance that they would continue to hang Israeli and Zionist spies.

However, the first result of the worldwide Jewish action was that no more Jews were prosecuted, although trials against Iraqi political opponents continued, ending with more hangings.

Another immediate result was that many countries announced either publicly or in private that they were prepared to receive the Jews who would emigrate from Iraq, Syria or Egypt.

Some time later the Iraqi leaders instead of uttering only threats against the Iraqi Jews, said that the Jews were free citizens equal to their Moslem brethen and lived happily in Iraq. This new theme of propaganda went along with publicity given to so-called interviews with a terrorized elderly chief rabbi or with some pitiful frightened Jew expressing his thanks to the Iraqi Government and people for their kindness towards the Iraqi Jews.

However the Jewish action continued. The "Shloshim" was commemorated everywhere and interventions were repeated concentrating more and more on the departure of the Jews.

But time was passing and the material situation of the Jews in Iraq was deteriorating. Those who had been paupers remained paupers. Those who had been better off and had been able to help their brethren were becoming paupers themselves. Indeed the material situation of the Jews in Iraq has become a cause for deep concern for the Jewish organizations and particularly those specialized in relief.

Recently there were two new developments in Iraq that are probably due to the Jewish unceasing action: The first is that the Iraqi Government has abrogated 2 anti-Jewish laws. One of 1967 concerning the loss of Iraqi nationality for some categories of Jews and the other the 1968 law prohibiting the selling by the Jews of their immovable property. These two anti-Jewish laws were attributed to the previous Arab regime. Obviously in itself this step may mean nothing since harassing, bullying and persecuting is not only done by laws. But psychologically it is meaningful inasmuch as the Iraqis went out of their way to adopt a new law rescinding two anti-Jewish previous laws.

The second development is that Iraqi Jews have been allowed to register for leaving the country. Nearly 60% (1500) have registered already. Nobody can tell what that step means. Maybe it was intended as a trap against the Jews, so that later they may be branded as traitors who wanted to betray their country in going to Israel? Maybe it was only a propaganda gesture to couteract our own action demanding the right to emigrate? Maybe it is just an Iraqi miscalculation because they thought only a handful of Jews would dare register which would prove that all the others lived happily in Iraq? But maybe also the Iraqis really think that for their own reasons they should stop persecuting the Jews and let them go. We have been told that the Iraqi , overnment will allow 100 to 150 Jews to depart before the end of 1969. We shall know better the intentions of the Iraqi Government in the near future. For the time being the registration has had no follow up. We can only hope for the best in that respect.

Meanwhile I think we must continue our action in favour of the Jews in Iraq because it is the only way to achieve results. Whatever one thinks of the effectiveness of our action, the only alternative is to keep quiet and it is certainly not in keeping quiet that we shall bring about a solution to the sad situation of the Jews in Iraq.

EGYPT

There were about 1200 Jews left in Egypt. About 225 of them were still in prison in Toura without ever having been accused of anything or tried. Since the end of December 1967 almost no Jew was released from prison. However at that time the non-imprisoned Jews were allowed to emigrate. Suddenly at the end of September 1968 the departure of the non-imprisoned Jews was also stopped except for those who had a foreign nationality prior to June 1967. This last condition is explained by the fact that the Spanish Government offered Spanish passports to all Jews desirous to go. With the above mentioned condition the Jews having such a passport as the Spanish Consul would provide, would not be allowed to depart. However the non-imprisoned Jews are not persecuted. At that time the condition of the Jews in the Toura prison was not as bad as it had been from June to November 1967 in other prisons but it was still a prison and even more a prison maintained on Arab standards. On the other hand, by September 1968 the imprisoned Jews were growing impatient and discouraged. The fact that there were no more releases was a terrible blow to their morale. All the more so because even then neither a UN representative nor a delegate of the ICRC was allowed to visit them.

Again the Israeli Government as well as the International Jewish Organizations made repeated demarches with United Nations and other various international agencies and many governments. We also asked our member Jewish Communities and organizations to intervene with their respective governments requesting them to press the Egyptian Government to release the imprisoned Jews and to let all Jews depart if they so desire. Of all the actions taken in response to the demarches which had been made, three of them were apparently particularly effective, those taken by the French Government, the Spanish Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Many other interventions took place but these three appeared to be the most energetic, persistent and fruitful.

However for some time no result was achieved. The reason for stopping Jewish emigration was not even known. It was reported that the decision to resume the departure of the Jews needed Nasser's personal signature which was not forthcoming. On the other hand, the only answer received by those who intervened was that the Jews would soon be released in small groups and allowed to leave as before. But notwithstanding that repeated promise the imprisoned Jews were not set free or allowed to depart.

Then in February 1969 it was reported that 127 Jews had been transferred from the Toura prison to the Barrages prison. I must explain that for some mysterious reasons the Jews about to be released were first transferred to the Barrages prison before their release. Therefore the transfer of the 127 Jews was good news because it was a sign that they would soon be set free.

The 127 Jews were all stateless, which might indicate that the Egyptian authorities were mindful of the fact that the stateless Jews, once they departed from Egypt, would fall within the terms of reference for the High Commissioner for Refugees mandate. I must recall that at the end of 1967, at a time when the United Nations Secretary General still thought an inquiry could be made in Arab countries concerning the Jews living there, Mr. Gussing was appointed and in his report he states the Egyptain negative answer to his enquiry. He was told that the Jews having a foreign passport were under the sole authority of their government; those who were stateless were under the sole authority of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees; those who were Egyptians under the sole authority of the Egyptian government. Thus the latter recognized the competence of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees for the stateless Jews in Egypt although this could be legally debated.

But the explanation of the fact that only stateless Jews were transferred could have motives of internal Egyptian policy. Some groups (Moslem Brotherhood; young officers etc.)' are for the hard line towards the Jews. Some other groups feel that Egypt should get rid of the Jews in order to avoid international criticism and become stronger in its propaganda and political fight against Israel. In this situation the Egyptian Government might have decided for a compromise decision which was to free the stateless Jews (which were about 60% to 65% of the total) and only them.

However after the transfer of the 127 Jews from the Toura prison to the Barrages prison nothing more happened. Still the Jews were not set free and (unless with a foreign passport) they were not allowed to leave the country. For many weeks the situation remained the same and the 127 Jews in the Barrages prison were growing desperate because the conditions in the Barrages prison were worse than in the Toura prison. On the other hand, if their stay at the Barrages prison was a pre-condition to their release, it would have been counter-productive for them to ask for their return to the Toura prison.

Then suddenly in April 1969 it was known that a certain number of Jews from the Barrages prison were allowed to depart and that all the other Jews from that same prison would follow in small groups. It was stressed that the continuation of that process might be jeopardized if there was any indiscreet talk about it. At the same time one of the diplomats approached by the World Jewish Congress announced to us the same news. He also added that utmost discretion was indispensable if we wanted to avoid a new stoppage of the departure of the Jews.

Discretion was indeed observed and in a few weeks time all the 127 Jewish inmates of the Barrages prison were released and (except for four of them) safely in Europe. Most of them carried Spanish passports which had been offered by the Spanish consulate. At the same time the Egyptian Government let the close members of the families of the freed men emigrate to rejoin their bread winners. That means of course that the nonimprisoned Jew who was not related to a released Jew or was not dependent for his living on a released Jew was not allowed to emigrate.

More recently another 8 Jews from the Toura prison were also released which brings the total to about 135, as of July 11, 1969. As to the total of the members of families, it is about 175 to 180.

We have therefore two questions unanswered:

1) What will happen with the 80/85 Egyptian Jews still in the Toura prison?

2) What will happen to the Jews who are not closely related to released Jews and therefore have not been allowed to leave since September 1968?

We know that everything is slow in Egypt when administrative action is needed, when documents must be collected, when evidence must be produced. So whatever our reluctance we must be patient. But we should keep the situation under constant review. If Jews continue coming out even in limited numbers, we should remain discreet as we were asked to. If on the contrary the situation becomes frozen again, meaning if in the future we ascertain that a certain number of Jews remain in prison and that some Jews are not allowed to leave the country, then we shall have to resume our action.

I wish, before ending, to say that in this painful problem of the Jews in the Arab countries, cooperation has been continuous and harmonious with the representatives of Israel both in Jerusalem and abroad, and since we are in Geneva, I must mention particularly in this respect Ambassador Kidron. The same thing must be said of the relations with major Jewish organizations such as AJDC, United Hias, and the Jewish Agency, and this is most gratifying.

Mr. Leonard Seidemann and Mr. Louis Horowitz then gave off-the-record supplementary reports. Mssrs. Z. Divon, Gerald Falk, Sol Kanee, and Sir Barnett Janner gave additional information as to activities undertaken in their respective countries on this matter.

Following these reports, Mr. Herman Edelsberg was asked to address the delegates on the NGO's at the United Nations and the implications.

* * *HERMAN EDELSBERG* * *

I personally belong to those who have not attributed too much importance to our holding NGO status at the United Nations. And yet, the Arabs and the Soviets seem to have taken a different position. They are doing everything in their power to drive the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations out of the UN. Perhaps, therefore, my position has been wrong; perhaps NGO status is important after all.

Two years ago the American press broke the story that the CIA was funding various organizations and someone within the United Nations suggested a review of the various NGO's to see whether they were receiving any funds from the CIA. It was quickly established that this suspicion was without foundation. But the Russians used this opportunity to open the question of the status of the NGO's.

In March 1969, a relevant UN committee reviewed the status of the various NGO's and gave everyone a hard time-especially Agudath Israel, whose status was lowered. (There are various degrees of NGO representation.) The World Jewish Congress's status was reconfirmed, as was WIZO's, the former by a 4-3 vote. The Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations (Board of Deputies of British Jews, B'nai B'rith, and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies) lost by one vote. At a subsequent vote, the issue was deadlocked by a 4-4 vote and the fight around the CBJO continued. It is my understanding that the Agudath Israel was approached subsequently and told they could regain their previous status if they would separate themselves completely from their pro-Israel activities; the Agudath Israel refused.

The vulnerable aspect of the CBJO is that some B'nai B'rith documents were stolen and delivered into the hands of the Arabs and Soviets; these documents only reveal that B'nai B'rith is deeply concerned about Israel and the welfare of its people.

The Russians are also opposed to the CBJO because B'nai B'rith is in the forefront of the attacks against the Soviets in connection with their anti-Semitic policies. At one of the later stages of this controversy, the Arabs suggested an amendment to one of the pending resolutions, then asked that this amendment be sent back to committee for study. After this step was in fact undertaken, they further suggested that pending the committee's report on the resolution, the CBJO should be excluded from United Nations sessions.

During this whole debate--despite the fact that the Board of Deputies of British Jews is a member of the CBJO--the British Government remained cool.

SIR BARNETT JANNER

I am surprised to hear this and will check into it.

* * *HERMAN EDELSBERG* * *

We saw many governmental representatives in this connection. The American delegation told us that it is their interpretation that pending the final decision, B'nai B'rith should enjoy its previous status. A vote was taken which resulted in a tie (11-11). Meanwhile, we are awaiting the report from the committee and the CBJO is without its previous status.

I wish to underline that we have here an attack on all the NGO's. If the NGO's will be intimidated and will not be able to speak out on the issues of concern to them, then the concept of NGO's will have been compromised and their usefulness eliminated, for all practical purposes. The fight we are now conducting is therefore a fight for all NGO's and I earnestly hope we can count on the support of everyone around the table of COJO.

RESOLUTIONS

Chi manana

Dr. Maurice Perzweig was then given the floor to report back on the work of the Resolutions Committee. Dr. Perlzweig thanked his committee members for their invaluable assistance and presented the resolutions, which were then debated. Please see pages I-VI for the full text of the various resolutions as amended and unanimously adopted by the plenum.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Mr. Monroe Abbey proposed that all COJO officers continue in their present office and expressed appreciation for the fine work done during the past year. Mr. Abbey further asked that Ing. Gregorio Faigon also serve as an officer.

The recommendations as proposed by Mr. Abbey were seconded by Mr. Eugene Weill and unanimously approved by the plenum. The following is a list of officers:

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman Mr. Louis Pincus, co-chairman Dr. William A. Wexler, co-chairman Ing. Gregorio Faigon, vice-chairman Alderman Michael M. Fidler, vice-chairman Mr. Yehuda Hellman, secretary-general

Mr. Abbey gave Mr. Hellman a special word of thanks for his key role in continuing the work of COJO and keeping this important group together.

Following the election of officers, Mr. Abbey suggested that the role of the youth in Jewish life be discussed at the next meeting of COJO.

Dr. Gerhart M. Riegner then gave an off-the-record report on the Second Meeting with the World Council of Churches.

* * *discussion* * *

RABBI JAY KAUFMAN

This is a very difficult problem we are raising because relations with the Protestant church are worsening. We must be certain to have the subject of Protestant/Jewish relations on our agenda again.

RABBI ISRAEL MILLER

We need to have in the future a country-by-country report to be followed by a general discussion.

DR. WILLIAM WEXLER

First, I want to thank Dr. Riegner for his report.

Next year we must discuss the problem of Protestant/ Jewish relations from a general point of view with a country-by-country report. Outside experts should also be invited because this is a very important subject to all of us.

<u>summation</u>

* * *DR. WILLIAM WEXLER* * *

We have just now concluded here three days of important discussions. Our agenda was very well prepared and we all appreciate the background material and documents which were submitted by our secretariat. This was a very well organized meeting and I want to express my appreciation.

* * *ISAIAH MINKOFF* * *

I want to express my appreciation, as a delegate, for the interesting three days I have spent here. We had good meetings and a very worthwhile agenda. I also want express commendations to those who arranged the meeting. I hope that future meetings will be as good. On behalf of all the delegates, I express our thanks to dehuda Hellman.

The July 1969 COJO Plenary Session adjourned at 5:45 p.m.

RESOLUTIONS

SOVIET JEWRY

This Conference, representing Jewish communities in all parts of the world, expresses its profound indignation at the Soviet anti-Semitic campaign, masquerading as "anti-Zionism". It condemns the use of anti-Jewish prejudice as an instrument of both Soviet internal and foreign policy; and is particularly disturbed by the effects of this propaganda on neighbouring countries. Poland is only the most outstanding example of the way in which anti-Semitism has been used to undermine and destroy organized Jewish life, and East Germany has become an instrument of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel propaganda.

The Conference expresses admiration for the courageous and dignified affirmation of Jewish identity made by increasing numbers of Soviet Jews and expresses its brotherly solidarity with them.

The Conference appeals urgently to the Soviet leadership to halt the dangerous incitement to anti-Jewish prejudice in the Soviet Union, to allow the emigration of Jews who feel that they could only fulfill their destiny in Israel. It urges also that all obstacles should be removed which still prevent many people from leaving the country in order to be reunited with their families abroad. Finally the Conference urges the Soviet Government to implement the constitutional rights of Soviet Jews to maintain and develop their national culture, to educate their children in the history, languages and traditions of their Jewish heritage, to obtain the facilities and the requirements essential for the practice of Judaism and the maintenance of its spiritual tradition.

- I in

RESOLUTIONS (cont.)

JEWS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The Conference records its continued deep concern at the situation of Jewish communities in a number of Arab countries, particularly Syria and Iraq. Subjected as the Jews in these countries are to discriminatory administrative and legislative measures, they have been reduced to a tragic situation, in which many of them are languishing in prison and most are deprived of the opportunity of earning a livelihood, and are in numerous ways subjected to the pressures of a hostile environment.

We address a most urgent appeal to the appropriate intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, with responsibilities in the field of humanitarian assistance, to use all the means available to them to seek from these governments the possibility of enabling them to emigrate to lands in which they can build a new life in freedom.

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RESOLUTIONS (cont.)

STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

The Conference takes note of the legislation enacted by the Federal Republic of Germany which in the future outlaws the application of a statute of limitations to the crime of genocide, and it notes also the extension by ten years of the period before which the existing statute can grant immunity to those guilty of murder.

The Conference must, however, record its shock that recent changes in the Penal Law and the interpretation of Courts on these changes will provide immunity from prosecution to numerous persons guilty of murder, particularly the administrators of the extermination machine of European Jewry who are being tried as accessories to their heinous crimes.

It becomes all the more important, therefore, that the German authorities should use every legal and administrative resource at their command to bring to justice all criminals who were associated with murder during the holocaust.

The memory of the holocaust will remain a factor of grave importance in the relations between the German and the Jewish people. RESOLUTIONS (cont.)

NGO CONSULTATIVE STATUS AT THE U.N.

The Conference deplores and regrets the recent attack on the consultative status of non-governmental organizations at the United Nations by a group of states. The Conference desires to place on record its appreciation of the vigorous defence by a number of other states of these non-governmental organizations which had made significant contributions to the work of the U.N. In particular the Conference expresses its satisfaction with the protest of these states against the manifest hostility exhibited against Jewish and Catholic organizations by certain Communist representatives.

The Conference draws attention to the fact that the Coordinating Body of Jewish Organizations has still not been granted normal consultative status and will continue to be under attack. The Conference urges its member organizations to support the Coordinating Board in its affirmation of its right to discharge its duty in the U.N. as an organization dedicated to the defence of Jewish communities and human rights in general.

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INFORMATION ON ISRAEL

In view of the campaign of misrepresentation and distortion unleashed in recent months against Israel, the Conference calls on its member organizations to redouble their efforts in the fields of information and education in order to ensure that Israel's just cause and the policy and record on which it is based, shall be widely known and understood, and that the false and malicious charges which have been disseminated shall be refuted by the publication of the truth.

ISRAEL

The Conference reaffirms its wholehearted support of the State of Israel in its struggle for security within frontiers which shall be both secure and recognized. As representatives of Jewish communities throughout the world, we see in Israel not only the repository of the millenial hopes of the Jewish people but the indispensable instrument to ensure the creative survival of the ideals and values which are the glory of the Jewish heritage.

We therefore renew our pledge to support Israel in its effort to secure a peace which shall be at once just, honourable and genuine. Such a peace must be negotiated by the parties to the conflict and embodied in a treaty containing provisions which shall be contractually binding on the signatories.

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WORLD CONFERENCE OF JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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.)

Delegacions de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (D.A.I.A.)

Executive Council of Australian Jewry

Jewish Labor Committee South African Board of Jewish Deputies World Jewish Congress

World Zionist Organization

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN - chairman LOUIS A. PINCUS co-chairman DR. WILLIAM A. WEXLER - co-chairman ING. GREGORIO FAIGON - vice-chairman ALDERMAN MICHAEL M. FIDLER - vice-chairman YEHUDA HELLMAN - secretary-general

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