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Israel, 1967-1970.

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# PHONE-O-GRAM for:

M

Yehudah Bellman of \_\_\_\_\_

☒ Telephoned   ☐ Please return the call   ☐ Will call again   ☐ Came in   ☐ See me

Message:

Urgent meeting tomorrow, Thurs.  
at 4PM re TWA 9th fl Conference  
Room at 515 Park Dr. If you can't go,  
send someone else

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Date

9/10

Time

1-2

By \_\_\_\_\_





*To celebrate the Nineteenth Anniversary  
of Israel's Independence*

*The Consul General of Israel  
and Mrs. Michael Arnon  
request the pleasure of your company  
at a Reception*

*on Monday, 15 May 1967  
from five to eight p.m.*

*R.S.V.P.  
Tr. 9-7619*

*135 Central Park West  
Apt. 8-N*

*Put on  
calendar!  
Call  
will try  
to be  
there*

RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER

3/23/70

Thanks, Lenny ...

for your comprehensive report on  
your visit to the Presidents Conference  
meeting.



## MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIALDate March 20, 1970From Rabbi Leonard A. SchoolmanTo Rabbi M. N. Eisendrath, Rabbi A. M. Schindler, A. VorspanCopy for information of Julian FeldmanSubject Conference of Presidents Meeting on Friday, March 20th

Julian Feldman and I attended an emergency meeting of the Conference of Presidents at the Jewish Agency on Friday afternoon, March 20th, from 1:00 to 2:00 p.m. A presentation to the group was made by the Israel Minister of Information, Avidar.

Both Julian and I feel that the purpose of calling the meeting was to try to place the lid on any inflammatory statements which might be made by Jewish organizations after Secretary of State Rogers issues his statement concerning Israel on Monday. The group was chaired by Jacob Stein, President of the United Synagogue of America, and a policy statement was made by Jordan Band, Chairman of NCRAC.

The essence of Mr. Avidar's statement is as follows:

The government of Israel, at this time, has no official information as to the precise nature of what Secretary Rogers' statement will be, but on the basis of soundings the Israel government anticipates the following:

1. The Secretary will give a negative answer to Israel's request for additional jets. The basis for this negative response will be that the Administration, at this time, cannot ascertain any imbalance of power in the Middle East.
2. The United States is continually concerned about the security and existence of the State of Israel, and the matter of security is under constant review. If an imbalance is perceived, appropriate measures will be taken to correct that situation.



## MEMORANDUM

Date March 20, 1970

From \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

- 2 -

3. The government of the United States, while concerned about the security of Israel, does not believe that a continued arms race is the best means for the achievement of peace in the Middle East.
4. There is a "hunch" that some sort of economic gesture will be made by Mr. Rogers.
5. The loss of jet planes to Israel, while a setback, should not be considered a tragedy. The Israeli government is in constant conversation and consultation with the Department of State, and the withholding of jets cannot be considered, in any sense, an embargo.
6. Since the United States is the only supplier of sophisticated arms to Israel, the government of Israel is in no position to tell the United States "to go to hell" and to burn any bridges.
7. Inasmuch as the wording of Mr. Rogers' statement has not yet been released, and that the wording is vital in the determination of an appropriate response, Mr. Avidar urged that no statements be made to the press and other media until careful analysis of the Secretary's remarks are made.
8. In response to a question, Mr. Avidar emphasized that there were no private promises, to his knowledge.
9. In response to another question, Mr. Avidar hinted that one factor in the Administration's present policy may be that the Russians now show a willingness to talk.

## MEMORANDUM

Date March 20, 1970

From \_\_\_\_\_

To \_\_\_\_\_

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

- 3 -

10. Mr. Avidar emphasized again that there is a close friendship between the United States and Israel.

Jordan Band, speaking in the name of the leadership of the Presidents Conference, urged that this is not the time for premature and inflammatory action. He emphasized that there is nothing in what Mr. Avidar said that would lead the American Jewish community to take a position that might be detrimental to Israel in the long run. Upon the issuance of Mr. Roger's statement on Monday, the leadership of the Conference of Presidents will send a telegram to Mr. Rogers. The tone of this telegram will emphasize the disappointment of the American Jewish community that the jets were not made available to Israel, that the American Jewish community is concerned for the safety of Israel as well as general American interest in the Middle East, and that the American Jewish community is confident of on-going support by the American government for the State of Israel.

Local organizations and affiliates of the national organizations represented on the Presidents Conference should be encouraged not to make individual responses or public statements. While it is clear that there is no absolute control that can be exerted by the leadership of the American Jewish community over the various elements in that community, every organization should discourage individual responses at this time. The statement of the Conference of Presidents will be issued immediately to member organizations, and to the presidents after Secretary Rogers receives it.

Circumstances might warrant a reconvening, on short notice, of the Presidents Conference - possibly on Wednesday morning, March 25th.

P.S. The attached clipping from to-day's New York Times largely summarizes Avidar's factual report of what Rogers' statement will be.





United Press International

Soviet anti-aircraft missiles being made ready during military maneuvers in Byelorussia. Air and land forces participated in the four-day games, which ended last Sunday.

## U.S. Officials See No Change in Mideast Balance

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 19

—United States officials said today that the recent arrival in the United Arab Republic of Soviet SAM-3 missiles and Soviet troops to operate them had not significantly changed the "realistic" balance of power in the Middle East.

For this reason, Administration quarters said, Secretary of State William P. Rogers is expected to an-

nounce Monday that the United States remains ready to meet Israel's defense needs when they arise but that it is not prepared at this time to authorize the sale of additional jets. The Israelis are believed to have requested to buy 35 supersonic Phantom fighter-bombers and more than 100 Skyhawk fighters.

The Administration was said to consider that the new anti-aircraft weapons in Egypt are defensive and that

they thus pose no direct and imminent threat to Israel.

United States officials confirmed the report published today in The New York Times that the SAM-3's and at least 1,500 Soviet troops had arrived in Egypt.

A State Department official said that "we know that the Soviet supply effort is continuing" and that there was "evidence that it is directed toward the strengthening of the Egyptian air defenses."



January 9, 1968

Hon. Judge Joseph G. Shapiro  
945 Main Street  
Bridgeport, Conn.

Dear Judge Shapiro,

Thank you so much for calling our attention to the ad of  
"The American Committee for Safeguarding Human Dignity in  
Israel."

I don't think that we will answer it in the New York Times  
itself; little purpose could be served in engaging in a  
public debate on this issue -- in the American Press.  
Obviously we have made representation in Israel. A good  
many wires were sent to the Israeli government asserting  
our position in opposition to the Orthodox view.

I saw your children -- the Silvers -- some weeks ago and  
they looked well.

I hope that you and Mrs. Shapiro are in good health. May  
you have a good year.

Rhea joins me in sending you our fond good wishes.

Cordially,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

/w

The ad Judge Shapson  
of Bridgeport suggests  
WAHC answer.



## IZVESTIA SAYS U.S. SEEKS A WIDER WAR

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 4 — A Soviet political commentator, Vladimir Kudryavtsev, said tonight that the United States was planning to send troops into Cambodia and Laos as part of a broad strategy of entrenchment on the Asian continent.

Writing in Izvestia, the Government newspaper, the commentator added that Washington's hawks were striving to find ways to get through next November's Presidential elections successfully and then intensify the war in Southeast Asia under the guise of a mandate from the voters.

Mr. Kudryavtsev did not explicitly mention renewed North Vietnamese gestures suggesting that Hanoi would agree to talks

if the United States suspended bombing attacks on North Vietnam.

However, accusing the United States of planning a major expansion of the war in Vietnam, he added:

"In these conditions, 'peace-making' maneuvers of the United States ruling circles have no value whatsoever if they do not take into account, first of all, an unreserved and unconditional halt of the bombing attacks and all other military actions against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

## Ceylon Ends Curb on China

Special to The New York Times

COLOMBO, Ceylon, Jan. 4 — The Government of Ceylon has lifted the year-old ban on the import of Chinese publications. Diplomatic observers said that the action reflects a thaw in the Government's relations with China.

## Lloyd's to Pay Australian On Multiple-Birth Policy

Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Jan. 4 — Lloyd's of London said today they would pay an insurance policy claim of about \$360 against multiple births held by Roger Braham, the father of Australia's first quintuplets.

A spokesman said underwriters had given "sympathetic consideration" to the claim despite the fact that the policy had a standard rider canceling it "if the births were more than six weeks premature," he said.

The quintuplets—three girls and two boys—were born to Mrs. Braham in Brisbane on Sunday, about seven weeks prematurely.

BRISBANE, Australia, Jan. 4 (AP)—The last-born of the Braham quintuplets died today

at the age of four days. There was no indication that any of the four other babies was threatened.

The attending obstetrician announced that Geoffrey Roger became ill this morning and died in midafternoon. The cause of death was not given.

## McKeldin Named to Head Baltimore Urban Coalition

BALTIMORE, Jan. 4 (AP)—Theodore R. McKeldin, a liberal Republican who completed his second term as Mayor of Baltimore last month, was named today as chairman of the Baltimore Urban Coalition.

The organization was formed recently to provide a coordinated year-round approach to such problems as poor housing, poor education, unemployment and poverty.

# An Open Letter to Mr. Eshkol

... in which we'd like to remind you of an unkept promise

About a year ago thousands of concerned people in all parts of the world protested the practice of indiscriminate autopsies in Israel—particularly permitting autopsies against the expressed wishes of the deceased and his family. The official Rabbinate of the State of Israel decreed that such practices constituted anti-religious compulsion. Strong cables of protest were sent by the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States, Rabbinical Council of America, Central Rabbinical Congress of America, Rabbinical Alliance of America, Agudath Israel of America, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregation, Religious Zionists of America, National Council of Young Israel, Poalei Agudath Israel, Rabbinical Board of New York, Metropolitan Board of Orthodox Rabbis and many others. At that time, promises were made, in your name, that reforms would be instituted and restraints exercised.

Nothing was done then, and nothing has been done since to order a stop to this flagrant affront to many peoples' religious beliefs and sense of human dignity. We pose the question once again: Does the State of Israel really believe that the inquisitiveness of scientists takes precedence over a person's right to his own

body, or a family's right to the body of their relative? Do you realize that in many cases dismembered limbs are not returned to families for decent burial? If your citizens deem an autopsy to be a desecration of the dead, shall the State of Israel deny them the protection of its laws?

We know there are times when autopsies are necessary, but not every death is a suspicious one, not every day is a time of epidemic. All we ask is that anyone, whether out of religious conviction or humanitarian feelings, be legally allowed to insist that no autopsy or dissection be performed on his—or his relative's—body after death.

Mr. Eshkol, this is a serious problem. Many Israeli citizens refuse to enter hospitals for medical treatment because they fear what might happen to their bodies should they die there. Many elderly people hesitate to settle in, or even visit, Israel with the same fears in mind. Is this any way to run a nation?

Mr. Eshkol, world Jewry can remain silent no longer! You shall be held responsible, in the eyes of the world, for the consequences of such inhuman behavior!

Additional information—and documentation—available upon request. Contributions to help this noble cause are welcome.

**AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR SAFEGUARDING HUMAN DIGNITY IN ISRAEL**

Room 315, 15 Park Row, New York, N. Y. 10038. Telephone 452-3713

Committee: Alfred Caro, Ph.D.; Hertz Frankel; Rudolph Meyer, Esq.

and Rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein, Rabbi Isaac Lieberman, Grand Rabbi Simon Posen.



January 9, 1968

Dr. Robert Kapsinow  
524 S. Buchanan Street  
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Kapsinow,

The editor of THE VOICE was good enough to send me a copy of your letter dated January 4th in which you speak of the merited good "kicks in the pants" which we are getting in Israel because of our presumed "opportunistic attitude" toward that country.

Forgive me for saying so, but your knowledge of Reform Judaism's attitude toward Israeli and our community support of its efforts, is based on sheer ignorance of the true facts of the matter.

While it is true that in the late 19th and early 20th century Reform Jews were not marked for their Zionist position, it is equally true that from about 1917 on almost all of Reform Judaism's leadership and an overwhelming proportion of our membership, sacrificed for the establishment of the State of Israel. So much so, that the leadership of the Zionist movement on the American scene was to a large extent in the hands of leaders of the Reform movement. This fact is symbolized by the man who, perhaps more than anyone else, is identified on the American scene for our community's effort to achieve independent statehood for our people: I refer of course to Abba Hillel Silver, who was a Reform rabbi.

In a word, we are not "Johnny-come-lately's" who responded only under the impact of Israel's most recent victory, and we for one have nothing at all to prove.

Cordial greetings.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Alexander W. Schindler

/w

BC: H. Friend



*Memo*

FROM THE DESK OF

Chaim H. Friend

*For Your Information*





For Your Information

Robert Kapsinow, M. D.  
524 S. BUCHANAN STREET  
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

January 4, 1968



HF  
HS  
CH

To the Editor  
The Voice  
838 Fifth Ave  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I have just read your article on the UAHC Charts etc toward strengthening ties with Israel that was published in the December issue.

You deserve the good kick in the pants that you are getting in Israel. You have shown nothing but an opportunist attitude towards the country. Now you want to get recognition for what? All you have tried to do was get on the band wagon after you saw the trend of World Jewry towards Israel. You have watched the growth of the country with, I am sure, secret elation at the tremendous progress that Israel has made in spite of all hindrances. I hope that you eat crow for it.

I personally have never had any opinions one way or the other. When I went to Yale, I did not attend any of the Jewish organizational meetings nor did I go to the Temple which was required. Nevertheless, when Israel won the 8th wonder of the world - a five day victory over such tremendous odds, I became involuntarily a beneficiary of the glory of Israel. All my associates extended kudos for the great job that was done. No one asked me whether I was a Zionist or a Reformed Jew. It was that I was a Jew and that Palestine was, in the minds of all my Gentile friends, my homeland, albeit I was born and American.

For that reason I feel obligated to support all that Israel does. Until I have repaid the unsolicited glory of that great victory, I shall be in debt to her and if she does not want you because you are a tail rider, I shall go along with her. You must now prove that you are worthy of her favors.

Very respectfully yours,  
*Robert Kapsinow*  
Robert Kapsinow, M.D.

RK/sok

# MEMORANDUM

Date January 5, 1968

From Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

To ALL SENIOR STAFF

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Fritz Bamberger of the Hebrew Union College faculty  
just called me to invite you most cordially to attend a

SPECIAL CONVOCATION

to be held at the College Institute (40 West 68th Street)  
on Wednesday, January 10th, at 10:15 A.M.

at which time the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Hebrew Letters  
will be conferred upon

THE HONORABLE LEVI ESHKOL  
Prime Minister of Israel

Please bring this memorandum with you. It will serve as  
your admission card. There will be no admissions after  
10:15 A.M.



FZW

9/12/69

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

FR

MR. HENRI MARESCOT VICE PRESIDENT & GENERAL MANAGER  
AIR FRANCE  
1350 AVENUE OF AMERICAS  
NEW YORK CITY

*Mrs. Robinson Called - Air France  
w/ not be participating in the  
dedication. advised by Hilleman*

THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, INTERNATIONAL  
BODY OF REFORM JUDAISM, REPRESENTING MORE THAN SEVEN HUNDRED  
CONGREGATIONS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA AND  
ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD URGE NONACCEPTANCE OF DAMASCUS JETPORT  
DEDICATION INVITATION PENDING RELEASE OF HIJACKED ISRAELI  
PRISONERS STILL IN CUSTODY. WE HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED TO  
CONVEY THIS TO YOU IN BEHALF OF THE TOTAL JEWISH COMMUNITY,  
ORTHODOX AND CONSERVATIVE AND REFORM.

RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, VICE-PRES.

Same telegram to:

MR. ERIC ENGELDEW, MARKETING MANAGER  
BOAC  
245 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY

MR. GUNTHER ESER, GENERAL MANAGER OF NORTH AMERICA  
LUFTHANSA  
410 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK CITY



*Copy to  
y/Hilleman*

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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

September 11, 1969

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN TRADE UNION  
COUNCIL for ISRAEL

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

HADASSAH

JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—  
AMERICAN SECTION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS  
OF THE U.S.A.

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT—  
Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Workers

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
YOUNG ISRAEL

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY  
RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

NORTH AMERICAN JEWISH  
YOUTH COUNCIL

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Members associated in the Conference of Presidents of  
Major American Jewish Organizations

Yehuda Hellman

We have just learned that the new Damascus jet airfield recently completed, will be inaugurated next Monday, September 15th and 16th with the participation of representatives of International airlines from the East as well as from several countries in the West.

American airlines are not invited to participate, however, Air France, Alitalia, BOAC and Lufthansa were invited by the Syrian Government to participate in the opening celebration.

We were since yesterday morning, in touch with as many member organizations as possible and a special meeting of representatives of all organizations will meet this afternoon at 4:00 p.m.

Further action in connection with the fate of the two Israelis detained in Damascus will be considered. A delegation of the Presidents Conference has met with the President of TWA yesterday afternoon and the attached press release was made public after the meeting. In the meantime, we urge you to take the following urgent action:

Please contact the four above mentioned European airlines at the following addresses and telephone numbers:

Air France 1350 Avenue of Americas, NYC  
765-3000 Mr. Henri Marescot, Vice President &  
General Manager

BOAC 245 Park Avenue, NYC 983-3113  
Mr. Eric Engeldew, Marketing Manager

Alitalia 666 Fifth Avenue, NYC - 262-4422  
Mr. G. Vittori, General Mgr. USA, Mexico &  
Central America

Lufthansa 410 Park Avenue, NYC 759-5522  
Mr. Gunther Eser, General Manager of  
North America



Urge them to get in touch immediately with their home office either by cable or trans-atlantic telephone and request that they transmit your message urging them NOT to accept the Syrian invitation to come to Damascus next week. Ask them to state clearly that they will not attend unless the two innocent civilian Israelis are released and returned to their families and homes in Israel.

Please send us as soon as possible, any written or oral responses which you receive from the four airlines.

It is essential that everything possible be done by us before it is too late.

Following please find the text of cable and telegrams which has been sent by the Presidents Conference to the four European airlines. It is suggested that you pattern your own message along the same lines.

### AMERICAN JEWISH

"THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, THE SPOKESMAN FOR 23 NATIONAL JEWISH SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS BODIES, CALL ON YOU TO REJECT THE INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN CEREMONIES SEPTEMBER 15-16 MARKING THE OFFICIAL INAGURATION OF THE JET AIRFIELD IN DAMASCUS SYRIA. BY ITS REFUSAL TO RELEASE TWO ISRAELI PASSENGERS FROM THE TWA PLANE FLIGHT #840 HIJACKED TO DAMASCUS BY ARAB TERRORISTS LAST MONTH, THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BECOME AN ACTIVE ACCOMPLICE TO AIR PIRACY. THE INTERNATIONAL AIRLINE INDUSTRY HAS NO RECOURSE BUT TO ACT VIGOROUSLY AND AT ONCE TO PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST THE DESTRUCTION OF ITS COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT AS WELL AS THE PROTECTION OF ITS COMMERCIAL PASSENGERS AGAINST THE WANTON HIJACKING THAT THREATENS EVERY INTERNATIONAL FLIGHT AND AGAINST GOVERNMENTS THAT AID AND ABET THOSE GUILTY OF HIJACKING AND KIDNAPPING IN THE AIR. BY PARTICIPATING IN CEREMONIES OPENING THE DAMASCUS AIRFIELD, YOU WILL BE CONDONING THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENTS ACTION IN ARRESTING AND DETAINING THE TWO ISRAELI CITIZENS STILL IN CUSTODY. A MORE PROPER ACTION ON YOUR PART WOULD BE TO IGNORE THE INVITATION AND TO TELL THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT WHY...

signed RABBI HERSCHEL SCHACTER  
CHAIRMAN "

Leshana Tova!

Enclosures



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

## FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Sept. 10 -- Trans World Airlines has defended its actions surrounding the hijacking of one of its planes to Syria in letters to members of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, it was disclosed today.

In the letter, Charles C. Tillinghast, Jr., chairman of the board of TWA, said there had been "a certain amount of criticism" of TWA "which we regard as unfounded" He declared:

"From the outset of this act of air piracy, of which we have been the unfortunate victims, we at TWA have regarded it as our responsibility to do everything within our power, as a private corporation, to assist in securing the speedy release of all the passengers" on the hijacked airliner.

### Rabbi Schacter Praises U.S. and TWA But Hits UN

Rabbi Herschel Schacter, chairman of the Presidents Conference, expressed "satisfaction" with the letter and with what he described as "the vigorous action of the United States government and Trans World Airlines in attempting to secure the release of the two Israeli passengers held captive in Damascus."

Rabbi Schacter was critical, however, of the "impotence of the United Nations and the action of Secretary General U Thant in opposing plans by the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations to launch a world-wide pilots' strike aimed at freeing the captured Israeli passengers." Rabbi Schacter continued:

"It is serious enough that the Secretary General has failed to take forthright action in response to the international banditry in which Syria is an accomplice--an act of piracy that poses a threat to every country whose citizens travel by air at home or abroad.

"But his statement publicly opposing a serious effort to win the prisoners' release is nothing less than shocking."

### Two Hijacked Israelis on French TV

Rabbi Schacter disclosed that the two Israeli prisoners--Prof. Shlomo Samueloff and Sallah Muallem--appeared on French television last Thursday (Sept. 4) in a taped interview. Both men appeared despondent and harrassed, Rabbi Schacter said. He also noted that the sound track was so bad that it was not possible to

ascertain whether the voices heard were in fact those of the prisoners.

TWA Head Met With Rogers

In his letter, Mr. Tillinghast revealed that he had personally held "several conversations" with Secretary of State William P. Rogers "for the purpose of bringing all possible force to bear to secure the release of all of the TWA passengers" and said he was "quite satisfied that the State Department is doing all that it can to achieve this objective."

The TWA executive, commenting on the suggestion that the airline should have refused to evacuate any of its passengers unless and until the Syrians released all passengers, wrote:

"Such a viewpoint overlooks the fact, however, that TWA has possessed no ability to force other passengers to remain in Syria against their will. Any of them could have arranged their personal transportation out of Syria without reference to TWA, but if TWA had forced them to resort to this alternative, I am sure that they would have felt, with considerable justification, that TWA had failed to discharge its obligations to them."

Why The Whole Crew Did Not Remain Behind

Mr. Tillinghast also noted that "there has been some criticism because the entire crew of our aircraft had not remained behind." Replying to this charge, the TWA board chairman declared in his letter:

"This...appears to us to be unjustified because there was nothing that the flight engineer, for example, could do to supplement the efforts of the captain, who, as part of his responsibility as the captain of this flight, remains still in Syria to do everything that he can to secure the release of the two Israelis still being held

"Since the beginning of this unfortunate affair," Mr. Tillinghast added, "we have sought to do everything possible to secure the prompt release of all of our passengers. Having in mind that TWA has no regular commercial activities in Syria and that it has no force at its disposal to compel the Syrian government to act in this matter, but must rely solely on the tools of persuasion, you may be confident that we will continue to make all possible approaches through all possible sources to effect the speedy release of the two passengers who continue to be held by the Syrian government."

#

#

#



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Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS  
ADVISORY COUNCIL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
YOUNG ISRAEL

NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

March 25, 1969

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

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Enclosed please find the Resolution which was  
adopted unanimously by the National Leadership  
Conference on Peace in the Middle East, which  
took place at Delmonico's Hotel, yesterday,  
March 24, 1969.

Also enclosed is the full text of the telegram  
which was received by the Conference from  
Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

YH/pb

Enc.

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

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AMERICAN SECTION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS  
OF THE U.S.A.

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT—  
Poale Zion, Farband, Pioneer Women

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS  
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THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

TELEGRAM RECEIVED MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1969

RABBI HERSCHEL SCHACTER, CHAIRMAN  
CONF. OF PRES. OF MAJOR AMER. JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

DEAR RABBI SCHACTER:

IT IS A PLEASURE TO SEND MY GREETINGS AND BEST  
WISHES TO THIS MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE OF  
PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS.  
LIKE YOU, MY COLLEAGUES AND I ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED  
OVER THE SITUATION WHICH CONTINUES TO PREVAIL IN  
THE MIDDLE EAST. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT WE ARE  
EXPLORING EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS OF HELPING AMBASSADOR  
JARRING IN HIS TASK OF PROMOTING AGREEMENT OF THE  
TERMS OF THE JUST AND LASTING PEACE ENVISAGED BY THE  
SECURITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION OF NOVEMBER 22, 1967.  
WE KNOW THE DEEP INTEREST OF YOUR MEMBER ORGANIZA-  
TIONS IN THE SEARCH FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE AND ARE  
ALWAYS GLAD TO RECEIVE YOUR COUNSEL.

WILLIAM P. ROGERS,  
SECRETARY OF STATE



## RESOLUTION ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Throughout her existence, Israel has consistently sought peace, friendly relations and mutual cooperation with her neighbors. Yet, twenty-one years after the restoration of the sovereign State of Israel, the governments of neighboring Arab States continue to wage war against Israel and her citizens. These Arab States make use of Arab terrorist organizations, which they shelter, equip, finance, and allow to operate from their countries.

Unable to renew full scale war, the Arab States in recent months have intensified attacks against Israel and murderous assaults upon its civilian population and its lines of communication with the world. The obvious purpose of their present strategy is to conjure up the false threat of an imminent conflagration, thus creating an artificial atmosphere of acute crisis and panic. The Arab Governments hope and expect that the Big Four, appalled by such a prospect, will join forces in an effort to bring about Israel's withdrawal from the areas which have come under its administration since the Six Day War.

It is against this background that we view the Franco-Soviet initiative to produce a Big Power formula for a political settlement. This would absolve the Arab Governments from the necessity of entering into negotiations with Israel which alone can achieve a genuine peace treaty that would settle all outstanding issues between the countries directly involved. It is our conviction that any attempt to replace such a freely negotiated peace between Israel and the Arab States by any substitute, would encourage the intransigence of the Arab Governments in rejecting all constructive proposals for negotiations leading to an agreed and lasting peace. It would tend to globalize a regional conflict, creating the danger of Big Power involvement.

We commend the previous and present United States Administrations for their

declared opposition to all proposals for a solution to be imposed from the outside. We therefore urge our Government to adhere to its policy of advocating a negotiated peace among the parties directly involved, which would serve the best interest of our country, as well as the interests of the entire Middle East.

We are confident that American statesmanship will not yield to current Soviet maneuvers intended to strengthen the Soviet position in the Mediterranean and ensure complete Soviet dominance of the Middle East, gateway to Asia and Africa. Such a development cannot be regarded as consonant with the national interest of the United States.

Moreover, in the light of painful past experience, Israel must not be expected to sacrifice legitimate considerations of adequate defense, in return for illusory outside guarantees bearing within them the seed of future disagreement or conflict.

This Conference, comprising representatives of the major national Jewish religious, civic and community relations agencies and community relations councils in Jewish communities throughout the United States, is in full accord with the gallant and severely tried people of Israel in their determination to exercise their inalienable right of self-defense and the pursuit of a lasting peace within secure and recognized boundaries. Only a full and final peace, freely arrived at, can open a new chapter between the belligerents and be a blessing to the Middle East and to the world.

-----  
New York City

March 24, 1969



March 18, 1969

The Hon. Mrs. Golda Meir  
Prime Minister  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mrs. Meir,

I too want to join the many sons and daughters of  
our people who wish you well on your ascendance to  
the Prime Ministership of Israel.

May you find the strength you must have for your  
tasks, not only for your sake but for the sake of  
all of Israel.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler



# UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

March 13, 1969

Her Excellency Mrs. Golda Meir  
Prime Minister  
Jerusalem, Israel

Your Excellency:

For myself and our mutual friend Maurice N. Eisendrath, who is on an extended world trip, and on behalf of the Reform Jewish community of the United States and Canada, I extend heartfelt congratulations and best wishes to you as you assume your awesome responsibilities as Prime Minister of the State of Israel.

When I recall the breakfast which we both attended at the King David Hotel on the occasion of the Prime Minister's Conference, and when the young man from the Soviet Union talked to us, little did you or I think, as we reminisced about our lives in Milwaukee and our friendship for people like Joe Padway, that I would be writing this kind of letter to you. As a former Milwaukeean, I am doubly proud of your accomplishment.

It goes without saying that all of us here stand ready to do everything we can to assume our share of responsibility in this critical period for the Jews in Israel, and through them, the world Jewish community.

Respectfully yours,

Earl Morse





To Rabbi Schneider Date 1/28/69  
From Sgt Gross

**THE ATTACHED IS SENT TO YOU FOR THE FOLLOWING ACTION**

- |                                                          |                                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please call me                  | <input type="checkbox"/> Give me related correspondence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please see me                   | <input type="checkbox"/> As per your request            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Please answer                   | <input type="checkbox"/> Please note and return         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For your approval               | <input type="checkbox"/> Note and file                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> For necessary action            | <input type="checkbox"/> Note and destroy               |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> For your information | <input type="checkbox"/> Note and circulate             |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Give me your recommendations    | to _____                                                |

**ADDITIONAL COMMENTS**

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## Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

• Telephone (212) 249-0100  
Night Number (212) 249-0109

Sydney Gross, Director of Public Relations

### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, N.Y.--The following telegram was sent yesterday<sup>(1/29/69)</sup> to President Richard M. Nixon by Earl Morse, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, central body of Reform Judaism in the United States and Canada:

"The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, representing 1,000,000 members of the Reform Movement of Judaism, urges that the Government of the United States lodge an immediate protest against the Government of Iraq for the unconscionable public execution of fifteen persons, nine of whom were Jews, for alleged acts of espionage and sabotage in the service of the State of Israel.

"A trial by military tribunal, conducted without world knowledge and followed by public hanging in full view of invited men, women and children, is a savage and barbaric violation of civilized behavior and the canons of international relations.

"We consider this atrocity to be an ominous move by a sinister regime to divert the discontent of its oppressed citizens from the deep-rooted internal problems that have long beset the Iraqi people. Only a firm protest by the United States and other responsible nations can prevent further atrocities of this nature."

###

1/28/69  
1/29/69

# memo

*from Israel folder*

MISS JANE EVANS

NATIONAL FEDERATION  
OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS  
838 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

DATE: **January 3, 1969**

TO: **Albert Vorspan**

**c.c. Rabbi Alexander Schindler** ✓  
**Sydney Gross**

I thought you would be interested in seeing a few changes that I would have liked to have made, had the opportunity been given to me, in the press release that went out on December 31 giving the points of view of the Chairman of the Board of the UAHC about the Israeli attack at the Beirut airport. Actually I believe the statement would have been strengthened had other points been included.

In the second line of the first paragraph of the news release the thrust of my changes, as you can see, was to go away from definitive comment of regret about the Israeli action as well as to eliminate the suggestion that we -- the UAHC -- cannot condone the Israeli attack. To have changed the phrase "while we cannot condone" to "while many may feel they cannot condone" would strike me as a more fair expression of the different points of view that probably exist among our constituents, without lining us up organizationally in a particular stance.

Likewise, in the second paragraph of the news release beginning on the third line, the phrase "We regret this Israeli action, but we do recognize that it..." would have been strengthened, I think, had the word regret been totally eliminated and the statement had read "We recognize that this Israeli action was in reprisal for, etc."

Furthermore, I believe that in the last sentence on page one of the news release there should have been two other changes: "Whatever criticism we may level at Israel..." might better have read "Whatever criticism may be levelled at Israel..." and later in the same sentence the words "at least" should have been totally eliminated.

-more-



# memo

from

NATIONAL FEDERATION  
OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS  
838 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

MISS JANE EVANS

DATE:

TO:

- 2 -

In the final paragraph of the statement we certainly believe that we should hope for a just peace in the Middle East and not just for peace.

Obviously, I think it was a great mistake to have opened the news release with a reference to Mr. Morse as the "Chief Executive". If he insisted on being designated, it would have been far better and less confusing to the public had the phrase been: "The highest lay official of the Union, etc." I cannot conceive of anyone, who is familiar with American Jewish life, irrespective of the wording of the UANHC Constitution - which really should be changed - thinking of anyone other than M.N.E. as the Chief Executive of the Union which he certainly is.

I am still eager to try to be of some service to you in going over your draft of a Fact sheet which I know will be superior, as usual.

JE:jg



# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

Telephone (212) 249-0100

Night Number (212) 249-0109

Sydney Gross, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## BOARD CHAIRMAN OF UAHC POINTS TO "AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES" LEADING TO ISRAELI ATTACK ON AIRCRAFT AT BEIRUT AIRPORT

HIGHEST LAY LEADER

NEW YORK, DEC. 31--The ~~chief executive~~ of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) said yesterday that, "while we cannot ~~condone~~" the Israeli commando attack which destroyed 13 airplanes at the Beirut International Airport on Saturday, "the world must not close its eyes to the aggravating circumstances" which led up to the raid.

Earl Morse, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the UAHC, central body of Reform Judaism in the United States and Canada, said in a statement that "we ~~regret~~ <sup>RECOGNIZE THAT</sup> this Israeli action, ~~but we do~~ <sup>WHILE MANY MAY FEEL</sup> ~~recognize that it~~ was in reprisal for an almost endless series of Arab provocations, of which the terrorist bombing of an El Al airliner in Athens on Thursday was but the latest." He added:

"Arab provocateurs have clearly shown a wanton disregard for human life in their acts of sabotage and harassment. They killed 14 persons and wounded 50 others when they exploded dynamite in a Jerusalem marketplace last month, and it was little short of a miracle that only one person died when they strafed and bombed the passenger-filled El Al airliner in Athens on Thursday. Whatever criticism ~~we~~ <sup>BE</sup> <sup>ED</sup> may level at Israel for its latest reprisal, let us ~~at~~ <sup>THEY</sup> ~~least~~ acknowledge that their commandos showed enough human concern and courage to move all persons to safety before destroying the aircraft in Beirut."

more.....



Morse.....2

Pointing out that there had been no reprisal for the "outrageous hijacking" of an Israeli El Al passenger airplane in Rome last July, Mr. Morse went on to say:

"We deplore all violence and destruction wherever they occur, but until the Great Powers, through the U.N. or through their own actions, have successfully achieved an end to all such terrorist activities, it is understandable that the people of Israel ~~will~~ *MAY* seek retaliation as a form of deterrent.

"It is our fervent hope that efforts for <sup>*just*</sup> peace in the Middle East will have a priority on the agenda of the great nations of the world for the protection of life and property -- in Arab lands as well as in Israel."

####

## MEMORANDUM

Date March 20, 1968From ALBERT VORSPANTo ENTIRE STAFF

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject DEMONSTRATION AGAINST POLISH ANTI-SEMITISM

You may want to join some of us in a protest demonstration this afternoon at 4:00 p.m. The demonstration will form on Fifth Avenue and 66th Street and will last one hour.

It is under the auspices of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, but most of the participants will be drawn from the Jewish Youth Council of New York.



*Resolutions 1967*

November 20, 1967

Rabbi A. M. Schindler

Ted Broido (PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL)

Rabbi M. N. Eiwendrath

In preparing the Israel resolutions for distribution to our congregations be sure to include a motion calling for the reunification of Jerusalem.

The discussion on the floor called for the inclusion of this phrase; indeed, it was included in the original version of the President's Message.

On another matter, in drawing up the Minutes of the Wednesday Board meeting please be certain that the proposal made by the gentleman from White Plains -- requesting a committee to meet with Temple Emanu-El -- is merely listed as what it was -- a "suggestion" and not a motion, which is in any sense mandatory. Indeed, there is no reason why such a committee should be summoned until Temple Emanu-El gives indication of its desire to join the Union.





1926 - 5686



## SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA

235 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016 • MURRAY HILL 6-8670

מועצת בתי הכנסיות באמריקה

October 9, 1967

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RABBI JACOB PHILIP RUDIN

1ST VICE-PRESIDENT  
RABBI SOLOMON J. SHARFMAN

2ND VICE-PRESIDENT  
RABBI IRVING LEHRMAN

NATIONAL SECRETARY  
HON. HERBERT TENZER

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY  
ROBERT L. ADLER

TREASURER  
MEYER H. ROBINSON

EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT  
RABBI HENRY SIEGMAN

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL  
HONORARY CHAIRMAN  
HON. ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

CHAIRMAN  
JACK A. GOLDFARB

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS  
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS  
RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY  
RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA  
UNION OF  
AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS  
UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA  
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

Dear Colleague:

In the past three years, public protests by Jewish communities in the United States and abroad have served to focus world attention on the plight of three million of our co-religionists in the Soviet Union.

While there have been some peripheral concessions by Soviet authorities, the fundamental situation remains tragically unchanged.

On October 10 and 11, the Synagogue Council of America and its constituent agencies will join other major Jewish organizations in a national leadership conference on Soviet Jewry in Washington, D.C., at which a message, whose text is herewith enclosed, will be issued. We urge you to read this message from your pulpit to your congregants on Yom Kippur.

I am enclosing a policy statement prepared by the SCA Commission on International Affairs, stating our position on the major issues in the Middle Eastern situation in the wake of the Arab-Israel war this past June. The statement will be submitted for formal adoption by the Executive Committee of the Synagogue Council later this month. Its primary purpose is to familiarize the general community, and particularly the Christian leadership, of our views on this situation. We urge you to use this statement in your own discussions with Christian clergy and other influential "opinion-makers" in your community.

With all good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Solomon J. Sharfman*

Rabbi Solomon J. Sharfman  
Chairman

Commission on International Affairs

SJS/eg  
Enclosures

The following is a suggested policy statement of the Synagogue Council of America on the political and moral issues of the Middle Eastern situation in the light of the Arab-Israel war of June, 1967

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## I THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Twenty years ago, Israel was re-established as the home and sanctuary of a people which has seen six million of its sons exterminated in the greatest catastrophe ever endured by a family of the human race.

Throughout the centuries of exile, the ties of the Jewish people to the Holy Land and to the Holy City of Jerusalem remained unimpaired. Jewish religion is suffused with the notion that it is this relationship to the land of our ancestors which is one of the central bonds that unites all Jews all over the world. Jewish prayer has always had as one of its central themes the re-affirmation of this relationship. The rebirth of the State of Israel is thus inextricably linked to the deepest and most spiritual concepts of our faith and our aspirations.

## II ARAB POLICY

During these past twenty years, Israel's right to peace and security - indeed, its very right to life - has been denied and forcibly attacked by her Arab neighbors. For these past twenty years, Israel's extinction has been the cardinal doctrine and objective of the Arab policy.

In May of 1967, Arab governments, led by the United Arab Republic, methodically prepared and mounted an aggressive assault designed to bring about Israel's total destruction. At that point in history, Israel's choice was to live or perish. Only Israel's vigilance and heroism avoided a catastrophe of universal scope which would have weighed forever on the conscience of mankind.

## III PRIMARY MORAL ISSUE

We recognize that the Middle Eastern situation is a complicated one, and that Arabs no less than Israelis have rights and just grievances in the situation, as Israel openly concedes. However, this recognition must not serve to paralyze moral judgement.

The repeated Arab threats of genocide must be condemned as evil and as totally repugnant to the most fundamental moral and religious sensibilities. There is no order of moral concern, no matter how justified, that can take precedence to the threat of genocide. It is therefore with sadness and regret that we note the tolerance of some Western opinion towards these Arab threats of genocide, a tolerance which inevitably serves to abet the possibility of murder. A generation of Jews that has witnessed the extermination of six million of its people while the world was largely silent is particularly sensitive to the overt Arab rhetoric and to the covert encouragement it receives from those who fail to denounce it.



The threat to Israel's existence has receded for the moment through the valor and sacrifice of her people. But the Arab world has not given up its intransigent desire to destroy Israel. We call on the moral leadership of the Western world to help create an atmosphere within which such threats of war and destruction are no longer tolerated.

#### IV THE QUEST FOR PEACE

Israel's successful defense of her existence has created for the first time a situation in which there exist compelling reasons for Arab governments to negotiate with Israel a permanent peace, based on a renunciation of belligerency and a recognition of Israel's right to life. We believe that international influence should be used to accelerate peace negotiations. Actions that lessen the imperative for such direct negotiations undermine the unprecedented opportunity for peace that now exists in the Middle East.

We oppose any course which would renew the perils from which Israel has emerged. We consider as politically and morally objectionable suggestions that Israel return to her earlier vulnerability while her Arab neighbors refuse to recognize her existence and maintain their public commitment to her destruction.

History summons Jew and Arab to a cessation of enmity and to a permanent peace, a peace that can be achieved only in direct dialogue between Israel and her neighbors. The principle of direct negotiations is no less morally compelling in the Middle East than it is in Viet Nam and elsewhere in the world. Clearly, it is the parties to the conflict in the Middle East who must ultimately be the parties to the peace.

#### V JERUSALEM

For the past twenty years, the Old City of Jerusalem was under Jordanian control as a result of Jordan's conquest in the war of 1948. During these twenty years, Jews were denied access to their holiest shrines, and Israeli Arabs of the Moslem and Christian faiths were barred from their holy places. This injustice, we must note, did not elicit significant protest on the part of the religious leaders of the world.

Since time immemorial, Jerusalem has been the embodiment of Jewish religious and national aspirations. It is a city sacred to the entire monotheistic world, but it has never played so decisive a role in the religious and national life of any people as of that of the Jews; none have wept for its destruction so mournfully, none awaited its restoration so faithfully as have the Jewish people. It is an attachment best described by the cry of the Psalmist, "If I forget thee, Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning."

To be sure, historic associations have also made the City of David the common spiritual property of Christianity and Islam. We

believe that the reunification of Jerusalem in no manner compromises these associations; indeed, it offers them a security they have not enjoyed for the past twenty years. We believe that the sanctity of the holy places will be far better maintained in a unified Jerusalem which does not have a military frontier running across it than in a divided Jerusalem with armies facing each other on each side.

We are gratified that protection of the holy places of all the denominations has been assured by the government of Israel whose record over the last twenty years in providing free access to Christian shrines within her jurisdiction inspires confidence that the interest of all religions will be faithfully honored.

#### VI REFUGEES

The removal of the threat of genocide and the affirmation of the right of Israel to exist will open the way for a solution of other problems of great moral concern. There remains the question of Arab refugees, whose lives must be given some permanent content in an atmosphere within which the life of Israel is no longer threatened. Jew and Arab together must make a fresh beginning on the re-settling of Arab refugees into free and creative living, both within Israel and within the Arab states.

We are concerned with the fate of Jewish communities still resident in Arab lands. In some Arab countries, notably in Egypt, Jews are held in conditions of cruelty in concentration camps for no reason except of sheer malice. A settlement of Middle Eastern problems must contain effective guarantees for the unthreatened religious and cultural lives of Jews in Arab lands.



NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY  
Washington, D. C. - October 11, 1967

On the eve of the most sacred day in the Jewish year, we the leadership of the American Jewish community -- representing the millions of American Jews -- reaffirm our determination to continue to expose to the glare of public opinion the travails suffered by our Jewish brothers and sisters living in the Soviet Union. In renewing this pledge, we are heartened by evidence now emerging of the burning desire among Russian Jews, particularly the youth, to find ways of identifying with the Jewish people.

The uneasy status of Jews in the Soviet Union has recently been exacerbated by the vicious and virulent attacks by the Soviet Government through its mass media upon Israel and so-called Zionist conspiracies. Such attacks spread fear and intimidation among Jews. We agonize over the impact of this campaign of hatred on the attitudes of Russians towards Jews.

Despite Premier Alexei Kosygin's Paris statement of December 1966 that families who want to be reunited with relatives abroad would "find the door open," the crack in the door permitting a trickle of emigration has been slammed shut.

Fifteen years after the execution of 24 Yiddish writers, actors and intellectuals, climaxing the Stalinist terror aimed at eradicating Jewish culture, Judaism and Jewish consciousness, the death sentence of the regime upon Jewish cultural life has not been lifted.

Steadily and systematically the Soviet Union has strangled the religious life of Jews. Hundreds of synagogues have been closed; the training of rabbis frustrated, and Jewish education banned. Token gestures and broken promises fail to meet the need.

On this 50th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, we appeal to the Soviet leaders to act upon the promises of the revolution embodied in the Declaration of Rights of The Peoples, signed by Lenin in November, 1917. Three million Jews still cry out in silence for the right to live as Jews.

We say to our brethren in the Soviet Union: Be strong and of great courage. Jews throughout the world are part of a long and cherished tradition which survived the centuries of suffering and discrimination. We look to the day when you shall again be truly part of the Jewish people free to live fully as Jews, spiritually and culturally. We will not forsake you.

4/28/67  
100 copies  
D.F.  
MEMORANDUM

June 28th, 1967

Date

From Rabbi A. Schindler

To Entire Staff

Copy for information of

Subject UJA Israel Emergency Fund

As you all know, the recent war in the Middle East and the continuing crisis in that part of the world has inflicted tremendous financial hardship on the State of Israel. By far the most serious consequence of Israel's brilliant defense against aggression will be the severe damage that this conflict is bringing to Israel's economy.

It is imperative that all of us, Jews and non-Jews, who are concerned with the future of the State of Israel and her survival as a nation contribute as much as we can to the Israel Emergency Fund of the UJA.

I am therefore asking all of the co-workers in the House of Living Judaism to make whatever contribution they can to this emergency effort.

Attached please find pledge cards for the Israel Emergency Fund and I would ask you to fill them out or preferably, make out checks to the "Israel Emergency Fund of UJA" and send them to Mr. Theodore Broido whom I have asked to coordinate this effort. Your generosity, no matter how large or small, will be greatly appreciated.





SUPER 256 MIMEO TYPE SUPER 2560 MIMEO TYPE SUPER 2560 MIMEO TYPE SUPER 2560 MIMEO TYPE

TOP EDGE PAPER GUIDE READ INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY BEFORE TYPING TOP EDGE PAPER GUIDE

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June 28th, 1967

Rabbi A. Schindler

Entire Staff

UJA Israel Emergency Fund

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## THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

July 13, 1967

Dear Colleague:

The enclosed statement, was published as an advertisement in The New York Times, July 12, 1967. You will note that it is signed by 16 prominent Protestant theologians.

In the light of the current developments, it is a highly significant statement. It sets forth a Christian theological basis for the reunification of Jerusalem and underscores the pre-eminent place of the city in Jewish history and religion.

As you know, the Vatican on several occasions has urged the internationalization of the entire city of Jerusalem and not just its Holy Sites. There are some indications that the Vatican position may be changing. High level discussions between Israel and the Vatican have been taking place in Rome and Jerusalem. At the conclusion of a meeting in Jerusalem on July 11 between Israel Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and Msgr. Angelo Felici, Vatican Under-Sec'y. of State for Extraordinary Affairs, a joint communique was issued stating that during the meeting, "which was held in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, possible formulations were discussed which could be considered as furnishing a satisfactory solution on the important question relating to the Holy Sites. The talks will continue."

Fortunately, this Protestant statement, at the very least, makes it clear (a) that there is an authentic Christian view favoring Israel's reunification action and (b) facilitates the mustering of Christian support for it.

Christian clergy who may not have seen the ad may be interested in having a copy. Some may wish to issue this or a similar statement locally.

Cordially,

*Marc H. Tanenbaum*  
Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director  
Interreligious Affairs Department

MHT:as

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56th Street New York, N.Y. 10022

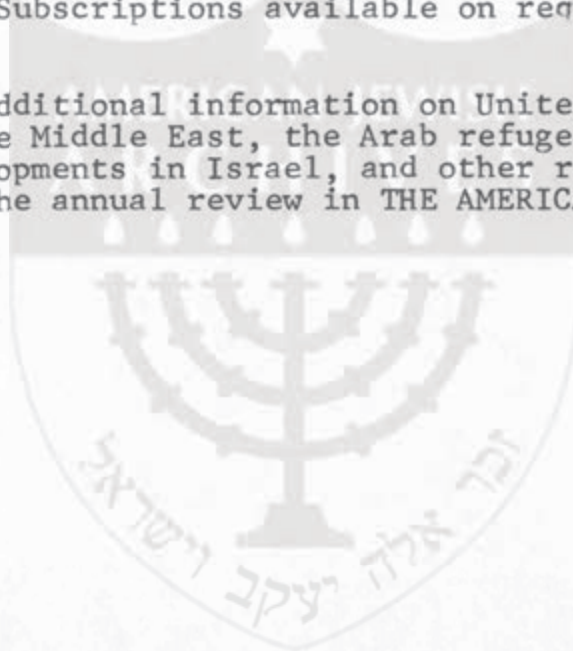
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS ON  
ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

1. THE ARABS OF PALESTINE, by Martha Gellhorn. Reprinted from The Atlantic. A first-hand report on the Middle East refugee dilemma. 2nd printing, 1962. 24 pp. 10 cents.
2. THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM AND THE UNITED NATIONS, by George E. Gruen. Report on the Foreign Scene. An analysis of Arab and Israel positions and international efforts to deal with the political and social issues underlying the Arab refugee problem. 1966. 12 pp. 20 cents.
3. CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, by George E. Gruen. Background to the outbreak of hostilities in June, 1967 including the continuing Arab animosity against Israel, the legal background to the confrontation, the role of the UN, and the actions of the major powers. June 1967. 12 pp. 20 cents.
4. ISRAEL -- LAND OF UNLIMITED POSSIBILITIES, by Barbara Tuchman. Reprinted from the Saturday Evening Post. The historian reports on Israel's birth amidst violence and, deprived of almost everything except problems, how Israelis seek to cope with the present and the future. 1966. 6 pp. 10 cents.
5. JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN ARAB COUNTRIES. A summary of information concerning the situation after the Arab-Israel military confrontation. June 1967. 4 pp. mimeo. Single copy free.
6. THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, by George E. Gruen. An examination of the extent to which the PLO has aided anti-American forces, accentuated Great Power rivalry, heightened Arab-Israel border tensions, and interfered with UN peace-keeping, relief and rehabilitation operations. February 1967. 16 pp. mimeo. Single copy free.
7. REACTIONS IN EAST EUROPE TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. A brief memorandum explores reactions in the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia and comments on Jewish attitudes. July 1967. 3 pp. mimeo. Single copy free.

8. REACTIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA TO THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- A SURVEY. A review of reactions in the Jewish communities, the mass media, among public officials, the general public, and in Church circles just prior to and immediately after the recent outbreak of hostilities. July 1967. 12 pp. mimeo. Single copy free.
9. REACTIONS TO THE MID EAST CRISIS. First gleanings of reports on the professional anti-Semites, the left and the Arab spokesmen in the U.S. June 1967. 6 pp. mimeo. Single copy free.
10. REPORT FROM ISRAEL. A monthly report by an Israeli observer of affairs in that country. May-June 1967. 9 pp. Single copy free. (Subscriptions available on request.)

(NOTE: For additional information on United States policies in the Middle East, the Arab refugees, the arms race, developments in Israel, and other related questions see the annual review in THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK.)

FAD  
JG/d  
July 18, 1967





The American Jewish Committee  
Institute of Human Relations  
165 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Please send me the publications on the Middle East listed below:

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# Jerusalem Should Remain Unified

The fate and destiny of Jerusalem impinges crucially upon the relationship of Christianity to Judaism.

Judaism has at its center an indissoluble bond between the people of Israel and the land of Israel. For Christians, to acknowledge the necessity of Judaism is to acknowledge that Judaism presupposes inextricable ties with the land of Israel and the city of David, without which Judaism cannot be truly itself. Theologically, it is this dimension to the religion of Judaism which leads us to support the reunification of the city of Jerusalem.

During the past twenty years the city of David has experienced an artificial division. This has resulted in a denial of access to their holy places for all Jews and for Israeli Arabs of the Muslim faith. It has also severely limited accessibility to Christian shrines for Israeli Christians. This injustice, we must confess, did not elicit significant protests on the part of the religious leaders of the world.

We see no justification in proposals which seek once again to destroy the unity which has been restored to Jerusalem. This

unity is the natural condition of the Holy City, and now once again assures the world's religious peoples the freedom of worship at the shrines which remain the spiritual centers of their faith.

We are gratified that the sanctity and protection of the holy places of all denominations have been assured by the Government of Israel, whose record over the last twenty years in providing free access to Christian shrines within her jurisdiction inspires confidence that the interests of all religions will be faithfully honored. This confidence is further strengthened by Israel's offer to place the holy places under independent denominational supervision.

The new situation has also created an opportunity to come to grips decisively with the Arab refugee problem, which must weigh heavily on the world's conscience. We urge both Israel and the Arab countries to exert new initiatives to eliminate once and for all this human suffering, within the framework of an overall settlement of the major issues to be achieved through direct negotiations.

**Dr. Phillip Anderson**  
Chicago Theological Seminary  
Chicago, Illinois

**Dr. Jerald C. Brauer**, Dean  
University of Chicago Divinity School  
Chicago, Illinois

**Dr. Frank M. Cross, Jr.**  
Department of Near Eastern Languages  
and Literatures  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

**Dr. William D. Davies**  
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Divinity School  
University of Chicago  
Chicago, Illinois

**Rev. Krister Stendahl**  
Professor of Biblical Studies  
Harvard Divinity School  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

**Dr. George H. Williams**  
Harvard Divinity School  
Cambridge, Massachusetts



## MEMORANDUM

June 21, 1967

Date\_\_\_\_\_

From\_\_\_\_\_ Albert Vorspen\_\_\_\_\_

To\_\_\_\_\_ UAHC Staff\_\_\_\_\_

Copy for information of\_\_\_\_\_

Subject\_\_\_\_\_ Demonstration\_\_\_\_\_

Jewish community representatives will participate in a picketing demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy Thursday afternoon, June 22nd, between 5:00 and 8:00 to protest the foul attempts by Soviet spokesmen to link Israel with the Nazis.

Members of the UAHC staff who wish to participate will meet at 4:30 on Thursday for a briefing session in Board Room B. and will proceed over as a group.

You may bring any of your friends, children, relatives, enemies, both Jewish and non-Jewish.

In the event you cannot attend the briefing session or wish to meet someone at the Soviet Embassy, demonstrators will organize on 67th Street between Lexington and Park Avenues.

6/19/67

To: Accounting Dept.

Pay to:

Avis Rent a Car

\$22.38

Charge to Administration. In connection with  
recent trip to Washington, D.C.



Approved by:

Rabbi A M Schindler



June 19, 1967

Dear Sherman,

The enclosed check for \$365.00 is in payment of my mother's current pledge to the United Jewish Appeal. She also wrote me that she wishes to contribute an additional \$1,000.00 to the Emergency Fund. You will be receiving this check also within a week or two.

I was delighted that you are doing so well in your special tries. That's to be expected from Worcester, guarded by your leadership.

All is well in the Schindler household. All our love to you and Lois, and all your loved ones.

As ever,

Mr. Sherman Baker  
6 Chiltern Hill Drive  
Worcester, Mass.

(dictated but not read)

June 19, 1967

Rabbi A.M. Schindler

Ted Broido

Some days ago you told me of your plan to send out a fund-raising letter to all the UAHC staff members over my signature. I did not see this letter before I left for Los Angeles, albeit it may well have skipped my attention.

I hope that it will go out no later than this week.

My own contribution; \$1,500.00, to the Emergency Fund, if you want to add it to the accounting -- although, of course I will contribute through Westport.

Andy was really wonderful! She read with greater verve than any other of her classmates, but that's to be expected, considering her mother.

See you soon, God-willing!



The Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021



June 14, 1967

Mr. Henry Levy, President  
Congregation Mickve Israel  
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Levy:

The letter you wrote me on June 7, 1967, was referred to me here in Kansas City, and I have just now had an opportunity to respond. I wish to compliment you and your Congregation on the forthright position which you took in the telegram sent to President Johnson, Senator Russell, Senator Talmadge and Congressman Hagan. You have already received from me in a mailing which went out on June 1, 1967, a copy of the resolution adopted by our Board of Trustees on May 28, 1967. Immediately after the adoption of this resolution, Rabbi Eisendrath and I sent the telegram to President Johnson.

Frankly, I have no way of knowing for sure whether or not the public rally was helpful. I have heard from high government sources that it made quite an impact on Congressional and Administration leaders. Also, many members of our Board made personal visits to their representatives in Congress while they were in Washington for the rally.

Thank you very much for your letter. I hope to see you at the Biennial in Montreal.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Irvin Fane", written over a large, faint circular stamp.

Irvin Fane

IF:mmh

bcc: Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath  
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler ✓  
Mr. Albert Vorspan  
Rabbi Robert Frazen



## MEMORANDUM

Date June 7, 1967From Eleanor R. Schwartz *ERS*To Albert VorspanCopy for information of Rabbi A. SchindlerSubject CONVERSATIONS WITH MISS EVANS REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST

I spoke with Miss Evans this morning who tells me that while in Montreal the best radio newscasts she gets are from the NBC station in Plattsburgh, New York, which covers a rather large territory in northern New York State, Vermont, and a few more surrounding areas. Every night at 6 p.m. this station does a scientific spot survey of people in the area described above asking their opinion on a variety of subjects. One question asked yesterday was their attitude of what the United States government should do with the Middle East crisis: 90% were against any kind of United States intervention in the Middle East, 10% were in favor of United States meeting its commitments to the Middle East!

Mrs. Evans correctly points out that this is an example of how grass roots America feels.

Miss Evans has asked specifically that I convey to you her feeling that, strange as it may seem, the United States Government should be urged to use, on quid pro quo basis, U.S. aid to the Arab countries as a bargaining point to win concessions from the Arabs on a settlement on the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran as an International waterway and for all the negotiations in the settlement in the cease fire and in long range agreements between the Arab countries and Israel.

Let me also remind you that Miss Evans and I are in telephone contact at least once each day, and that she is particularly eager to know the contents of any materials that will be prepared following our Washington activities for distribution on Friday or Monday. Therefore, please remember to count me in immediately on the preparation of these materials and discussions as to their content and distribution so that I may clear with her.

You will be interested to know that we have heard from many parts of the country, not only as to their participation in the Washington activities, but of their local actions in support of Israel.



# CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

790 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021

(212) AG 9-2811

June 8, 1967

Dear Colleague:

I have asked our perceptive and scholarly colleague, David Polish, to prepare a position paper on the Mid-East crisis. He has submitted the enclosed paper which I would like to share with you and recommend that you give it the widest circulation possible. It will serve well as background for the discussion on the Mid-East to which we will devote the session of Wednesday morning, June 21, in place of the program previously scheduled.

There will be other occasions during our sessions when we will consider practical means of mobilizing our own resources and those of our congregations to most effectively aid our brethren in Israel. History is governed by the dialogue between challenge and response. We live in a time of colossal challenge. We alone can determine whether the response will be adequate to it.

I look forward to sharing with you the burden and the glory of a Convention where we can again say: We have done and, in doing, have understood.

Sincerely,

*Jacob J. Weinstein*

Jacob J. Weinstein, President

enc

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\*Ex-officio



## POSITION PAPER ON THE MID-EAST CRISIS

By DAVID POLISH

The war between Israel and the Arab States is the product of nineteen years of hostility against the State of Israel. From the moment when it was brought into being by the United Nations and achieved recognition by our own government, it became the victim of aggression and terror. No sooner was the State proclaimed by the United Nations than Arab states, themselves members of the United Nations, defied the action of that body and declared war against Israel. Each time Israel repelled the invaders while the United Nations stood by, refusing to identify or to deter the aggressors. Standing alone, Israel prevailed. It preserved its borders and its people.

It had no choice but to fight back. Its citizens consisted largely of refugees from Nazi terror and survivors of Europe's death camps. They had come to Palestine, the only refuge in the world whose doors were flung open unconditionally to the last remnants of Nazi-oppressed Jewry. The acknowledgment of this State by world opinion was a recognition that this people had earned its right to independence after years of persecution and annihilation during which this people stood isolated and unassisted.

The Jews of Israel had to pay a heavy price for their sovereignty. Before there was a State of Israel, the Jews of that land were victims of successive Arab attacks. Although Palestine was the legal homeland of its Jewish settlers and although vast Arab nations had been brought into being by the Great Powers of the world, Arab hostility to the Jewish community in Palestine was unrelenting from the very beginning. From 1922 on, violent attacks upon the Jews of Palestine marked the history of that country. And in every case, Arab hostility was rewarded by radical amputations of the Jewish National Home.

This policy was pursued even after Israel repelled Arab armies in the two conflicts of independence. As the price of Arab aggression, Israel was compelled by external powers to cede even more land. This policy reached its climax in 1956 when Israel was forced to abandon territory which it had won from Egypt after years of terrorism and intimidation by Nasser. Its forces were withdrawn from the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. In return it was given assurance by our own government that it would have nothing to regret from this concession. It was also assured that its right to free and innocent passage through the Straits of Tiran would be upheld.

But Arab hostility against Israel continued unabated. Despite a truce imposed upon Israel and the Arab states by the United Nations, the Arab world refused to make peace with Israel. Throughout the years, it proclaimed its determination to destroy Israel. Every call by Israel for a peaceful settlement to the conflict was met by a defiant refusal to recognize the existence of the State, and by a summons to Arabs to gird themselves for the eventual destruction of Israel. Those calls were more than mere rhetoric. They were accompanied by economic warfare, the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda throughout the western world, the imposing of boycotts against industries dealing with Israel, and by an unrelenting campaign of harassment against the territory and citizens of Israel. For many years, Israel has been in a state of virtual siege at the hands of her neighbors.

The closing of the Straits of Tiran and the mobilization of Arab armies around Israel's borders was the climactic move in a long range strategy aimed at the overthrow of Israel. The pretext for this was a purported declaration by the



Israeli Prime Minister that if Syria were to continue its provocative acts, Israel would retaliate. While the right of self defense is inherent in every sovereign nation, the violent response by the Arab world to the Prime Minister's declaration reflected the seizure of a long awaited and long-planned opportunity. The sudden closing of the Straits of Tiran and the deployment of vast concentrations of troops and equipment was the product of a carefully devised plan, not merely a response to a single statement.

The people of Israel and the Jews of the United States have been quick to recognize the implications of the Arab action. We see in it a determination to annihilate the State and its Jewish inhabitants. The action against Israel by the United Arab Republic represented a double threat. In the first instance, it involved only one stage of an unrelenting program aimed at the ultimate destruction of Israel. We were not reassured when the Egyptian dictator proclaimed that with the sealing off of the Straits of Tiran, his objectives against Israel has been fulfilled. We recognized with frightening clarity that if he were to succeed in his move, he would make increasingly devastating moves. We could not help recalling the off-repeated assurances by Hitler, after each seizure of territory and after each enslavement of populations, that he had no further territorial ambitions. These assurances, accepted at face value by a heedless world, led ultimately to the Second World War.

Second, we see in the Arab action not merely an act of military aggression, but a clearly and openly proclaimed campaign of genocide against the Jewish people. Even before Hitler made this word appallingly familiar to the world, Arab atrocities against Jews in Palestine from 1922 on are a part of the history of that land. The record of butchery of Jews in 1922, 1929, and 1936, is clear and documented. The people of Israel and the Jews of the world know that Arab objectives in Israel are not merely military victory and territorial occupation, but the death of every Jew in Israel, not because he is a Zionist or an Israeli, but because he is a Jew. This is the difference between wars which are fought for national interest in our own day, and undisguised calls to genocide. Arab ambitions represent phase two of Auschwitz and Buchenwald.

There are various real issues at stake in the confrontation of Israel and the Arab nations. Israel has often and vigorously called for a peaceful settlement of these issues. But it has been rebuffed again and again. The Arab states have clearly manifested their disdain for negotiation while they are intent only on annihilation.

Israel's action is in self-defense. Not to have retaliated would have revealed a failure to learn anything from our people's martyrdom in Europe. Six million Jews went to their deaths because most of them could not believe the openly declared intention of their enemies. The survivors of Nazi terror and their children will not again wait submissively for disaster to strike in the enemy's own good time.

If the peace of the world is at stake, it is because Nasser's openly avowed purposes in the Middle East were discounted for the past ten years. If the peace of the world is at stake it is because he was given a new lease on life when he stood on the brink of overthrow in 1956. If the peace of the world is at stake it is because the United Nations has persisted in rewarding the Arab aggression while condemning Israel alone in the mounting crisis in the Middle East. The deteriorating conditions there should have alarmed the world, but instead it was content to chastise Israel while remaining sanguine in the face of Arab terror.

We turn to the world for understanding. We turn to many of our liberal and Christian friends who for too long have been silent in the face of Israel's mounting

agony. We remember the pleas of our doomed people to an unheeding world during World War II. We believed that this would not occur again. We were encouraged to believe that a new world of understanding, dialogue and ecumenism would rise from the ashes of our brothers' bodies. It would be tragic both for us and for the world if silence were to descend again, if the struggle of the Jewish people in Israel and everywhere else to survive were to be obscured by viewing this struggle in purely political and economic terms; if the response to our plea for understanding were to be emasculated by qualifications and reservations.

No people needs peace more desperately than the Jewish people. We have paid enough for the ravages of war. Let the world only enable us to live in peace.

In this time of danger, we proclaim our solidarity with our embattled brothers in the State of Israel. We proclaim our faith that "there will yet be heard in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem, the sound of joy and of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride", yes, the sound of laborers at work, of children at play, of teachers and students at their books.





## MEMORANDUM

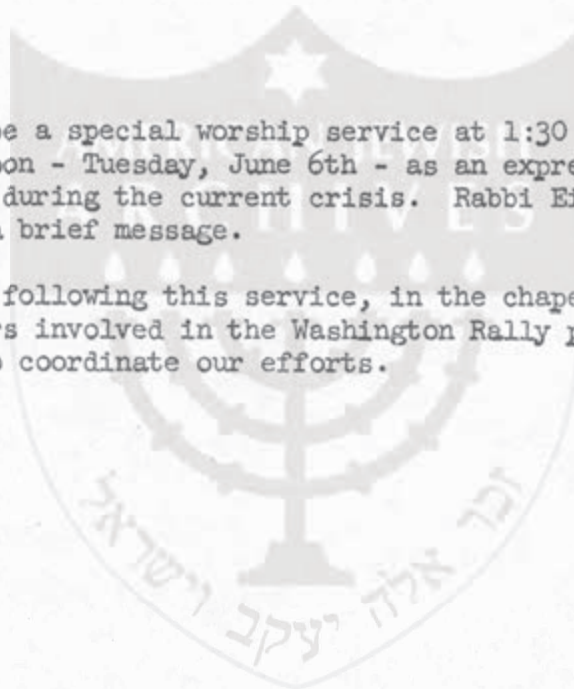
Date June 6, 1967From Rabbi Alexander M. SchindlerTo UAHC STAFF

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

There will be a special worship service at 1:30 p.m. this afternoon - Tuesday, June 6th - as an expression of our concern during the current crisis. Rabbi Eisendrath will bring a brief message.

Immediately following this service, in the chapel those staff members involved in the Washington Rally project will meet to coordinate our efforts.



# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 5-9316-7-8  
Cable Address: COJOGRA

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

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AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

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COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

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JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—  
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JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS  
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JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
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THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

For Immediate Release

NEW YORK, June 6 — The Conference of Presidents of Major

American Jewish Organizations called today on President Johnson to provide Israel with "material assistance and political support" to end for all time the Arab threat to destroy Israel.

Dr. Joachim Prinz of Newark, chairman of the Jewish group — whose 21 national member agencies represent "the overwhelming majority of American Jews" — told a news conference at 515 Park Ave.:

...U.S. Jews stand in "solidarity" with the people of Israel.

...Israel's cause in seeking to end Arab aggression and maintain the freedom of the seas is "identical" with American interests in the Middle East.

...U.S. action during the current Middle East crisis — "whether in concert with other peaceloving nations or unilaterally" — must seek "to halt Arab aggression permanently; to terminate Arab threats against freedom of the seas; to end Arab refusal to live as neighbors with the people of Israel.

"This is the great task of American foreign policy in the days and weeks to come," Dr. Prinz declared, adding:

MORE



"Only when the rulers of the Arab world make peace with Israel; only when the Arab states accept what they have refused to accept for 20 years — the permanent presence of Israel in the Middle East — can abeginning be made to the constructive tasks of justice and harmony among allthe people s of the region."

In his statement, Dr. Prinz traced the "unceasing pattern of hostility against Israel practiced by the rulers of the Arab people," which he said began even before the establishment of Israel in 1948.

"Never before has the contrast between aggressor and victim been so manifest," he said. "Never before has the responsibility of the American government been so clear in advancing its own essential objectives and in defending the cause of peace."

#### Details of Wednesday Night Reliefing Session

Dr. Prinz reported on plans for a national emergency leadership conference in Washington, sponsored by the Conference of Presidents, to be held Wednesday evening (June 7) and Thursday (June 8) in Washington.

He said "tens of thousands" of American Jews from all sections of the country were coming by chartered plane, train and bus to take part in the rally. Dr. Prinz predicted it would be "the greatest mass demonstration of solidarity with Israel ever held in the U.S."

The two-day meeting will begin Wednesday at 8 PM in the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington with a briefing session for leaders of the various national and local Jewish organizations participating in the conference. Dr. Prinz will chair the meeting. Speakers will include: Morris Abram, president of the American Jewish Committee and U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights; Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein of Rochester, N.Y., chairman of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee; and Prof. Marver H. Bernstein, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Administration and International Affairs, Princeton University.

#### Plans for Thursday

Thursday morning the Jewish leaders will visit members of the Senate and House on Capitol Hill. Appointments have been made with most of the members of Congress, it was stated. Thursday afternoon, the two-day meeting will conclude in Lafayette Park at an outdoor rally at which "tens of thousands of persons — Jews and non-Jews alike" will demonstrate support for Israel, Dr. Prinz said.

Plans for the Thursday rally, not yet completed, include addresses by Senator Clifford P. Case (R., N.J.) and Gale McGee (D., Wyo.) William Wexler of Savannah, Ga national president of B'nai B'rith, will chair the rally in Lafayette Park.

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
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COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
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JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—  
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OF THE U.S.A.

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RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

## For Immediate Release

STATEMENT BY DR. JOACHIM PRINZ, CHAIRMAN,  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF  
MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, June 6, 1967

"The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, representing the overwhelming majority of American Jews, calls on our government to provide all necessary material assistance and political support in order to put an end for all time to Arab aggression -- an aggression which for 20 years has threatened to destroy the State of Israel, imperiled the vital interests of the United States and jeopardized the peace of the world.

"The people of Israel, surrounded and outnumbered, are defending their lives and their homes with courage and confidence against an enemy that has sworn to drive them into the sea. We salute the bravery of the embattled people of Israel and we proclaim our solidarity with them in this hour.

"In voicing our commitment to Israel's cause -- a cause identical with that of our own country -- we recall the unceasing pattern of hostility against

MORE



Israel practiced by the rulers of the Arab people, beginning even before the Jewish state was born.

"When Israel was proclaimed they swore that it would never live. When the state began to thrive, they barred Israel's ships from the Suez Canal. When the task of reclaiming the land went forward, they sent in their raiders to wreak havoc at night. When their fedayeen were punished, they swore vengeance. When the world powers seemed to hesitate, the Arab rulers expelled the United Nations peacekeeping force, mobilized their troops on Israel's frontier, closed the Gulf of Aqaba, laid seige to Elat and announced -- in President Nasser's own words of May 26, 1967 -- a campaign of 'total war' in which 'our basic aim is to annihilate Israel.'

"Never before has the contrast between aggressor and victim been so manifest. Never before has the responsibility of the American government been so clear in advancing its own essential objectives and in defending the cause of peace.

"It is in the highest interest of the United States that Arab belligerence be ended and that Israel's people be permitted to live in security from Arab attack.

"It is in the highest interest of the United States that the freedom of international waterways be maintained and the right of free and innocent passage for the ships of all nations be guaranteed.

"It is in the highest interest of the United States that a permanent and lasting peace treaty be negotiated and signed by Israel and the Arab states.

"This settlement must be one that permits the people of Israel to build their nation in freedom and dignity.

MORE

"Every action taken by our own government -- whether in concert with other peaceloving nations or unilaterally -- must be aimed toward these goals: to halt Arab aggression permanently; to terminate Arab threats against freedom of the seas; to end Arab refusal to live as neighbors with the people of Israel. This is the great task of American foreign policy in the days and weeks to come.

"Only when the rulers of the Arab world make peace with Israel; only when the Arab states accept what they have refused to accept for 20 years -- the permanent presence of Israel in the Middle East -- can a beginning be made to the constructive tasks of justice and harmony among all the peoples of the region.

"Only then will the prophecy of Isaiah come to pass, that swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."



# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Patron of HEBREW UNION COLLEGE — JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

June 1st, 1967

TO: Presidents, Rabbis, UAHC Board of Trustees,  
Executive Boards NFTS, NFTB, NATE, NATA, NFTY

FROM: Irvin Fane, Chairman of Board of Trustees

RE: Actions of the UAHC Board of Trustee meeting.

Our UAHC Board of Trustees had a very full and constructive meeting on Sunday and Monday, May 28th and 29th. I feel that the actions of the Board of Trustees at this meeting were of such importance that all of you, the leaders of Reform Judaism, should be informed about them as quickly as possible. For the record it should be stated that 89 of our 150 board members were present.

The Board of Trustees naturally dealt with the problem of the resignation of Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York about which I communicated with you several weeks ago. A copy of the resolution acknowledging Emanu-El's resignation is attached.

Our Board also dealt with the question of spokespersonship and the role of the President of the UAHC which has caused such a furor in the press. I know you will be interested in reading the resolution passed on this subject which is also included.

Our Board of Trustees also dealt with the now very grave crisis in the Middle East and passed a resolution on that subject which is also included in this mail.

This past Monday after the meeting of our Board was concluded TIME magazine published the attached article concerning the Emanu-El resignation including some inaccurate and false statements attributed to Rabbi Eisendrath by a spokesman for Congregation Emanu-El. My letter to the editor of TIME refuting the implications in this erroneous news story is also included for your information.

I trust that you will read the attached documents carefully and that you will be pleased with the actions of the Board of Trustees.

ATTEND the 49th GENERAL ASSEMBLY — MONTREAL — NOVEMBER 11-16, 1967

UAHC • NFTS • NATA

THEME: *CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO AN ETERNAL PEOPLE*

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE YOUTH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE EDUCATORS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEMPLE ADMINISTRATORS

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UAHC HOUSE OF  
LIVING JUDAISM



RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE UAHC BOARD OF TRUSTEES - MAY 28, 1967

RESOLVED, that this UAHC Board of Trustees acknowledges  
with regret the resignation of Congregation Emanu-El of the City  
of New York, and expresses the hope that Emanu-El will find its  
way back into the family of the Union.





RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE UAHC BOARD OF TRUSTEES - MAY 28, 1967

RESOLVED, that this UAHC Board of Trustees:

- 1) Reaffirms its confidence in the leadership of the UAHC and in the positive religious direction which the overwhelming majority of its member congregations has consistently charted, and to which this Board is fully committed;
- 2) Expresses its support of the right and obligation of the President of the UAHC, as an individual, to speak out on public issues in accordance with the principles of American democracy, prophetic Judaism, and his own conscience, and to speak for the UAHC in accordance with resolutions adopted by the UAHC General Assemblies;
- 3) Rededicates itself to the historic and traditional mission of Judaism to apply the enduring precepts of our faith as co-partners with God in the improvement of society, the advancement of social justice, and service to the Jewish people and to all mankind.

\* \* \* \* \*

Middle-East Crisis

Resolved that the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations be authorized and directed to forward the following telegram to President Lyndon B. Johnson:

The Board of Trustees of the UAHC expresses its profound concern at the dangerous developments in the Middle East which now constitute a serious threat to the life of the State of Israel and to the peace of the world.

Deeply disturbed by the deteriorating situation resulting from Arab acts of hostility against Israel, we:

- 1) Commend the United States for re-affirming its commitment to the integrity of all borders in the Middle East and to the right of free and innocent passage and for all shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba; and urge the United States to take all steps necessary to fulfill these commitments.
- 2) Appeal to the United Nations to act with urgency and dispatch to uphold the fundamental right of Israel to a tranquil life, thus maintaining both the Charter and the moral integrity of the United Nations itself.
- 3) Urge the maritime nations of the world to assert their support of the principle of free and innocent passage to international waterways.
- 4) Express to the brave-hearted and determined people of Israel--our brethren -- our unswerving sense of solidarity and fellowship in this fateful crisis.

\* \* \* \* \*



# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

June 2, 1967

Vol. 89, No. 22

## JUDAISM

### Temple Emanu-El Protests

Manhattan's Temple Emanu-El, the world's largest Jewish congregation, has long been an uncomfortable maverick in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a federation of 680 Reform synagogues. The temple was initially reluctant to join the union; over the years, its leaders have opposed a number of U.A.H.C. actions, including a decision to create a Religious Action Center in Washington.

Last month the longstanding feud between Emanu-El and the U.A.H.C. came to a head when the temple's trustees voted to withdraw from the federation. They charged that the union's highly vocal president, Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, who is a critic of the Viet Nam war, had illegally arrogated the right to speak for all of Reform Judaism on political and social issues. They also objected to the way he takes stands. As an example, they cited his comparison of President Johnson to Attila the Hun—a statement that otherwise has gone unquestioned by U.A.H.C. synagogues. Insisting that he spoke only for himself, Eisendrath angrily replied that the real reason for the break was the conservative trustees' "disagreement with the union's whole program of social action."

In 1964, Emanu-El resigned from the union during a dispute over elections to the U.A.H.C. board. A compromise brought the temple back into the fold later; Reform leaders doubt that the present rift can be easily healed.

EXACT COPY

838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • (DIAL CODE 212) 249-0100 • CABLE ADDRESS: UNIONUAHC

## Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Patron of HEBREW UNION COLLEGE — JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

May 31, 1967

Letters to the Editor  
TIME Magazine  
Att: Virginia Adams  
Time-Life Building  
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I am writing to correct a mistaken impression left by your article about the resignation of Congregation Emanu-El of the City of New York from the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Your report incorrectly states that Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath compared President Johnson to Attila the Hun.

The actual facts are that Rabbi Eisendrath, in a speech made in California in February, read the following quotation from Robert Hutchins of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which indicated that from the Vietnamese point of view, the types of warfare we have introduced into Vietnam are infinitely more barbaric than anything ever invented by Attila the Hun:

"We see on television every night horrors on a scale the Ku Klux Klan never dreamed of. They are not committed by the hysterical members of ignorant mobs, but by the official representatives of our government, who must appear to the Vietnamese like Genghis Khan or Attila the Hun. The difference between the armies of these barbarians and ours, from the Vietnamese point of view, is that ours are more barbarous for they are equipped with all the new means of murder that the last thousand years of scientific progress and technological advance have placed in their hands. Attila had nothing but arrows...One of the greatest dangers of the war in Vietnam is that it will brutalize us."

As you see, Mr. Hutchins himself made no comparison between President Johnson and Attila. President Johnson was mentioned neither by Mr. Hutchins nor by Rabbi Eisendrath. To suggest, as a spokesman for Temple Emanu-El apparently suggested to TIME Magazine, that Rabbi Eisendrath made such a comparison is inaccurate, misleading, and a distortion of the quotation.

ATTEND the 49th GENERAL ASSEMBLY — MONTREAL — NOVEMBER 11-16, 1967

UAHC • NFTS • NATA

THEME: *CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO AN ETERNAL PEOPLE*

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE BROTHERHOODS

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Mortimer May  
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Sydney W. Roos  
Myer O. Sigal  
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Treasurer:  
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Albert Vorspan

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As for the rest of your report on the situation between the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Temple Emanu-El of the City of New York, it might interest your readers to know that on May 28th the Board of Trustees of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations acknowledged the resignation of Temple Emanu-El and, at the same time, the UAHHC Board unanimously expressed "its support of the right and obligation of the President of the UAHHC, as an individual, to speak out on public issues in accordance with the principles of American democracy, prophetic Judaism, and his own conscience, and to speak for the UAHHC in accordance with resolutions adopted by the UAHX General Assemblies."

Sincerely,

AMERICAN JEWISH  
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Irvin Fane, Chairman  
Board of Trustees  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations



CONFERENCE   OF   PRESIDENTS   CALLING  
NATIONAL   EMERGENCY   LEADERSHIP   CONFERENCE

\* \* \*

Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Wednesday evening, June 7

Thursday, June 8

Participation: Maximum number of communities and  
congregations crucial

Key Element: Congressional visits

Contact:

Jewish Community Relations Council in your community

or

Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, UAHC Religious Action Center  
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

Telephone: 202 387-2800

for all details.





# Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Union of American Hebrew Congregations & Central Conference of American Rabbis

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods • National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods • National Federation of Temple Youth

## URGENT !

To: Congregation Presidents  
Rabbis  
Social Action Chairmen  
Interfaith Activities Chairmen  
Commission on Social Action  
Commission on Interfaith Activities

From: Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, President, UAHC  
Irving Jay Fain, Chairman, Commission on Social Action

Date: June 1, 1967

Subject: MIDDLE EAST

This is a further message on the crisis in the Middle East, but I am sure that you share the deep sense of urgency which confronts all of us and which prompts this memorandum.

The UAHC Board of Trustees, meeting in New York on May 28, adopted a vigorous resolution on the Middle East situation, a copy of which is enclosed. We are also enclosing some other materials which will provide invaluable documentation and background information for your action on this overriding issue which might involve the life or death of the State of Israel.

We, therefore, urge you to: convene an emergency meeting of the Board of your congregation in order to bring the facts urgently to the attention of your leadership and to mobilize your congregants to respond to this emergency promptly and effectively, by taking some or all of the following measures:

1) Stimulate members of your congregation and the community to transmit telegrams, letters and telephone calls to your senators and congressmen, urging the United States to take all steps necessary, either in concert with other nations or by independent action, to fulfill its commitment to the right of free and innocent passage for all shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba and to the integrity of all borders in the Middle East.

2) Coordinating your efforts with other Jewish groups, it is imperative to interpret to Christian religious leaders and other opinion-makers that Israel is already the victim of an act of aggression and that Arab threats to destroy her cannot be countenanced by the nations of the world and the conscience of mankind. Firm and vigorous statements by Christian religious leaders, as well as editorials in newspapers, are very important in informing public opinion and correctly interpreting the Middle East crisis.

### UAHC OFFICERS

Chairman, Board of Trustees:  
Irvin Fane

President:  
Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath

### COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman  
Irving J. Fain

Director  
Albert Vorspan

Associate Director  
Rabbi Balfour Brickner

UAHC HOUSE OF  
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In this connection, we are enclosing a draft of a "Declaration of Conscience" which, it is hoped, will be released over the signatures of hundreds of Christian clergymen from all parts of the country. All Jewish denominational bodies are urging their members to secure the signatures of such clergymen and to coordinate their efforts with Jewish Community Relations Councils, if they exist. We hope you will assist this effort in your community.

3) A special resolution of the Board of Trustees of the UAHC made reference to the tremendous financial drain which this crisis is imposing on the State of Israel and, therefore, called upon members of Reform congregations immediately to pay their outstanding pledges to the United Jewish Appeal and, wherever possible, to increase the amount of their donations.

4) Coordinating with other Jewish groups, plan a public meeting expressing support for Israel. Israel's peril is recognized as a worldwide problem and the American commitment has been deemed by American spokesmen to be incontrovertibly clear and vital to American interests in the world. Large public meetings have been held in New York City, Washington and many other communities and many are being planned within the next few days.

Encls.





RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE UAHC  
ON SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1967

MIDDLE-EAST CRISIS

Resolved that the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations be authorized and directed to forward the following telegram to President Lyndon B. Johnson:

The Board of Trustees of the UAHC expresses its profound concern at the dangerous developments in the Middle East which now constitute a serious threat to the life of the State of Israel and to the peace of the world.

Deeply disturbed by the deteriorating situation resulting from Arab acts of hostility against Israel, we:

- 1) Commend the United State for reaffirming its commitment to the integrity of all borders in the Middle East and to the right of free and innocent passage and for all shipping in the Gulf of Aqaba; and urge the United State to take all steps necessary to fulfill these commitments.
- 2) Appeal to the United Nations to act with urgency and dispatch to uphold the fundamental right of Israel to a tranquil life, thus maintaining both the Charter and the moral integrity of the United Nations itself.
- 3) Urge the maritime nations of the world to assert their support of the principle of free and innocent passage to international waterways.
- 4) Express to the brave-hearted and determined people of Israel -- our brethren -- our unswerving sense of solidarity and fellowship in this fateful crisis.

## Middle East and/or Vietnam

The issues in the Middle Eastern conflict are being confused by some commentators and critics with the very different issues involved in Vietnam. Just as spokesmen for the Johnson Administration have drawn false parallels between appeasement of Hitler and what was described as appeasement of Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung, so now the terms "hawk" and "dove" are being loosely applied to the Middle East as if they had the same connotations as in Vietnam.

It is neither accidental nor illogical that many of the same Americans who are calling for deescalation and unconditional negotiations in Southeast Asia also call for firmness on the part of the United States in insisting on freedom of passage to the Gulf of Aqaba and on honoring American commitments to defend the sovereignty and independence of Israel.

The United States had no such commitments with regard to South Vietnam, least of all to fight a virtually unilateral and major war on behalf of Saigon. In 1954, when the SEATO treaty was signed, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles specifically ruled out "unilateral armed intervention." While SEATO's economic and defensive commitments were indeed extended in a protocol to South Vietnam, along with Cambodia and Laos, Saigon was not even a party to the SEATO treaty.

The other major document sometimes cited by the Johnson Administration as a commitment to Saigon was a letter from President Eisenhower to President Diem of South Vietnam on Oct. 23, 1954. In it General Eisenhower wrote of aid to Saigon, the purpose of which would be "to assist the Government of Vietnam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." However, this aid was made dependent on President Diem creating a Government "enlightened in purpose and effective in performance." Diem failed signally to do this, as virtually every Vietnamese from Premier Ky down now recognizes.

President Kennedy just before his death and President Johnson as late as 1964 both insisted—in Mr. Johnson's words—that the war in Vietnam "ought to be fought by the boys of Asia," not by Americans. Israel is not asking the United States to fight for

her. There is no commitment to do so, and in present circumstances no need to do so.

But there are commitments, which can be documented precisely, by every American President since Truman to defend the sovereignty and independence of Israel, and there are also commitments by Presidents Eisenhower and Johnson in favor of upholding the right of free passage through the Strait of Tiran into the Gulf of Aqaba.

\* \* \*

In terms of American interest—as well as commitment—the Middle East is to be differentiated from Southeast Asia. The Middle East is the crossroads of the world, between Asia and Europe. It has been a strategic goal of Russia since Peter the Great. A reminder of this came only yesterday with the news that Russian warships are going to pass through the Black Sea Straits into the Eastern Mediterranean.

In its great-power aspect the Middle Eastern crisis shapes up as a confrontation of the Soviet Union versus the United States. As the British and French were gradually forced out of the area following World War II, the United States took their place. The region is now of paramount strategic importance to this country, whereas until escalation of the Vietnam war, Southeast Asia was only a marginal power factor for the United States.

The Persian Gulf area produces 27 per cent of the world's petroleum and has proved global reserves of 60 per cent. American firms have a gross investment in the region of more than \$2.5 billion. There is nothing comparable in American interests that can be said of the Southeast Asian peninsula.

The American position has now reached the ironical stage where virtually every argument advanced for the Vietnam war—commitments, honor, security, interests, consistency, the self-determination of small nations—could be used in favor of helping Israel. However, it is not necessary nor is it valid to make such comparisons. These are two separate problems calling for different solutions, but they are alike in that they both require major policy decisions in 1967.

If Washington now argues that it cannot afford to take on two crucial commitments at the same time, this would be another good reason to say it is time to deescalate the war in Vietnam.

distributed by  
COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
838 Fifth Avenue New York, N. Y. 10021



## A DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem" (Ps. 122: 6)

As Christians bidden to pursue peace and to fight evil, we cannot remain silent in the face of threats by Arab leaders to destroy the people of the State of Israel.

We condemn and deplore such threats as a sin against God and humanity.

We therefore call upon the Administration firmly to maintain its commitments to safeguard the integrity of the State of Israel and to restore the freedom of innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba, an international waterway, whose blockade President Johnson has called "illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace."

Before God, let us not again be guilty of silence.

## BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM

### United States Commitment to Free and Innocent Passage Through the Gulf of Aqaba

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Address to the American People

20 February 1957

With reference to the passage into and through the Gulf of Aqaba, we expressed the conviction that the Gulf constitutes international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf. We announced that the United States was prepared to exercise this right itself and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right...Egypt, by accepting the six principles adopted by the Security Council last October in relation to the Suez Canal, bound itself to free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination, and to the principle that the operation of the Canal should be insulated from the politics of any country. We should not assume that, if Israel withdraws, Egypt will prevent Israeli shipping from using the Suez Canal or the Gulf of Aqaba. If, unhappily, Egypt does hereafter violate the Armistice Agreement or other international obligations, then this should be dealt with firmly by the society of nations."

Aide Memoire Handed to Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban by  
Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 11 February 1957

With respect to the Gulf of Aqaba and access thereto -- the United States believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto. We have in mind not only commercial usage, but the passage of pilgrims on religious missions, which should be fully respected.

The United States recalls that on January 28, 1950, the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the United States that the Egyptian occupation of the two islands of Tiran and Senafir at the entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba was only to protect the islands themselves against possible damage or violation and that "this occupation being in no way conceived in a spirit of obstructing in any way innocent passage through the stretch of water separating these two islands from the Egyptian coast of Sinai, it follows that this passage, the only practical one, will remain free as in the past, in conformity with international practice and recognized principles of the law of nations."

In the absence of some overriding decision to the contrary, as by the International Court of Justice, the United States, on behalf of vessels of United States registry, is prepared to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of this right.



Reply by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at News Conference  
26 March 1957

"It is our intention to...(establish the principle of free or innocent passage through the Gulf of Aqaba). That intention was made clear I think by the aide memoire which we gave to the Government of Israel and published last February. Now the question of how it takes place is not yet determined. I think that it is the fact that a certain amount of shipping is or shortly will be in fact passing through the straits, although I also think that it is important to get a decision by the International Court of Justice as to what the legal rights of the parties are. We indicated, indeed, in that aide memoire that that would be a factor; that we felt that the preponderance of legal authority was so strong in favor of the right of passage unless and until there was a contrary decision by the World Court. And you may recall that the report of the Secretary-General said that he did not think that belligerent rights should be exercised in relation to the Sharm el-Sheikh area and the Straits of Tiran, because he also shared the view that the preponderance of legal authority was that there was no right to exercise belligerent rights and to stop innocent passage through there."

Statement by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Head of the United States  
Delegation to the United Nations, 1 March 1957

"With respect to the situation in the area along the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran, I stated on 28 January, and again on 2 February, that 'it is essential that units of the United Nations Emergency Force be stationed at the Straits of Tiran in order to achieve there the separation of Egyptian and Israeli land and sea forces. This separation is essential until it is clear that the non-exercise of any claimed belligerent rights has established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest. All of this, of course, would be without prejudice to any ultimate determination which may be made of any legal questions concerning the Gulf of Aqaba.'

...Once Israel has completed its withdrawal in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly, and in view of the measures taken by the United Nations to deal with the situation, there is no basis for either party to the Armistice Agreement to assert or exercise any belligerent rights."

Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, 1 March 1957

"...The U.S. believes that the Gulf comprehends international waters and that no nation has the right to prevent free and innocent passage in the Gulf and through the Straits giving access thereto. We have in mind not only commercial usage, but the passage of pilgrims on religious missions, which should be fully respected."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Address to the American People,  
20 February 1957

"...Equally serious efforts have been made to bring about conditions designed to assure that if Israel will withdraw in response to the repeated requests of the United Nations, there will then be achieved a greater security and tranquillity for that nation. This means that the U.N. would assert a determination to see that in the M.E. there will be a greater degree of justice and compliance with international law than was the case prior to the events of last October-November."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Message to Israel's Prime Minister,  
David Ben Burion, 2 March 1957

"I believe that Israel will have no cause to regret having conformed to the strong sentiment of the world community as expressed in the various United Nations resolutions relating to the withdrawal. It has always been the view of this Government that after the withdrawal there should be a united effort by all the nations to bring about conditions in the area more stable, more concrete and more conducive to the general welfare than those reached heretofore. Already the U.N. General Assembly has adopted resolutions which presage such a better future. Hopes and expectations based thereon were voiced by your Foreign Minister and others. I believe that it is reasonable to entertain such hopes and expectations, and I want you to know that the U.S., as a friend of all the countries of the area and as a loyal member of the U.N., will seek that such hopes prove not to be in vain."



Statement by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, 31 December 1956

"During the coming year the United States will have to accept an increasing responsibility to assist the free nations of the Middle East and elsewhere, to maintain their freedom and to develop their welfare. We must live by the Golden Rule. By so serving others we serve ourselves."

Reply made by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to questions asked at a News Conference, 26 March 1957

..."I would not say that the initial role of the United Nations Emergency Force was exhausted until there is more assurance than there is today that belligerent rights may not be exercised if it should wholly withdraw. And while it is true that the initial hostilities have come to a close and the initial forces of invasion has been totally withdrawn, I do not think that there is assurance of tranquility which would indicate that the initial mission was wholly accomplished. That depends, of course, upon how one interprets the original terms of reference. But I think that the original terms of reference are broad enough to cover the prospective activities of the UNEF.

"...The generally accepted view in the United Nations is that the General Assembly has no right to impose upon any nation the presence of any observers or representatives or forces of the United Nations and that, in order for them to enter upon the territory of another state, they have to have the consent of that state. Now once the consent has been given, then I think a good argument can be made that the consent cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn, frustrating the original project, because other people change their positions in reliance of the original consent, forces are set in motion, a chain of events has occurred. And we would question, certainly, whether Egypt has the right arbitrarily to alter and change a consent once given until the purpose of that consent has been accomplished."

- Q. Mr. Secretary, I would like to check back on an answer you gave a moment ago. Do I understand it is the position of the United States that the Egyptian Government does not have the power, legally speaking, under present circumstances to compel United Nations forces to withdraw from its territory?
- A. The problem I don't think permits a categorical answer. Now there was one question put to me here that suggested that the United Nations had accomplished its original mission, to which the consent of Egypt had been given, and that therefore its continuance there in effect was for a new purpose. If that's the case, and to the extent that's the case, then the original consent given by Egypt may have exhausted its purpose. If that has not been the case, then I think the consent given by Egypt cannot be arbitrarily withdrawn. I don't say it can't ever be withdrawn, but I say it can't be "arbitrarily" withdrawn without giving countries who have relied upon it an opportunity to turn around and reappraise their position in the light of the new situation.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is it your view then that the mission of UNEF has not been completed as yet?

A. Well, I indicated, I think, my views: I felt that under a liberal construction of the original mandate to the UNEF, in the light of the present situation and the fact that there is no clear assurance that hostilities -- that belligerency -- may not reoccur, it is not correct to conclude that the original mandate has been exhausted.

Convention on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone, Adopted by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, 27 April 1958

Article 16, p.4

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

"There shall be no suspension of the innocent passage of foreign ships through straits which are used for international navigation between one part of the high seas and another part of the high seas or territorial sea of a foreign state."

Statement by President John F. Kennedy at Press Conference, 8 May 1963

Q. Mr. President, do you consider the situation in the Middle East -- the balance of power there -- to have been changed as the result of recent developments, and what is the U.S. policy towards the security of Israel and Jordan in case they are threatened?

A. I don't think that the balance of military power has been changed in the Middle East in recent days. The -- obviously, there are political changes in the Middle East which still do not show a precise pattern and on which we are unable to make any final judgments.

The United States supports social and economic and political progress in the Middle East. We support the security of both Israel and her neighbors. We seek to limit the Near East arms race, which obviously takes resources from an area already poor and puts them into an increasing race which does not really bring any great security. We strongly oppose the use of force or the threat of force in the Near East. And we also seek to limit the spread of Communism in the Middle East, which would, of course, destroy the independence of the people.

This Government has been, and remains, strongly opposed to the use of force, or the threat of force, in the Near East. In the event of aggression, or preparation for aggression, whether direct or indirect, we would support appropriate measures in the United Nations and adopt other courses of action on our own to prevent or to put a stop to such aggression, which, of course, has been the policy which the United States has followed for some time.



The Commission on Social Action/Reform Judaism expresses deep concern over growing danger of middle-east conflict. Egypt's expulsion of United Nations force increases threat to the integrity of Israel and security of its borders. Strongly urge immediate and clear-cut reaffirmation of commitment safeguard Israel's right to life and peace in the middle-east.

We urge the United States to exercise its leadership within the United Nations to reduce tension and hostility and to guarantee peace.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Central Conference of American Rabbis

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods

A R C H I V E S National Federation of Temple Youth

National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods

comprising the Commission on Social Action, appeal to you personally and emphatically to underline United States commitment to peace in the middle-east thus reducing dangers of miscalculation which could embroil the world.

# CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022  
PLaza 5-9316-7-8  
Cable Address: COJOGRA

June 1, 1967

## AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS:

AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC  
AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

AMERICAN TRADE UNION  
COUNCIL for HISTADRUT

B'NAI B'RITH

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF  
AMERICAN RABBIS

COUNCIL OF JEWISH FEDERATIONS  
and WELFARE FUNDS (observer)

HADASSAH

JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL—  
AMERICAN SECTION

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

JEWISH WAR VETERANS  
OF THE U.S.A.

LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT

MIZRACHI-HAPOEL HAMIZRACHI

NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS  
ADVISORY COUNCIL

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
JEWISH WOMEN

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF  
YOUNG ISRAEL

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY

RABBINICAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH  
CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW  
CONGREGATIONS

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

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

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

Meeting in plenum yesterday -- the Presidents Conference voted  
to convene a National Emergency Leadership Conference in Washington,  
D.C. on June 7-8, 1967.

the goal: large-scale visitations with Senators and  
Congressmen by key local constituents.

The emergency ad hoc committee of the Presidents Conference met  
last night to formulate plans for the meeting -- and in turn,  
appointed a technical subcommittee that is now meeting on a daily  
basis.

Most of the organizations affiliated in the Presidents Conference  
have already wired their leadership across the country to ensure  
maximum participation in enlisting support on Capitol Hill.

It is advisable that appointments with Senators and Congressmen  
be made on the local level -- and on a coordinated basis, where-  
ever possible through the local Community Relations Councils --  
in advance of the Washington visit.

The Conference will convene at 8:00 p.m. Wednesday, June 7 in the  
Cortillion Room of the Park-Sheraton Hotel, Washington, D. C.  
(seating capacity: 1,200).

Visitations on Capitol Hill are planned for Thursday morning and  
early afternoon (9:00 a.m. - 3:30 p.m.) June 8.

Arrangements are now underway to stage a massive rally in  
Lafayette Square (4:30 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.) on Thursday as well.

Hotel accommodations are available in three hotels(ranging from  
\$14-\$20 per day) on a first-come, first-serve basis. For  
reservations: Contact Mr. Richard Berg at B'nai B'rith, 1640  
Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. (phone (202) EX 3-  
5284).

-----  
More details will follow..... in the meantime, we enclose  
copies of telegrams received from Senators Robert F. Kennedy  
and Jacob K. Javits at the May 28 "Solidarity with Israel"  
rally sponsored by the Presidents Conference.



FULL TEXT OF TELEGRAM

MAY 28, 1967

DR. JOACHIM PRINZ  
CHAIRMAN  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS  
"SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL" RALLY  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

AT THIS CRUCIAL HOUR THE PEACE OF THE WORLD AND ISRAEL'S VERY EXISTENCE ARE UNDER DIRECT THREAT. LEADERSHIP IN THIS COUNTRY AND SUPPORT OF ITS GREAT JEWISH COMMUNITY ARE PROPERLY MARSHALED FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ISRAEL WHICH IS SO GRAVELY THREATENED. ALSO AT STAKE ARE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, THE HISTORIC VITAL INTEREST OF THE U.S. AND ALL MARITIME POWERS AND THE HONORING OF THE SOLEMN OBLIGATIONS OF THIS COUNTRY IN THE NEAR EAST.

THE ARAB LEADERS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS IN THE KREMLIN WOULD BE EXTREMELY ILL ADVISED IF THEY BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE MOVED AT THE MOMENT WHEN THE UNITED STATES IS PARALYZED BY THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM. THE UNITED STATES IS NOT PARALYZED. SUCH A BELIEF COULD RESULT IN A FATAL MISCALCULATION IF THEY UNDERESTIMATE THE DETERMINATION OF THIS NATION TO SEE THAT THERE IS PEACE AND ORDER IN THE WORLD.

IN VIEW OF THE STATEMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE SUPPORT INDICATED BY LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES IT SHOULD BE CLEAR THAT THE U.S. IS EARNESTLY SEEKING TO FULFILL ITS PLEDGES FOR SECURITY IN THE AREA. MR. NASSER AND HIS ALLIES HAD BEST NOT CALCULATE OTHERWISE. PRESIDENTS TRUMAN, EISENHOWER, KENNEDY AND JOHNSON HAVE ALL ITERATED AMERICAN PLEDGES FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY. THESE ARE PLEDGES WHICH HAVE BEEN REITERATED BY NATIONAL LEADERS FROM BOTH PARTIES OVER THE YEARS. THEY ARE PLEDGES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THEY MUST BE FULFILLED. I ASSURE YOU OF MY INDEFATIGABLE EFFORTS TO SEE TO IT THAT U.S. OBLIGATIONS ARE HONORED IN THE NEAR EAST AND TO ASSIST VALIANT ISRAEL AND TO PRESERVE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.

JACOB JAVITS, U.S. SENATOR

FULL TEXT OF TELEGRAM

MAY 28, 1967

DR. JOACHIM PRINZ  
CHAIRMAN  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS  
"SOLIDARITY WITH ISRAEL" RALLY  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

I AM SORRY I CANNOT BE WITH YOU TODAY AS I SAID EARLIER IN THIS WEEK OF CRISIS. THE STATE OF ISRAEL STANDS SURROUNDED BY HER ENEMIES, HER BORDERS AND PORTS IN THE SHADOW OF HOSTILE ARMIES, HER VERY EXISTENCE IN DANGER. BUT WE ARE JOINED AS PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS SAID IN A DETERMINATION TO DO ALL THAT IS NECESSARY TO ENSURE THAT THESE THREATS SHALL NOT BE CARRIED OUT. OUR RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS HOUR HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY FOUR AMERICAN PRESIDENTS. NOW THEIR COMMITMENTS AND OUR COMMITMENT ARE BEING TESTED AND THE UNITED STATES WILL MEET THEM. THEREFORE WE JOIN IN URGING THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT NO WAR IN THE NEAR EAST COULD REMAIN A LOCAL ONE AND THAT WE ARE DEEPLY INTERESTED IN THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND THE PREVENTION OF ANY AGGRESSION.

SECOND IN ANY EFFORT TO RESTORE A UNITED NATION PRESENCE IN THE AREA, WE MUST ASSURE FREE PASSAGE THRU THE GULF OF AQABA, AND AS I SAID LAST TUESDAY OF A UNITED NATION GUARANTEE PROVES IMPRACTICABLE THE UNITED STATES WITH OTHER MARITIME POWERS MUST TAKE THE ROLE OF LEADERSHIP. THIS IS A GRAVE HOUR. BUT IT IS NOT ENTIRELY WITHOUT HOPE FOR IF WE DO STAND FIRMLY IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE NEAR EAST THEN I BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS WILL LIVE WITHOUT WAR, AND THAT WHAT PRESIDENT KENNEDY CALLED THE SHINING LIGHT OF THE NEAR EAST, THE LIGHT OF ISRAEL'S FREEDOM TRADITION AND PEOPLE, WILL CONTINUE TO GLOW IN INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM AND SECURITY. MY BEST WISHES TO ALL OF YOU.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY

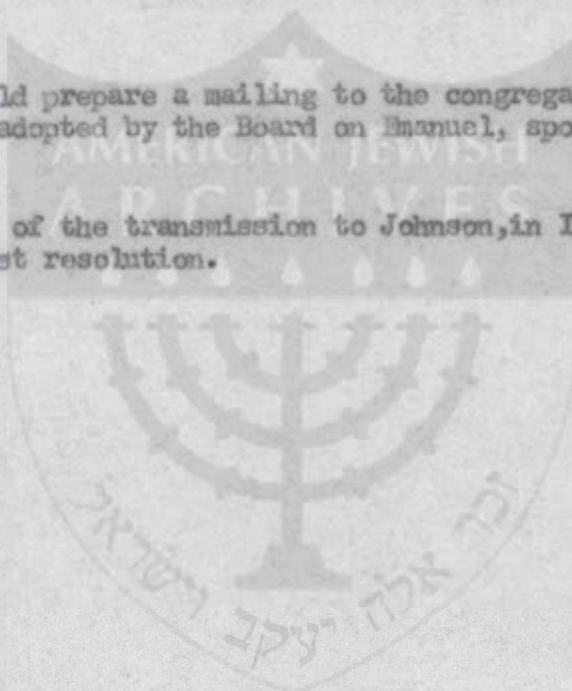


## MEMORANDUM

Date May 31, 1967From Albert VorspanTo Ted BreideCopy for information of Rabbi Alex Schindler; Rabbi Maurice EisendrathSubject RESOLUTIONS

I think you should prepare a mailing to the congregations, transmitting the resolutions adopted by the Board on Emanuel, spokespersonship and the Middle East.

I am taking care of the transmission to Johnson, in Irving Fane's name, of the Middle East resolution.



# MEMORANDUM

Date June 6, 1967

From Albert Vorspan

To EXECUTIVE STAFF

Copy for information of \_\_\_\_\_

Subject WASHINGTON RALLY

Please inform any of your leadership who are going to attend the Washington Rally that there will be a follow-up session of Reform Jewish leadership at the Religious Action Center, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. at 4:30 on Thursday immediately after the Lafayette Park Rally. People coming on the buses will not be able to stay for this but any others who will be waiting around for trains or buses should be urged to participate for refreshments and also strategy discussions on where we can go from here within the Reform Jewish family in responding to the Middle East Crisis.

We have been asked repeatedly, what we are asking the United States to do and what is the purpose of the Rally:

It is to urge the United States to render all possible material, political and diplomatic assistance to Israel, in accordance with United States clear commitments to make sure that an end is put once and for all, to Arab aggression and harrassment.

This means that we are asking the United States not to permit a roll-back of Israeli troops at the point of cease-fire until arrangements are made for direct negotiations between the Israelis and the Arabs to establish a permanent peace in the Middle-East.

The following statement was issued yesterday by Dr. Joachim Prinz, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, representing 21 of the country's largest national Jewish groups, including the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:



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

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

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

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

ARCHIVES



In Honour of M.S. Y. Agnon



~~Israel~~

The Consul General of Israel  
and Mrs. Michael Arnon

request the pleasure of the company of

Rabbi Alexander Schneider  
at Sea

on Wednesday, June 7, 1967

at 5:00 p.m. 30 min. o'clock

Calendar  
marked.

R.S.V.P.  
Tr 9-7619

America-Israel Culture House  
42.54th Street  
New York, N.Y.



## MEMORANDUM

Date 2/24/66From Norman BucknerTo Albert VorspanCopy for information of Rabbi Balfour Brickner

Subject \_\_\_\_\_

The Jewish Community has been oh too organizationally silent with the interminable and agonizing problems of an Arab/Israeli peace settlement. It appears to me that no real public pressure has been exerted on the governments involved to find a solution to the relocation and repatriation of the Arab refugees; nor is the American Jewish community acquainted with the problems that face the governments involved in developing a workable solution that will create peace in the Middle East.

I would suggest that a meeting of the heads of secular and religious Jewish agencies be called for on Sunday, April 10, 1966, erev last day of Pesach and Easter Sunday. At this conference on Sunday the Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations could be involved in presenting the Israeli position and on Monday representatives of the Arab states of Jordan, Egypt and Syria, if this state has a stable government at that time.

Transcripts of the presentations would be taken and Jewish representatives would attempt to identify the stated problems. By identifying the problems, they could then be disseminated to the members of the agencies represented for their study and reaction. A second conference could then be called to draft guidelines for a solution to be offered to the United Nations.

It would appear to me that the Presidents Council looking for Israeli guidance in this situation does not do full justice to the true quest for peace in the Middle East. While I can understand the political realities of the situation, I cannot see why the spiritual conscience of the American Jewish Community cannot be permitted the opportunity to hear both sides of the problem and concern itself with

8127A p23, p23.

May we move in this area?



**ABBA EBAN**

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**"NEVER HAVE FREEDOM  
AND INTERNATIONAL  
MORALITY BEEN SO  
RIGHTEOUSLY PROTECTED"**

---

Text of the address by Israel's  
Foreign Minister, Mr. Abba Eban,  
in the General Assembly of the  
United Nations on 19 June, 1967.

ISRAEL INFORMATION SERVICES

NEW YORK

June 1967



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**Israel Embassies,\*\* Consulates-General\* and Consulates in the United States and Canada:**

**U. S. A.**

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**CANADA**

|                                                     |                                                           |                                                    |
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Printed in U.S.A. October 1966

The subject of our discussion is the Middle East; its past agony and its future hope. We speak of a region whose destiny has profoundly affected the entire human experience. In the heart of that region, at the very centre of its geography and history, lives a very small nation called Israel. This nation gave birth to the currents of thought which have fashioned the life of the Mediterranean world and of vast regions beyond. It has now been re-established as the home and sanctuary of a people which has seen six million of its sons exterminated in the greatest catastrophe ever endured by a family of the human race.

**The True Origins of the Mid-East Crisis**

In recent weeks the Middle East has passed through a crisis whose shadows darken the world. This crisis has many consequences but only one cause. Israel's right to peace, security, sovereignty, economic development and maritime freedom — indeed its very right to exist — has been forcibly denied and aggressively attacked. This is the true origin of the tension which torments the Middle East. All the other elements of the conflict are the consequences of this single cause. There has been danger, there is still peril in the Middle East because Israel's existence, sovereignty and vital interests have been and are violently assailed.

The threat to Israel's existence, its peace, security, sovereignty and development has been directed against her in the first instance by the neighbouring Arab States. But all the conditions of tension, all the temptations to aggression in the Middle East have, to our deep regret, been aggravated by the one-sided policy of one of the Great Powers which under our Charter bear primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. I shall show how the Soviet Union has, for 15 years, been unfaithful to that trust. The burden of responsibility lies heavy upon her. Today's intemperate utterance illustrates the lack of equilibrium and objectivity which has contributed so much to the tension and agonies.

I come to this rostrum to speak for a united people which, having faced danger to the national survival, is unshakeably resolved to resist any course which would renew the perils from which it has emerged.

The General Assembly is chiefly preoccupied by the situation against which Israel defended itself on the morning of June 5. I shall invite every peace-loving state represented here to ask itself how it would have acted on that day if it faced similar dangers. But if our discussion is to have any weight or depth, we must understand that great events are not born in a single instant of time. It is beyond all honest doubt that between May 14 and June 5, Arab governments, led and directed by President Nasser, methodically prepared and mounted an aggressive assault designed to bring about Israel's immediate and total destruction. My authority for that conviction rests on the statements and actions of Arab governments themselves. There is every reason to believe what they say and to observe what they do.



## The Pattern of Aggression — 1957-1967

During Israel's first decade the intention to work for her destruction by physical violence had always been part of the official doctrine and policy of Arab States. But many members of the United Nations hoped and some believed that relative stability would ensue from the arrangements discussed in the General Assembly in March, 1957. An attempt was then made to inaugurate a period of non-belligerency and co-existence in the relations between Egypt and Israel. A United Nations Emergency Force was to separate the armies in Sinai and Gaza. The maritime powers were to exercise free and innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Straits of Tiran. Terrorist attacks against Israel were to cease. The Suez Canal was to be opened to Israel shipping, as the Security Council had decided six years before.

In March, 1957, these hopes and expectations were endorsed in the General Assembly by the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, and other states in Europe, the Americas, Africa, Asia and Australasia. These assurances, expressed with special solemnity by the four governments which I have mentioned, induced Israel to give up positions which she then held at Gaza and at the entrance to the Straits of Tiran and in Sinai. Non-belligerency, maritime freedom and immunity from terrorist attack were henceforth to be secured, not by Israel's own pressure but by the concerted will of the international community. Egypt expressed no opposition to these arrangements. Bright hopes for the future illuminated this hall ten years ago.

### Breathing Space for Later Assault

There were times during the past decade when it really seemed that a certain stability had been achieved. As we look back it becomes plain that the Arab governments regarded the 1957 arrangements merely as a breathing space enabling them to gather strength for a later assault. At the end of 1962, President Nasser began to prepare Arab opinion for an armed attack that was to take place within a few brief years. As his armaments grew his aggressive designs came more blatantly to light. On 23 December 1962, Nasser said:

"We feel that the soil of Palestine is the soil of Egypt, and of the whole Arab world. Why do we all mobilize? Because we feel that the land of Palestine is part of our land, and are ready to sacrifice ourselves for it."

The present Foreign Minister of Egypt, Mahmoud Riad, echoed his master's voice:

"The sacred Arab struggle will not come to an end until Palestine is restored to its owners."

In March 1963, the official Cairo radio continued the campaign of menace:

"Arab unity is taking shape towards the great goal — i.e. the triumphant return to Palestine with the banner of unity flying high in front of the holy Arab march."

The newspaper *Al-Gumhuriya* published an official announcement on the same day:

"The noose around Israel's neck is tightening gradually. . . Israel is no mightier than the empires which were vanquished by the Arab east and west. . . The Arab people will take possession of their full rights in their united homeland."

Egypt is not a country in which the press utters views and opinions independently of the official will. There is thus much significance in the statement of *Al-Akhbar* on 4 April, 1963:

"The liquidation of Israel will not be realized through a declaration of war against Israel by Arab States, *but Arab unity and inter-Arab understanding will serve as a hangman's rope for Israel.*"

The Assembly will note that the imagery of a hangman's rope or of a tightening noose occurs frequently in the macabre vocabulary of Nasserism. He sees himself perpetually presiding over a scaffold. In June 1967, in Israel's hour of solitude and danger, the metaphor of encirclement and strangulation was to come vividly to life.

In February, 1964, Nasser enunciated in simple terms what was to become his country's policy during the period of preparation:

"The possibilities of the future will be war with Israel. It is we who will dictate the time; it is we who will dictate the place."

### Syria's "Popular War" Against Israel

A similar chorus of threats arose during this period from other Arab capitals. President Aref of Iraq and President Ben-Bella of Algeria were especially emphatic and repetitive in their threat to liquidate Israel. They were then far away. The Syrian attitude was more ominous because it affected a neighbouring frontier. Syrian war propaganda has been particularly intense in the past few years. In 1964, the Syrian Defense Minister, General Abdulla Ziada announced:

"The Syrian army stands as a mountain to crush Israel and demolish her. This army knows how to crush its enemies."

Early last year Syria began to proclaim and carry out what it called a "popular war" against Israel. This was a terrorist campaign which expressed itself in the dispatch of trained terrorist groups into Israel territory to blow up installations and communications centers and to kill, maim, cripple and terrorize civilians in peaceful homes and farms.



Often the terrorists, trained in Syria, were dispatched through Jordan or Lebanon. The terrorist war was formally declared by President Al-Atassi on 22 May, 1966, when he addressed soldiers on the Israel-Syrian front:

"We raise the slogan of the people's liberation war. We want total war with no limits, a war that will destroy the Zionist base."

It is a strange experience in this hall of peace to be sitting with a delegate whose philosophy is: "We want total war with no limits."

The Syrian Defense Minister, Hafiz Asad, said two days later:

"We say: We shall never call for, nor accept peace. We shall only accept war and the restoration of the usurped land. We have resolved to drench this land with our blood, to oust you, aggressors, and throw you into the sea for good."

"We must meet as soon as possible and fight a single liberation war on the level of the whole area against Israel, imperialism and all the enemies of the people."

From that day to this not a week has passed without Syrian officials adding to this turgid stream of invective and hate. From that day to this, there has not been a single month without terrorist acts, offensive to every impulse of human compassion and international civility, being directed from Syria against Israeli citizens and territory. I would have no difficulty in swelling the General Assembly's records with a thousand official statements by Arab leaders in the past two years announcing their intention to destroy Israel by diverse forms of organized physical violence. The Arab populations have been conditioned by their leaders to the anticipation of a total war, preceded by the constant harassment of the prospective victim.

#### **Israel's Policy 1957-1967**

From 1948 to this very day there has not been one statement by any Arab representative of a neighbouring Arab State indicating readiness to respect existing agreements on the permanent renunciation of force; to recognize Israel's sovereign right to existence or to apply to Israel any of the central provisions of the United Nations Charter.

For some time Israel showed a stoic patience in her reaction to these words of menace. This was because the threats were not accompanied by a capacity to carry them into effect. But the inevitable result of this campaign of menace was the burden of a heavy race in arms. We strove to maintain an adequate deterrent strength; and the decade beginning in March 1957 was not monopolized by security considerations alone. Behind the wall of a strong defense, with eyes vigilantly fixed on dangerous borders, we embarked on a constructive era in the national enterprise. These were years of swift expansion in our agriculture and in-

dustry; of intensive progress in the sciences and arts; of a widening international vocation, symbolized in the growth of strong links with the developing world. At the end of her first decade Israel had established relations of diplomacy, commerce and culture with all the Americas, and with most of the countries of Western, Central and Eastern Europe. In her second decade she was to build constructive links with the emerging countries of the developing world with whom we are tied by a common aspiration to translate national freedom into creative economic growth and progress.

Fortified by friendships in all five continents; inspired by its role in the great drama of development; intensely preoccupied by tasks of spiritual cooperation with kindred communities in various parts of the world, and in the effort to assure the Jewish survival after the disastrous blows of Nazi oppression; tenaciously involved in the development of original social ideas, Israel went on with its work. We could not concern ourselves exclusively with the torrent of hatred pouring in upon us from Arab governments. In the era of modern communications a nation is not entirely dependent on its regional context. The wide world is open to the voice of friendship. Arab hostility towards Israel became increasingly isolated, while our position in the international family became more deeply entrenched. Many in the world drew confidence from the fact that a very small nation could, by its exertion and example, rise to respected levels in social progress, scientific research and the humane arts. And so our policy was to deter the aggression of our neighbours so long as it was endurable; to resist it only when failure to resist would have invited its intensified renewal; to withstand Arab violence without being obsessed by it; and even to search patiently here and there for any glimmer of moderation and realism in the Arab mind. We also pursued the hope of bringing all the Great Powers to a harmonious policy in support of the security and sovereignty of Middle Eastern States.

#### **Cumulative Effects of Arab Violence**

It was not easy to take this course. The sacrifice imposed upon our population by Arab violence was cumulative in its effects. But as it piled up month by month the toll of death and bereavement was heavy. And in the last few years it was evident that this organized murder was directed by a central hand.

We were able to limit our response to this aggression so long as its own scope appeared to be limited. President Nasser seemed for some years to be accumulating inflammable material without an immediate desire to set it alight. He was heavily engaged in domination and conquest elsewhere. His speeches were strong against Israel. But his bullets, guns and poison gases were for the time being used to intimidate other Arab States and to maintain a colonial war against the villagers of the Yemen and the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula.



But Israel's danger was great. The military build-up in Egypt proceeded at an intensive rate. It was designed to enable Egypt to press its war plans against Israel while maintaining its violent adventures elsewhere. In the face of these developments Israel was forced to devote an increasing part of its resources to self-defense. With the declaration by Syria early in 1965 of the doctrine of a "day by day military confrontation" the situation in the Middle East grew darker. The Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestine Liberation Army, the Unified Arab Command, the intensified expansion of military forces and equipment in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and more remote parts of the Arab continent — these were the signals of a growing danger to which we sought to alert the mind and conscience of the world.

### Arabs Sought Pretext for War

In three tense weeks between 14 May and 5 June, Egypt, Syria and Jordan, assisted and incited by more distant Arab States, embarked on a policy of immediate and total aggression.

June 1967 was to be the month of decision. The "final solution" was at hand.

There was no convincing motive for the aggressive design which was now unfolded. Egyptian and Soviet sources have claimed that a concentrated Israeli invasion of Syria was expected during the second or third week in May. No claim could be more frivolous or far-fetched. It is true that Syria was sending terrorists into Israel to lay mines on public roads and, on one occasion, to bombard the Israeli settlement at Manara from the Lebanese border. The accumulation of such actions had sometimes evoked Israeli responses limited in scope and time. All that Syria had to do to ensure perfect tranquility on her frontier with Israel was to discourage the terrorist war. Not only did she not discourage these actions. She encouraged them. She gave them every moral and practical support. But the picture of Israeli troop concentrations in strength for an invasion of Syria was a monstrous fiction. Twice Syria refused to cooperate with suggestions made by the UN authorities and accepted by Israel for a simultaneous and reciprocal inspection of the Israeli-Syrian frontier. On one occasion the Soviet Ambassador complained to my Prime Minister of heavy troop concentrations in the north of Israel. When invited to join the Prime Minister that very moment in a visit to any part of Israel which he would like to see the distinguished envoy brusquely refused. The prospect of finding out the truth at first hand seemed to fill him with a profound disquiet. But by 9 May the Secretary General of the United Nations from his own sources on the ground had ascertained that no Israeli troop concentrations existed. This fact had been directly communicated to the Syrian and Egyptian governments. The excuse had been shattered, but the allegations still remained. The steps which I now describe could not possibly have any motive or justification in an Israeli troop concentra-

tion which both Egypt and Syria knew did not exist. Indeed the Egyptian build-up ceased to be described by its authors as the result of any threat to Syria.

### The Plan of War

On 14 May Egyptian forces began to move into Sinai.

On 16 May the Egyptian Command ordered the United Nations Emergency Force to leave the border. The following morning the reason became clear. For on 17 May, 1967, at 6 in the morning, Radio Cairo broadcast that Field Marshal Amer had issued alert orders to the Egyptian armed forces. Nor did he mention Syria as the excuse.

This announcement reads:

- "1. The state of preparedness of the Egyptian Armed Forces will increase to the full level of preparedness for war, beginning 14.30 hours last Sunday.
- "2. Formations and units allocated in accordance with the operational plans will advance from their present locations to the designated positions.
- "3. The armed forces are to be in full preparedness to carry out any combat tasks on the Israel front in accordance with developments."

On 18 May, Egypt called for the total removal of the United Nations Emergency Force. The Secretary-General of the United Nations acceded to this request and moved to carry it out, without reference to the Security Council or the General Assembly; without carrying out the procedures indicated by Secretary Hammarskjöld in the event of a request for a withdrawal being made; without heeding the protesting voices of some of the permanent members of the Security Council and of the Government at whose initiative the Force had been established; without consulting Israel on the consequent prejudice to her military security and her vital maritime freedom; and without seeking such delay as would enable alternative measures to be concerted for preventing belligerency by sea and a dangerous confrontation of forces by land.

It is often said that United Nations procedures are painfully slow. This decision was, in our view, disastrously swift. Its effect was to make Sinai safe for belligerency from north and to south; to create a sudden disruption of the local security balance; and to leave an international maritime interest exposed to almost certain threat. I have already said that Israel's attitude to the peace-keeping functions of the United Nations has been traumatically affected by this experience. What is the use of a fire brigade which vanishes from the scene as soon as the first smoke and flames appear? Is it surprising that we are firmly resolved never again to allow a vital Israeli interest and our very security to rest on such a fragile foundation?



### Egypt Bent on Early Assault

The clouds now gathered thick and fast. Between 14 May and 23 May, Egyptian concentrations in Sinai increased day by day. Israel took corresponding precautionary measures. In the absence of an agreement to the contrary, it is legal for any state to place its armies wherever it chooses in its territory. It is equally true that nothing could be more uncongenial to the prospect of peace than to have large armies facing each other across a narrow space, with one of them clearly bent on an early assault. For the purpose of the concentration was not in doubt. On 18 May, at 24 hours, the Cairo Radio *Saut El Arab* published the following Order of the Day by Abdul Muhsin Murtagi, the General then Commanding Sinai:

"The Egyptian forces have taken up positions in accordance with a definite plan.

"Our forces are definitely ready to carry the battle beyond the borders of Egypt.

"Morale is very high among the members of our armed forces because this is the day for which they have been waiting — to make a holy war in order to return the plundered land to its owners.

"In many meetings with army personnel they asked when the holy war will begin — the time has come to give them their wish."

On 21 May General Amer gave the order to mobilize reserves.

Now came the decisive step. All doubt that Egypt had decided upon immediate or early war was now dispelled. Appearing at an air force base at 6 o'clock in the morning, President Nasser announced that he would blockade the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli ships, adding: "The Jews threaten war and we say by all means we are ready for war."

On 25 May, Cairo Radio announced:

"The Arab people is firmly resolved to wipe Israel off the map and to restore the honor of the Arabs of Palestine."

On the following day, 26 May, Nasser spoke again:

"The Arab people wants to fight. We have been waiting for the right time when we will be completely ready. Recently we have felt that our strength has been sufficient and that if we make battle with Israel we shall be able, with the help of God, to conquer. Sharm-el-Sheikh implies a confrontation with Israel. Taking this step makes it imperative that we be ready to undertake a total war with Israel."

Writing in *Al Ahram*, on 26 May, Nasser's mouthpiece Hasanein Heykal, wrote, with engaging realism:

"I consider that there is no alternative to armed conflict between the United Arab Republic and the Israeli enemy. This is the first time that the Arab challenge to Israel attempts to change an existing fact in order to impose a different fact in its place."

On 28 May, Nasser had a press conference. He was having them every day. He said:

"We will not accept any possibility of co-existence with Israel."

And on the following day:

"If we have succeeded to restore the situation to what it was before 1956, there is no doubt that God will help us and will inspire us to restore the situation to what it was prior to 1948."

There are various ways of threatening Israel's liquidation. Few ways could be clearer than to ask to move the clock of history back to 1948.

### The Ring Closes Around Israel

The troop concentrations and blockade were now to be accompanied by encirclement. The noose was to be fitted around the victim's neck. Other Arab States were closing the ring. On 30 May Nasser signed the defense agreement with Jordan; and described its purpose in these terms:

"The armies of Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon are stationed on the borders of Israel in order to face the challenge. Behind them stand the armies of Iraq, Algeria, Kuwait, Sudan and the whole of the Arab nation.

"This deed will astound the world. Today they will know that the Arabs are ready for the fray. The hour of decision has arrived."

On 4 June Nasser made a statement on Cairo Radio after signing the Protocol associating Iraq with the Egyptian-Jordanian Defense Pact. Here are his words:

"... We are facing you in the battle and are burning with desire for it to start, in order to obtain revenge. This will make the world realize what the Arabs are and what Israel is..."

Nothing has been more startling in recent weeks than to read discussions about who planned, who organized, who initiated, who wanted and who launched this war. Here we have a series of statements, mounting in crescendo from vague warning through open threat to precise intention.



## Greatest Concentration in History of Sinai

Here we have the vast mass of the Egyptian armies in Sinai with seven infantry and two armored divisions, the greatest force ever assembled in that peninsula in all its history. Here we have 40,000 regular Syrian troops poised to strike at the Jordan Valley from advantageous positions in the hills. Here we have the mobilized forces of Jordan with their artillery and mortars trained on Israel's population centers in Jerusalem and along the vulnerable narrow coastal plain. Troops from Iraq, Kuwait and Algeria converge towards the battlefield at Egypt's behest. 900 tanks face Israel on the Sinai border, while 200 more are poised to strike the isolated town of Elath at Israel's southern tip. The military dispositions tell their own story. The Southern Negev was to be sundered in a swift decisive blow. The Northern Negev was to be invaded by armour and bombarded from the Gaza Strip. From May 27 onward Egyptian air squadrons in Sinai were equipped with operation orders, now in our hands, instructing them in detail on the manner in which Israeli airfields, pathetically few in number, were to be bombarded, thus exposing Israel's crowded cities to easy and merciless assault. Egyptian air sorties came in and out of Israel's southern desert to reconnoitre, inspect and prepare for the attack. An illicit blockade had cut Israel off from all her commerce with the eastern half of the world.

## The Blockade of the Tiran Straits

Now those who write this story in years to come will give a special place in their narrative to the blatant decision to close the Straits of Tiran in Israel's face. It is not difficult to understand why this outrage had such a drastic impact. In 1957 the maritime nations, within the framework of the United Nations General Assembly, correctly enunciated the doctrine of free and innocent passage through the Strait. Now, when that doctrine was proclaimed — and incidentally, not challenged at the time by the Egyptian representative — it was little more than an abstract principle for the maritime world. For Israel it was a great but still unfulfilled prospect; it was not yet a reality. But during the ten years in which we and the other States of the maritime community have relied upon that doctrine and upon established usage, the principle has become a reality consecrated by hundreds of sailings under dozens of flags and the establishment of a whole complex of commerce and industry and communication. A new dimension has been added to the map of the world's communications, and on that dimension we have constructed Israel's bridge towards the friendly States of Asia and Africa, a network of relationships which is the chief pride of Israel in the second decade of its independence and on which its economic future depends.

All this, then, had grown up as an effective usage under the United Nations flag. Does Mr. Nasser really think that he can come upon the

scene in ten minutes and cancel the established legal usage and interests of ten years?

There was in this wanton act a quality of malice. For surely the closing of the Strait of Tiran gave no benefit whatever to Egypt except the perverse joy of inflicting injury on others. It was an anarchic act, because it showed a total disregard for the law of nations, the application of which in this specific case had not been challenged for ten years. And it was, in the literal sense, an act of arrogance, because there are other nations in Asia and East Africa that trade with the Port of Elath, as they have every right to do, through the Straits of Tiran and across the Gulf of Aqaba. Other sovereign States from Japan to Ethiopia, from Thailand to Uganda, from Cambodia to Madagascar, have a sovereign right to decide for themselves whether they wish or do not wish to trade with Israel. These countries are not colonies of Cairo. They can trade with Israel or not trade with Israel as they wish, and President Nasser is not the policeman of other African and Asian States.

## Blockades Are Acts of War

When we examine, then, the implications of this act, we have no cause to wonder that the international shock was great. There was another reason too for that shock. Blockades have traditionally been regarded, in the pre-Charter parlance, as acts of war. To blockade, after all, is to attempt strangulation — and sovereign States are entitled not to have their trade strangled.

The blockade is by definition an act of war, imposed and enforced through armed violence. Never in history have blockade and peace existed side by side. From May 24 onward, the question who started the war or who fired the first shot became momentarily irrelevant. There is no difference in civil law between murdering a man by slow strangulation or killing him by a shot in the head. From the moment at which the blockade was imposed, active hostilities had commenced and Israel owed Egypt nothing of her Charter rights. If a foreign power sought to close Odessa, or Copenhagen or Marseilles or New York harbor by the use of force, what would happen? Would there be any discussion about who had fired the first shot? Would anyone ask whether aggression had begun? Less than a decade ago the Soviet Union proposed a draft resolution in the General Assembly on the question of defining aggression. The resolution reads:

"In an international conflict that state shall be declared an attacker which first commits one of the following acts:

(a) Naval blockade of the coasts or ports of another State."

This act constituted in the Soviet view direct aggression as distinguished from other specified acts designated in the Soviet draft as indirect aggression. In this particular case the consequences of Nasser's



action had been fully announced in advance. On March 1, 1957, my predecessor announced that:

"Interference, by armed force, with ships of Israel flag exercising free and innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba and through the Straits of Tiran, will be regarded by Israel as an attack entitling it to exercise its inherent right of self-defence under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and to take all such measures as are necessary to ensure the free and innocent passage of its ships in the Gulf and in the Straits."

The representative of France, declared that any obstruction of free passage in the Straits or Gulf was contrary to international law "entailing a possible resort to the measures authorized by Article 51 of the Charter."

The United States, inside and outside of the United Nations gave specific endorsement to Israel's right to invoke her inherent right of self-defence against any attempt to blockade the Gulf. Nasser was speaking with acute precision, therefore, when he stated that Israel now faced the choice of either to be choked to death in her southern maritime approaches or to await the death blow from northern Sinai.

#### **Israel Faced Peril on Every Side**

Nobody who lived those days in Israel between May 23 and June 5 will ever forget the air of heavy foreboding that hovered over our country. Hemmed in by hostile armies ready to strike, affronted and beset by a flagrant act of war, bombarded day and night by predictions of our approaching extinction, forced into a total mobilization of all her manpower, her economy and commerce beating with feeble pulse, her main supplies of vital fuel choked by a belligerent act, Israel faced the greatest peril to her existence that she had known since her resistance against aggression nineteen years before, at the hour of her birth. There was peril wherever she looked and she faced it in deepening solitude. On May 24 and on succeeding days, the Security Council conducted a desultory debate which sometimes reached a point of levity. Russian and Oriental proverbs were wittily exchanged. The Soviet representative asserted that he saw no reason for discussing the Middle Eastern situation at all. The distinguished Bulgarian Delegate uttered these unbelievable words:

"At the present moment there is really no need for an urgent meeting of the Security Council."

This was the day after the imposition of the blockade!

A crushing siege bore down upon us. Multitudes throughout the world began to tremble for Israel's fate. The single consolation lay in the surge of public opinion which rose up in Israel's defense. From Paris to Montevideo, from New York to Amsterdam, tens of thousands of

people of all ages, parties and affiliations marched in horrified protest at the approaching stage of politicide — the murder of a State. Writers and scientists, religious leaders, trade union movements and even the Communist parties in France, Holland, Switzerland, Norway, Austria and Finland asserted their view that Israel was a peace-loving State, whose peace was being wantonly denied. In the history of our generation it is difficult to think of any other hour in which progressive world opinion has rallied in such tension and agony of spirit to any cause.

#### **Israel's Choice — To Live or Perish**

To understand the full depth of pain and shock, it is necessary to grasp the full significance of what Israel's danger meant. A small sovereign state had its existence threatened by lawless violence. The threat to Israel was a menace to the very foundations of the international order. The state thus threatened bore a name which stirred the deepest memories of civilized mankind, and the people of the threatened state were the surviving remnant of millions, who in living memory had been wiped out by a dictatorship more powerful, though scarcely more malicious, than Nasser's Egypt. What Nasser had predicted, what he had worked for with undeflecting purpose had come to pass — the noose was tightly drawn.

On the fateful morning of June 5, when Egyptian forces moved by air and land against Israel's western coast and southern territory, our country's choice was plain. The choice was to live or perish, to defend the national existence or to forfeit it for all time.

From these dire moments Israel emerged in five heroic days from awful peril to successful and glorious resistance. Alone, unaided, neither seeking nor receiving help, our nation rose in self-defense. So long as men cherish freedom, so long as small states strive for the dignity of survival, the exploits of Israel's armies will be told from one generation to another with the deepest pride. The Soviet Union has described our resistance as aggression and sought to have it condemned. We reject this accusation with all our might. Here was armed force employed in a just and righteous cause; as righteous as the defence of freedom at Valley Forge; as just as the expulsion of Hitler's bombers from the British skies; as noble as the protection of Stalingrad against the Nazi hordes, so was the defence of Israel's security and existence against those who sought our nation's destruction. What should be condemned is not Israel's action, but the attempt to condemn it. Never have freedom, honor, justice, national interest and international morality been so righteously protected.

#### **Message to Jordanian King**

While fighting raged on the Egyptian-Israel frontier and on the Syrian front, we still hoped to contain the conflict. Jordan was given every



chance to remain outside the struggle. Even after Jordan had bombarded and bombed Israel territory at several points we still proposed to the Jordanian monarch that he abstain from general hostilities. A message to this effect reached him several hours after the outbreak of hostilities on the southern front on June 5.

Jordan answered tragically not with words but with shells. Artillery opened fire fiercely along the whole front with special emphasis on the Jerusalem area. Thus, Jordan's responsibility for the second phase of the concerted aggression is established beyond doubt. This responsibility cannot fail to have its consequences in the peace settlement. As death and injury rained on the city, Jordan had become the source and origin of Jerusalem's fierce ordeal. The inhabitants of the city can never forget this fact, or fail to draw its conclusions.

### **The Soviet Role in the Middle East Crisis**

I have spoken of Israel's defence against the assaults of neighbouring states. This is not the entire story. Whatever happens in the Middle East for good or ill, for peace or conflict, is powerfully affected by what the Great Powers do or omit to do. When the Soviet Union initiates a discussion here our gaze is inexorably drawn to the story of its role in recent Middle Eastern history. It is a sad and shocking story; it must be frankly told.

There was in Soviet policy a brief but important episode of balanced friendship. In 1948, the USSR condemned what she called "Arab aggression."

Since 1955 the Soviet Union has supplied the Arab States with 2000 tanks, of which more than 1000 have gone to Egypt. The Soviet Union has supplied the Arab States with 700 modern fighter aircraft and bombers; more recently with ground missiles, and Egypt alone has received from the USSR 540 field guns, 130 medium guns, 200 120 mm mortars, 695 anti-aircraft guns, 175 rocket launchers, 650 anti-tank guns, 7 destroyers; a number of Luna M and Sopka 2 ground to ground missiles, 14 submarines and 46 torpedo boats of various types including missile carrying boats. The Egyptian army has been trained by Soviet experts. This has been attested by Egyptian officers captured by Israel. Most of this equipment was supplied to the Arab States after the Cairo Summit Conference of Arab leaders in January 1964 had agreed on a specific program for the destruction of Israel; after they had announced and hastened to fulfil this plan by accelerating their arms purchases from the Soviet Union. The proportions of Soviet assistance are attested to by the startling fact that in Sinai alone the Egyptians abandoned equipment and offensive weapons of Soviet manufacture whose value is estimated at two billion dollars.

Together with the supply of offensive weapons the Soviet Union has encouraged the military preparations of the Arab States.

Since 1961, the Soviet armaments have assisted Egypt in its desire to conquer Israel. The great amount of offensive equipment supplied to the Arab States strengthens this assessment.

Thus, a Great Power which professes its devotion to peaceful settlement and the rights of States has for fourteen years afflicted the Middle East with a headlong armaments race; with the paralysis of the United Nations as an instrument of security; and with an attitude of blind identification with those who threaten peace against those who defend it.

### **Efforts to Curtail Arms Race**

The constant increase and escalation of Soviet armaments in Arab countries has driven Israel to a corresponding though far smaller procurement program. Israel's arms purchases were precisely geared to the successive phases of Arab, and especially Egyptian rearmament. On many occasions in recent months we and others have vainly sought to secure Soviet agreement for a reciprocal reduction of arms supplies in our region. These efforts have borne no fruit. The expenditure on social and economic progress of one half of what has been put into the purchase of Soviet arms would have been sufficient to redeem Egypt from its social and economic ills. A corresponding diversion of resources from military to social expenditure would have taken place in Israel. A viable balance of forces could have been achieved at a lower level of armaments, while our region could have moved forward to higher standards of human and social welfare. For Israel's attitude is clear. We should like to see the arms race slowed down. But if the race is joined, we are determined not to lose it. A fearful waste of economic energy in the Middle East is the direct result of the Soviet role in the constant stimulation of the race in arms.

### **Incendiary Reports Spread by Soviet Union**

It is clear from Arab sources that the Soviet Union has played a provocative role in spreading alarmist and incendiary reports of Israel intentions amongst Arab governments.

On 9 June President Nasser said:

"Our friends in the USSR warned the visiting parliamentary delegation in Moscow at the beginning of last month, that there exists a plan of attack against Syria."

Similarly an announcement by TASS of 23 May states:

"The Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset have accorded the Cabinet on 9 May, special powers to carry out war operations against Syria. Israeli forces concentrating on the Syrian border have been put in a state of alert for war. General mobilization has also been proclaimed in the country. . ."



There was not one word of truth in this story. But its diffusion in the Arab countries could only have an incendiary result.

Cairo Radio broadcast on 28 May (0500 hours) an address by Marshal Gretchko at a farewell party in honour of the former Egyptian Minister of Defense Shams ed-Din Badran:

"The USSR, her armed forces, her people and government will stand by the Arabs and will continue to encourage and support them. We are your faithful friends and we shall continue aiding you because this is the policy of the Soviet nation, its party and government. On behalf of the Ministry of Defense and in the name of the Soviet nation we wish you success and victory."

This promise of military support came less than a week after the illicit closing of the Tiran Straits, an act which the USSR has done nothing to condemn.

#### **USSR Attitudes on Arab-Israel Question in the UN**

The USSR has exercised her veto right in the Security Council five times. Each time a just and constructive judgment has been frustrated. On 22 January 1954 France, the United Kingdom and the United States presented a draft resolution to facilitate work on the West Bank of the River Jordan in the Bnot Yaakov Canal project. The Soviet veto paralyzed regional water development for several years. On 29 March 1954, a New Zealand resolution simply reiterating U.N. policy on blockade on the Suez Canal was frustrated by Soviet dissent. On 19 August 1963, a United Kingdom and United States resolution on the murder of two Israelis at Almagor was denied adoption by Soviet opposition. On 21 December 1964 the USSR vetoed a United Kingdom and United States resolution on incidents at Tel Dan, including the shelling of Dan, Dafne, Shaar Yashuv. On 2 November 1966, Argentina, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria joined to express regret at "infiltration from Syria and loss of human life caused by the incidents in October, November 1966." This was one of the few resolutions sponsored by member States from five continents.

The Soviet use of the veto has had a dual effect. First, it prevented any resolution to which an Arab State was opposed from being adopted by the Council. Secondly, it has inhibited the Security Council from taking constructive action in disputes between an Arab State and Israel because of the certain knowledge that the veto would be applied in what was deemed to be the Arab interest. The consequences of the Soviet veto policy have been to deny Israel any possibility of just and equitable treatment in the Security Council, and to nullify the Council as a constructive factor in the affairs of the Middle East.

#### **Israel Object of Unbridled Invective**

Does all this really add up to a constructive intervention by the USSR in the Arab-Israel tension? The position becomes graver when we recall the unbridled invective against the Permanent Representative of Israel in the Security Council. In its words and in a letter to the Israel Government the USSR has formulated an obscene comparison between the Israel Defense Forces and the Hitlerite hordes which overran Europe in the Second World War. There is a flagrant breach of international morality and human decency in this comparison. Our nation never compromised with Hitler Germany. It never signed a pact with it as did the USSR in 1939. To associate the name of Israel with the accursed tyrant who engulfed the Jewish people in a tidal wave of slaughter is to violate every canon of elementary taste and fundamental truth.

In the light of this history, the General Assembly will easily understand Israel's reaction to the Soviet initiative in convening this special session for the purpose of condemning our country and recommending a withdrawal to the position that existed before June 5.

In respect to the request for a condemnation, I give a simple answer to the Soviet Representative. Your Government's record in the stimulation of the arms race, in the encouragement throughout the Arab world of unfounded suspicion concerning Israel's intentions, your constant refusal to say a single word of criticism at any time of declarations threatening the violent overthrow of Israel's sovereignty and existence — all this gravely undermines your claims to objectivity. You come here in our eyes not as a judge or as a prosecutor, but rather as a legitimate object of international criticism for the part that you have played in the somber events which have brought our region to a point of explosive tension. If the Soviet Union had made an equal distribution of its friendship amongst the peoples of the Middle East, if it had refrained from exploiting regional rancors and tensions for the purposes of its own global policy, if it had stood in evenhanded devotion to the legitimate interests of all states, the crisis which now commands our attention and anxiety would never have occurred. To the charge of aggression I answer that Israel's resistance at the lowest ebb of its fortunes will resound across history, together with the uprising of our battered remnants in the Warsaw Ghetto as a triumphant assertion of human freedom. From the dawn of its history the people now rebuilding a state in Israel has struggled often in desperate conditions against tyranny and aggression. Our action on the 5th of June falls nobly within that tradition. We have tried to show that even a small state and a small people have the right to live. I believe that we shall not be found alone in the assertion of that right which is the very essence of the Charter of the United Nations.



## Call for Direct Negotiations

Similarly, the suggestion that everything goes back to where it was before the 5th of June is totally unacceptable. The General Assembly cannot ignore the fact that the Security Council, where the primary responsibility lies, has emphatically rejected such a course. It was not Israel, but Syria, Egypt and Jordan, who violently shattered the whole fabric and texture of interstate relations which existed for a decade since 1957. That situation has been shattered to smithereens. It cannot be recaptured. It is a fact of technology that it is easier to fly to the moon than to reconstruct a broken egg. The Security Council acted wisely in rejecting the backward step, now advocated by the Soviet Union. To go back to the situation out of which the conflict arose would mean that all the conditions for renewed hostilities would be brought together again. I repeat what I said to the Security Council. Our watchword is not backward to belligerency — but forward to peace.

What the Assembly should prescribe is not a formula for renewed hostilities, but a series of principles for the construction of a new future in the Middle East. With the cease-fire established, our progress must be not backward to an armistice regime which has collapsed under the weight of years and the brunt of hostility. History summons us forward to permanent peace and the peace that we envisage can only be elaborated in frank and lucid dialogue between Israel and each of the States which have participated in the attempt to overthrow her sovereignty and undermine her existence. We dare not be satisfied with intermediate arrangements which are neither war nor peace. Such patchwork ideas carry within themselves the seeds of future tragedy. Free from external pressures and interventions, imbued with a common love for a region which they are destined to share, the Arab and Jewish nations must now transcend their conflicts in dedication to a new Mediterranean future in concert with a renaissance Europe and an Africa and Asia which have emerged at last to their independent role on the stage of history.

## The Vision of Peace

In free negotiation with each of our neighbours we shall offer durable and just solutions redounding to our mutual advantage and honour. The Arab States can no longer be permitted to recognize Israel's existence only for the purpose of plotting its elimination. They have come face to face with us in conflict. Let them now come face to face with us in peace.

In peaceful conditions we could imagine communications running from Haifa to Beirut and Damascus in the North; to Amman and beyond in the East; and to Cairo in the South. The opening of these blocked arteries would stimulate the life, thought and commerce of the region beyond any level otherwise conceivable. Across the Southern Negev communication between the Nile Valley and the Fertile Crescent

could be resumed without any change in political jurisdiction. What is now often described as a wedge between Arab lands would become a bridge. The Kingdom of Jordan, now cut off from its natural maritime outlet, could freely import and export its goods on the Israeli coast. On the Red Sea, cooperative action could expedite the port developments at Elath and Aqaba which give Israel and Jordan their contact with a resurgent East Africa and a developing Asia.

The Middle East, lying athwart three continents, could become a busy center of air communications, which are now impeded by boycotts and the necessity to take circuitous routes. Radio, telephone and postal communications which now end abruptly in mid-air would unite a divided region. The Middle East with its historic monuments and scenic beauty could attract a vast movement of travellers and pilgrims if existing impediments were removed. Resources which lie across national frontiers — the minerals of the Dead Sea and the phosphates of the Negev and the Araba — could be developed in mutual interchange of technical knowledge.

Economic cooperation in agricultural and industrial development could lead to supranational arrangements like those which mark the European Community. The United Nations could establish an Economic Commission for the Middle East, similar to the Commissions now at work in Europe, Latin America and the Far East. The specialized agencies could intensify their support of health and educational development with greater efficiency if a regional harmony were attained. The development of arid zones, the desalination of water and the conquest of tropical disease are common interests of the entire region, congenial to a sharing of knowledge and experience.

In the institutions of scientific research and higher education on both sides of the frontiers, young Israelis and Arabs could join in a mutual discourse of learning. The old prejudices could be replaced by a new comprehension and respect, born of a reciprocal dialogue in the intellectual domain. In such a Middle East, military budgets would spontaneously find a less exacting point of equilibrium. Excessive sums devoted to security could be diverted to development projects.

Thus, in full respect of the region's diversity, an entirely new story, never known or told before, would unfold across the Eastern Mediterranean. For the first time in history, no Mediterranean nation is in subjection. All are endowed with sovereign freedom. The challenge now is to use this freedom for creative growth. There is only one road to that end. It is the road of recognition, of direct contact, of true co-operation. It is the road of peaceful co-existence. This road, as the ancient Prophets of Israel foretold, leads to Jerusalem.

## Free Access to All Faiths

Jerusalem, now united after her tragic division, is no longer an arena for gun emplacements and barbed wire. In our nation's long history



there have been few hours more intensely moving than the hour of our reunion with the Western Wall. A people had come back to the cradle of its birth. It has renewed its link with the mystery of its origin and continuity. How long and deep are the memories which that reunion evokes.

For twenty years there has not been free access by men of all faiths to the shrines which they hold in unique reverence. This access now exists. Israel is resolved to give effective expression, in cooperation with the world's great religions, to the immunity and sanctity of all the Holy Places.

The prospect of a negotiated peace is less remote than it may seem. Israel waged her defensive struggle in pursuit of two objectives — security and peace. Peace and security, with their juridical, territorial, economic and social implications, can only be built by the free negotiation which is the true essence of sovereign responsibility. A call to the recent combatants to negotiate the conditions of their future co-existence is the only constructive course which this Assembly could take.

We ask the Great Powers to remove our tormented region from the scope of global rivalries; to summon its governments to build their common future themselves; to assist it, if they will, to develop social and cultural levels worthy of its past.

We ask the developing countries to support a dynamic and forward-looking policy and not to drag the new future back into the outworn past.

To the small nations which form the bulk of the international family we offer the experience which teaches us that small communities can best secure their interests by maximal self-reliance. Nobody will help those who will not help themselves. We ask the small nations, in the solidarity of our smallness, to help us stand firm against intimidation and threat such as those by which we are now assailed.

We ask world opinion which rallied to us in our plight to accompany us faithfully in our new opportunity.

### **Appeal to United Nations**

We ask the United Nations which was prevented from offering us security in our recent peril, to respect our independent quest for the peace and security which are the Charter's higher ends. We shall do what the Security Council decided should be done — and reject the course which the Security Council emphatically and wisely rejected.

It may seem that Israel stands alone against numerous and powerful adversaries. But we appeal to the undying forces in our nation's history which have so often given the final victory to spirit over matter, to inner truth over quantity. We believe in the vigilance of history which has guarded our steps.

The Middle East, tired of wars, is ripe for a new emergence of human vitality. Let the opportunity not fall again from our hands.

*Israel - Wals*

August 9, 1968

Rabbi Amos Schauss  
Hebrew Union College - JIR  
Clifton Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45220

Dear Amos,

Thank you for sending me the several newspaper clippings. The Forward article was familiar to me because one of our people answered it, and I received both the original clipping and the subsequent answer.

All things are well here -- too many children underfoot, but it really is a pleasure.

Rhea and I were in Israel this summer -- half work, half play -- and we had a ball! It's kind of tough to get back into the swing of things.

Thank you for thinking of me. I think of you too -- not infrequently. As a matter of fact, only a day or so ago I was with Chanan Brichto and we recalled some of those delightful moments at the CCAR.

Fondly,

Alexander M. Schindler



# רעפארם - אידען ביים כותל מערבי

ווי אונזערע לייגענער וויסען שוין פון די נייעס וואס איז געווען באריכטעט אין „פארווערטס“, קומט איצט פאר א נייער שטרייט אין ישראל צווישען רעפארם אידען און די ארטא-דאקסישע. די רעפארמירטע אידען, וואס זייער צאל איז טאקע זעהר קליין אין ישראל, פארלאנגען די רעכט צו קומען דאוונען ביים כותל מערבי צוזאמען מיט די ווייבער. אבער די ארטא-דאקסישע אידען האבען געלאזט וויסען, אז בלוט וועט זיך גיסען אויב די רעפארמער וועלען פרובירען דאס דורכפירען.

וואלט עס געווען א ריין-רעליגיעזער קריג וואלטען מיר זיך אינגאנצען גיט געמישט. אבער דאס איז מעהר ווי א רעליגיעזער שטרייט. דער כותל מערבי איז טאקע הייליג ביי די רעליגיעזע אידען, די וואנט איז אבער גלייכצייטיג א גאציאנאלער מאנארמענט פון היסטארישער באדייטונג, און רעפארמירטע אידען, און אויך גאנץ פרייע, האבען א חלק אין דער וואנט — יעדער פון זיין שטאנדפונקט.

קיינער וועט געוויס גיט קומען צו די ארטאדאקסישע אידען און פאדערען אז זיי זאלען לאזען זיצען מענער מיט ווייבער צוזאמען אין זייערע שוהלען. אידען וואס ווילען זיצען צוזאמען מיט די ווייבער אין שוהל, קומען גיט צו די ארטאדאקסען, און אויב זיי וואלטען געקומען, וואלטען די ארטאדאקסען געהאט א פולשטענדיג רעכט זיי גיט אריינצולאזען.

אבער דער כותל מערבי איז גיט קיין ארטאדאקסישע שוהל: עס איז אן עפענטליך ארט און איז דערצו הייליג ביי אלע סארטען אידען, און עס איז איודאי גיט ריכטיג איבערצוגעבען דעם קאנטראל איבער דער וואנט אין די הענט פון איין גרופע — ווער זי זאל גיט זיין.

זי האט סידינין דאך קיינמאל נישט  
 געוואלט קיין ביין טאן. זי האט צו  
 געזאגט גאט, אז זי וועט זיין פרום  
 און גוט. זי האט קיינמאל קיין איינ-  
 ציגען מענטשען קיין ביין ווארט  
 נישט געזאגט, פארקערט, געהאלפן,  
 דערמיטיגט, אוועקגעגעבען פון  
 לעצטען וואס זי האט פארמאגט.  
 דס געוויין האט זיך געשטארקט  
 אין איר און דאס געבעט צו גאט  
 איז געווארען שטארקער, סידינין וואו  
 צוריקקומען צו אירן די קליינע  
 פערל קארן טאר אים נישט צונעמען.  
 זי האט דאך איר אזוי פיל געהאל-  
 פען, ווי אזוי מעג א מענטש זיין  
 אזוי שלעכט?  
 זי האט זיך דערשלעפט צום טע-  
 לעפאן, אפגערופען דעם דאקטאר  
 פינק, דער וואס האט זי ארויסגע-  
 שלעפט פון אלע צרות און אנשיקע-  
 נישען, דער וואס איז געווען צו איר  
 ווי א פאטער אלע יארען, זי גע-  
 טרייסט און געמונטערט, די איבער-  
 מענטשליכע גוטסקיין איבערגעגע-  
 בען צו איר. פון יענער זייט האט  
 זי געהערט א שוואך קול הייזער'ג  
 און מאנאטאן: עס האט גערעדט  
 דער דאקטאר בען פינק, חנה האט  
 אין שנעלע ווערטער איר מיט א  
 פארשטיקט קול פול מיט טרויער  
 אים דערציילט וואס עס האט ערשט  
 איצטער געטראפן, ווי אזוי ער

געווען א פאטערע צענויפמישונג?  
 זי און ער, און ער איז געווען דער  
 ערשטער מאנסביל, וואס האט בא-  
 רירט איר נאקעט לייב, געווען מיט  
 איר אינטים אין ליבשאפט, אין וויל-  
 דער פרייד, צערטליכע ווערטער,  
 באהעפטונג, גאט האב אויף מיר  
 רחמנות — האט זי גערעדט און  
 פארגעסען, אז זי האלט דעם רע-  
 סיווער און די ווערטער כאפט אויף  
 דער אלטער דאקטאר בען פינק.

— וואס טוט מען, בען? ער וועט  
 אונטערגיין, עס וועט זיין דער סוף.  
 מען וועט אים פארשפארען און  
 פארשליסען אין אן אנשטאלט, אדער  
 צוריק אין תפיסה! ער איז גרייט  
 אויף פארברעכענס, וויל מען וויל  
 אים נישט אקצעפטירען אלס ארענט-  
 ליכען מענטשען, אלס גוטען ריינעם  
 מענטשען. די געזעלשאפט שאקעלט  
 זיך אפ פון אים. איינער רעדט אים  
 איין מיליאנען, דער צווייטער ער  
 זאל ווערען א שותף, דער דריטער  
 שרייבען מיט אים א בוך, דער פער-  
 טער צו מאכען עקספערימענטען  
 מיט אים, א זעקסטער ער זאל זיך  
 אליין פארלייקענען. די קינדער ווי-  
 לען אים נישט אָננעמען. זיי ווילען  
 אים נישט קענען און יאגען אים פון  
 זיך. זיי דארפען אים נישט...

(ווייטערעס — מארגען)



# Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

CINCINNATI  
NEW YORK  
LOS ANGELES  
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ל"הערך ד' מקפיד מלה -

בער ערצט ארום פון "פארוארטס" וואס זיך

אונטערעסירן און דאס האט עס נישט געטון. איך

ווייס נישט וואס עס איז געווען פארוארטס ווייל איין  
שטעטער האט עס געטון, און ווייל וויסענשאפטן.

אין בעס אדער "ספארטינג-ניוס" איז געווען

בער זונטיק וואס איך האב זיך - בער  
פון ספעציעל האט מיר געמאכט צו טראסט  
פון זיך, איך ווייס נישט פארוארטס.

אונטער זיך וואס בער אונטער איסט איין  
ווייניג בעדאקט געווארען.

Love Kisses.

ד' ווייל

*Jerusalem Post, July 14, 1968*

## Reform mixed prayer barred from Wall

The Ministry for Religious Affairs has informed the World Union for Progressive (Reform) Judaism that Chief Rabbinate regulations do not permit the holding of mixed services in the prayer section directly before the Western Wall.

Rabbi Moshe Zager, leader of the Progressive Congregation in Tel Aviv, applied to the Ministry for permission for the World Union for Progressive Judaism to hold a festive prayer service there when it holds its 15th International Convention in Israel next month. It wishes to hold a service with "men and women together, according to our customs."

A Ministry official suggested to Rabbi Zager that the Union hold its mixed service in the slightly raised section several metres back from the Wall. Such services have been held there before, including by Christian groups.

Rabbi Zager could not be reached last night for comment.

